

Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender

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VOLUME 3

j-p

Fedwa Malti-Douglas

EDITOR IN CHIEF

MACMILLAN REFERENCE USA

An imprint of Thomson Gale, a part of The Thomson Corporation

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JAINISM

Jainism presents many challenges in relation to a discussion of gender. In some aspects gender in Jainism mirrors the prevailing Hindu culture of India. In other ways Jainism offers radical divergences from India's mainstream culture, particularly in its inclusion of a fully developed monastic system for women.

BASIC BELIEFS

Jains comprise a small percentage of India's population, with estimates ranging from four to seven million people, approximately one-half of 1 percent of the total. A few hundred thousand Jains live outside India, primarily in east Africa, England, and North America, with smaller groups in Japan, Singapore, and elsewhere. Despite their relatively small numbers, Jains have exerted significant influence in the course of Indian history. They have maintained a distinct religion that emphasizes the practice of nonviolence (*ahimsa*) for more than 2,000 years. Jains posit countless souls (*jiva*) that have no creator but that through their own efforts and action (karma) can advance beyond repeated rebirth (*samsara*) to a state of solitary liberation (*kevala*). To advance on the spiritual path, the Jain must be scrupulous not to cause intentional harm to any living being. Consequently, Jains avoid professions associated with violence and observe vegetarianism. The Jain lifestyle deeply influenced Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), a world figure who helped inspire the civil rights movement in the United States and championed women's rights worldwide.

Gender in Jainism determines household roles as well as religious responsibilities. Similar to women in

Hindu cultural norms, women in Jainism are generally expected to marry and raise a family, whereas men are more public figures, earning income to support the family. Traditionally a man lives within his birth family and women enter this domain as daughter-in-law and sister-in-law to other members of the household. In contemporary times this pattern has been changed by the modern urban lifestyle, particularly among the upper class and those who live outside of India. Women are expected to be responsible for food preparation and religious instruction, which in Jainism are closely related due to the universality of vegetarianism in the tradition.

Jainism, which was established in its current institutional form by Mahavira (c. 599–527 BCE), a contemporary of the Buddha, includes two primary sects: the Svetambara, who are found primarily in northern and western India, and the Digambara, in central and southern India. These two groups differ not only on their beliefs regarding the life of Mahavira and the authoritativeness of particular texts, but also on the spiritual status of women. When Mahavira, also known as the Jina, reinvigorated an established monastic order, he continued an earlier tradition of maintaining parallel groups of monks and nuns.

LAY AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

All Jains observe five great vows: nonviolence, truthfulness, not stealing, sexual restraint, and nonpossession. Monks and nuns observe these five practices more assiduously than do laypeople. For laypeople sexual restraint requires fidelity in marriage, with occasional periods of celibacy. Monks and nuns must maintain total celibacy

and generally have little contact with one another, traveling and eating separately. Laypeople practice nonpossession by living simply and donating their excess wealth for the support of monastic communities and the building of temples. Monks and nuns own very little, generally a change of clothing, a few books, and eating utensils. They remain itinerant after taking their vows and only stay in a sheltered place during the rainy season when it is difficult to move about without causing harm to insects and vegetation.

The Svetambara sect emphasizes the renunciation of all possessions. Advanced monks own nothing at all, not even a begging bowl or a loincloth. Because it would be too dangerous for women to practice total nudity in the style of Mahavira, Digambara women are not given the highest monastic initiation and hence must hope for rebirth as a man to attain final liberation from all karma, the ultimate goal of the Jain faith. Svetambaras, on the other hand, assert that Mahavira's renunciation of clothing was not central to the faith, advocate the wearing of white robes for all its monastics, and hold that women can achieve liberation (*kevala*).

SEX AND GENDER

Within the lay community Jain women are able to claim a high degree of autonomy though their observance of religious vows. In particular women often join voluntary devotional circles that meet regularly to learn, sing, and in some instances compose songs (*stavan*) that encapsulate Jain teachings and validate women's roles. Often these songs echo the *bhajans* composed by Mirabai, the Hindu princess-saint who preferred the worship of Krishna over devotion to her husband. Women play an important role in the rituals performed in the Jain temple (*mandal*). Another assertion of women's religiosity can be found in the performance of periodic fasting. Sometimes this fasting, particularly during the *paryusan* observances in early September, requires total abstention from food for several days. Other fasts require eating only once per day for a specified period, or eating every other day, or eliminating certain foods from one's diet. Regardless, a woman's performance of the fast brings prestige to one's household.

Within the Jain faith, there are four times as many nuns as monks, perhaps due to the gentle nature of core Jain practices. In years past most nuns would join the monastic order as widows or at the same time as their husband. In some instances entire families would take religious vows, often with mother and daughter traveling separately from husband and son. Following India's independence in 1947, increased numbers of well-educated, unmarried young women chose to become Jain nuns, a trend that continues in the early-twenty-first century. The monastic life seems to offer for many educated

young women a more creative outlook for their talents than does marriage.

In addition to making clear divisions between the roles of men and women, both in lay and monastic communities, Jainism also acknowledges the ambiguity of sexual feelings, citing a third grouping of individuals who experience longings generally associated in contemporary society with homosexuality (*napumsakaveda*). The ideal for all individuals within Jainism is to eschew sexual thoughts and behaviors in order to cleanse oneself of the karma that impedes spiritual awareness. By the consistent systematic observance of a pious lifestyle characterized by the grounding of all one's activities in nonviolence, all karma can be neutralized and eventually expunged. According to Umasvati's fourth century text, the *Tattvarthasutra*, this process unfolds over many lifetimes, through which one has the opportunity to ascend fourteen rungs of a psychocosmic ladder leading to eternal consciousness and delivery from rebirth.

The challenges of modernity and urbanization have strengthened the Jain community, providing greater wealth for the support of Jain institutions both in India and in the diaspora community. The number of vocations, particularly among women, has increased, and the publication of materials designed to promulgate core Jain teachings continues to grow.

SEE ALSO *Hinduism*.

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Christopher Key Chapple

JAPAN

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I. MODERN

Japan, or *Nippon*, has a distinctive landscape and history. An island country in the Pacific Ocean, Japan is made up of five major islands: Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu, and Okinawa. Mountain ranges divide the basins and fields; this geographic feature shaped local communities, which developed their own cultures, customs, and religious practices throughout much of Japan's history. The 1868 Meiji Reforms during Japan's modernization brought the local communities together by political innovations, economic growth, and the popularization of mass media. Chinese and Korean cultures played an influential role in Japan in earlier centuries, whereas the nineteenth century's change came from the process of influences from Europe and North America. Throughout its history Japan was able to integrate other cultures within its own cultural traditions, which in turn have played a role in the world. This entry comprises three sections: (1) sexual symbolism, religions, sexual customs, and traditions; (2) gender roles, marriage, and divorce; and (3) homosexuality, sex research, and sex education.

SEXUAL SYMBOLISM, RELIGIONS, SEXUAL CUSTOMS, AND TRADITIONS

During Japan's earliest periods, the Jomon and Yayoi cultures (third century BCE), the Japanese people's idea of sexuality was closely associated with reproduction or procreation. In the sixth century CE, Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced to Japan through Korea; first the ruling classes and eventually the emperor's family adopted these religions and beliefs. The central government implemented the new philosophy, religion, and culture, whereas the common people continued to practice their local religions and customs. The old beliefs and the new beliefs coexisted without conflict.

Shinto, meaning *Way of the Gods*, is a native Japanese religion. Buddhism and Shinto both dominated Japan until the sixteenth century. By the fourteenth century Portuguese missionaries introduced Christianity and Roman Catholicism to Japan. During the nineteenth century in the Meiji period, Shinto was recognized as

the national religion. Still, Japanese who believed in Buddhism or other religions continued their own practices. After World War II (1945) and by the time Japan's new constitution was established, freedom of faith was promised and Shinto was no longer considered the national religion.

Phallicism, or worship of male genitalia, has long existed in Japan. Although many cultures practiced phallicism, the prevalence and long history of worship of the phallus is well documented in Japan, where the belief is not thought of as simple worship of the sex organ itself but as a worship of what the sex organ represents—life itself. Male genitalia are viewed as a source, or seed, of life, and they not only represent life, they are life, fertility, and procreation. The phallus is believed to possess the power to protect as well as to expel evil. Phallicism and stone are closely associated. This may have resulted from the fact that Japan is a mountainous country; litholatry, meaning worship of the stones, was one of the earliest forms of Japanese religion. Phallus-shaped objects can be seen on wall tombs that date back to the eighth century. Other phallus-shaped stones were also set up on the shores of the Hitachi Sea during the period of the rule of Emperor Montoku's (827–858) time, as well as in revered temples and sites. Roadside stones are symbols of protection and power, which can drive away or delay the evil spirits.

If phallicism is the cornerstone of Shinto, Shinto believes in the power of both male and female sex organs and posits that phallicism is in reality *phallocktenism* (ktenic means female). Buddhism also embraces phallicism; Shingon, a Tantric sect of Buddhism, believes passion is sacred because it leads through self-sublimation to enlightenment. Shingon's god of love, Aizen Myoo, encouraged passionate, sensual, and erotic behavior. Another Buddhist deity, Kangiten, is depicted as a male and female pair in a standing position of sexual intercourse. Many Japanese practice both Shinto and Buddhism and find no discomfort in the double religions; they believe Shinto and Buddhism have complemented each other. An old Japanese saying goes: One pays visits to the Shrine in the happy days, while one pays visits to the temple during the hardships.

Japanese cultures presented different sexual attitudes and customs. In Japanese erotic art genital organs are omnipresent and are often enlarged and elaborated by the artist. Genitalia have become such familiar objects in Japan that it is customary for Japanese artists to exaggerate them. In contrast to the prevalence of nudity depicted in the art and literature of Europe and European North America, nudity is viewed differently in traditional Japan. Nudity is not viewed in a moral sense but, rather, as aesthetically unpleasing; in fact, the socially disadvantaged classes—such as peasants and workers—may be

naked, whereas the socially privileged pride themselves on owning beautiful, elaborate garments. Japanese erotic prints and literature often show lovers almost always fully clothed. Even in the early twenty-first century, except in strip shows, it is the clothed female who is considered more sexy and alluring.

For both European and North American and Japanese, the mere image of the geisha arouses curiosity. *Geisha*, a person of art (*gei* means art, *sha* means person), is uniquely Japanese and a world-renowned icon of femininity, beauty, and a mysterious fantasy world. In many ways it has come to represent the Japanese image of grace and elegance. Makeup, dress, and skills at conversation and entertainment comprise the geisha persona; her total being is a work of art. Geisha has a rich 250-year history and indeed remains the symbol of Japanese womanhood. It occupies the imaginations of Japanese and Europeans and North Americans alike and, to many, Geisha is synonymous with Japan.

Geisha's world is known as *karyukai* (the flower and willow world); they perform their art in cities such as Kyoto and Tokyo. Historically, women did not take on the profession by choice but, rather, families indentured young girls into the profession at the ages of five or six years of age. In contemporary Japan young women can choose geisha as a profession by receiving training when fourteen years old, instead of being a wife, mother, or office worker. Geisha's precursors can be traced back to the seventh century; Izumo no Okuni, a woman performer, acted as a male and thrilled her audience. Her wild and outrageous performances started the famed Japanese Kabuki Theater tradition. However, in 1647 the government banned women from the stage because of concerns over public morals. And at that same time the government confined courtesans and prostitutes to the pleasure quarters as a measure to maintain public order. The pleasure quarters were frequented by the wealthy and the powerful and were soon turned into a busy, entertaining world for men. The word Geisha was first used by male actors who performed bawdy jokes, songs, and dances in the early eighteenth century, and women joined them around 1760. The female Geisha quickly established themselves and have claimed the word Geisha ever since.

Courtesans played the role of a high-class lady, whereas a Geisha portrayed herself as an artiste, performing for the general public as well as in the pleasure quarters. Yoshiwara district in Edo (now Tokyo) was the largest and grandest of the pleasure districts of the eighteenth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Geisha reached the highest level of social status as the well-known Geisha became household names, with literature and woodblock prints of them abounding. However, after World War II ended and especially with the 1958 ban against prostitution, the

Geisha's role underwent a drastic change; they have since identified themselves as artistes whose work excludes sex.

GENDER ROLES, FEMININITY, MASCULINITY, AND MARRIAGE

Social, organizational, and gender hierarchy, along with corporate solidarity, authority, and uniformity, are marked social features of modern Japan. In the traditionally male-dominated society, women defer to men. However, in ancient Japan women had a great deal of authority; for example, until the eleventh century, Japanese girls could inherit their parents' houses. The ruling class's adaptation of Chinese Confucianism redefined women's roles. Women's role became to remain at home where she was expected to devote herself to family life, although as of the early twenty-first century women have considerable voices at home as they manage the family matters overall.

With the economic boom of Japan since the 1970s, more women have entered the workforce. However, most women hold secretarial and *office lady* types of jobs. Women seldom hold managerial positions; fewer than 10 percent of Japanese women are in managerial positions, and fewer than 3 percent of Japanese legislators are women. Despite the legal protection of the 1986 Equal Employment Opportunity Act, female workers past the marriage age often encounter workplace discrimination. The work environment can be very strained for women because of constant inquiries by supervisors and colleagues into the woman's personal life. Filing a complaint against the company to the government would be considered disloyal to the company. Even if a company treats its women workers as equals, male business associates may feel uncomfortable or even unwilling to work with a woman as an equal.

Masculinity is defined by the roles men play in marriage as well as in the workplace. A young man's transition from the status of student to a *shakaijin* (social person) starts with his first full-time job and is completed with his marriage, and or more significantly, with the birth of his first child. Japanese men are expected to be socially productive citizens through their work and by providing for their families.

Corporate environments also employ disciplinary techniques for the development of proper masculinity. Formality of dress, hairstyles, correct social manner, and what to read and eat all become areas regulated by the company. Men's work and families have always been an important index of their maturity; however, although that still rings true in modern Japan, economic changes and the women's movement have resulted in open discussion of how men's roles should change to fit modern lifestyle. How should a so-called seven-to-eleven husband (a man who leaves for work at 7 AM and returns home at

11 PM) contribute to family life and child care? As more women stay in the workforce after marriage and childbirth, there has been a rapid increase in dual-income families. Although companionship through marriage is an increasingly sought-after ideal, it is not easily achieved.

Traditionally, marriage was universally practiced, as it was believed to be a milestone for men and marked them as fully responsible persons; the happiness and satisfaction for women was to be found in their roles as wives and mothers. For women, marriage usually takes place between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five. A girl learns sewing, cooking, flower arranging, or music in preparation for her marriage. The cost of a wedding can be very high; families of all social and economic levels must dress the bride in beautiful traditional garments, whereas the groom wears formal European or North American style clothes with a formal silk tie. The ceremony—held at the groom's parents' home—includes ritualistic dining and other wedding rites.

The legality of the marriage includes a transfer of the bride's name to the register of her husband's house, which often does not get completed until the new wife's pregnancy with her first child. Before the name transfer the young wife must work hard to prove her worth within the new family.

The modern salaried husband works as a technician, office worker, or junior executive and is under constant pressure to become a good company man. Coworkers have a common bond through working together as well as socializing in company-organized parties and traveling. The husband often arrives home late because of the company engagements, which wives are seldom welcome to attend. The salaried man can be more emotionally distant, both as a husband and father, than his traditional counterpart.

Because of the work-related absence of their husbands, Japanese wives have a great deal of authority and autonomy in arranging their children's extracurricular activities, housework, shopping, errands, and leisure time. They are very apt at managing their children and households on their own and have a strong voice in decision making. They pay a great deal of attention to their children's welfare and often socialize with other mothers who have similar concerns and expectations for their children.

Marriage has undergone a great deal of change in modern and contemporary Japan. Many people believe in marrying later; that is to say, they would eventually be interested in marrying someone but would not like to be pressured into marriage by a certain age. Retherford and partner's 2001 study concludes that Japan is one of the latest marrying populations in the world. In 1975 the women's mean marriage age was 24.5, whereas in 1995 it was delayed to an average of 27.7 years of age. Men's

mean age also went from 27.6 years in 1975 to 30.7 years in 1995. The proportions of never-marrying Japanese increased to 16 percent, up from 5 percent, for women, and 22 percent, up from 6 percent, for men. The reasons for the drastic change include increased women's employment, the prevalence of premarital sex, and perhaps most of all, changed expectations and new attitudes toward marriage and family life. Some single young women decided early on to buy their own apartments or condos, planning not to marry.

Arranged marriages exist in both traditional and modern Japan. Between 25 and 30 percent of all marriages in 1995 were arranged, which is usually a match between a woman and a man of compatible social and economic status (Applbaum 1995). Both families took great interest in the selection process. Love-matched marriage was based on mutual affection; the matched marriage in modern Japan differs from the traditional arranged marriage. The family alliance is no longer necessary in modern Japan.

HOMOSEXUALITY, SEX RESEARCH, AND SEX EDUCATION

In modern Japan homosexual behavior is accepted in some circles and looked down upon in others. Homosexuality is not excluded from appropriate sexuality and it is not condemned or ostracized by Japanese religions. In general homosexual relations are viewed as an eccentricity rather than a perversion, because sex variations are often thought of as fun and playful. However, as with all other sexual acts, homosexual behavior is held to strict standards of social decorum that say it should be private and discreet. Japanese men and women have plenty of work or social occasions to be with the same sex group; it is not uncommon for members of the same sex to have a close emotional friendship.

In traditional Japan the pleasures of the flesh were considered natural and normal, and this also included homosexual relations; homoerotic stories are found in the literature of premodern Japan. In the Heian period (794–1185), lesbian love was recorded by women writers. Lady Murasaki's classic masterpiece, *Tale of Genji*, includes a homoerotic scene where Prince Genji spends a night with a young man. Yoshida Kenko (1283–1352?), a fourteenth-century courtier monk, wrote about his sexual desires for boys in *Essays in Idleness*. Sixteenth-century literature includes stories about Buddhist monks' homoerotic love for their temple acolytes, as well as tales about Samurai men and boys who sacrificed their lives for their love.

The traditional view of homosexuality changed in the Meiji period; during its period of modernization the government aimed to bring its social, political, and technological advancement to the level of those of the Europe and North America, and the stigmatization of homosexuality

experienced in those countries made an impact on Meiji policies. Homosexuality was temporarily outlawed with the adoption of the Prussian legal code in the 1870s. Even though the ban was short lived and the Meiji government's attempt to outlaw homosexuality was never entirely successful, education in schools and universities adopted an antihomosexual moral tone.

Homosexual lifestyles are seen as a problem in modern Japan when gays and lesbians do not wish to have a heterosexual marriage and therefore threaten the institution of marriage; refusal to marry is viewed as both immature and selfish on the part of the individual. Gays and lesbians are expected to let go of their personal desires and to get married for the sake of continuing the family line. In fact, many gay men conform to this tradition by getting married and having children. *Barazoku*, one of the oldest gay publications, has a regular section for gay men to advertise for female partners so they can live up to their social expectations. But many gay men or lesbians who do not wish to conform bear a great deal of psychological and emotional stress. In some cases gay couples opt to form a socially acceptable family-like relationship through adoption.

Gay publications are more widespread than those intended for lesbians; however, both are subject to censors who eliminate pictures of genitalia and pubic hair, just as they would with *straight* sexual images. Gay bathhouses also exist in most major cities. The Internet has also become one of the major venues for information, communities, and communications among gays and lesbians.

Gender ambiguity or gender role reversal has been commonly known in both religion and traditional theater. Buddhists have embraced sexual ambivalence; the Goddess of Mercy, Kannon, was thought to have actually changed her sex—she started as a god in India and as she moved eastward to China, Korea, and Japan, she became a goddess. The Kabuki theater, after centuries of evolution, still has all-male casts and has developed a sophisticated form of theater enjoyed by Japanese. Kabuki also shares the tradition of males who perform the roles of female characters. In 1914 the Takarazuka Revue Company was founded; it was made up of unmarried girls who performed songs, as well as Japanese folk and European and North American dance. They also took male roles by dressing in military uniforms, tuxedos, cowboy outfits, and samurai armor. In the early twenty-first century their audiences and fans are mostly female, from all over the country, who adore these male-impersonating icons.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, medical doctors and teachers began writing in professional journals about the sexual development of children. *Yomiuri Shimbun*, the newspaper with the largest circu-

lation in Japan, devoted a special issue to the discussion of sex education. Experts on sexuality agree that schools and homes are the best venues for sex education. A few wrote against sex education. The proponents of sex education are focused on issues with masturbation and venereal disease; early sex educators in the Europe and North America made similar arguments.

Since the early twentieth century, all Japanese children received required education. Although following the National Course of Study's general objectives, each school would develop its own curriculum. However, no distinctive sexuality or family-life education course was designed, and the National Course of Study did not require anything to be taught about sexuality.

However, rises in teenage pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and AIDS have become a concern in Japan. According to the Japan AIDS Prevention Network (2004), Japanese girls' first menstruation starts between the ages of ten and twelve, two years earlier than their mothers' generation. Among third-year high school students, 30 percent report having had at least one sexual experience, whereas in the 1980s the average age for first sexual experience was twenty years.

Sex educators in contemporary Japan, such as Masako Fukae, are adamant that the most effective way to prevent STDs or AIDS is through education. Some research findings support the need for sex education. Masako cited studies that only 50 percent of sexually active college students use condoms. Among sexually active high school students, 30 percent of girls and 28 percent of boys do not use any contraceptive measures. As a result, in 2002 almost 50,000 abortions were performed in women aged 20 and younger, whereas in 1994 only 27,838 abortions were recorded. Meanwhile, STD cases have increased; 30 percent of new chlamydia infections afflicted the ten-to-nineteen-year-old age group.

Since 2003 public schools have started sex education in the third and fourth grades. Sex education classes are focused on pregnancy and STD prevention due to the steady increase in teenage abortions and STDs among the youth. As children are exposed to more sexual content through the mass media and are thereby freer with sex, and they are more vulnerable to a host of sex-related problems including HIV and AIDS. However, sex education materials have been under constant criticism from parents who protest the use of graphic materials; some parents argue that the availability of condoms and contraceptives will encourage early sexual activity and will undermine Japanese traditional moral values.

Yomiuri Shimbun's article in 2004 reported that the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology had decided to revise sex education in schools. Until 2004 the ministry's policy was to teach children healthy gender concepts so they could act desirably. The 2004 revision

included specific sexual topics. For third- and fourth-grade elementary students, sex education covers topics on menstruation and ejaculation, for middle school students, it covers conception and pregnancy, and for high school students, it will cover contraception. The Japanese Association for Sex Education (JASE), an organization established in 1972, has also developed and published sex education guidelines for individual schools.

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Liana Zhou

II. EROTIC LITERATURE

The theme of love dominates Japanese literature. From ancient poetry collected during the eighth century to *waka* poems that have flourished until modern times, the majority of the best works in classical forms have featured longing for a tryst or lamenting the separation from, or loss of, a lover. During the ancient period, as property was generally handed down from mother to daughter, marriage took a rather fluid form in which the man visited the woman at her house at night. Because a woman with a house and a man with income were mutually desirable, courtship among the upper and middle classes was intense, and epistolary communication between lovers or spouses was dense, resulting in the

abundance of amorous verses that are extant. The most passionate of ancient poets include Kakinomoto no Hitomaro (dates unknown, active late seventh century to the beginning of the eighth century), Ono no Komachi (dates unknown, flourished 833–850), Ariwara no Narihira (825–880), and Izumi Shikibu (dates unknown, born c. 977).

Japan’s mythology features episodes of an erotic nature, but the first known example in literary fiction is *The Tale of the Bamboo Cutter* (author unknown, written some time after 810 or 866 but before 910), a romantic story of competition between suitors for the affection of a celestial woman. Murasaki Shikibu’s (dates unknown) *The Tale of Genji* (eleventh century) marks a great departure from such romance. The voluminous work depicting the amorous lives of three generations of men is often called the world’s first novel because of its psychological depth and narrative complexity. However, as in European courtly romance, sexual intentions and acts were only implied.

An inclination toward androgyny and gender crossing is detected in Japan’s arts. The Buddhist view of life as transient and the aesthetic ideal of *aware*, the beauty of ephemerality, applied to both men and women so that they were beautiful and sad in the same way. In spite of the fact that intercourse is often forced by the male character in courtly tales, masculinity is erased from courtly aesthetic. The interest in sameness and minute distinctions thus marks traditional Japanese literature and theater. Twelfth-century romances such as *The Changelings* (author unknown, written around 1183) and *Partings at Dawn* (author unknown, written shortly after 1200) describe protagonists who go through life as cross-dressers with unaligned sex and gender. Female impersonation in *onnagata* roles has been one of the chief attractions of kabuki theatre since the seventeenth century, and androgynous stars are featured in all genres of modern media.

Erotic interest became more pronounced when the bourgeoisie gained power as consumers. Seventeenth-century Japan produced great writers who took up sex as a central theme. Ihara Saikaku’s (1642–1693) *Five Women Who Loved Love* (1686) is a collection of stories about women who choose sexual love over family ties and other moral obligations. The playwright Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724), author of *The Love Suicides at Amijima* (1720), dramatized the tragedy of lovers similarly torn between desire and morality. Both authors often took materials from actual incidents and town gossip so that their works not only demonstrated a certain amount of realism but also appealed to the curiosity of their mass audience.

Particularly during the seventeenth century, male homoeroticism flourished in literature and pictorial arts. *Deus on the Mountain Path* (1730s), illustrated (and

probably written) by Nishikawa Sukenobu (1671–1750), graphically presents male–male encounters with a very short story attached to each scene. A group of Saikaku's works, such as *The Great Mirror of Male Love* (1687), consists of short stories about homoerotic love affairs in the samurai and commoner classes. Hiraga Gennai (1728–1779) found satirical uses for sexual blatancy. His *Seclusive History of a Withered Dick* (1768) parodies Chinese history by outlining world history using sexual terms. An example from the picture-book genre, *The New Hot Spring Stories* (1827), illustrated by Utagawa Kunisada (1786–1865) and probably written by Jūjitei Sanku (dates unknown; active in the mid- to late-nineteenth century), follows a couple of lovers who drift to Giant Land and discover their lost treasure by entering the *cave* of a giant woman's vagina.

Among modern authors, Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939) and Nagai Kafū (1879–1959) invented sensual styles in the modern language. Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965), in his *The Secret History of the Lord of Musashi* (1935), *The Key* (1956), and other works, tried out a variety of narrative forms in his unflinching exploration of all aspects of sexual desire. As daring as Tanizaki are a number of women writers such as Kōno Taeko (b. 1926), Takahashi Takako (b. 1932), Kanai Mieko (b. 1947), and Yamada Eimi (b. 1959), all of whom pursue woman's identity in their depiction of sexual desire and acts. Matsuura Rieko (b. 1958), whose chief theme is lesbian sexuality, explores a theory of *gentle castration* in *The Life and Education of Big Toe P* (1993).

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Sumie Jones

III. EROTIC ART

Japan has a long history of erotica. Although little survives from early periods, there are occasional secondary references in literature and diaries that go back at least to the eleventh century. There are also some extant works, often in the form of hand scrolls of albums, from the medieval period. In modern times erotic literature in Japanese is renowned and has entered the world of *manga* and *anime*. However, it was the Edo period (1603–1868) that saw the flowering of such literature as a recognized genre. Most erotic books were illustrated, and almost all the artists who worked in the popular manner and even some from the elite schools produced those pictures. That form of art was not regarded as shameful, although erotica had its proper place and was not meant to be shown everywhere.

The Tokugawa shogunate was declared, based in Edo (modern Tokyo), in 1603, and in the mid-1630s a system of “alternate attendance” was promulgated that required the 280-odd regional rulers (*daimyo*) to reside one year out of two in Edo. The result was massive intermittent influxes of single males in vast lordly entourages. Additionally, the wives and children of *daimyos* had to live permanently in Edo.

That curious demographic created conditions in which certain sexual practices flourished. Numerous red-light districts opened to cater for the “city of bachelors.” However, bordellos were expensive and thus were beyond the reach of many, and it is not difficult to conceive of how erotica gained a foothold. It was assumed at that time that consumers were as likely to be sequestered ladies who were kept for their whole lives in *daimyo* compounds as frustrated men spending a year in Edo free of family bonds but living in constrained situations without much cash.

The term now applied to the erotic literature of that period is *shunga*, literally “spring pictures,” in reference to the illustrations, which often are the real source of enjoyment. The texts vary in quality, though some are considered to have real literary merit. In contrast, the imagery in *shunga* is often superlative. Period terminology was loose: *makara-e* (“pillow pictures”), *warai-e*



Shunga Artwork. A two-page frontispiece from a shunga album. An elegantly-dressed couple sit on a veranda overlooking a garden and embrace each other. © ASIAN ART & ARCHAEOLOGY, INC./CORBIS.

(“laughing pictures”), or *Toba-e* (in reference to a mediaeval prelate who was said to have invented the ribald pictorial style). As books those works were called *ehon* (“erotic books”), though later they generally were classified under the neologism *shunpon* (“spring books”).

Erotica had existed in Japan before, and very ancient sketches have been discovered in the rafters of buildings and other places. However, *shunga* as such appears with the first cultural flourishing of Edo toward the end of the seventeenth century. Printing also became important at that time, and *shunga* can be found in the traditional form of paintings, generally as leaves in albums or hand scrolls, and in the newer medium of print, generally bound into sets of a dozen or as short books. The genre came to an end toward the end of the Edo period in the 1830s and 1840s. *Shunga* thus defines a moment in the history of Japanese erotica with specific characteristics.

The shogunal government did not censor erotica. The shoguns did censor extravagance, and luxury was

condemned, though the degree to which it was penalized depended on the tenor of the times. Clampdowns occurred as part of the Kyōho reforms (mid-eighteenth century) and Kansei reforms (1780s). Both singled out erotica for condemnation, though within a long list of activities of which the government disapproved. Reading or viewing erotica was not regarded as shameful or wrong for men or women.

The overriding feature of *shunga* is the presentation of sex as mutually enjoyable and desired. Compulsion, rape, and violence are shunned. Erotic scenes almost always involve modern urban people. This practice has led to the claim that erotica was for couples, to be used as foreplay. That was one option, but there are likely to have been others, and solitary use certainly was common. This is attested in many fictional contexts and in the stories and pictures themselves, although these are not unproblematic contexts. Few if any references can be found to erotica in nonfictional contexts such as diaries and letters.

There are myths of reading and viewing that suggest embarrassment and extenuation of ownership. One is that erotica could prevent fire in the home; it also was said that warriors stored erotica in their trunks of hardware as prophylaxis. However, those rationales sound like tongue-in-cheek excuses for enjoying erotica.

There is a wide variety of production levels, from cheap monochrome prints to splendid paintings. This indicates a wide social spectrum of ownership. It also suggests that different contexts require different levels of sophistication. Ladies in their quarters when their males were away might have expected something different from what workmen in barracks expected. It is also attested that the finely made painted scrolls were slipped into marriage trousseaux to acquaint elite virgins with what was in store for them when they married. However, *shunga* never had an educational purpose in regard to the healthy or safe performance of sex. It always was celebratory of sex.

Beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, violence emerged, with fantasies of mutual sharing giving way to fantasies of rape. The two-hundred-year tradition of *shunga* is regarded as coming to an end with that shift. Mid-nineteenth-century erotic literature is quite different.

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Timon Screech

IV. COURTLY LOVE

The essence of courtly love in Japan can be found in the 360 love poems in *Kokin Wakashu* (905), which trace the course of a typical love affair, from a man's first notice of and flirtation with a woman to his waning interest and abandonment of her (Rodd 1984). Courtship was an art to be cultivated, but love was both uncontrollable and transient. Buddhism taught that love was a quagmire leading only to grief, but most saw love as an arena for elegant behavior and savored the anticipation and sorrow that accompanied it.

Marriages were arranged for political and financial considerations, so love was sought in extramarital affairs. Even at court men and women did not mingle freely and lived in separate quarters. Women attracted attention by their reputations for beauty, refinement, and talent in the

arts of music and poetry. The first stages of a courtship were conducted by poetic correspondence. Visits occurred sporadically and, secrecy being a high priority, only at night. In literature, at least, this meant that mistaken identity was a frequent problem. The marriage ritual consisted primarily of visiting a woman three nights successively and staying past dawn, making departure a public event. After marriage men's visits were prolonged and public, but couples rarely lived together until the man became the head of his extended family.

Courtly love is depicted in poetry collections, memoirs, and fictional tales of the Heian period (794–1185). Male poets outnumbered and outranked women, but fiction was considered less prestigious and came to be the domain of women. *Tales of Ise* is an important collection of anecdotes, with poems that focus on the love affairs of a man out of favor at court (McCullough 1968). In *Kagerō Diary* a preeminent statesman's secondary wife describes the vicissitudes of her marriage but dwells on the pain of her husband's infidelities (Arnzten 1997). In *The Pillow Book*, a collection of anecdotes and reflections on life at court plus lists of poetic references, Sei Shōnagon confidently depicts herself as a demanding lover and describes a few ideal romantic encounters (Morris 1967). The *Tale of Ochikubo* tells of a mistreated stepdaughter rescued and avenged by a handsome and promising young man (Whitehouse and Yanagisawa 1970). *The Changelings* recounts the adventures and heartaches of a pair of cross-gendered half-siblings who ultimately realign their sex and gender (Willig 1983).

By far most important text of the age is *The Tale of Genji*, written by Murasaki Shikibu while she served at court (Seidensticker 1976, Tyler 2001). This tale set the standard for elegant romantic behavior for centuries thereafter. Genji, a prince removed from the line of succession, is depicted as an irresistible lover. He is supernaturally handsome, artistically talented, elegant, wealthy, emotionally vulnerable, and unusually loyal to his lovers. The text follows the course of his many relationships, including unwise liaisons with his stepmother, the proud widow of a former crown prince, and a younger sister of his political rival. His deepest relationship is with a woman whom he trains to be the ideal wife in a polygamous society: She is jealous when he is unfaithful but is too refined to show it. The theme of the last quarter of the work is the plight of women of varying social status but little economic means, dependent upon unreliable men, forced to choose between lonely serenity and marriages fraught with anxiety.

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Margaret H. Childs

V. WOMEN'S LITERATURE IN MODERN

Women in Japan have historically been readers of romances; it is no surprise that since the nineteenth century, women poets and prose writers have themselves taken an active part in creating popular fiction, nonfiction, and children's literature. Women's writing includes fiction that often weaves together personal stories, journalistic reporting, historical serial novels, science fiction, mysteries, business stories, war journals, and animal fantasies. Nonfiction covers a wide range of topics and issues that concern women's lives, experiences, and social conditions, thus including writing on cultural criticism, crime, travel, gender, sexualities, history and politics, and biographies. Women's literature (*Joryu bungaku* in Japanese), although sometimes discounted as too sentimental and too impressionistic, thrived after World War II (1939–1945) and has in fact played a role in shaping ideas and building communities and, therefore, in making significant social and literary contributions to Japanese culture. Women readers are very attracted to the popular women's literature because they find it both relevant and inspiring. For young women especially, women's literature helps them to redefine their roles and provides them a blueprint for change.

The leaders of the women's movement in its early stages used their writings to advance their cause and expand their influence. Hayashi Fumiko (1903–1951), a prolific novelist and poet, was one of the most important women writers of twentieth-century Japan. Many of Hayashi's works revolve around themes of free-spirited women and troubled relationships. Her 1930s novel, *Horoki* [Diary of a vagabond] reflects part of her life

experience. Since the mid-1980s women's issues have become topics of great interest in Japanese society. Women writers are shaping social debate on individualism, identities, sexualities, and feminism. Among the best known are Banana Yoshimoto (b. 1964) and her contemporary Haruka Yoko. Yoshimoto's many award-winning writings reflect her travels and experiences around the world. In 2000 Yoko published *Todai de Ueno Chizuko ni kenka wo manabu* [Learning to fight with Ueno Chizuko at Tokyo University]. Ueno Chizuko is one of the leading feminist theorists in Japan and the author of *Seiairon* [Debates on sexuality]. In that same year, Haruka's *Kekon shimasen* [I won't marry] brought the feminist critique of Japanese culture and its traditions to the forefront of national dialogue about masculinity, femininity, women's domestic roles, and unprecedented new choices that are now available to women.

With the rise of lesbian activism in the 1970s, women's literature has also provided extensive coverage of female homosexuality; literature about lesbians, lesbian sexuality, and lesbian lifestyle has reached larger and more general audiences than it ever has before. In 1987 Bessatsu Takarajima wrote *Onna o ai suru onna no monogatari* [Stories of women-loving women]. In 1992 Kakefuda Hiroko made a decision to come out publicly through the publication of her book *Rezubian de aru to iu koto* [On being "lesbian"]. In 1999 M Yajima wrote *Josei doseiaisha no raifuhisutorii* [Female homosexual's life histories]. Lesbian writers are also prolific translators of well-known books and influential writings from English into Japanese and have introduced books such as Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* and *A Little Princess; Being the Whole Story of Sara Crewe*, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, and Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*.

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Liana Zhou

VI. WOMEN'S ROLES IN MODERN

In Japan's thousand-year-old tradition, women have played important roles in the family: managing household financial matters, taking care of children and their educational needs, as well as contributing to the family farm work—planting or harvesting in the rice fields alongside their husbands. In modern Japan women and men have the same legal rights in the society; women can hold or inherit their own property, have voting privileges, and have a choice about their own marriages and careers. Women receive higher education, have a career or have a family, and continue to manage the household income, giving a small portion back to their husbands as their allowance for their own needs. However, on a social front in the traditional society, a woman plays a role that is subordinate to that of a man. In Japan's male-dominated,

hierarchical society, men are considered superior to women, and the Japanese ruling class adopted views that a girl should obey her father, a wife should obey her husband, and a mother should obey her grown son who may serve as the head of household. Even as of the early twenty-first century, women, out of etiquette or social customs, will defer to men in public, and most Japanese would say that the proper place for women is in the home.

Japanese women enjoy high literacy rates. From the ninth century onward, women used the *hiragana*—one of the two Japanese native syllabaries. Hiragana was called *onna-de* (woman's hand) and it was first used by a courtly class. However, by the time of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), women's literacy based on hiragana became a norm. By the early nineteenth century, high percentages of Japanese girls entered schools for their education. In Japanese prints and literature, women often



A Maids Café in Tokyo. © YVES GELLIE/CORBIS.

possess both beauty and power. Geisha, to cite one uniquely feminine image used in popular culture, are women who are skilled and well trained for songs, dance, music, and male companionship. Due in part to the popularity of the 2004 film *Memoirs of a Geisha*, the image has become a symbol of Japanese women to some European and North American audiences. A great deal of attention has been paid to the establishment and success of Maid Cafés, Japanese restaurants that provides service that caters to men who may have difficulties in establishing relationships with women. The waitresses at Maid Cafés dress as table servants, as maids, or as Alice in Wonderland and talk to male customers—whom they address as *master*—in a kind and sweet voice, like little girls. The environment simulates a seductive, playful attitude but all games end there, and they provide no overt sexual services.

In post-World War II Japan (1945), the economic boom, the enactment of the Equal Employment Act, and the influences of European and North American lifestyles all contributed to changes of women's roles in the society. The female employment rate increased after the 1970s. By the early twenty-first century, there are more love-matched marriages than traditionally arranged marriages. Women have a choice between family and career. A British Broadcasting Corporation news survey in 2004 reported that one in four Japanese women aged between thirty and thirty-four years old were still unmarried, and as a result, are having children later in their lives, if at all. Japan's birth rate dipped from 1.54 children per woman to just 1.29 children per woman in 2006, making it one of the lowest in the developed world.

Modern Japan has brought another visible change in women's lives: they have become powerful consumers not only in purchasing household electronic appliances but also for acquiring services that were previously available only to their male counterparts. In the 1990s, Japan's big cities created nightlife for women. Hundreds of Host Clubs are focused on serving only female customers, where women are being provided with music and good food, as well as male companions for conversations—all with a heavy price tag—for the relaxation and enjoyment that once upon a time was an exclusively male luxury.

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Liana Zhou

VII. FAMILY ROLES

Existing research suggests that there was little division between specific family roles in most families in pre-Meiji Japan. Little information is available about the ways in which nonelite families were organized before the fifteenth century. Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, commoners adopted the multigenerational household, or an *ie* system, from the warrior class. From the beginning of the seventeenth century on, *ie* became the dominant form of family organization. Property belonged to the household (*ie*) as a whole, and each member contributed whatever labor he or she could and shared the benefits.

The preservation of the household was of primary importance, and conjugal relationships were secondary to the interests of the household. Marriage dissolution rates were high. All the affairs of the household were managed ultimately by its head. Household members could be married and divorced by the head and risked expulsion for defying authority (Dore 1958, Hendry 1981). This fluidity of nuclear families and the economic need for the wife's productive labor made partner role specialization unlikely to occur.

REDEFINING FAMILY ROLES IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A structural shift set in with modernization. From 1882 on until it was outlawed after Japan's defeat in the World War II (1939–1945), *ie* was codified as the smallest unit of national polity. Now the final duty of the members of the *ie* family was to the nation. The Meiji (1868–1912) government used the family as a convenient unit for social organization and control. The official ideal of the family acquired its final shape toward the end of the nineteenth century. Life-long, stable unions were envisaged in which women's primary duties were to be good wives and wise mothers and men were to concentrate on providing.

The spread of new family roles was facilitated by social changes under way by early twentieth century. The number of men in company employment increased as a result of industrialization and modernization. Fewer husbands now worked from home, shifting the burden of childrearing onto women. Establishment of compulsory education contributed to the perception of children as investments rather than cheap labor. State officials continually emphasized the close connection between maternal involvement in childrearing and nation building, arguably motivating women to spend more time and effort on it (Uno 1999).

Doctors and child care experts provided the scientific base for the new understanding of parental roles, which were promoted through multiple vehicles, most notably education. The new ideal of the family was rarely challenged.

The governmental message that motherhood and women's domestic contributions are as important for national economy as men's productive labor turned even feminist and socialist activists into supporters.

By the mid-1920s the influence of new ideas on the urban middle class had become significant. Reality, however, still made division of labor in the family and intense mothering impossible for the majority of the Japanese population. As Robert Smith and Ella Wiswell (1982) have shown in their book, in the 1930s the official conception of family roles still had little effect on the lives of people in rural areas. The promotion of stable two-parent families was, however, much more successful. More couples conformed to life-long, legally registered marital unions than ever before, as Harald Fuess's study on divorce (2004) points out. This set the scene for the successful adoption of contemporary family roles in post-war years.

FAMILY ROLES IN POSTWAR YEARS

The postwar economy utilized the idea of male–female role differentiation in the conjugal family on a large scale. The labor market evolved relying on men as the full-time, highly skilled core labor force and on women as homemakers who might participate in the labor force in an auxiliary capacity (Brinton 1993). Economic success led to the rapid increase of the middle class and by the mid-1960s, for the first time in history, large numbers of Japanese women could afford to become full-time housewives.

The differentiation of male and female roles in the family came to be seen as a crucial economic advantage, and both the state and businesses employed a number of social and economic strategies to ensure its continuity. These included wage and employment track differences between men and women, a welfare system based on the presumption of a sexual division of labor, *family wages* paid to full-time employed men as well as numerous employee benefits (family health care, subsidized mortgages, benefits for dependents). The pension and taxation systems rewarded women for being dependent wives, and the virtual absence of nonfamily care provision for elderly and children left them little alternative but to provide this care (Brinton 1993, Goodman 2000). Until 1987 the legal system ensured that divorce was virtually impossible without the consent of the nongUILTY party (Fuess 2004).

The postwar reforms of the education system promoted mass aspirations for social advancement through educational achievement. The Japanese believe that educational success depends to a large extent on one's efforts rather than on one's innate abilities, and the new importance of this concept contributed to parental specialization within families, according to Merry White (1987). It soon came to be a mother's duty to motivate her children to excel in education and to support them through

examination hell. Educational failure is disproportionately attributed to lack of effort on behalf of the child as well as the mother—the child's main supporter. Mothers' overwhelming concern with the success of their offspring gave rise to the phenomenon of *kyōiku* (education) *mama* (Allison 1996, White 1987).

As a result of all the social, economic, and policy changes detailed above, by the 1970s, Japan became a country of *universal marriage*. For example, in 1987 94.5% of men and 98% of women were married by the age of 35 and there was entrenched gender division of labor within families. Once the period of rapid economic growth was over, the tide started to turn. Due to the erosion of wages and job stability of male workers during the economic slowdown, more and more women felt compelled to return to the labor force after marriage and childbearing or even chose not to leave the labor market at all.

WORK AND CHILDCARE BALANCE IN POSTWAR YEARS

The increase of female participation in the labor market was not mirrored by an increase in male involvement in housework and childcare. Employed women continued to perform the majority of household work and, thus, many opted for part-time jobs. In the 1970s the government also increased its reliance on women's unpaid work at home, proclaiming the Japanese-style welfare state (*nihon-gata fukushi kokka*), which shifted the burden of welfare onto individual families (Goodman 2000).

The increased burden on women is likely to have played a role in the resumption of declining fertility in Japan in the mid-1970s after almost 20 years of stability around replacement levels. The collapse of fertility attracted the attention of the government in 1989 when the fertility rate fell to 1.57 births per woman (the so-called *1.57 shock*). Government concern gave women leverage on state family-related policies. Anxious to restore the fertility rate to replacement level, the state moved away from encouraging the *corporate warrior* and *professional housewife* tandem in the family and shifted toward supporting dual parenting and sharing domestic responsibilities (Roberts 2002). Maternity and child care leaves were introduced, huge investments were made in developing elderly care and childcare provision outside the family (Japan now has one of the best day care systems in the world), and several campaigns exhorting men's greater participation in the family were carried out.

As recession tightened its grip on Japan, both the state and companies cut policies aimed to encourage women to become housewives, most notably through reduction of family benefits associated with the main breadwinner's earnings and changes in the pension law

and taxation. The gender gap in earnings of full-time employees has also been reduced.

These trends facilitating transformation of family roles were largely one sided. Whereas women's access to the labor market improved, men's ability to participate in family life remained limited. Japanese men still tend to work long hours and spend considerably less time on housework and child care than do women. An average Japanese father of a 0- to six-year-old child and a working wife spent 0.4 hours a day on child care (vs. 1.9 hours for the wife) and 0.4 hours a day on housework (vs. 3.8 hours for the wife). By comparison, in the U.K. in 2003, men in households with 0- to six-year-old children spent 0.9 hours a day on childcare and 1.5 hours per day on other unpaid work (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2005).

The small male contribution to childcare and housework may be an important reason why the recent reforms have failed to increase the number of women opting for motherhood (total fertility rate fell to 1.25 births per woman in 2005) (Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare 2005). Instead of securing the desired increase in fertility rates, improved opportunities for women in the labor market allowed more women to choose to delay marriage and childbearing, assuming the double burden of employment and caring for a family.

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Ekaterina Korobtseva

JAZZ

A genre of music that developed in the early twentieth century in the United States, jazz represents a mixture of European, American, and African tribal musical elements linked to African-American folk traditions and often performed by ensembles of African-American musicians. The word *jazz* is believed to have come from the Creole word *jass*, which refers to African dance or to copulation. The term *jazz* first appeared in print in a March 1913 edition of the *San Francisco Bulletin* in reference to peppy dance music. Associated from its beginning with New Orleans, nightlife, decadence, alcohol, loose living, sexuality, primitivism, and African Americans, jazz became an immensely popular and influential form of musical performance that nonetheless retained its sexy and licentious connotations.

Since its appearance as popular music, jazz has been associated with sexuality. Originally linked to what were believed to be the more openly sexual attitudes of African Americans, jazz's connections to most forms of dance and courting during the first half of the twentieth century perpetuated its association with sex. The foundation of much of the dance music from the 1920s on, jazz's syncopations provoked changes in styles of dance from more formal waltzes and fox-trots to dances that permitted more suggestive touching, bodily intimacy, and athleticism. The association between jazz and loose living lingered even in the big band performances of the 1930s and 1940s, continuing the fascinations of a sexually inflected nightclub culture in big cities (often linked to speakeasies) and to ballrooms and other sites where dance led to other, more sexual forms of entertainment.

In the early twentieth century the term jazz applied to a broad range of musical styles and there was no

consensus about what the term jazz meant. Early-twenty-first-century music critics and historians generally agree that jazz consists of a “collectively improvised music, with syncopated rhythms over a strong underlying pulse” (Shipton 2001, p. 5). The seeds of jazz originated in a combination of ragtime—or songs with a syncopated rhythm—blues, and marching band music played in New Orleans around the turn of the twentieth century. Developed in Louisiana during the first decade of the twentieth century by such pioneering musicians as Buddy Bolden, jazz went north to Chicago in the late 1910s with some New Orleans jazz groups and performers, such as King Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band and Jelly Roll Morton. Joining Oliver in the north was trumpet prodigy Louis Armstrong, who helped develop the rapid rhythmic style known as “hot jazz.”

Going north with jazz was its association with what was regarded as the more primitive sexuality of African-American nightlife. Continuing to develop more or less simultaneously in New Orleans, Kansas City, and Chicago, jazz became the basis for a social dancing and nightclub life that became more openly sexual. As more mainstream orchestra leaders such as Paul Whiteman began adapting jazz styles to larger ensembles, jazz itself became more mainstream, centering jazz’s sexual connotations as a permanent aspect of popular music.

Through the early part of the twentieth century, jazz bands were segregated. Although black bands played in popular venues and clubs in the urban north, they were often less commercially successful because they did not have as lucrative or mainstream possibilities for recording their music. But they did find more acceptance in Europe, as jazz spread quickly to France, where American black jazz musicians were often welcomed with open arms. Europeans were not unaware of the link between jazz and sexuality as they, too, flocked to nightclubs featuring jazz bands and more licentious forms of dancing. Europeans were fascinated with what they regarded as the erotic suggestiveness of jazz and other African-American performances, such as Josephine Baker’s dance routines.

The swing jazz style of the 1930s and 1940s completed the merger of jazz and popular music, making orchestral jazz the primary music for dating, dancing, and most entertainment. Band singers such as Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, Ella Fitzgerald, Billie Holiday, Doris Day, and Rosemary Clooney emerged from the nightclub swing scene to become either romantic crooners or blues icons of the day. In the 1940s, many musicians who would form the center of jazz’s next significant transition—including Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, and Charlie Christian—began to work in large swing bands. In the mid-1940s, these musicians, along with Miles Davis, Art Blakey, and others, emerged with a new form of jazz known as “bop” that countered the



Charlie "Yardbird" Parker. © JAMES J. KRIEGSMANN.
UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN.

white appropriation of jazz forms. Bop, or “bebop,” transformed jazz from big band swing entertainment into an art characterized by the prominence of soloists who played complex, rapid improvisations in business suits and developed an entire aesthetic of cool. No longer the popular music of the masses, jazz became more aloof, intellectual, and difficult, and aimed at connoisseurs.

Although its musicians were still linked to the club life with which jazz had always been associated, bebop jazz began to move away from the more openly sexual connotations of jazz into a “cooler” jazz culture in which music, drugs, and sex were increasingly sophisticated. Bebop led into the invention of other jazz movements such as “cool jazz,” which was less frenetic, but still as focused on artistry. Miles Davis, Gerry Mulligan, and Chet Baker developed the cool style, still played by small ensembles of soloists. Cool jazz was joined by “hard bop,” a bluesy style developed by the Jazz Messengers, which included Blakey, Horace Silver, and Lee Morgan.

After the rise of bebop in the 1940s, jazz produced a number of styles and theories, but other than continuing to influence popular music styles from a greater distance, it no longer played as direct a role in popular entertainment—especially as the music for social dancing. It retained an aura of nightclubs, drugs, and loose living, but became less associated with the sexual freedom of earlier styles. The 1950 and 1960s saw the continued

development of multiple jazz styles—such as free jazz and soul jazz—that were associated in part with another attempt to reappropriate jazz as a black tradition. Although jazz was still associated with sexuality, its aura had shifted from the free and easy aura of a sexualized entertainment to the mysterious world of cool artistry that fascinated such “Beat” artists as Jack Kerouac.

Jazz evolved through the twentieth century as a musical form derived from folk practices that became popular mass entertainment. It continues as a form more appealing to cognoscenti but still influencing other musical forms. Jazz musicians, like most entertainers, became objects of curiosity. Their lives were under scrutiny, and their relationships under pressure from the demands of performance.

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Judith Roof

JEH

The figure of Jeh appears in Zoroastrian texts as the personification of the pollution of menstruation. *Jeh* is the Middle Persian rendition of an older Avestan word, *jahi* or *jahika*, which, due to its context, is usually translated in a pejorative sense to mean “whore,” although its etymology remains uncertain.

Jahika appears frequently in the early Zoroastrian texts. The word can mean “woman” or a woman who cannot reproduce. It is also used of the woman who behaves improperly—practices sorcery, or is promiscuous. As the epitome of an evildoer, *Jahi* threatens the good creation physically in that her glance dries up one-third of the rivers and one-third of vegetation, and her touch withers one-third of the good thoughts, good words, good deeds, holiness, and ability to combat evil of the faithful person (*Vendidad* 18.63–64). Because of her destructive potential, *Jahi* is worse than the other miscreations of Ahriman, the Destructive Spirit (Vd. 18.65). The threat she poses is echoed in proscriptions for menstruating women: Women in menses are to remain separate

from the elements of creation, especially fire, in case they cause harm with their gaze (Vd. 16.1–4).

In the Middle Persian texts, *Jahi*, as *Jeh*, becomes the archetypal Whore. The *Bundahishn* places *Jeh* in filial relationship with Angra Mainyu (also called Ahriman). *Jeh*'s words revive Ahriman from a three-thousand-year stupor, and he kisses her on the head, at which moment she becomes the first to be polluted by the blood of menstruation (Bd. 4.4f.). This is one of the few myths concerning the origin of menstruation.

In the material battle between good and evil, *Jeh* is pitted against all virtuous women (Bd. 5.3), since they are all subject to menstruation and its inherent pollution. *Jeh* is also referred to collectively as an adversarial “species” (Bd. 14 a.1). In *Wizidagihā-i Zadspram* she appears as *Jeh-dev*—the “whore demonness”—the queen of Ahriman, who leads her band of demonesses to corrupt all women, and, thus all men (WZ 34.30–31). The *Jeh-dev*'s sexuality is unlimited, and her promiscuity presents a challenge to the virtue of the faithful.

Jeh serves as the antithesis of Anahita, the *yazata* whose epithet is “undefiled,” and who purifies the seed of males and the wombs of females (Yasht 5.2). This purificatory function of Anahita is in sharp contrast with that of *Jahika* in the earlier texts, who is portrayed as one who mixes the seed of both righteous and unrighteous men (Vd. 18.62, *Herbedestan* 12.4). Anahita also preserves the seed of the future saviors of the world (Bd. 33.36) who will herald the renovation of the world, when Ahriman and his destructive forces, including *Jeh-dev*, will cease to exist.

SEE ALSO *Honor and Shame; Zoroastrianism*.

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Jenny Rose

JEWISH TRADITION, GENDER, AND WOMEN

In his explorations of Jewish memory, cultural anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin (1992) affirms that Jews have always used narratives to recreate their shared identities across time, producing self-created mythifying forms. Indeed, Jewish culture, perpetuating its own values and practices, promoted a collective and monolithic portrait

of the Jewish woman that extolled the virtues of chastity, decency, and modesty. This constructed narrative, with its distorted reality, was incorporated into collective expressions and beliefs for the purpose, avowed or unrecognized, of legitimizing the status quo and the control of women.

This rigid representation with its inherent flaws was integrated into, and passed on by, medieval Christian mainstream society, conferring ultimate legitimacy on an invention, the stereotypical Jewish woman, exotic and enticing, who would become, in the nineteenth century, the bearer of so-called *Oriental* submissive traits. The historical construction of the medieval Jewish woman thus navigates between two historical practices—a Christian and a Jewish one—that have commented on her since the Middle Ages (467–1350), and, albeit stemming from different sources and different perspectives, ended up expressing a single prevalent discourse. These practices amounted to minimizing the presence of women on a quantitative level and, on a qualitative one, to stereotyping them.

Embodiment was a crucial structure of gender in medieval culture for Jews and Christians alike, but the unity of gender and sex was even more essential for Jewish communities. It was the effect of a regulatory practice that sought to render gender identity uniform, not only through compulsory heterosexuality, but through a strict gender differentiation in religious matters and the daily duties of religion, maintained in dress codes and in sexual roles as well. Even though not all male Jews studied Torah, the pursuit of study was what defined the ideal male status in Jewish society. Whether this is a correct interpretation of the Talmud or not, as Daniel Boyarin (1997) says it is nonetheless certain that in historical Judaism women have been taught to experience themselves as impure, dangerous, and devaluated through exclusions. There were but few examples of women studying Torah, suggesting that normatively they were not encouraged to, but rather prevented from, studying and, thus, confined to more worldly activities. Boyarin also suggests that the scant evidence of the power and creativity of women found in the Talmud has to be used to deconstruct the monolithic image of women as powerless. Judith Baskin (1994) notes that as most ordinary Jewish women were cut off from the knowledge of Hebrew that would enable them to read the traditional liturgy, during the late Middle Ages, a separate woman's vernacular literature of prayer was written for them.

The portrait of women as an ideal embodiment of the religious and social practices of Jewish life has, for historical and cultural reasons, not as yet met challenges sufficient to undermine its artificial dynamics, and the study of Jewish women has remained a subfield attracting little attention. Jewish scholarship has remained predominantly the study of male Jews, considered the default-value of their culture.

Within such a perspective the central figure of the Jew could only be “the body with the circumcised penis—an image crucial to the very understanding of the Western image of the Jew at least since the advent of Christianity” (Gilman 1991, p. 4–5). Jewish scholarship has thus remained a strongly traditional field, maintaining its distance from trends and theories that propose new readings of gender. Conservatism has prevailed for a long period of time within Jewish Studies, but the discipline took a sharp turn during the 1970s, and a small, albeit growing, number of scholars such as Daniel Boyarin and David Biale (1994) proposed original approaches to the interpretation of Jewish culture. They have engaged in an animated debate to recontextualize the position of Jewish women.

The field of history in particular has incurred strong criticism, questioning the veracity of a canonical male-centered norm. Past and present resistance by certain historians of Judaism to envisioning women differently has discouraged deeper examination in Jewish history. That position has been highly contested since the advent of the second wave of American feminism, but it was only in the 1990s that a strong current of Jewish feminism emerged with scholars such as Paula Hyman (1995), Judith Hauptman (1998), Susannah Heschel (1995), and Bernadette Broton (1996), among others, asserting that the impact of feminist historical scholarship is still too limited in this particular field.

Feminist social history has stressed the importance of alternative epistemologies that explore the everyday lives of ordinary individuals in combination with gender as a major interpretive category. Indeed, women were only absent from the communal realm of Jewish life with respect to official religion. Jewish women actively participated in the public life. Although not numerous, Jewish women physicians practiced their trade in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Sarre in Paris; Fava, the only known surgeon in Provence; and Mayronna in Manosque. Sarah of Saint-Gilles (Montpellier), like her male colleagues, also served as a mentor to young students (Shatzmiller 1994).

William Chester Jordan (1993) notes that records of moneylending transactions in thirteenth-century northern France attest that one-third of the lending business was in women's hands. Françoise Lehoux (1956) points out that whereas many of these women, such as Agnes and Meliota, dealt with small loans in rural environment; Précieuse, a century later, had a reputation that extended far beyond the boundaries of her small Jewish quarter in Paris.

The gender script to which medieval Jewish women were encouraged to conform only exposed them, especially ordinary women, to further isolation in a male-dominated society where they appeared mostly as incidental references in communal records. In a fervent religious environment,

the social and cultural aspects of communal life and its everyday reality were not considered worthy of being recorded; therefore, the social impact of women's activities was historically overlooked. Sarah Swartz Silberstein and Margie Wolfe (1989) show that in complying with the concept of *zabkor* (remembrance), a major tenet in traditional Jewish practices and teachings, the recorders of Jewish events, in their own peculiar way, obliterated women and dissolved their past within the frame of the general historical discourse. The memory of things past was recombined to mirror community aspirations and struggles, to recount the dramatic moments lived by the scattered Jews. Rabbinic writings were preserved and cultivated and, through a selective process, transmitted, producing a communal hegemony and, ultimately, creating the fiction of an "authoritative Judaism" (Biale 1994, p. 42). Although the term *invisibility* is perhaps a cliché, it remains inescapable when speaking of medieval Jewish women, because its opposite, *visibility*, has to be somehow inscribed either in textuality or in a form of embodiment because, in respect to both these fields of inscription, Jewish women were carefully pushed aside.

Women certainly had more freedom of action in social contexts than their legal and religious statuses might suggest. They were more inclined to be involved in social life than pious men. Even though scholars have assumed their lives to be conventional, traces of women's private and public acts in the few records that have survived prove that their existence was not fixed and absolute in terms of gender. Their involvement in economic transactions is confirmed in the remaining evidence of the French legal records. These entrepreneurial Jewish women who supported their families economically while their husbands were away or who devoted themselves to study may have been seen by Christians as an indication of a subversion of gender distinctions, both as "masculinization" of properly "feminine" behavior and as "feminized" arrogation of male authority by women (Kruger 1997, p. 24–25). The disruption created by women performing nonnormative roles in seemingly structured societies accentuated the precarious nature of masculinity and its construction not only in Jewish communities but in Christian society as well. Interrogating the role of these women is certainly a challenge to male-centered historiography because, even though Jewish women are specifically mentioned in moneylending charters and notarial contracts, the importance of their role has been diminished or erased to minimize their involvement. Their role in medieval moneylending and usury still remains insufficiently explored, and only Gérard Nahon (1969), followed by William Chester Jordan a few years later, stressed the importance of the phenomenon in the local economy in northern France, for instance.

Doña Gracia Mendes Nasi (1510–1568) is not only considered to be one of the most remarkable figures of the sixteenth century but also of Jewish history. This

widow, in spite of her gender and thanks to her immense family fortune, succeeded in one of the most powerful positions in the European trade and banking in a virulent anti-Semitic period. Gracia, from a *converso* (New Christian) family, had to flee the Spanish Inquisition in Portugal, moving first to the Low Countries, then to Italy, where she reverted openly to Judaism, and finally to Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire. She was widely known for her patronage and philanthropic activities, adopting the lifestyle of a wealthy European aristocrat, but at the same time she remained faithful to the Jewish community, which, as noted by Marianna D. Birnbaum (2003), she generously funded. Her recognized entrepreneurial capacities question the notion of a *natural* division of roles and of clear-cut gender attributions, refuting rigid normative configurations.

From the mid-nineteenth century on, a rising category of wealthy and privileged Jewish women, highly visible in the social arena, played a pivotal role in their communities in France, England, and Germany. Their passionate activism, political and social, revitalized Jewish communities at a time of heightened social awareness and tensions. And the cultural force these women came to represent forged new links with the past, reclaiming for Jewish women not only a tradition of direct involvement but of discreet leadership as well. Jacob R. Marcus (1981) notes that Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) is one of the most famous examples of these local philanthropists. She was active in establishing Jewish educational institutions and social organizations, founding, in 1819, the Hebrew Benevolent Aid Society of Philadelphia.

On another level the spread of the Enlightenment in eastern Europe from 1870 to the 1930s exposed numerous young Jewish women, with little or no religious intellectual training, to the new ideologies. In the years between the first partition of Poland in 1722 and the Russian Revolution in 1917, middle-class and working-class Jewish women were among the small group of founders of the Jewish socialist party, the Bund. Others actively participated in the revolutionary politics in Czarist Russia. Many of these radicalized women arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1924 among the 2.5 million east European Jewish immigrants. They were pioneers in the trade union movement until the 1930s. They also politically organized women in socialist and Zionist movements. In 1912 Henrietta Szold (1860–1945), a scholar and an activist, created Hadassah, a volunteer women's Zionist organization, which has become the largest Jewish women's organization in the United States.

Although the cultural discourse of the Jewish communities and society at large have concurred to cultivate and maintain persisting stereotypes of Jewish women, a closer examination of their activities and participation in

the public sphere, clearly refutes gender entrapment and gender roles.

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JEWISH WOMEN'S LEAGUES

The charitable societies and budding social activism that had characterized the nineteenth-century American Jewish communities dramatically developed further after World War I (1914–1919). Indeed, thousands of women carried on the work of their predecessors either as members of the temple sisterhoods or Jewish women's organizations. Their campaigns for social and political reforms supporting international peace, Zionism, the education of women and children, and other Jewish cultural and contemporary issues have significantly shaped American Judaism.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM

The Women's League for Conservative Judaism was founded in 1918 and Mathilde Roth Schechter (1857–1924) became its first president. It is the world's largest synagogue-based women's organization. As an active arm of the Conservative/*Masorti* Movement, the League has 600 affiliated sisterhoods organized in local branches. The Women's League is committed to strengthening and uniting synagogue women's groups with volunteer programs and projects geared toward developing an educated Jewish laity, encouraging religious observance, reinforcing the bonds with Israel, and social action. The organization is linked to the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies and its affiliated institutions, and the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies through the Torah Fund Campaign. In 1933 the seminary's Women's Institute was founded and supported by all the major Jewish women's organizations as a joint adult educational venture (Dobkowski 1986). And in 1952 the Women's League and United Synagogue joined to form the United Synagogue Youth (USY), an organization that serves Conservative teenagers around the world. This Jewish religious women's organization continues to work throughout its activities for the perpetuation of Conservative Judaism.

OTHER JEWISH WOMEN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, is a volunteer women's organization founded in 1912 by Henrietta Szold (1860–1945) to strengthen the partnership with Israel. In the United States Hadassah's mission is to enhance the quality of American and Jewish life through its education and Zionist youth programs, and by promoting health awareness.

The National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), founded in 1893, is (with Hadassah) among the largest women's organizations. It is a voluntary association with

an emphasis on religion, philanthropy, social reform, and education. Without sacrificing the commitment to either Jewish or women's issues, the NCJW has also been a leading force in the forefront of social welfare and civil rights.

Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ) was founded in 1913 and is affiliated to the Union for Reform Judaism in North America. Through the YES (Youth, Education, and Special Projects) Fund, WRJ provides financial support to rabbinical students, to youth programs, and to programs in Israel and the Former Soviet Union. WRJ is also at the forefront of social action and change in both Jewish and secular venues.

In 1971 a small number of educated Jewish women, affiliated with the New York Haverah organized a study of traditional Jewish sources to evaluate the position of Jewish women in Judaism. This group, called *Ezrat Nashim* (help for women), with ties to the Conservative Movement, reached the Jewish community at large with its call for changes in the role of women in Judaism. This group played a major role in the development of the Jewish feminist movement and helped organize the First National Jewish Women's Conference in 1973.

The Jewish Orthodox Feminist Alliance (JOFA) is the youngest organization since it was founded in 1997. The JOFA advocates for an increased participation and equality for women in family life, in the synagogue ritual, in study, and in Jewish communal organizations, and this within the boundaries of *halakhab* (religious law).

As Mary McCune rightly argues in her work on American Jewish women activists, these women, including the well-to-do and the working classes, religious and secularists, Zionists and anti-Zionists, have had a profound impact on American Jewish life and modern Jewish identity.

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JINN

Jinn (singular *jânn* in the Qur'an, but *jinni* is used as well. In English, the form *genie* has more common usage) are beings made from fire, *nâr*, interpreted by some as smokeless fire or a mixture of fire with other elements. They are presented in contradistinction to humans who are made of clay, and angels whose provenance is unclear in the Qur'an but are made of light according to later exegesis. The qur'anic depiction of jinn is characterized by unresolved ambiguities. Although sharply reduced in power and no longer considered omnipotent, by incorporating jinn in the scheme of creation and by naming a chapter for them (Qur'an Sura 72), the qur'anic account gave them a new lease of life and rendered permissible their very prominent configuration in the Muslim *imaginaire*. Jinn are represented as exemplifying the compromised faith of pre-Islamic Arabs and impious Muslims, who treated them as omnipotent divinities, sought refuge with them, and coveted their intercession on their behalf when confronted by unfortunate events.

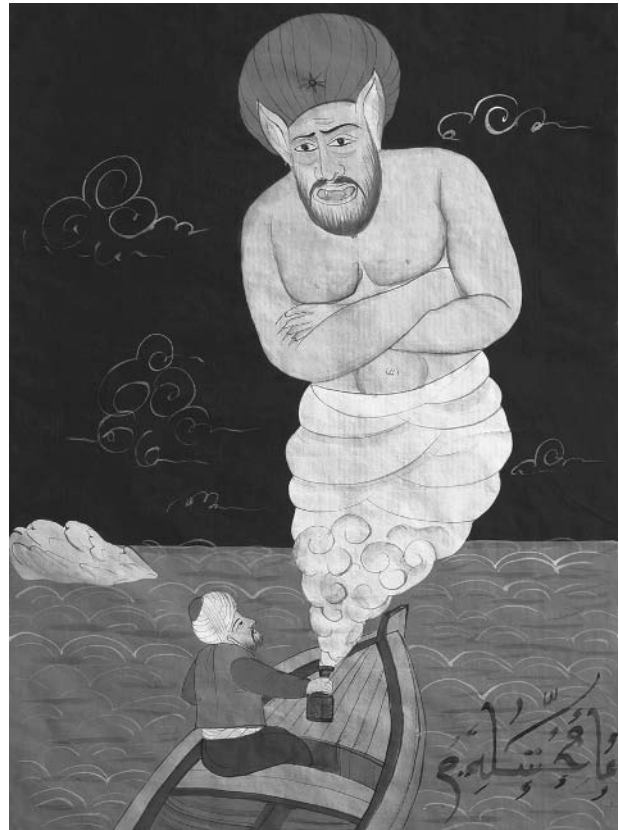
The ability of the jinn to copulate with humans—they are almost satyr-like in their sexual appetite in some popular anecdotes—is recognized in the Qur'an, where the maidens of paradise are described as untouched by humans or jinn. Marriage with jinn was forbidden by most classical exegetes, both Sunni and Shi'i, on the grounds that God has commanded humans to marry with their own kind. Jurists were particularly concerned with the genus of the offspring: Should they be classified as human or jinn? Exhortations by the jurists notwithstanding, al-Nadim (d. CE 991) mentions in his bibliographical encyclopedia, sixteen titles on "The Names of the Humans in Love with the Jinn and the Jinn in Love with the Humans." The neurological disorder epilepsy (*sara'*) was frequently associated with jinn, considered the manifestation of a romantic liaison with humans. Because marriage with them was prohibited, a woman in love with a jinni experienced seizures, which were expressions of the jinni's love. The association of physical ailments with supernatural entities was common in ancient Middle East.

The theme of jinn as representing a spiritual and political entity, approximating although distinct from humans, is pursued in one of the epistles of the celebrated tenth century compilation attributed to the Ikhwan al-Safa', a philosophical and literary circle of the time. The jinn live in a kingdom ruled by Biwarasp, the just king. Biwarasp is called upon by humans to judge on their behalf in the matter of animals versus humans. Claiming that the right to rule over animals was sanctioned to them by both scripture as well as reason, the descendants of Adam asked for the king of the jinn to return rebellious animals to their lawful masters. The authors of the epistles used the dialogue between humans and animals

through the mediation of the just jinn as a foil for presenting their views on justice, tyranny, the true spirit of human interpretation, and the calculus of reason versus revelation. The story in the *Epistles of the Ikhwan al-Safa'* demonstrated the superiority of ethical norms over sectarian, political, this-worldly, divisive, and legalistic interpretations of God's unitarian message of love and peace, which go beyond superficial differences to apply universally to his entire creation. Biwarasp ruled that humans were nobler than jinn and animals only because God chose one of them as his Messenger. In their rule, however, humans were bound by the example of Muhammad—his justice and aversion to tyranny.

Jinn, whose knowledge of the future and ability to shape human destiny have made them into favored narratological tools to foil twists and turns in the stories' plot, are also protagonists of several stories in the *One Thousand and One Nights*. Edward Lane (1871) and Henri Massé (1938) have studied the numerous manifestations of jinn in Arabic and Persian folklore, respectively. Jinn also feature prominently in African Muslim folklore, where among the Zao community of Upper Volta, special masquerades are held to unveil the jinn, orchestrated by the karamokos, or local religious leaders, who serve as intermediaries between the world of humans and that of jinn. In that community female jinn also frequent the sexual fantasies of young men as ephemeral beauties who are objects of arousal but disappear before any physical contact with them. Jinn as agents of sexual desire prevail in Muslim communities, although rarely. In 1984 such a case was brought before the Personal Status court in Giza (Cairo, Egypt). Suing for divorce the woman plaintiff claimed that her husband had acquired without her consent a second wife who was a jinn. On the basis of the testimonies of two witnesses who attested to feeling the jinn in her house, the court ruled in her favor. It argued that although science did not confirm the existence of jinn, the *shari'a* did, and therefore, because the defendant did not adequately refute the evidence of the witnesses, the plaintiff was granted a divorce.

Most later representations of jinn, including their conflation with genies in European and North American literature, are influenced by the way they are introduced in the Qur'an as powerful corporeal beings whose power was reduced as a consequence of God's revelation. In European and North American literature, jinn enjoy a colorful presence, particularly in children's fables. Robert Irwin (1995) has studied representations of jinn in a wide range of European and North American classics, including works by Charles Dickens, Henry James, Marcel Proust, and Jorge Luis Borges. Borges' semifictional encyclopedia of fantastic creatures, titled *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (2005), picks up on the theme of jinn as ambiguous beings. Because jinn differ



Genie Emerging from Magic Lamp. THE ART ARCHIVE/
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from humans but are actively involved in human life, Borges explains jinn knowledge of the future to what they pick up "from the conversation of the Angels respecting things decreed by God," when they visit to the confines of the lowest heaven (pp. 112–113). They are however, and despite their subservience to God's decrees, agents of a demon called Iblis, who carry out his evil work, such as harming humans and stealing their beautiful women to become their own wives or concubines.

SEE ALSO *Islam*.

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Negin Yavari

JOAN OF ARC

c. 1412–1431

Arc, although one of the most familiar figures in European culture, remains one of the most enigmatic. Born in Domrémy, at the eastern edge of France, she led the French army to numerous victories, brought a king to his throne, and was condemned to the stake, all before turning twenty. She claimed that her actions were inspired by God who ordered her to save the French from English domination during the Hundred Years War. The broad outlines of Joan of Arc's military career, imprisonment, interrogation and execution are well-known, although conclusions drawn from these vary dramatically. Information can be found in chronicles from the period and in the transcripts of her trial and its subsequent nullification, but few of these texts are objective. Partisans from both sides depicted her to suit their own political ends, and her interrogators brought the bias of the Church to their questions. Thus, whereas it is possible to reconstruct the broad outlines of her life, interpreting it depends upon filtering through sources frequently expressing diametrically opposed views and based on unreliable testimony. Joan's voice, albeit mediated by the scribes who took the notes, is heard through transcripts, giving some sense of her concerns and her understanding of her own exploits.

JOAN OF ARC AS WARRIOR

Joan of Arc dated her first visions to 1424, when she was told that she should drive the English out of France and bring the dauphin to Rheims for coronation. Five years later she was successful on her second attempt to convince Robert de Baudricourt (c. 1400–1454) to provide an escort for her to Chinon to make contact with the future Charles VII (1403–1461). On the journey, which crossed Burgundian-held territory, Joan wore male cloth-



Joan of Arc. Joan of Arc standing at an altar dressed in armour.
© BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ing. Upon arriving at Chinon, she was able to recognize Charles, who saw an advantage in supporting her cause. After inquiries into her background and an examination by the clergy that confirmed her status as a virgin, she received a knight's clothing and equipment and was sent to join the siege at Orleans. Joan's role in this battle, and her other military exploits, is subject to debate. Nonetheless, barely a week after she arrived, Orleans was recaptured by the French. Charles granted her co-command of his army, and a series of victorious battles ensued, culminating with the entry into Rheims on July 16 where the king was crowned the following day. Joan then refused to obey the king, who requested that she abandon her military role. She set out to recapture Paris and failed. She then laid siege to Compiègne where she was captured and subsequently sent to Rouen for interrogation.

JOAN OF ARC ON TRIAL

The clerics charged with questioning Joan focused their interrogation on many issues, combining their roles as scholastics, jurists, and confessors. They addressed points of religious doctrine of which Joan was ignorant. Karen Sullivan points out the transcripts "constitute a scene of

confrontation between clerics . . . who believe that truth can be obtained through questioning, and Joan who does not share the clerics' formation and does not conceive of truth as they do" (Sullivan 1999, p. xxiv). The decision to hand Joan over to the English authorities for execution came after several weeks of interrogations. Her request to be transferred to a women's prison was denied. Joan was burnt at the stake in Rouen on May 30. A new inquiry was opened in 1450. Again, political motivation was at the heart of the proceedings—rehabilitation of the woman who had placed the king on the throne thus legitimizing his position. A subsequent inquiry, begun in 1455, led to the nullification in 1457 of the original verdict.

SEX AND GENDER PERSPECTIVES

Joan of Arc can to a certain extent be seen as a pawn of Charles VII, who first profited from her ability to galvanize the troops and then abandoned her once he was crowned. He restored her reputation when it was expedient to do so.

Women participating in military expeditions and serving as leaders in Europe were not unknown in the Middle Ages both before and after Joan of Arc. A special knightly order, the Order of the Hatchet, was created in 1149 to honor the women who fought the Moors in Tortosa. Isabella of Castille (1451–1504) frequently went to the battlefields during the Reconquista. Women participated in the Crusades on many levels. Muslim accounts refer to women wearing armor in battle and engaging in combat. Marguerite of Provence (c. 1221–1295), for example, is credited with securing the ransom for her husband, Louis IX of France (1214–1270), in 1250. Philippa of Hainault (1314–1369), wife of Edward III (1312–1377), while serving as regent, raised an army against the Scots in 1346.

Yet, Joan of Arc's conduct differs in significant ways from the behavior of most women in these examples. Her resistance to abandoning her military role places her at odds with the mainstream. After the coronation of Charles VII, societal practices would have dictated that she reintegrate herself into society as a woman and marry. Her transgressive behavior placed her in a nonnormative situation, underlining the distinction between her and women who helped as needed, often substituting only until their husbands returned. Further, this transgression was exacerbated by her choice of clothing, which also raises numerous questions of how to interpret Joan in terms of gender and sexuality.

Joan of Arc dressed in men's clothing from her departure from Vaucouleurs, the first stop on her voyage from her home to Chinon to her abjuration at Rouen, when she agreed to wear women's clothing, but within days, resumed male dress. There is speculation on her

treatment in prison—that she might have been sexually threatened or assaulted by the guards. The trial does report that when Joan redressed herself in male clothing, she wore two layers of clothing, suggesting that she may have been attempting to deter those acts. Her choice of male dress posed certain theological problems at the time based on the injunction in the biblical book of Deuteronomy against women wearing men's clothing. Temporary cross-dressing might have been tolerated in exceptional circumstances, such as for protection while traveling, participation in the military, or even as a means of protection against rape while in prison. However, the perception of the clerics who interrogated her was that Joan's donning of male garb was not entirely for practical reasons. Rather, dressed and coiffed as she was "in the manner of fops," Joan may have derived pleasure from her sartorial choices (Sullivan 1999, p. 48). Further, her dress upset the natural order between referent and sign, as her gender contradicted her sex.

Francoise Meltzer maintains that Joan's life and death represents "a moment in the history of the West in which gendered subjectivity was put fleetingly at risk" (Meltzer 2001, p. 23). Charges that, through her change of dress, Joan also usurped male roles suggest a destabilization of the medieval sex–gender system. Thus, Leslie Feinberg's inclusion of Joan of Arc in her canon of transgendered warriors both reflects late-twentieth-century perceptions of Joan and substantiates the clerics' discomfort with Joan's clothing and behavior. Whereas the nullification trial normalized Joan of Arc, validating her supernatural inspiration and paving the way for her canonization in 1920, she may be an example of the self-fashioning subject, one who creates a modern identity and complicates the relationship between sex and gender.

FRENCH NATIONALIST ICON

In the early nineteenth century, the image and story of Joan of Arc began to be exploited for political reasons. For nearly two centuries it has been appropriated and manipulated to incarnate an idea of France, from both extremes of the political spectrum. Jules Michelet's multivolume *Histoire de France* [*History of France*] (1965–1967 [1840s]) highlighted Joan's martyrdom and sacrifice for France, establishing her as the French national heroine. Her image as resisting foreign oppressors came into play as early as the Franco-Prussian War (1870). As an icon for nationalism she became an alternative to the Republican Marianne to rightist ideologues, Action Française set up the "*Fête de Jeanne d'Arc*" as an alternative to Bastille Day. Members of the Action Française attempted to use Joan to legitimize their royalist politics. During both world wars, the image of Joan of Arc as rebelling against foreign oppression was a potent symbol. During the First World War (1914–1919), republican

Georges Clemenceau (1841–1929) and reactionary Action Française were united through Joan of Arc and formed a strong patriotic front. Iconography of Joan of Arc in World War II (1939–1945) presented equally notable contradictions. Under the Vichy regime (1940–1944), a poster showing Joan of Arc being burnt at the stake in Rouen with the caption “*Les assassins reviennent toujours sur les lieux de leur crime*” [The murderers always return to the scene of the crime]. Here the murderers are the British, who return to bomb Rouen, the site of Joan’s burning. At the same time the flag of Charles de Gaulle’s government (1959–1969) in exile had the Cross of Lorraine (originally held to be the symbol of Joan of Arc), as its emblem. The Front National party, founded by nationalist politician Jean-Marie Le Pen (b. 1928) in 1972, used the motto “*Avec toi, Jeanne, pour la France!*” (“With you, Joan, for France!”). A tricolor flame as its emblem reinscribes it as an icon of the extreme right.

SEE ALSO *Virginity*; *Witchcraft*.

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Edith Benkov

JOSEPH STORY, THE

Although a number of persons in the Hebrew Bible bear the name *Joseph*, the most famous and familiar is the eleventh son of the patriarch Jacob. His story (Genesis 37:39–50) is one of the most artfully crafted tales in that book of the Bible; it revolves around favoritism, jealousy or sibling rivalry, betrayal, and the reversal of gender roles and fortune.

CLOTHING AND CHANGE IN STATUS

A social device incorporated into the story is a garment motif that serves as both a social marker and the object associated with a change in status. The entire drama is held together by a series of incidents in which the main character has a portion of his or her clothing removed as a sign of changed status and the creation of a new lower status or, in the end, a spectacular rise to the highest levels of authority. This happens first to Joseph when his brothers strip him of his prized ornamental robe and use it as evidence of his death (Genesis 37:23). Another change of clothing and/or status occurs when Potiphar’s wife pulls off Joseph’s garment as he struggles to get away from her embrace (Genesis 39:12). Finally, it occurs when his prison clothing is removed and replaced with the fine linen robes of an officer in the employ of the pharaoh (Genesis 41:42).

EXTRABIBLICAL VERSIONS

In addition to the garment theme, the sense of powerlessness and righteous indignation experienced by Joseph in his encounter with Potiphar’s wife drew on ancient Near Eastern legends and engendered a large number of extrabiblical elaborations in Jewish traditions, the Quran, and Persian poetry. The earliest of those stories, the “Tale of Two Brothers,” comes from ancient Egypt and deals with a domestic dispute that arises between Anubis and his younger brother, Bata. In return for being given a place in the household of Anubis, Bata tended his brother’s cattle, plowed his fields, tended his crops, and brought in his harvests. However, because of his powerful body and well-shaped face, Anubis’s wife used an occasion when they were alone to try to seduce him. The righteously indignant Bata spurned her, saying, “How can you possibly suggest I commit a crime like this against my brother?” Adultery was considered a form of theft because a husband had exclusive rights to his wife’s sexuality. When she subsequently denounces him, Bata is warned by the talking cattle of the danger and is forced to flee from his brother’s wrath. They are reconciled only when Anubis’s faithless wife dies.

The first century BCE Jewish tale of Joseph and Asenath plays off the reference to his marriage in Genesis 41:45 and provides a love story that centers on Joseph’s refusal to marry the virgin daughter of the priest of Heliopolis unless she renounces idol worship and converts to Judaism (Noegel and Wheeler 2002). The key to the tale is Joseph’s beauty, which serves as the catalyst for change and transformation.

The twelfth Sura of the Quran retells the story of Joseph with some additions derived from Jewish legends (e.g., Joseph is warned away from Potiphar’s wife in a

dream [Sura 12:24, *Sotah* 6:2]). Although unnamed in the biblical narrative, she is referred to as Zulaykha in Arabic traditions. As in the biblical account, she falls in love with Joseph and attempts to persuade him to lie with her while she holds him in a locked room. Like Bata, he shows anger at the attempted betrayal of his master; he tries to escape but leaves his robe behind, and Zulaykha denounces him. When confronted by his master, a wise woman in the household settles the dispute over who is telling the truth by noting that Joseph's tunic was torn from the rear, indicating that he was attempting to flee from Zulaykha (Ebied and Young 1975).

In another rendition the tenth-century CE Persian poet Firdusi created an epic poem centered on stories about Joseph that hinges on an episode that occurs after Joseph's phenomenal rise to power in the service of the pharaoh (Levy 1923). Joseph passes a beggar woman in the street who seems to retain some trace of a former high status (a parallel with Joseph's previous condition). When he stops to speak to her, he discovers that she is Zulaykha, who has been reduced to begging after the death of her husband. Joseph takes her in and eventually obtains permission to marry her, thus completing the circle of events that her love for him had begun.

During the fourteenth century CE the Persian poet Hafiz daringly expressed his love for God by using the vehicle of desire for a handsome young man. He did this by utilizing the Joseph story and pointing to Zulaykha's inability to control her emotions. She first attempts to seduce Joseph and then calls for his imprisonment; finally, in a series of complex romantic situations, she obtains him as her husband. The theme that runs throughout these stories is rejection that is responded to with love.

LITERARY SUMMARY

Clearly, Joseph is cast in each of these episodes or poetic adaptations as the exemplar of God-fearing chastity in Islamic tradition as well as the image of manly beauty (Baldick 1981). Thus, the expression *a second Joseph* has been used to mean a person of extraordinary handsomeness. His is also the beauty that refuses advances and causes sweet torment to a potential lover. One sign of Joseph's effect on women is seen in the reaction of a group of Egyptian women who are introduced to him at a banquet; their subsequent passion for him causes them cut their hands (Sura 12:31; there is a similar Jewish version in *Tanhuma Wa-yesheb* 5). Sufism transforms this into a metaphor of the soul's longing to be reunited with God.

The various versions contain some common elements: (1) a handsome youth works for another man, (2) the employer's wife is enamored with the young man, (3) realizing that there can be no social or physical

intercourse between them, the young man spurns the wife's attempts at seduction, and (4) the young man is falsely accused of attempted rape. In these stories it is the male who is in an endangered and/or weak position and must uphold his honor at the expense of his employment or freedom. This contrasts with the much more common obverse of this situation in 2 Samuel 13, in which it is the female who tries to protect her honor against male aggression.

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Victor H. Matthews

JUDAISM

Although Jewishness is generally understood as a duty, a cultural commitment to the Jewish people, what function better characterizes Judaism, a religion with a complex legal and social system affecting every aspect of everyday life, is its ongoing process, the constant interaction between the past and the present. However, the changes in Judaism brought about by feminism resulted from alliances between Jewish feminists and religious movements committed to particular liberal principles.

In traditional Judaism the religious domain has been exclusively male, and even though not all male men study Torah, the pursuit of such study has for centuries been what defines the ideal male status. Embodiment is a crucial structure of gender; the unity of gender and sex is essential for traditional Jews. It is the effect of a regulatory practice that seeks to render gender identity uniform not only through compulsory heterosexuality, but also through a strict gender differentiation in religious matters and the daily duties of religion, maintained in dress code and in sexual roles as well.

Jews, considered *the People of the Word*, forbade that word's use to women. No women are recorded as consequential authorities in the canonical writings; on the contrary, as Judith Baskin (1994) stresses, the classical texts of Rabbinic Judaism constitute women as objects of male agency. This is corroborated by Judith Romney

Wegner's exploration of the rabbinic portrayal of women's place that reveals "a system in which women's cultural image, social function, and legal status combine to perpetuate patriarchal norms that had governed Jewish and surrounding cultures for centuries" (1998, p. 73). Traditional Judaism thus has a strong investment in an ideal portrait of the Jewish woman, one that remains sexually normative and respectful of social traditions governing gender.

The hegemony of traditional Judaism was maintained even though Jews were dispersed after the fall of the Second Temple in the first century CE, and such hegemonic tradition only ended with the tremendous changes that stirred Jewry from the eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Jonathan Sacks argues that "the processes of emancipation, the confrontation with enlightenment, acculturation, and assimilation, brought about the metamorphosis of religious anti-Judaism into racial anti-Semitism, the transformation of Jewish existence into the Jewish problem and finally the crisis of Jewish self-definition" (1993, p. 2)

The transition of the European Jewry to modernity, during the *Haskalah*, or Jewish Enlightenment, was marked by diversity and profound divisions that fragmented Jewish communities' unity. Indeed, the aspiration to be part of society and to prove their loyalty and their obligation to preserve their own religious and cultural values placed Jews in a conflicting position, making it difficult to keep a balance between the dual allegiances. It is with a strong desire to evolve from a traditional self-governing community to a more integrated and assimilated citizenry that French, German, and English Jews made the necessary changes. French Jewish leaders, for instance, adopted in 1808 a consistorial system to centralize religious governance of Jewish life with the support of the French state.

This period of revolutionary changes also witnessed the emergence of the modern Jewish woman. Women responded to the challenges of modernity in different ways according to their social background. Those who participated in the secularization enthusiastically adhered to socialism and feminism. In Eastern Europe, the fight for social change was embraced by adhering either to socialism or to Zionism, the Jewish nationalist movement founded in the early nineteenth century to establish a Jewish political independence. Zionism promoted a return to the land of Israel, but it only gained momentum with the Russian pogroms of 1881 to 1883 and the anti-Semitism pervading in France at that period and that escalated during the 1890s and 1900s with the Dreyfus affair: The young Jewish captain, Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935), was wrongly convicted of treason, and the judicial and political scandal that ensued profoundly divided the country until his rehabilitation. These events accelerated

the formulation of a precise program by its leaders Judah Leib Pinsker (1821–1891) and Theodor Herzl (1860–1904). In Russia and Poland the Bund, the General Jewish Labor Union, also attracted scores of women, who represented about one third of its members, and holding positions of middle rank leadership.

Many Jewish women from the upper classes actively sought participation in Jewish society by transforming the traditional forms of Jewish charity. They combined them with new forms of philanthropy and social welfare promoted by their Christian counterparts. In the United States, and more particularly in Philadelphia, Rebecca Gratz (1781–1869) was able to establish with several other women the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society for the local Jewish poor in 1819 and the first Hebrew Sunday school in 1838. Louise Rothschild played a similar philanthropic role in England. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Jewish women's organizations proliferated among the *Gentile* elite on local and national levels.

JEWISH PRESENCE

Jewish communities have often totally or partially disappeared in many countries, but after the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel, communities were recreated or regrouped differently. Modern-day Jews, although now comprising a small portion of the world's population, are found all over the world. In Europe, communities extend from Portugal to Russia and from Norway in the north to Greece in the south. They have been a growing presence notably in Britain, France, and Canada, an increase that is often related to immigration from other countries. Despite their small numbers, Jews remain nevertheless culturally central in various countries in Europe and North America where the rescue of the rich Jewish cultural past is a phenomenon that has rapidly spread. Numerous Jewish museums have sprung up, and in Europe former Jewish neighborhoods have become tourist attractions and no longer are only Jewish groups targeted as potential visitors. Ruth Ellen Gruber affirms that beyond the educational role and the composition of a public face of Judaism, these initiatives are among the most significant tools with which Europeans seek to "fill in the blanks" (2002, pp. 126–127).

France and Great Britain have the two largest Jewish communities in Western Europe, France particularly, because of the influx of Jews from North Africa. In both countries there is a strong presence of Orthodox Jews, but liberalizing movements are increasingly attracting European Jews. Growing German Jewish communities have benefited from the influx of Russian Jews and have moved away from the closed community with its authoritarian leadership in place since the post-World War II (1914–1919) period until the 1980s. They have instead

opened a range of small alternative synagogues formed with often small circles of artists, musicians, and others in the cultural Jewish sphere.

The revival of Jewish communities in former communist countries is weak and even dwindling, according to observers due to intermarriage, emigration, and near indifference to religious identity. The Jewish communities in Russia have been revitalized by the efforts of Chabad's presence in many cities safeguarding integrated Jews against total assimilation. Chabad, a Hasidic (the pious) sect, with its headquarters in Brooklyn, New York, is a unique and modern revival of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century mystical Ultra-Orthodox Jews who have instituted as their mission the rescue of assimilated Jews.

The largest Jewish community outside of Israel is in the United States, where Reform and Conservative movements have gained supremacy over Orthodoxy. Thanks to these two movements, American Jewish women have entered intellectual areas that were previously forbidden to them. They have obtained the right to study and be ordained as rabbis and cantors, although prestigious congregations still do not hire women as rabbis. These changes have allowed them to don *tallitot* (prayer shawls) and put on *tefillin* (phylacteries), two rituals of public prayer strictly reserved for men in traditional Judaism. They have also changed the language of traditional liturgy to eliminate gender specifications.

Israel, caught between the masculinist Zionist culture and the European and North American liberal ideologies, is dominated by Orthodoxy, which remains the official religious representation. Although the family and mother still play a central role in the lives of Israeli Jews, many define themselves as secular.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

According to a general consensus, no more than one third of Jews in North America are affiliated with a congregation; religious involvement is limited to use of denominational labels. The two major currents within Judaism are traditional Judaism as represented by the Orthodox and Ultra-Orthodox, and Liberal Judaism, which comprises the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements and some Modern Orthodox communities.

Orthodoxy, defined by the strict observance of *halakha* (Jewish law), consists of groups of believers who have distinctive views and different approaches to religion: One such group consists of Modern Orthodox believers, who in their attempt to be active participants in contemporary society, have made academic provision for women in Jewish studies. Another such group consists of Ultra-Orthodox communities in Israel and around the world that voluntarily segregate themselves not only from non-Jews but also from what they regard as nonobservant

Jews. Strict Orthodox Judaism requires a rigorous observance of the rabbinic laws. Gender scripts inform social roles and obligations. In these communities that value spirituality and stress male preeminence, there has been since the mid-1990s an effort to develop and adapt women's education, given that women have become the breadwinners of the family because their husbands devote themselves to studying the Torah. Every aspect of Orthodox women's life is centered on family commitments. It includes celebrating the *Shabbat* and the other holy days, sending their children to a Jewish day school, keeping kosher (dietary laws), dressing in accordance with the laws of *tsniut* (modesty), and the obligation to wear headscarves or wigs to cover their hair when married. Orthodox women also observe the commandment of *tabarat hamishpacha* (the laws of family purity), rules that govern the separation of women from their husbands during the time of menstruation and for a week afterward. This monthly period of abstinence is followed by a ritual bath of purification in a *miqveh*. According to numerous Orthodox women, this ritual fosters respect of women's cycles and more importantly creates a community of women.

The status of women remains an important issue in Orthodox communities, where women are pivotal in the perpetuation of the tradition but are denied a role in the spiritual realm. They are not instrumental in the synagogue leadership, they cannot be called to recite the blessing or read the Torah, and they are excluded from the *minyan* (a quorum of ten men required for public prayer). Their place in the synagogue is an assigned section separated from men by a partition (*mechitzah*). In response to the increasing feminist consciousness among Orthodox women, a movement called Tefillah Network, traditional women's prayer groups, developed in the early 1980s to afford women greater participation in public religious life. The movement has encountered strong opposition within the Orthodox community.

Reform and Conservative movements taken as a combined entity have a strong following in the United States and Canada but remain marginal in Jewish communities in France, Italy, and England. The first Reform Temple was founded in Germany in 1817 to retain loyalties of the rapidly assimilating German Jews and was introduced in North America by German Jews arrived during the 1830s and 1840s. Reform believers rejected the Orthodox views and the traditional practices of *kashrut*, the laws of purity, that had governed Jewish life and very importantly also rejected the matrilineal descent. The inclusion was facilitated by services conducted in English with mixed seating, mixed choirs, and coeducational Sunday schools as early as the mid-nineteenth century. The Reform movement has also the highest number of mixed marriages among its members.

By the 1970s, Women of Reform Judaism (WRJ) championed numerous causes and fought for women's participation in all aspects of synagogue life, including serving as rabbis. Women rabbis have changed the rabbinic model and according to Deborah E. Lipstadt (2001), their growing presence in rabbinical seminaries has promoted curricular changes. They demanded the introduction of Jewish women studies and also to be trained to deal with more feminist subjects, such as domestic violence, breast cancer prevention, and body image. Their arrival in a male profession was not always easy, and very few indeed have been appointed senior rabbis of large congregations. Women cantors on the other hand did not encounter such opposition. By the late 1980s openly gay believers were accepted as members, and in 1990 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations began ordaining openly gay and lesbian rabbis. By the year 2000 Reform rabbis were allowed to officiate at same-sex weddings.

As a reaction not to Orthodoxy but to Reform, which was according to many increasingly considered to be abandoning too many of the tenets of traditional Judaism, the Conservative movement was founded in 1887 and experienced its greatest expansion during and after World War II. Conservative Judaism has occupied the middle ground of the three main Jewish movements, trying to adapt traditional Jewish practices to the modern world, but gradually it introduced many changes similar to Reform: mixed seating, mixed choirs, and bat-mitzvah ceremonies for girls. Starting in the 1970s and culminating in the 1980s, Conservative leaders committed themselves to gender equality, and under communal pressure from a group called *Ezrat Nashim* (helpers of women), they started to give women full participation in religious observance, to recognize them as witnesses before Jewish law, to allow them to initiate divorce, and to permit them to study for the rabbinate and be ordained as rabbis and be trained as cantors. The Conservative movement welcomes gays but still prohibits same-sex commitment ceremonies. The Conservative movement is in the process of granting admission to rabbinical and cantorial schools to openly gay and lesbian students.

The Reconstructionist movement is small and mostly concentrated in Philadelphia. It represents an ideology that views Judaism as an evolving religion with an ambiguous position between Reform and Conservative. Its founding was the result of the split away from the Conservative movement in 1968. The movement that emerged, a Judaism without supernaturalism, owes its name to the radical thinker Mordecai Kaplan (1981), who was influenced by the sociologic doctrine of Émile Durkheim (1858–1917). The movement granted complete participation to women and eliminated a male-dominated liturgy by rewriting the *siddur* (prayer book).

It recognizes as being Jewish those children of mixed marriages in which the mother is not Jewish. It permits their rabbis to participate in civil marriage ceremonies between Jew and non-Jew. Women have been ordained rabbis since 1975, and openly lesbian students have been admitted since 1985.

Outside these denominational groups, a movement to establish gay and lesbian synagogues began in the early 1970s in New York and Los Angeles; as of the early twenty-first century there are twenty-five queer synagogues throughout the United States and Canada. Congregation Beth Simcha Torah in New York City, with 800 members, is considered the largest gay synagogue in the world. Queer Jews—lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender—have succeeded in making Jewish spaces for themselves, and gradually more liberal non-queer Jewish institutions are responding with a new inclusiveness. The emergence of the debate on the intersection of religion and queer sexuality and the questions about belonging and home in global Jewish communities is fairly recent. It especially took place after the release of Dubowski's "Trembling before G-d," which documents the lives of gay and lesbian Orthodox and Hasidic Jews. Unlike American queer Jewish communities, queer political movement in Israel has not centered on issues reclaiming Jewish spiritual identity and religious practices.

Judaism has incurred tremendous changes, evolving and redefining itself, and in the process ensuring its survival in the postmodern era. Although queer Jews openly serving as rabbis, Hebrew school teachers, and in other positions of authority and women's increased participation in a male-dominated Judaism acknowledge great changes in Judaism, nonetheless, nonnormative sexuality still remains prohibited by Orthodox Jews, and in general, women have yet to occupy a stronger level of leadership in Jewish institutions and communities.

SEE ALSO *Esther; Hakhma; Jewish Tradition, Gender and Women; Jewish Women's League; Judaism, Gender and Queering.*

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JUDAISM, GENDER AND QUEERING

Judaism often is understood as a religion that institutes particularly rigid gender roles, with Jewish men cast as "patriarchs" and Jewish women as "matriarchs" whose sphere is limited strictly to the domestic sphere. That understanding reflects some aspects of traditional Jewish practice, in which the crucial public religious roles (being included in the *minyan* [a quorum required for communal prayer], reading from the Torah, leading the congregation or serving as rabbi) are reserved for men and women's religious participation takes place largely within the home (lighting Sabbath candles, preparing ritual meals, keeping a kosher home). Traditional Judaism also emphasizes marriage and procreation as the foundations of family life, and unlike Christianity, Judaism does not privilege particular religious statuses associated with virginity or celibacy; rabbis, unlike Catholic priests, are expected to marry and have children.

TRADITIONAL AND ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

The view that Judaism is essentially patriarchal and relegates women to a subordinate status, however, depends not only on actual Jewish practice but also on persistent Western, especially Christian, stereotypes of Judaism that have never corresponded completely to fact." Along with acknowledging that Judaism—with its sister religions Christianity and Islam and Western culture generally—has been for much of its history masculinist, one must recognize the ways in which particular understandings of Jewish gender rigidity have served anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic ends. Feminist and queer rereadings of Jewish history, texts, and practices move beyond those stereotypes and allow a rethinking of a concept of Jewish traditionalism in which stable, rigidly normative gender roles and traditional, heterosexual family life are all that it is necessary to know about Jewish gender and sexuality (Rudavsky 1995, Peskowitz and Levitt 1997, Frankel 2000, Boyarin, Itzkovitz, and Pellegrini 2003).

REVISING JEWISH RELIGIOUS PRACTICE: THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Jewish religious belief and practice have always been complex. As the Hebrew Bible makes clear, there were various and recurring disagreements within ancient Judaism, and those debates continued into the period described in the New Testament and beyond. European Judaism, however, diversified most radically in the wake of the Enlightenment, in large part in response to a general secularization of society and to the movement across Europe toward Jewish "emancipation" and citizenship.

In a way that had not been possible previously, Jews could remain Jews yet participate in mainstream society, and Jewish religious belief and practice began to grapple with finding ways in which Jews could practice Judaism and still be part of a modern, secular Europe.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries three major institutional alternatives to orthodox Jewish practice developed—the Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist movements—all of which were committed to dealing more fully with secular society. Contemporary Orthodox Judaism is itself complex, ranging from Chasidic Judaism, which maintains dress and social practices dating to its foundation in the eighteenth century, to Modern Orthodoxy, which, although maintaining a traditional relation to Jewish law, recognizes that Jews live in a secular society.

The elaboration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of new forms of Jewish religious practice more directly concerned with negotiating a relationship with secular society entailed more radical changes in the relationship of Judaism to gender and sexuality than was the case in earlier eras; in general, such changes have reflected broader shifts in European and American societies. Thus, the first push for the ordination of women rabbis within Reform Judaism began in 1889, corresponding roughly to “first wave” feminism; the first official Reform ordination of a woman, Sally Jane Priesand, occurred in the United States in 1972, corresponding in a general way to “second wave” feminism.

As has occurred more generally in Western society and religion, the move to accept lesbians and gay men as full participating members of Judaism has lagged behind progress toward gender equality. Although, as in many religious traditions, closeted gay men have been active in a wide range of Jewish activities, including the rabbinate, on the condition that their sexuality not be made public, institutional moves to acknowledge lesbian and gay lives began only in the 1970s.

Some Reform rabbis started officiating at same-sex commitment ceremonies in that decade, but as recently as 2000 the Reform movement passed a resolution giving individual rabbis the choice not to officiate at those ceremonies. Reform Judaism officially sanctioned the ordination of openly gay and lesbian rabbis only in 1990. Though the Union for Reform Judaism claims, following a statement on “the absolute equality of women,” that “Reform Jews are also committed to the full participation of gays and lesbians in synagogue life” (“What Is Reform Judaism?” 2005), that participation remains controversial in ways that women’s involvement in Reform Judaism is not. Reconstructionist Judaism began ordaining lesbian and gay rabbis in 1984 and endorsed officiating at gay marriages in 1993 (Alpert, Elwell, and Idelson 2001). As of 2006, Conservative

Judaism did not ordain gay or lesbian rabbis, continuing—despite disagreement among Conservative rabbis and theologians—officially to view homosexual relations as violating religious law. The prohibitions of Leviticus against a man “lying with a male as with a woman” (18:22, 20:13) still are given full force within Orthodox Judaism. There has, however, been increasing attention to gay men and lesbians living within Jewish Orthodoxy: Steven Greenberg, an ordained Orthodox rabbi, came out as gay, and his book *Wrestling with God and Men* (2004) argues for a rereading of traditional Jewish texts that would open up a space for gay and lesbian experience. Sandi Simcha DuBowski’s film *Trembling before G-d*, released in 2001, focused attention on the everyday lives of Chasidic and Orthodox Jews who identified, openly or not, as lesbian or gay.

Outside formal religious circles Jews and Jewish culture in many ways have been involved in the social changes and movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including feminism and gay/lesbian/queer politics and theory. An important movement within feminism defined itself as Jewish feminism, and Jews in gay/lesbian/queer political movements have attempted to articulate the connections between their political commitments and religious belief and practice (Shneer and Aviv 2002).

REREADING TRADITIONAL JEWISH TEXTS

In its approach to Judaism, Jewish texts, and Jewish history feminist and gay/lesbian/queer scholarship has, as in many other areas, taken a double route: on the one hand working to reconstruct a largely hidden history and recover texts that have not been attended to, and on the other hand rereading canonical texts and the historical record. The movements within institutional Judaism to include women, lesbians, and gay men are in large part the result of such rereadings of the canon, decisions about how to (re)interpret and use the body of religious texts that shapes Jewish belief and practice.

From the book of Genesis on, the Hebrew Bible provides rich material for rethinking gender and sexuality even as it establishes some of the bedrock for traditional (patriarchal, heterosexist, and homophobic) gender and sexual understandings. The traditional, normalizing force of the biblical text can be seen in the frequency with which contemporary debates about changing gender roles and nonnormative sexual arrangements recur to the story of creation, with its double account of the creation of a male–female pair, Adam and Eve, in which Adam is given priority and power. Procreation as a central goal for humankind—“be fruitful and multiply” (Genesis 1:28)—is emphasized and reemphasized many times in the Hebrew Bible.

A large body of feminist biblical interpretation allows scholars to reconstruct and critique the ways in which an ancient Israelite patriarchy operated, calling attention to spaces that existed—if sometimes tenuously or marginally—for female autonomy, political agency, and religious power. There is much less thematizing in the Bible of what could be called homosexuality than there is a consideration of gendered relationships and roles. For those who look to the Hebrew Bible for a simple sanctioning of modern heterosexual monogamy, marriage, and family, however, that text contains many complications.

Marriage alongside relationships of concubinage is by no means unusual in the biblical text, which does not forbid men from having concubines. Many of the prominent and heroic male figures in the Bible—including Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon—are married more than once, without the suggestion that polygamy in and of itself is wrong. The Bible also focuses repeatedly on moments of sexual transgression that sometimes are treated with moral disapprobation but sometimes simply are reported. In Genesis alone those transgressions include disallowed sexual contact between the “sons of God” and “daughters of men”; the uncovering of the drunken Noah’s nakedness by his son Ham; the attempt by the inhabitants of Sodom to have sex with the two young men of God who are visiting Lot in their city, followed by Lot’s offer to protect the men by substituting his two daughters for them (an offer that is refused); Lot’s daughters sleeping with their drunken father; the rape of Dinah by her neighbor Shechem; Reuben’s sleeping with his father’s concubine, Bilhah; Onan’s “spill[ing] his semen on the ground”; and the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar’s wife. The Noah and Sodom episodes suggest male-male sex, and many of the “heterosexual” encounters involve at their heart male-male homosocial relationships; for instance, Reuben’s transgression with Bilhah is more about his relationship to his father than it is about heterosexuality.

The Sodom incident is replayed with significant differences in Judges, Chapter 19, again with the threat of male-male rape as one of its components. Later the Sodom story became—though primarily in Christian rather than Jewish theology—a key text for Western reflections on and condemnations of male-male homosexuality.

Compared with other kinds of sexual transgression, however, homosexuality gets relatively little attention in the Hebrew Bible: Even the stories in Genesis and Judges do not emphasize homosexual threats against protected visitors as much as the violation of the protocols of hospitality. Male-male homosexuality is prohibited twice in the book of Leviticus (Chapters 18 and 20), with the death penalty prescribed in the second instance. Those injunctions occur, however, in long compendia of other

transgressions, sexual and otherwise; in Chapter 18 the prohibition of male-male sex occurs immediately after an injunction against sacrificing one’s offspring to Moloch, and it is possible that the taboo placed on male-male sex was intended to separate early Judaism from cultic sexual practices among neighbors of the Jews as much as it was concerned with male homosexual sex. There is no clear reference to female-female sex in the Hebrew Bible.

Queer approaches to the Hebrew biblical text may be concerned with how the sexuality of moments such as those discussed above exceeds the norms laid out elsewhere in the Bible; what purposes it serves, within the text, to depict such transgressive moments (are norms resolidified or destabilized?); and how biblical sexuality differs from sexuality as it is understood in the modern era. In addition, the realm of homosociality, which is explored in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*, provides a rich ground for biblical study.

Although homosexual moments are rare in the Bible, homosocial ones are common. Thus, for instance, when Dinah is raped (Genesis 34), she becomes the object of negotiation, debate, and conflict among her father, Jacob; her brothers; and their male neighbors, in effect disappearing from her own story, which becomes instead an account of male-male conflict. A few chapters later the story of Tamar (Genesis 38) interrogates the practice of levirate marriage, in which a woman whose husband has died has the right to marry her brother-in-law; here the concerns of the text are the relations among three brothers and their father as much as “heterosexuality.” The biblical text also foregrounds intense homoaffective relationships, such as that between Jonathan and David; when David laments Jonathan’s death, he defines their love as “passing the love of women” (2 Samuel 1:26). Female-female homoaffectivity characterizes the relationship between Naomi and Ruth; the women of Bethlehem tell Naomi that Ruth “is more to [her] than seven sons” (Ruth 4:15) (Ackerman 2005, Guest 2005, Stone 2001, Nissinen 1998).

The Bible, especially the Torah, is the central legal and religious text of Judaism. Jewish understandings of gender and sexuality, as of most areas of daily life and religious practice, however, are inflected through a complex, contentious body of interpretive writing that includes the Talmud—a text that records rabbinic discussion and debate of the first several centuries—alongside the work of later influential commentators such as Rashi and Maimonides. In light of its dialogic and disputational character, Talmudic and later interpretive writing often contains tensions or contradictory statements about the relationships between men and women and about sex and sexuality and thus provides rich sites for feminist and

queer investigation (Hauptman 1998, Baskin 2002). The most striking queer work on the Talmud has been Daniel Boyarin's *Carnal Israel* (1993).

Later religious texts within Judaism also provide material for rethinking gender and sexuality. Elliott Wolfson (2005) develops an analysis of how the feminine and the erotic operate in the medieval mystical text the Kabbalah and the kinds of queer gender/sexual reorientation its mysticism might suggest.

DISCOVERING NEW TEXTS AND HISTORIES

The work examined above considers and rereads texts that are canonical within Judaism. Another significant approach to rethinking Jewish gender and sexuality involves looking to the historical record for unknown or underread texts and for historical documents that might lead one to reconceive the ways in which gendered lives have been lived within Judaism and the ways in which normative and nonnormative sexuality might have been defined and experienced.

Recovering and rereading medieval Hebrew poetic texts, Tova Rosen (2003) analyzes a complex set of gendered understandings within which women simultaneously were idolized and demonized but rarely were seen as agents independent of men; Rosen shows that medieval Hebrew poetry about women is often also in large part about men and their relations. Rosen also identifies an important subgenre of poetry that represents men cross-dressing as women, and women as men. Medieval Hebrew, especially Andalusian, poetry, like its Arabic counterpart, also often thematizes the love of boys (Roth 1982).

Poems of course correspond only in indirect and unpredictable ways to "real life," and tracing the lives of sexually queer Jewish women and men before the nineteenth century is more difficult than studying the lives of heterosexual Jewish women. This is partly a function of the paucity of historical records concerning homosexuality in European Jewish communities; it also reflects the more general problem in the history of homosexuality of identifying queer lives in periods before the elaboration of modern gay and lesbian identities. Thus, although the *responsa* literature (a body of rabbinic case law) provides some material for the study of the history of homosexuality within Judaism (Greenberg 2004), until very recently the literature has lacked a clear way of naming a homosexual identity.

Still, queer readings of the historical record are possible. Rosa Alvarez Perez (2005) uncovers the lives of Jewish women in medieval Northern France, some aspects of which she reads as queer. Some scholars have focused on the ways in which European Christian stereotypes of Jews depended on tropes of Jewish sexual queer-

ness sexual rapacity on the one hand and sexual deficiency on the other, often linked to the Jewish practice of male circumcision. Jewish women sometimes were depicted as especially sexually attractive and seductive (and hence dangerous to Christian men); their ugliness might, however, be emphasized. Jewish men often were represented as effeminate; one persistent Christian myth, which originated as early as the thirteenth century, was that Jewish men bled monthly, a "bloody flux" that later was conflated with women's menstruation. The presence of such stereotypes might help explain Jewish communities' embrace of a heroic masculinity at times of crisis but also a Jewish valuing of masculinities—especially bookish ones—distinct from Christian models (Lampert 2004, Kruger 2006, Gilman 1991).

Recently, however, Daniel Boyarin (1997) has emphasized that alternative—bookish or effeminate—Jewish masculinities are not simply or even primarily responses to Christian stereotypes and social pressures. Instead, he sees an early elaboration within rabbinic Judaism—beginning in the period of the composition of the Talmud—of Jewish masculinities alternative to Roman and Christian models of proper and heroic masculinity. Reading the Talmud in new queer and feminist ways, Boyarin argues that the rabbis developed a strong critique of the oppression of women and opened spaces for valorized effeminate or "sissy" masculinities. Boyarin's analysis traces the history of such identities in European Judaism through to crucial nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish figures such as Theodor Herzl, Sigmund Freud, and Bertha Pappenheim.

SEE ALSO *Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Jewish Tradition, Gender and Women.*

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Steven F. Kruger

JUDITH

According to many scholars, the Book of Judith was written during the Hasmonean period (140 BCE–37 BCE). It has been a source of fascination in the Western world, and that interest has resulted in a profusion of literary and artistic renditions of Judith's story. Among the strong women of the Bible, Judith is the most popular heroine, although she is an ambiguous model in light of the scheme she devises to resolve the struggle

for Jewish sovereignty. Her use of seduction and deceptive rhetoric in conjunction with female violence provides a rich performance of gender identity from the margins of the religious and social establishment of a traditional society.

THE BIBLICAL STORY

The accumulation of historical, geographical, and chronological inaccuracies in the story of Judith and Holofernes allows the anonymous author to accentuate the sense of danger inherent to the history of the Jewish people. The first seven chapters chronicle and provide a vivid account of the feats of the powerful armies of Nebuchadnezzar, who is presented as an Assyrian king. Under siege, the city of Bethulia is about to surrender when Judith ("Jewess" in Hebrew), a name that might suggest a symbolic identity, is introduced in the narration and becomes the central character of the book.

Despite the marginal role of women in a society dominated by male authority, the righteous widow in mourning garb, living in isolation on the rooftop of her house since her husband's death, assumes a leading role in a moment of crisis. As an independent agent Judith succeeds in redefining herself outside the boundaries of her socially prescribed role and status. In this volatile situation her contact with and prayers to God place Judith in the position of a priest. As Amy-Jill Levine (1999) states, she assumes, both part of and apart from her people, the male role of protector-avenger. Judith's intrusion into the public sphere through the beheading of Holofernes gives her a new status and access to power. Her behavior not only relativizes gender norms, but also calls into question the complex articulations of the social and cultural practices of established notions of the masculine and the feminine. Ironically, it is "by the hand of a woman" (Book of Judith 9:10; 13:15; 16:5) that the superiority of the enemy is overturned, bringing the downfall of the great warrior Holofernes and the disarray in his armies.

Judith's normative performance of femininity in the enemy's camp matches Holofernes' excess of masculinity. But the sexually desirable and beautiful seductress ultimately blurs gender norms and behavior when, on the third night, taking advantage of Holofernes' drunken stupor, she seizes his sword and with two blows cuts off his head, metaphorically castrating him. In sharp contrast with her femininity, the violence she is capable of conjures images of strength, power, and domination, all of which are male prerogatives.

The subversion that takes place further problematizes existing rigid assumptions about the nature of masculinity. Judith crosses the borders imposed on her gendered body; however, she skillfully deflects attention from her bold action by invoking divine agency, presenting herself on three occasions as the instrument of God.



Judith Beheading Holofernes. Judith beheads Holofernes in this painting by Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio.

© ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS.

Her triumphant return to Bethulia with the head of Holofernes the idolater mobilizes the population to fight back and drive away the enemy. Judith then returns to her marginalized position, and to her voluntary seclusion. The threat she represented vanishes with the restoration of patriarchal authority.

JUDITH IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE

Emerging rabbinic Judaism closed the Hebrew canon at the end of the first century CE, in the process rejecting works not written during the early postexilic period; those works were of an unreliable authority and were composed originally in Greek. Judith's patent sexuality and "unconventional sexual behavior" also posed a dilemma for the Church Fathers, but they were able to overlook it and incorporated the Book of Judith in the Holy Scriptures alongside other apocryphal and apocalyptic books (Brenner 2004, p. 14).

Medieval *midrashim* (commentaries on Hebrew scriptures compiled between 400 and 1200 CE and based on exegesis, parable, and haggadic legends) and liturgical poems reflect the regained interest among oppressed Jewish communities of Western Europe in this uncompromising heroine who was able to subordinate her personal destiny to the liberation of her people. They identified her symbolically with Judah Maccabee and included her in the celebration of Hanukkah.

The transformation of social and political institutions by the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, accompanied by a new distribution of power, was characterized by increased anxiety about masculine identity. In literature that anxiety was translated into the virulent misogyny of the *Querelle des femmes* (the controversy about the nature and value of women); in the arts it took the form of the representation of Judith as an ambivalent heroine who relativized the instability of the binary gender system.

The confusion that this manly woman generated is more noticeable in visual representations. Although in Christian medieval imagery Judith embodied the type foreshadowing the Virgin Mary—a sublimated powerful image—her representations also reached out to the other extreme of stereotyping: the reductively physicalized woman (Stocker 1998). In Italian art from that period, artists freed their composition from the biblical text; thus Israel's salvation was secondary to their main interest and was almost forgotten. The theme of Judith and Holofernes became the triumph of virtues with religious and civic dimensions, a warning against tyrants (Philpot 1992). With the sudden inversion of roles occurring under the tent, the anxiety and the indeterminacy brought about by the brutal act were transferred by the artists to Holofernes' body, which was portrayed in a feminized posture.

Judith's popularity reached its apogee during the religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a period when people were fascinated with strong biblical women. Although the Book of Judith was not accepted in the Protestant canon, Judith epitomized revolt and Holofernes was viewed as a heretic.

Only extraordinary circumstances permitted Judith, who had been marginalized by the power base, to enter the public space and become "the woman on top." However, independence and violence, two expressions of usurpation and transgression in the female character, are only temporary. Normality is reinstated at the end of her story, but the restabilization of gender roles and identity at the end only partly covers up an unstable gendering of men.

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Rosa Alvarez Perez

JUVENAL

c. 55–127

Juvenal, Decimus Junius Juvenalis, a Latin poet of satires, was born between 55 and 60 CE in Aquino, where his family owned land. He served in the Roman army and became a tribune while in Dalmatia. By about 78 CE Juvenal moved to Rome, where he spent most of his life observing the deterioration and corruption of Roman society. He studied rhetoric until his middle age and practiced eloquence under the Emperors Domitian (r. 81–96 CE) and Trajan (r. 98–117). The most distressing event of his life was his ten-year exile from Rome, ordered by the Emperor Hadrian (r. 117–138). He incurred the emperor's ire because of his biting satires, written between 100 and 128 CE, that attacked the corruption of the ruling class and the degeneracy of all classes of Roman society, from the nobles to the nouveau riches and the newcomers from the colonies. Undoubtedly these virulent attacks earned Juvenal numerous enemies. The emperor recalled him from exile around 130, when in his seventies, and Juvenal lived in Rome until his death, between 131 and 140 CE.

The tone of Juvenal's satires is indignant and he resorts to violent invective and rhetorical declamation, whereas Horace was less harsh and employed ridicule perhaps more effectively. Juvenal's satires tell as much about himself as they do about Roman society, for he was not a cheerful fellow but rather a pessimist.

Juvenal was influenced by Lucilius (c. 180–c. 102 BCE) in his acerbic and comically mocking tone, but he shows much more passion, exuberance, color, and taste for caricature than any of his predecessors, including Horace (65–8 BCE), Martial (c. 40–c. 103 CE), and his quasi-contemporary Persius (34–62 CE). He has been the most read Latin author after Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Terence. Yet he did not attract much interest until Lactantius, a Christian writer of the third to fourth century, brought him back to light, and he was quite popular in the Middle Ages, especially because his sentential moralizations became proverbial sayings. Dante, Petrarch, Giovanni Boccaccio, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Geoffrey Chaucer made usage of him, as did Elizabethan authors such as Joseph Hall, John Marston, and John Donne. He also influenced early modern European authors such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, François Rabelais, Nicolas Boileau, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Samuel Johnson, who rewrote the tenth satire, titled "The Vanities of Human Wishes," which concerns the illusory desires of humanity. Gustave Flaubert admired both his style and his rage. In short Juvenal remained for centuries the epitome of a sharp, witty, classical satirist.

His diatribes are directed at the injustices, tyranny, and hypocrisy of the regime, he seems to know a lot



Juvenal. c. 60-130 BCE. HARLINGUE/ROGER VIOLETT/GETTY IMAGES.

about the poorest and destitute class, and he unleashes against the aristocratic, affluent society living in degradation, luxury, and laxity. Though he was not from a poor family, Juvenal may have had to depend on patrons. He attacks and mocks the affectations of men and women, their immorality and sexual excesses, their degeneracy and lewdness (Satire VI is the most misogynist). Besides the aristocracy he satirizes those who have risen up the scale of Roman society, including the *liberti* (freed slaves), and the many newcomers or foreigners operating in Rome, especially Greeks and Eastern people, such as one Crispinus. Satire IX, his most important one, expresses his rage against women, pandering homosexuals, sexual mores in general, corruption and cruelty of rulers, pomposity, ill manners, and overall stupidity. Although Juvenal is not obscene, his verbal candor and witticism and his frank, tight speech may have caused some shock to readers of past ages (he was the most aggressive Roman writer in his indictment of human pretenses and corruption).

For example, in Satire II, which deals with homosexuality, he says:

At which the powers of War and Beauty quake,
 What time his drugs were speeding to the tomb
 His seed, the fruit of Julia's teeming womb.
 ... But Hispo's brutal itch both sexes tried,

And proved by turn the "bridegroom" and "the bride."

To such a pitch of evil are we come;
 Abomination reigns in conquering Rome . . .

(Gifford 1954, p. 11, 12, 14)

His intent is to spare no one and his verbal assault resorts to the most eloquent rhetoric to achieve a realistic effect and convey rage. Thus obscenities are part of the society in which he lived. His epigrammatic style, full of hyperboles, furnishes many memorable sayings that have become common usage, such as "Panem et circenses" (bread and circuses), to indicate the primary concerns of Roman society; "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes" (Who watches those who guard?); "rara avis" (a rare bird); and "mens sana in corpore sano" (a sound mind in a sound body). He made it clear in his first satire that he would spare no one, stating, for instance:

But when Lucilius, fired with virtuous rage/
 Waves his keen falchion o' ver a guilty age

...

I point my pen against the guilty dead/
 And pour its gall on each obnoxious head"

(Gifford 1954, p. 9)

SEE ALSO *Ancient Rome; Political Satire*.

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

K

KAHLO, FRIDA

1907–1954

Frida Kahlo is without doubt the most famous and powerful Mexican artist of the twentieth century, eclipsing in popularity and fame her talented and prominent husband, the Mexican painter and muralist Diego Rivera (1886–1957). In fact, Kahlo has transcended her role of artist to become a virtual icon. A walk through the museum of the Casa Azul (the Blue House where Kahlo and Rivera lived) in Coyoacán (originally a nearby village, now part of Mexico City) bears witness to the packaging of Kahlo: bracelets made of Kahlo's paintings of her face; T-shirts bearing copies of Kahlo's paintings; tourist items, including keychains, bearing Kahlo's art. Unusual in the museum are the photographs in postcard size of Kahlo throughout her life, including her last hospital days. Kahlo remains to this day an artistic, cultural, and feminist celebrity. After all, how many artists merit an operatic play (*Frida*, opening the Brooklyn Academy of Music's 1992 New Wave Festival) or even a highly successful cinematic production (*Frida*, starring Salma Hayek, 2002)?

Kahlo was born the daughter of a German-Hungarian Jewish father and a mother who herself was the product of a Spanish mother and a Mexican native father. Kahlo's life of physical pain was foreshadowed in her own family. Her father, Guillermo, suffered from epilepsy, a condition that brought in its footsteps what Kahlo called "vertigos." In 1913, the young Kahlo contracted polio, a disease that left its mark on her right leg. The leg shriveled and ended up shorter than the other one. The event turned her into the object of derision by

her schoolmates, who took to calling her "Peg-Leg Frida."

Fate remained unkind to Kahlo. In 1925, she and her boyfriend were riding a bus that crashed into a tram. While many other passengers died, Kahlo barely survived. Not only did a metal rod penetrate her body, but her spine broke in three places; her collarbone and two ribs also broke. In addition, her right leg shattered, broken in eleven places; her right foot was crushed, her left shoulder dislocated, and her pelvis suffered three breaks. The young woman took months to recuperate. Back pain led physicians to later discover that some vertebrae in Kahlo's back had also been displaced. She was confined to wearing corsets, which she decorated with paint. In this way, the corset became at once a work of art and a medical necessity. Visitors to the Casa Azul see a painted corset on Kahlo's bed.

It was while in this state that Kahlo (abandoning her earlier desire to become a physician) began to paint, using materials belonging to her father, a professional photographer and amateur painter. In 1926, Kahlo painted an ex-voto (votive offering) of her accident. The bus and the tram are on the top of the picture, with human bodies strewn around. Below, the viewer sees a head with Kahlo's characteristic eyebrows looking at her body lying on a gurney of the Red Cross (the handles are labeled Cruz Roja) lying on the ground (Herrera 1991, p. 35). While many critics have attempted to underplay the psychological element in Kahlo's paintings, the ex-voto remains an eloquent artistic rendition of her trauma. Dissociation, characteristic of intense trauma, is a psychological state of mind in which the subject is isolated from the events taking place, instead most often floating

over them, watching them taking place below. That is what the viewer is treated to in this painting as Kahlo's head gazes at her body laid out on the stretcher below.

Physical problems never stopped plaguing Kahlo. Yet she maintained her painting and accompanied Rivera to America. Kahlo took San Francisco by storm. As Malka Drucker puts it, "Frida herself had become a work of art" (1991, p. 53), with her exoticism and her Mexican skirts replete with petticoats. In her many self-portraits, Kahlo surrounded her face with ornaments and objects. Sometimes, her long hair was braided and pulled above her head, frequently further decorated with ribbons and flowers, and in some paintings even monkeys. Kahlo emanated beauty, exoticism, and a great deal of passion, especially in her dark eyes, accentuated by her two thick eyebrows that met at the top of her nose. Kahlo's face is a composite work of art, whose two sides are united by the joined thick eyebrows.

Kahlo's relationship with Rivera was certainly the most important in her life. They seemed a most unlikely couple. As Kahlo's father put it, it was "like an elephant marrying a dove" (Cruz 1996, p. 27). Despite Guillermo Kahlo's assessment, Rivera's girth did not detract from his masculine appeal to women. Kahlo is quoted as having said that Rivera is: "[M]y child, my son, my mother, my father, my lover, my husband, my everything" (Herrera 1983, p. 403). In a powerful 1943 painting bearing three possible titles: *Self-Portrait as a Tehuana*, or *Diego in My Thoughts*, or *Thinking of Diego*, Kahlo embeds a portrait of Rivera on her forehead with his head and shoulders resting on her joined eyebrows. In a rather eerie painting, *Diego and I*, dated 1949, tears are falling from Kahlo's eyes as her dark hair is loose and partly wrapped around her neck. Again, Rivera is resting on her eyebrows. This time, however, he himself has a third eye placed on his forehead.

Kahlo's affairs with other men—and women—can be understood as the expression of a free spirit or as limited reactions aimed at Rivera, whose constant philandering was open and notorious. The life she led with Rivera was not only artistic. The marriage was a turning point for Kahlo. She turned more to her Mexican culture and history. She adopted the dress of the women of Tehuantepec, which combined both practical and symbolic value. The women of this Pacific coast city were known for their independent ways, and their full-length skirts ideally covered Kahlo's paralytic leg.

She and Diego were both politically committed Marxists. Unlike most communists, they were willing to break with orthodox Stalinism and befriended Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) when he went into exile in Mexico (Kahlo even having an affair with him). A 1954 painting, *Marxism Will Give Health to the Sick*, shows

Kahlo casting aside her crutches while an enormous hand appears ready to loosen the chest corset that normally imprisoned Kahlo's torso.

One of the artistic treasures Kahlo left behind was her *Diary*, a magnificent tribute to the artistic talents of a major painter of the twentieth century. Some pages contain just writing; others, illustrations. On many pages images are interlaced with words, redefining each other: body parts surrounded by writing in different colored ink; Mexican temples, called "Ruins," covered by a flamboyant sunset as they soar into the sky; circles of faces that touch one another as they float on the page. Kahlo's work combined both psychological realism, as in her many self-portraits, with a feminist surrealism of her own invention, which contrasts sharply with the frequently masculine-centered, scopoc, and Freudian sexual politics of the European surrealists.

Kahlo cross-dressed and had affairs with both men and women, breaking many of the taboos of her age. Nevertheless, her art expresses the agonies of a body afflicted with illness. Not even the cinematic version of her life can surpass the power of Kahlo's own imagination.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

KALI

The Hindu goddess Kali ("the Black [female] One") is one of the most enigmatic forms of Shakti—the transformative female energy of the universe. Shakti, personified in feminine form, is also referred to as Mahadevi—the great goddess, or simply Devi—the goddess. Traditionally, Kali was portrayed in both literature and iconography in her "terrifying" or "fierce" (*ugra*) aspect,

but in Tamil Nadu and Kerala she has also been depicted in a “pleasing” (*saumya*) form, as a benevolent mother goddess. She thus personifies the ambivalence of deity in the Hindu tradition, which manifests itself in the unceasing cycle of life and death—creation, destruction, and regeneration.

Kali probably derives from a local village goddess (*gramadevata*), who became integrated into the Hindu pantheon through identification with an aspect of Parvati, the consort of Shiva. Worship of Kali is predominant in Bengal in the early twenty-first century, but the earliest representations of her come from southern India. The goddess Pidari, who is most often associated with south India, is recognized as being an aspect of Kali, as are several other goddesses from Tamil Nadu.

KALI IN THE HINDU TEXTS

Kali is first mentioned as a distinct, but peripheral and probably non-Aryan, goddess in the *Mahabharata*. Her place in the Hindu pantheon is later affirmed in the *Markandeya Purana*. In the section of this text known as the *Devimahatmya*, composed around the sixth century CE, Kali is said to have emanated from the brow of the goddess Durga during one of her battles with demonic forces. The *Matsya Purana*, a later account, places Kali as a mountain tribal goddess in the north-central part of India.

In the *Devimahatmya*, Kali is generated from the anger of Durga, as the goddess attacks the demons Chanda and Munda. After this event, Kali receives the compound name *Chamunda*. The *Devimahatmya* then tells how Kali attacked a gigantic demon named Raktabija, who was devouring humans as fast as they were created. Kali cut the demon in two with her sword, but from every drop of blood that fell to the ground there sprang a new demon. So she consumed the duplicated demons, drank the drops before they touch the ground, and sucked the lifeblood from Raktabija. Yet another origin story, from the *Linga Purana*, is that Parvati transformed herself into Kali from the poison stored in Shiva’s throat, in order to destroy the demon Daruka. The account continues that, after her victory, Kali became so intoxicated by the destruction of battle that her rampage threatened to destroy the whole world until Shiva manifested himself as a baby, crying in the middle of the corpse-strewn field. Kali calmed down as she suckled the baby. When evening approached, Shiva performed the cosmic dance (*tandava*) to please his consort, and Kali and her attendants joined in.

Apart from that of the *Linga Purana*, there are few accounts or images of Kali in a tranquil state. As the personified righteous wrath of Parvati in these and other myths in the *Vamana Purana* and *Bhagavata Purana*,

Kali acts as Parvati’s alter ego, the embodiment of the cosmic power of destruction. Indeed, the name *Kali* is related to a term first used in the *Mundaka Upanishad* (1.2.4) for one of the seven flickering tongues of the sacrificial fire, Agni. Kali is also the feminine form of the word *kala*—time; as such, she is the representation of time, which is all-destroying and all-devouring.

Perhaps it was because of her connection with death and destruction that led to Kali’s dominant role in Tantrism, especially the left-hand path. In Tantric ideology, it is essential to face and overcome the terror of death, as willingly as to accept the blessings of life, because the one could not exist without the other. A Tantric hymn to Kali, the *Karpuradistotra*, describes her as the source of not only wealth and fertility but also renunciation and death. Another text describes her as sitting on a corpse in a cremation ground, surrounded by skulls, bones, and female jackals; it was believed that the Tantric practitioner (*sadhaka*) who fearlessly meditated on her in this guise would ultimately achieve salvation.

ICONOGRAPHY

The iconography of Kali reflects the various beliefs and mythology about her. In keeping with her name, she is often black or dark blue—colors representing *tamas*, the aspect of energy responsible for dispersion, and ultimately inertia and the limitless void from which all things come. *Tamas* is also associated with delusion. Because Kali is beyond both fear and ignorance, she can protect and enlighten those who invoke her. Thus she is often depicted with one of her four or more hands in the fear-removing gesture (*abhaya mudra*), and with another hand in the boon-granting gesture of compassion (*varada mudra*), or carrying a bowl of plenty.

Early imagery of Kali, particularly in the north, depicts her on the battlefield dancing wildly while drunk on the blood of her victims, or in a cremation ground sitting or standing on a corpse (*shava*) or ghost (*preta*). She is emaciated and naked, wearing only a long garland of human skulls or severed heads, and a girdle of severed arms or hands. A vertical third eye is in the middle of her forehead, and her hair is disheveled. Her glance is ferocious and her lips and lolling tongue are often shown dripping with blood. Her teeth protrude like fangs over her lower lip. In her arms she may carry one or more weapons and the severed head of a demon.

In her representation as Bhadrakali (auspicious Kali), her head is encompassed by the halo of flames and she wields the trident: These iconographic elements are also associated with Shiva, indicating that together they are the cosmic process. Another form of Kali is found in southern India, where she appears as a full-bodied woman. Although she still has fangs and rolling eyes, she is less gruesome in



Kali. The Hindu goddess Kali the Black dances on the corpse of one of her victims in this eighteenth-century Indian manuscript illustration. © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

her costume and stance. The image of Kali at one of the most popular Kali temples in India, the Khalighat Temple in Kolkata is covered with ornate saris and jewelry, hiding her more terrifying features, but revealing her feet. From the medieval period onwards, Kali devotees in Bengal have worshipped the goddess as Kali Ma-Kali, the benevolent mother. Newer icons often beautify Kali Ma's form and features, whilst retaining her traditional "fierce" stance and paraphernalia.

KALI WORSHIP

In Bengal, Kali is may be worshipped with animal sacrifices. As part of Shaktism, worshippers may bring a live goat to the temple and ritually behead it in sight of the goddess. Vegetarian Vaishnava Hindus are often uncomfortable with such blood offerings made to the goddess, although the priestly family that is responsible for the Kalighat temple is Vaishnava.

Animal sacrifice is found alongside a less ritualistic form of worship introduced by the Bengali devotee

Ramprasad Sen (1718–1775), who, in his poetry, approaches Kali as a child would its protective and nurturing mother.

The pan-Indian festival of Diwali coincides with Kali Puja in Bengal. At this time, thousands of temporary images are set up, including a huge statue in one of the cremation grounds, where several black goats are offered to the goddess.

Although predominant in Bengal, Kali is worshipped throughout India. There is the famous Kamakhya temple in Assam, as well as temples in Orissa, Rajasthan, and the Vindhya mountains of south-central India. Kali also remains a popular focus of devotion among Hindu communities abroad.

A CULT OF KALI

In the nineteenth century, British accounts describe various Indian criminal groups, such as the Phansigars, the Dacoits, and the Thuggees, who robbed and sometimes strangled travelers. All seem to have posed internal civil-

ian threats, but in the 1830s the latter group (from which the English word *thug* derives) was accused by Captain William Henry Sleeman of being a religious cult, whose members murdered their victims in the name of Kali. This association of Kali with cult murder fed later Orientalist projections of her as uncontrollable both sexually and morally, and a threat to British law and order. Such representation continued in the West, where non-Hindus were introduced to Kali as a villainous goddess in several twentieth-century films, including *Gunga Din* (1939; loosely based on Rudyard Kipling's poem), the Beatles' *Help!* (1965), and *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984).

Although occasional human sacrifices in the name of the goddess are still reported (such as a case in Uttar Pradesh in early 2006), for most modern worshippers Kali is not seen as being wrathful. The nationalist movement of the Bengalis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used the mother goddess in the form of Kali as a symbol of India. In his novel *Anandamath* (1882), the Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838–1894) includes a poem titled “I Praise the Mother” that is a hymn to Kali as Bengal personified in its oppressed state.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Hinduism.*

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Jennifer Rose

KAMA AND THE KAMA SUTRA

Kama is a Sanskrit word denoting desire, love, and pleasure, not merely sexual but more broadly sensual—music, good food, perfume, and more. It is most closely approximated by the erotic in the broader sense in which people use that word in the early-twenty-first century.

KAMA AND THE GOALS OF HUMAN LIFE

Ancient Indian texts regarded *kama* as one of the three goals of human life, the other two being *dharma* (duty, religion, religious merit, morality, social obligations, religious merit, the law, and justice) and *artha* (power, politics, success, money). Thus where *dharma* regulated

the socioreligious world and *artha* the political world, *kama* legitimated the world of the individual, or what philosopher Michel Foucault would call the cultivation of the self. *Dharma*, *artha*, and *kama* were known collectively as the three aims of human life (*purusharthas*) or the trinity (*trivarga*). For assonance, one might call them piety, profit, and pleasure, or society, success, and sex, or duty, domination, and desire. The erotic science to which these texts belong, known as *kama-shastra* (the science of *kama*), is one of the three principle human sciences in ancient India, the other two being religious and social law (*dharmashastra*, of which the most famous work is attributed to Manu, the *Manavadharmashastra* or *Manusmriti*, known as the *Laws of Manu*) and the science of political and economic power (*arthashastra*, whose foundational text is attributed to Kautilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya). (There were many other sciences, preserved in texts about medicine, astronomy, architecture, the management of horses and elephants, and other disciplines.)

Sometimes the aims of human life are listed not as a triad but as a quartet, in which the fourth goal is release, *moksha*, the goal of the religious renouncer. Vatsyayana gives very short shrift indeed to release, and even applies the term, surely tongue in cheek, to the courtesan's successful jettisoning of an unwanted lover. But wandering renunciants meander through the *Kama Sutra*; nuns, on the one hand, and courtesans, on the other, were the only women in ancient India who could move freely throughout the entire social system. And there are literary ties, too, between the *Kama Sutra* and the literature of asceticism. Shvetaketu Auddalaki, said to be the first human author of the *Kama Sutra*, was already famous as a great Upanishadic sage.

For much of ancient Indian history—from before the turn of the Common Era right up through the period of the Raj—the art of *kama* was perfected in circles privileged not in class or caste status but in blatant economic (and geographical) terms: It was available only in the cities (the textbooks on *kama* are addressed to the man-about-town [the *nagaraka*]) but it could be lived by anyone who had enough money, which he had inherited, on the one hand, or obtained from gifts (as a Brahmin would), conquest (as a man of the royal or warrior class would), trade (a merchant), or wages (someone of the servant class), on the other, or from both. It could also be lived by a single man, if he could afford it; a courtesan deluxe; or a woman with her girlfriends. Living the good life in this way involved care of the body (oils, massages), learning to play music and to enjoy concerts and dance performances, reading poetry, attending literary salons, and, above all, enjoying a sophisticated, cultivated level of sexual pleasure. More broadly conceived as the appreciation of sexuality, the beauty of the human body, and



Kama Sutra. In this illustration from the *Kama Sutra*, a suitor aims a flower-tipped arrow like the one used by *Kama*, the god of love, at his beloved. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

the pleasures of intoxication and brightly painted surfaces, *kama* flourished not only at court but in the countryside, where even poor people elaborately painted the horns of their buffaloes and the walls of their houses and sang erotic songs.

THE KAMA SUTRA: ORIGINS

The *Kama Sutra* is the oldest extant Hindu textbook of erotic love. The two words in its title mean desire/love/pleasure/sex (*kama*) and a treatise (*sutra*). It is not, as most people think, a book about the positions in sexual intercourse. It is a book about the art of living—about finding a partner, maintaining power in a marriage, committing adultery, living as or with a courtesan, using drugs—and also about the positions in sexual intercourse. It was composed in Sanskrit, the literary language of ancient India (related to Latin, in ancient Rome, and ancient Greek, in Greece). The data relevant to a determination of its date are sparse and the arguments complex, but most scholars believe that it was composed sometime in the third century of the Common Era, most likely in its second half, and probably in North India. Its detailed knowledge of

Northwestern India, and its pejorative attitude to other parts of India, particularly the south and the east, suggest that it was written in the northwest. However reference to Pataliputra, alone among cities, suggests that the *Kama Sutra* may have been written in Pataliputra (near the present city of Patna, in Bihar). Yashodhara (who wrote the definitive commentary on this text, in the thirteenth century) believes the latter to be the case. It would be useful to have more information about social conditions in India at the time of the composition of the *Kama Sutra*, but the *Kama Sutra* itself is one of the main sources for such data; the text is, in a sense, its own context. It has a real consciousness of the various regions of India, what one scholar, Laura Desmond, has called a *pre-Imperial consciousness*, setting the stage for the Gupta Empire that would dominate North India from the fourth century to the sixth.

Virtually nothing is known about the author, Vatsyayana Mallanaga, other than his name and what this text teaches; and he indicates only that he composed the *Kama Sutra* “in chastity and in the highest meditation” (7.2.57). But Vatsyayana does say something important about his text, namely that it is a distillation of the works of a number of authors who preceded him, authors whose texts have not survived, including: Auddalaki, Babhravya, Charayana, Dattaka, Ghotakamukha, Gonardiya, Gonikaputra, and Suvarnanabha. These other authors, called teachers or scholars, supply what Indian logic called the *other side* (literally, the former wing, *purvapaksha*), the arguments that opponents might raise. In this case, they are former in both the logical and chronological sense of the word; Vatsyayana cites them often, sometimes in agreement, sometimes in disagreement. Always his own voice comes through, as he acts as ringmaster over the many acts that he incorporates in his sexual circus. The *Kama Sutra* was therefore certainly not the first of its genre, nor was it the last. The many textbooks of eroticism that follow it, such as Kokkaka’s *Ratirahasya* (also called the *Kokashastra*, pre-thirteenth century) and Kalyanamalla’s *Anangaranga* (fifteenth century), cite it as a foundational authority. The *Nagarasarvasva* of Bhikshu Padamashri and the *Panchasayaka* of Jyotirishvara (eleventh to thirteenth century) explicitly base themselves on the *Kama Sutra*, the first on books two, five, and seven, and the second on books two, three, five, and seven. The *Kama Sutra* also made a deep impact on Indian literature; its vocabulary and taxonomies were diffused into later Sanskrit erotic poetry.

THE KAMA SUTRA AND ITS AUDIENCE IN INDIA AND BEYOND

It is difficult to assess how broad a spectrum of ancient Indian society knew the text of the *Kama Sutra* first-

hand. The production of manuscripts, especially illuminated manuscripts, was necessarily an elite matter; men of wealth and power, kings and merchants, would commission texts to be copied out for their private use. It is often said that only upper-class men were allowed to read Sanskrit, particularly the sacred texts, but the very fact that the texts dealing with religious law (dharma) prescribe punishments for women and lower-class men who read the sacred Sanskrit texts suggests that some of them did so. Vatsyayana argues at some length that some women, at least, should read this text (courtesans and the daughters of kings and ministers of state), and that others should learn its contents in other ways. Clearly some parts of the book, at least, were designed to be used by women.

It is startling to realize that the *Kama Sutra*, the Indian text best known, at least by name, to European and North American readers, was hardly known at all by such readers just a hundred years ago and even now is not really known, since the very first English translation, which remains the one most widely used and reused, long out of copyright and in the public domain, does not say what the Sanskrit says. Moreover it is not even the work of the man who is known as its author, English explorer and orientalist Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890). His translation, published in 1883, was far more likely the work of Forster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot, whose name appears on the title page with Burton's only in some editions, though Burton later referred to the *Kama Sutra* translation as Arbuthnot's Vatsyayana. But the translation owed even more to two Indian scholars whose names do not appear on the title page at all: Bhagavanlal Indrajit and Shivaram Parashuram Bhide. Arbuthnot (whom Burton used to call "Bunnie") was a retired Indian civil servant who had been born near Bombay in 1833 and, after going to Europe for his education, returned to India. Burton and Arbuthnot met either in India in 1853–54 or on Arbuthnot's furlough to London in 1859–60. They remained friends, first in India and then in England (from 1879, when Arbuthnot retired to Guildford and married, until Burton's death in 1890).

Burton did for the *Kama Sutra* what German-born philologist Max Müller (1823–1900) did for the *Rig Veda* during this same period. Widespread public knowledge of the *Kama Sutra*, in both India and Europe, begins with the Burton translation, which had a profound effect upon literature across Europe and North America. Even though it was not formally published in England and the United States until 1962, the Burton *Kama Sutra* soon became one of the most pirated books in the English language, constantly reprinted, often with a new preface to justify the new edition, sometimes without any attribution to Burton or Arbuthnot. It remains

precious, like English poet and translator Edward FitzGerald's (1809–1883) translation of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, as a monument of English literature, though not much more faithful to Vatsyayana than FitzGerald was to Omar Khayyám.

In the early-twenty-first century, when sexually explicit novels, films, and instruction manuals are available everywhere, the parts of the *Kama Sutra* that have previously been most useful are now the least useful, namely the positions described in book two. But the *Kama Sutra* has attained its classic status because it is fundamentally about essential, unchangeable human attributes—lust, love, shyness, rejection, seduction, manipulation—and its insights into the psychology of eroticism, the ways to meet a partner, win someone's love, and get rid of a no longer desired lover remain highly relevant.

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Wendy Doniger

KEPT

The term *kept* describes a woman or man who receives financial compensation such as living expenses, stipends, and lavish gifts in return for sex. Unlike prostitutes who are compensated on a temporary basis for performing sexual acts, kept men and women occupy a more permanent place in the lives of their patrons. Often labeled fancy girls, sporting women, mistresses, courtesans, ladies of pleasure, or concubines, kept women are typically supported by married men and rarely advance to the role of wife. These wealthy patrons are colloquially termed sugar daddies or sugar mommas, typically older than their lovers and sometimes married. Homosexual males also play the role of sugar daddies to young males or sugar babies, offering their lovers money, status, and security. Although same sex relationships with this dynamic also occur in lesbian communities, the trend is more prevalent amongst gay males.

A history of the kept woman begins in ancient Rome where biblical accounts of concubines and mistresses reveal a preoccupation with producing male heirs rather than a proclivity for extramarital sex. In ancient China kept women in harems were provided living quarters and financial stability as compensation for sexual favors and highly coveted male offspring. Harems in the premodern Islamic world included concubines as well as legitimate wives, and singing slave girls combined erotic appeal with skill in music and poetry. In early-nineteenth-century Japan, the geisha emerged as a cultural icon; highly skilled in dance, vocal performance, and clever conversation, she established sexual relationships with wealthy men and survived on their patronage. Courtesans were kept women during the fourteenth and fifteenth-century European Renaissance. Their prominent status as escorts of wealthy and powerful men allowed courtesans many educational and societal freedoms unavailable to women of the times. During the slave era in the United States, the fancy girl market was offered to exceptionally wealthy white males. During fancy girl auctions, light-skinned black women would be

purchased at prices ranging from 2,000 to 5,000 dollars. Lavished with the most expensive clothes and fineries, fancy girls were acquired solely for sexual services. Inevitably the history of the kept woman has shifted from empowered to exploited, according to societal mores and cultural traditions.

The male equivalent of the kept woman is the gigolo. Although typically supported by an older woman, kept men are also patronized by homosexual males in exchange for sex. Unlike the historical records of concubines and courtesans, details of kept men or gigolos are less accessible. A larger history devoted to male prostitutes or hustlers provides insights into male sex workers, but fails to account for enduring sexual relationships both heterosexual and homosexual. The disparity in these records illustrates widespread cultural apprehension to those sexual relationships on the fringes of a heteronormative system.

The character Paul, played by George Peppard, in the film *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961) is a popular representation of the kept heterosexual man who survives solely on the monetary gifts of a wealthy older woman. In 2005 cable television channel VH1 launched a new reality show titled *Kept* in which Jerry Hall challenged twelve men to vie for her affections and her millions. The twelve contestants were asked to perfect their dancing, write poetry, learn polo, and exude sex appeal as Hall groomed the ideal gigolo.

Famous kept women include Hagar (concubine of biblical patriarch Abraham), Madame de Montespan (mistress of French monarch Louis XIV), Sally Hemings (slave of American president Thomas Jefferson), Marion Davies (mistress of American publisher William Randolph Hearst), Eva Braun (mistress of the German dictator Adolph Hitler), La Belle Otero (Spanish courtesan), and Pamela Digby Harriman (U.S. ambassador to France and wife of British politician Randolph Churchill, Hollywood producer Leland Hayward, and U.S. politician Averell Harriman, as well as lover of, among others, Italian industrialist Gianni Agnelli, Prince Aly Khan, and journalist Edward R. Murrow).

SEE ALSO *Gigolo; Prostitution.*

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Melissa Fore

KHADIJA 565–619

Khadija bint Khuwalid was Muhammad's first wife and was his only wife for almost a quarter of a century (595–619). Early sources provide sparse and differing information about her. It is reported that she belonged to the Asad clan of Quraysh, the most distinguished Arabian tribe. She was a wealthy merchant, was divorced and widowed, and had one or more children before her marriage to Muhammad. She employed the twenty-five-year-old future prophet to lead a caravan she was sending to Syria. On Muhammad's return, Khadija, reportedly forty years old, proposed marriage to him. The marriage gave Muhammad the security he had lacked since birth. Although a member of Banu Hashim, another clan of Quraysh, he had lost both parents as a child, had been brought up by close relatives, and lacked personal wealth. Thus, an elite and affluent wife provided security and social enhancement for her husband.

Despite the discrepancy in their ages, the marriage seems to have been a success. The couple had two or three boys (including Qasim and Abdallah), who died in infancy, and four girls (Zaynab, Umm Kulthum, Fatima, and Ruqayya), who survived, married, and immigrated to Medina. Muhammad did not take another wife until after Khadija's death in 619, and his fond memory of her aroused the jealousy of his later wives. The financial independence may have allowed Muhammad to pursue his spiritual quest. On one of his solitary wanderings in 610 he saw a vision informing him that he had been chosen as the messenger of God. Khadija assured her deeply shaken husband of the genuineness of the revelation. She was also the first person to submit to his mission. Henceforth she gave him the emotional and moral support he needed to face the growing hostility of his fellow Meccans, who were alarmed by his prophetic message.

Neither the biographies nor the exegetical literature conveys much information about Khadija. Reference to Khadija in the Qur'an is indirect and appears only once in a passage addressed to the Prophet in Mecca ("Did He not find you destitute and enrich you?" 93:8). The paucity of reference to Khadija differs extensively from those to Mary, who occupies an exalted position. One chapter is named after her (Sura 19), and she is mentioned in several other chapters. She represents the ideal of womanhood: She is chaste, devout, patient, and upright. The miracles associated with her (speaking to her mother before birth, the Annunciation, and the birth of Jesus) are presented as signs from God (Qur'an 23:50). Those miraculous events have been delineated and debated in the exegetic literature. However, the image of Mary in Islamic religious tradition must be viewed in the context of Islamic sacred history.

Despite the central role she has played in Muhammad's life, Khadija occupies a minor role in Islamic

religious tradition and hagiography. Her daughter surpasses her in merit and as an exemplar because Fatima is the progenitor of all the Prophet's descendants. Likewise her love of her father and her grieving and death shortly after he died in 632 make Fatima equal to Mary.

Information about Khadija is limited, but it is possible to glean some insight about society and gender relations in Arabia during her lifetime. For example, her occupation as a merchant indicates that women were able to engage in commerce and possess wealth. In addition, divorced and widowed women could remarry easily. Her marriage proposal to the Prophet confirms the freedom that prevailed in gender relations. Even more significant is the importance of the assurance she gave her husband when he received the first revelation. Her confidence in the genuineness of the message and continued support of the Prophet's mission imply that she had knowledge of the monotheistic traditions that had penetrated into Arabia at that time.

SEE ALSO *A'isha; Fatima; Islam.*

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Guity Nashat

KING HENRY III OF FRANCE 1551–1589

Born on September 19, 1551, the future King Henry III was the preferred son of Catherine de Médicis and King Henry II of France. By the age of eighteen he had gained a reputation as a military hero, defeating the Protestants in two key battles (Jarnac and Montcontour) of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598). Not long after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), which he is assumed to have partially instigated, he was elected king of Poland. But in 1574, upon the death of his brother, Charles IX, he returned to France as heir to the throne. His coronation and marriage were celebrated in tandem, and Henry again entered the fray of the Protestant–Catholic struggle, this time as ruler. The king who returned from Poland was remarkably changed,

preferring poetry to his former interest in military matters. Catholics became dissatisfied with him when he secured a peace treaty with the Protestants in 1576. Later, in 1589, when he recognized his cousin, the Protestant Henry of Navarre, as heir to the throne, Henry further incurred their wrath, leading to a flood of political pamphlets attacking him. Sodomy was the most frequent accusation, facilitated by the fact that Henry III's marriage had not produced a child. Parallels were also more generally drawn between his failure as a husband and the failure of the regime, claiming his political weakness resulted from effeminacy and lack of male strength.

Henry had surrounded himself with a group of young male courtiers, his *mignons*. Many of the attacks were levied against his fourteen favorites, who were divided into two groups, the *mignons d'état*, those young nobles who supported Henry's political positions, and the more scandalously named *mignons de couchette*, his bedchamber companions. Henry III lavished attention and money on his favorites, arousing suspicion and discontent among his enemies and even some of his allies. Although no concrete proof exists to establish that Henry III had sexual relations with his *mignons*, it was reported that while in Poland Henry had a same-sex relationship, initiated by a member of his entourage. Accusations of effeminacy often applied to the *mignons*, especially because of their elaborate dress and hairstyles and use of cosmetics as well as the supposed fashion of *chausses à la bougrine*—tights without a codpiece.

Henry himself frequently threw extravagant balls and other festivities, where he occasionally dressed as a woman. His female attire, including two pearl earrings (one earring was acceptable for men), further compromised his authority. Further, the *mignons* were the primary members of the Penitential Society to the Annunciation of Our Lady, a religious society established by Henry III in 1583, as well as members of the Order of the Holy Spirit (1578)—giving rise to satirical verse.

Other politically motivated comments, such as those found in the works of Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), paint the king as devoted to sodomitical practices, and, more grievously, as taking a passive role. *L'isle des hermaphrodites*, although not published until 1605, added to the portrait of Henry III as gender deviant. Its frontispiece came from an earlier engraving portraying a figure whose dress recalls the elaborate fashions of Henry's court. However, not all accounts of the court were written by enemies of the king. Pierre de L'Estoile's *Mémoires-Journaux*, covering the period both before and after Henry's reign, not only include L'Estoile's observations but also collect numerous materials that concern the court and criticisms of Henry and his *mignons*. Although a supporter of Henry III, even L'Estoile comments that

Henry's behavior at the death of Quélus (Caylus)—remaining by his bedside, kissing him, retrieving the earrings Henry gave him, and taking a lock of his hair—was not fitting for a king. L'Estoile identifies that incident and similar acts as partial sources for many of the attacks against Henry.

The court of Henry III thus brought to the fore gender standards that disrupted dominant masculinity. That Henry III was referred to as “buggerer” and the term *Ganymede* was bandied about in relation to his favorites indicates that sexual behavior had entered the discourse of political discontent. The accusations themselves formed an arsenal exploited equally on the Protestant and the Catholic sides of the conflict and may have led in part to Henry's assassination on August 2, 1589.

SEE ALSO *Effeminacy; Homosexuality, Defined; Mignons.*

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Holly E. Ransom

KINKY

The term *kinky* refers to any deviant or unusual sexual preference or activity. Originally designating something that is bent, twisted, or otherwise abnormal, kinky took on a sexual connotation in the early twentieth century. As an adjective, kinky can refer to a person, object, activity, or sexuality, so that one may be a kinky man or woman, wear kinky outfits, engage in kinky acts, or have a kinky sexual lifestyle. Kinky sex is always defined in contrast to the social, cultural, and historical norms of a period, and certain kinky practices—ranging from anal sex to polygamy—have been explicitly illegal. The appeal of kinkiness is as much mental as physical: The mental awareness

that one is engaging in deviant or even illegal sexual behavior heightens the physical pleasure. Early uses of the term refer especially to homosexuality, but over the years the concept of kinkiness has referred to sex among and between lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexuals, and heterosexuals. Some define kinky sex as anything that occurs outside the bounds of marriage or is not focused on reproduction, so that seeking out specific sexual activities and/or partners purely for pleasure is deviant and kinky. Perhaps the most famous kinky text is the Indian classic from the fourth century CE, the *Kama Sutra*, where various sexual positions are depicted and described according to the physical, emotional, and spiritual pleasures they produce.

Most definitions of kinky sex refer to sexual practices grouped under the acronym BDSM, shorthand for sexual acts that include bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and sadism and masochism. All of these sexual activities rely on an explicit power dynamic in which each person plays a distinct role, and they often include props such as whips, handcuffs, ropes, leather outfits, and other pain or torture toys. In addition to BDSM activities, kinky sex includes group sex, fetishism, spanking, infantilism, watersports, swinging, and much more not typically accepted by mainstream culture.

In the United States, the nickname for the kinky subculture is *the scene*, and individuals may search out and join the scene through the Internet and through physical gatherings of *scenesters*. Through web sites, listservs, and message boards, the Internet has been responsible for creating a community among individuals who previously felt their sexual preferences were their own immoral perversions. In addition, the Internet has helped individuals find others who share their passions, a particularly difficult task in rural or sparsely populated areas.

It is important for those into kinky sex to practice some caution in choosing partners and sexual events. Much of the pleasure of kinky sex comes from the strong power dynamic enacted in situations of, for instance, domination and submission; senses are heightened by the presence or illusion of total power, which often produces a feeling of danger. Those who seek to be submissive, who get pleasure from being tied up or humiliated, must choose dominant partners who wield their power safely. All participants must also agree to a certain number of ground rules before engaging in kinky sex to avoid overstepping anyone's personal safety limits or placing anyone in real physical danger. Taking these steps helps differentiate kinky sex from abusive sex.

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Michelle Veenstra

KINSEY, ALFRED C. 1894–1956

Alfred Charles Kinsey was a biologist who began the scientific study of human sexuality. Believing that turn-of-the-century sexologists and psychoanalysts such as Havelock Ellis, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and Sigmund Freud reflected a more Victorian morality than a scientific approach to issues of sexuality, Kinsey modified the methods of his subspecialty, insect taxonomy, to investigate the sexual practices, fantasies, and desires of his contemporaries. By interviewing thousands of people about their sex lives, Kinsey devised a picture of sexual practices and private beliefs that deviated widely from the moral, religious, and social prescriptions of sexual behavior in the mid-twentieth century. By exposing the wide range and variety of sexual desires and habits, Kinsey challenged notions of sexual “normalcy,” which he saw as oppressive and unnatural. For Kinsey, sexuality ranged across a wide swath of individual variation. Sexual prohibitions, repressive attitudes, and ideas of sexual degeneracy came from cultural attitudes rather than being any condition of nature. Kinsey founded the Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction at Indiana University, later renamed the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

KINSEY'S EARLY LIFE

Kinsey was the eldest son of Alfred Seguine Kinsey and Sarah Ann Charles, both children of skilled laborers. Kinsey's father was a self-made man who, beginning as a shop assistant at the Stevens Institute of Technology in New Jersey, rose to become a shop professor. Pay for shop assistants was not generous, so the Kinseys lived in genteel poverty in Hoboken, New Jersey, a crowded city with little access to open spaces or unsullied nature. As a child, Kinsey suffered from illnesses, caused partly by the Kinseys' cramped urban existence, and whose severity was exacerbated by a lack of adequate medical care. Kinsey suffered from rheumatic fever, typhoid fever, and rickets, which left him with enough of a curvature of the spine to prevent his being drafted during World War I.



Alfred Kinsey. KEYSTONE FEATURES/GETTY IMAGES.

The Kinseys were devout conservative Christians, Methodists whose lives were organized according to strict patriarchal prescription. Alfred Seguine Kinsey adhered to a belief in the sanctity of the Sabbath, the value of work, and the sinfulness of all matters sexual, which he would not discuss and which the children were not to know about. Kinsey was brought up in an atmosphere of repression, where his only outlet was nature. Even while young, Kinsey took every opportunity to spend time outdoors, participating in YMCA camps and taking long walks, gradually recovering from the debilitating effects of his childhood illnesses.

When Kinsey was a young teen, his father had improved his circumstances at Stevens and the family moved to the suburban town of South Orange with better schools and easier access to parkland. Kinsey studied the piano, joined the Boy Scouts, and became interested in biology, botany, and zoology at the behest of an influential high school biology teacher. Kinsey was a perfectionist who put all of his energies into his solitary projects. He became an accomplished classical pianist, but had no tolerance for popular music. He became an avid and skilled outdoorsman, hiking for miles on the weekends and developing knowledge and resilience that he would use later on his insect-collecting field trips.

Kinsey seems to have had little social life, but became an Eagle Scout and excelled in his academic

endeavors. Class valedictorian, Kinsey had no choice but to attend Stevens Institute and follow in his father's footsteps, since his tuition at Stevens was free. After two years of a subpar performance, Kinsey finally resolved to oppose his father. He quit Stevens and applied to Bowdoin College in Maine, paying for his education with money he earned working as a camp counselor, winning scholarships, and finally working as a lab assistant for his biology professor at Bowdoin. Choosing to go to Bowdoin and receiving no support from his father destroyed what relationship there had been between father and son, a rift that continued for the rest of his father's life.

While at Bowdoin, Kinsey continued his intense interest in nature and the outdoors as well as his work with the YMCA. He was still shy socially and again excelled academically, graduating from Bowdoin magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa. The professors with whom he had worked closely highly recommended him to Harvard Graduate School, so in 1916, Kinsey enrolled in graduate studies in biology at the Bussey Institute, working with entomologist William Morton Wheeler (1865–1937). Kinsey, who was attracted by Wheeler's thoroughness, undertook a classification study of gall wasps. He spent two years collecting and measuring thousands of specimens, writing a dissertation in which he refined and reclassified gall wasp species.

Kinsey earned his ScD in 1919 and in 1920 took a job as an assistant professor of zoology at Indiana University, Bloomington. He continued his collection and study of gall wasps, believing that if he could never acquire a large enough sample of wasp specimens, he might generate an accurate taxonomic picture of the species, which might also provide clues to how species develop. Kinsey also believed that if he had enough samples he would be able to show how various species of wasps had evolved, ultimately adding to theories of evolution. In the 1930s he published two books on the gall wasp. Throughout his career, however, Kinsey knew himself to be more a taxonomist and collector than a theoretician.

After a year at Indiana, Kinsey met and married Clara McMillen, an Indiana graduate student. The Kinseys had four children, but their first child died before he was five from complications of juvenile diabetes. Kinsey was an avid gardener, and in addition to his work on gall wasps, wrote a successful high school biology textbook that unified zoology and botany with biology and assumed the scientific truth of evolution. During his first ten years at Indiana, Kinsey did not distinguish himself as a teacher, but did establish a field methodology of zealous trips throughout the United States and Mexico with graduate assistants, collecting specimens of gall

wasps and their galls, measuring and cataloguing them, and devising the taxonomy of their species.

Kinsey's relatively late development as a social sexual being seems to have resulted from the repressive character of his childhood. The outlets for his sublimated energies—nature hikes, the YMCA, and the boy scouts—presented homosocial opportunities for sexual knowledge. Kinsey also seems to have resented the moral narrowness of his upbringing, perhaps even as it had affected his personal development. His work with gall wasps convinced him that species types and taxonomies were full of wide individual variation. In fact, he began to believe that variation rather than compliance to type was the rule of nature. This observation became one of the bases for Kinsey's explorations of human sexuality. Individual variation as an observed truth of nature meant that individual variation rather than imposed typology was closer to the way life was organized.

KINSEY'S WORK ON SEXUALITY

Kinsey began applying his insights about variation to questions of human sexuality. Adapting the zeal and exacting care developed in his study of gall wasps, Kinsey began developing ways to gather data about human sexual behaviors. Biographers speculate that Kinsey's interest in the topic of sexuality came from his anger at his own repressive childhood as well as from his own possible bisexual predilections and early sexual difficulties in his marriage. As Indiana University changed from a longstanding conservative leadership to the forward-looking openness of its new young president, Herman B. Wells (1902–2000), opportunities arose for a more public discussion of sexuality, including free Wasserman tests (previously forbidden diagnostic tests for syphilis), and a new team-taught course on marriage.

In 1935, Kinsey, who had been avidly reading about sexuality, gave a paper to a faculty group in which he deplored the repression and ignorance around sexual matters that made young peoples' lives miserable. He advocated his theory of individual variation and recommended early marriage to encourage sexual health. He spearheaded the organization and trial run of a new course on marriage, taught by a series of lecturers from different departments but managed and led by himself. Although the course was a non-credit course limited to seniors, it soon became widely popular and Kinsey, previously never an inspiring teacher, found his niche.

As one aspect of the marriage course, Kinsey encouraged his young students to talk with him about any sexual issues or problems they were having. Kinsey was a sympathetic and encouraging listener, apparently helpful to his students. But he also used such counseling sessions as opportunities to develop a more scientific

way to gather behavioral data about human sexual behavior. Kinsey did not use students' sexual histories without their permission, but he did hone his skill at getting people to confide their sexual secrets to him. During this time, Kinsey asked his friends and many of his own students to participate in a survey about sexual practices and attitudes. He learned how to design a series of questions that would elicit information on feelings and behaviors about which people might be ashamed. He learned to memorize the questions and to note the answers on a single page in a code that only he could decipher, so that he could maintain eye contact with his subject and continue to comfort and elicit information.

Kinsey treated his data on sexual feelings and behaviors much the same way he had treated his wasp specimens. He saw that humans were normally capable of a wide range of sexual feelings and behaviors, most of which were repressed by what he saw as the unscientific, unenlightened moralities of religion and lingering Victorian attitudes. He enlarged his group of interviewees from students and colleagues to the pool of urban dwellers in Chicago, including members of Chicago's gay community and often their families. Trying to discern both the prevalence of sexual behaviors and their causes, Kinsey wanted to talk to as many people as possible. Kinsey collected information about more than just sexual behavior. He also began collecting data about the male sexual anatomy, including penis size, as a part of his interviews. To enlarge his chain of contacts, Kinsey not only sent thank-you notes and progress reports, but asked cooperating subjects for the names of other possible participants.

Kinsey's interest in gay male culture had two effects. First, he was able to describe homosexuality as a normal sexual variation. Second, because approximately one-fifth of his early interviews were with homosexual males, such a quantity possibly skewed his sense of the relative prevalence of male homosexuality in the larger culture.

ESTABLISHING THE INSTITUTE FOR SEX RESEARCH

In 1940, Kinsey was forced to change his ways of gathering information. Pressures from faculty and disgruntled students led to his being removed from the marriage course. Although many students found his course valuable, for others the course clashed with religious and cultural beliefs. Looking for funding, Kinsey delivered his first paper on sexual research at a national conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, where he set out one of the basic assumptions of his research: rejecting, as biographer James Jones reports, the idea "that homosexuality and heterosexuality are two mutually exclusive phenomena emanating from

fundamentally . . . different types of individuals” (1997, p. 425). In 1941 Kinsey managed to win a grant from the National Research Council for his work on sexuality. This grant was followed by another, larger grant from the Committee for Research on Problems of Sex (CRPS), a subcommittee of the National Research Council (NRC) funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, as Kinsey began to prepare his accumulating data for an early form of data processing.

In 1942, Kinsey began to lobby for funds to establish an institute for sex research at Indiana. Although his quantitative methods had impressed representatives from the CRPS, and they continued his funding, he began to focus his efforts on the Rockefeller Foundation itself. Increasingly, difficulties with the NRC—including changing board members, issues over the disposition of Kinsey’s collection of interviews and library of resources on sexuality, and concerns about continued protection of confidentiality of participants’ information—spurred Kinsey to establish a more formal institutional ground from which to conduct his research. Indiana University as well wished to retain Kinsey and his work, but also wished to have a buffer between his projects and the rest of the university. With funding from Rockefeller, Kinsey and Indiana University incorporated the Institute for Sex Research, a scientific organization dedicated to the study of human sexuality. The Institute housed all of Kinsey’s interview notes, data, and his library of resource material. Through all of this Kinsey was regarded as a dispassionate, empirical scientist who gathered and interpreted data about human sexual behavior.

In 1948, Kinsey published his first book on sexuality, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, based on the data collected in his previous ten years of interviews. The book focused on variations in male sexual behavior, both in terms of individual males and in terms of male groups. Using data from 5,300 white males, Kinsey’s book examined the various ways males achieved orgasm, documenting percentages of masturbation, heterosexual intercourse, homosexual intercourse, bestiality, and nocturnal emissions. It correlated these findings with data about age, marital status, religion, class background, and education.

Kinsey determined that males do not comprise separate populations of homosexual and heterosexual men, but rather that there is a continuity of gradations between the strictly homosexual and the strictly heterosexual into which most individuals fall. Kinsey devised his famous seven-point Kinsey Scale representing the range of variations, from those who are exclusively heterosexual to those who are exclusively homosexual and everyone in between.

In 1953 Kinsey published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, also based on the compilation of data from some 5,940 interviews. The data he collected treated a number of topics, including masturbation, nudity, eroge-

nous zones, orgasm, bisexuality, anal sex, oral sex, fantasy, foreplay, sadomasochism, and extramarital sexual activity. This second book represents increased sophistication in the ways Kinsey understood the material he had collected. While the first book assumes a male model for all sexuality, the second book acknowledges that women are also surprisingly sexually active and that the sexual behavior of both males and females is strongly affected by the sociocultural environment in which people live.

In both books, Kinsey argued that progress in the area of sexual happiness and success could only be achieved by an education about the facts of sexuality instead of tactics of moral repression. To Kinsey, sexual behavior was a matter of biology instead of a matter of conscience or the double standards of morality. He did not regard the range of practices and the fact of individual variation as itself evidence of degeneracy, but instead as evidence that human biology hosts a range of possible sexual responses, which were not in and of themselves wrong or immoral. Any problems with sexuality thus were caused by the artificial restraints on knowledge and practice imposed by moral strictures and unenlightened values.

Both of Kinsey’s books were bestsellers and established Kinsey as a public figure. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* sold more than 200,000 copies in two months. The book was reviewed in the *New York Times*, and there were features about him in *Time*, *Life*, and *The New Yorker*, among other magazines. He became a folk hero and a household name, his image recognized and his book often cited.

Such popularity could not help but rekindle cultural disagreements about morality and sexuality. Because Kinsey’s books simultaneously challenged repressive understandings of sexuality and suggested a large gap between sexual desire and practice and public morality, both his findings and his methods threatened long habits of American existence, especially those dominated by religion. The clear and open way in which Kinsey spoke about sexual practices itself seemed nearly obscene to some, and his books, while popular, also catalyzed negative responses from those who policed morality—such as churches, legislators, and the press. On the one hand, his revelations about homosexuality eventually convinced the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from its list of mental illnesses. On the other, conservative religious groups saw Kinsey’s work as the antithesis of science, and as representing precisely the strain of libertinism their efforts tried to contain. Others continue to criticize his research methods, suggesting that he had an insufficiently small sample, that his subjects represented only a small segment of American society, and that his interviews overemphasized such topics as homosexuality.

Eventually negative publicity would impinge on funding for the Institute, although in 1957 it won a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. The American government impounded photographic materials imported for the Institute's collection, forcing a law suit (*United States v. 31 Photographs*) that was settled in the Institute's favor only after Kinsey's death, August 25, 1956. The Institute thrives at the beginning of the twenty-first century, continuing to pursue the scientific study of sexuality. Conservative critics continue to attack both Kinsey's approaches and his conclusions, particularly in relation to data collected on children. The battle Kinsey engaged between science and morality still lingers, as does the figure of Kinsey himself: the 2004 film *Kinsey*, directed by Bill Condon, presented again the currents and debates of his life.

Kinsey's work changed the way Americans thought about sexuality, even if they wished to retain a moral attitude. Even if Kinsey's interview samples were not entirely representative of a cross section of the American population, his work represented an important beginning in the study of a central phenomenon of human existence, long forbidden by the non-scientific pronouncements of moral authority. Although Kinsey himself had been rumored to engage in sexual experimentation, his insistence on a scientific basis for the study of sexual behavior made it possible to begin to reconsider the social problems caused by sexual repression, including birth control, marriage, and sexual variations in general. Thinking about sexuality as a field of scientific study instead of a realm of sin not only changed how sexuality is regarded, but also the place of sexuality in human existence.

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Judith Roof

KISS, PRE-MODERN

As a sign of affection likely as old as humanity and probably older, since it is a behavioral trait that humans share with other primates, kissing is well attested in a broad body of textual and visual artifacts throughout

ancient and medieval cultures. While thus possessing a certain degree of universality, like other gestures the kiss's meaning is ultimately culturally determined and, as such, dependent on context: Who is kissing whom? Before whom? For what reason? As Jean-Claude Schmitt (1990, p. 298) has observed of feudal ritual, by exchanging a kiss the parties indicate, to each other and to witnesses, that they share a mutually respectful intimacy and a social bond of community. It is precisely because the kiss is so culturally over-determined that its symbolic meaning can be, by turns, polysemous, ambiguous, or transgressive. A case in point: the kiss of Judas was on the one hand a simple sign by which Judas showed that Jesus was his "rabbi" or master; on the other, it was a gesture whose performative import was that of supreme betrayal.

A few textual examples drawn from the ancient world help elucidate the polysemous nature of the kiss. In his *Life of Alexander*, Plutarch (c. 46–c. 120 CE) describes two such occasions. After the boy Alexander successfully breaks the restive horse Bucephalus, his father Philip kisses him before the assembled company, exclaiming that his son should seek out a kingdom large enough for him since Macedonia is clearly too small (6.8). Later, having reached manhood, Alexander bestows a kiss before the public assembled in the theater upon his favorite, Bagoas, who has won a contest in singing and dancing (67.8). In each case, public recognition of an accomplishment, coupled with a newly enhanced social status, is expressed in the form of a kiss given by a superior to a man who is his inferior in age or status. The gesture, hierarchically structured yet suggestive of equality, serves to reaffirm a bond of affection, paternal in the first instance, erotic in the second, between men of public notoriety.

Some three centuries earlier, the Greek poet and originator of pastoral poetry, Theocritus (c. 320–c. 250 BCE), some of whose verses celebrate love between an older man and a youth, describes in *Idyll 12* a contest in Athens in which an arbiter seeks to determine which boy has the sweetest kiss. As with Plutarch's second example, kissing here occurs within a public and festive context, the playful description of which does not diminish its erotic charge. Finally, few classical texts can compare in erotic exuberance with *Song 5* of the *Catulli carmina* by the Roman poet Catullus (c. 84–c. 54 BCE), who enjoins his lover Lesbia to give him "a thousand kisses, then another hundred, / then another thousand, then a second hundred, / then yet another thousand, then another hundred" (lines 7–9). As with Theocritus, the ludic and formal qualities of Catullus's verse serve to heighten and refine his evocation of the passionate embraces between two lovers.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Song of Songs, which opens with the verse “Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth / for your breasts are better than wine” (1.1), underscores how the celebration of erotic love was recuperated and reinterpreted by Christian theologians to serve other, spiritual ends. Noting that the “curiously blatant eroticism of the *Song of Songs* is one of the most obvious features of the text” (1990, p. 32), E. Ann Matter argues that the Greek theologian Origen (c. 185–254) set the tone for the text’s reception and interpretation in Christian exegesis. Origen, who acknowledged the inherent eroticism of the text, understood it to be an epithalamium, or wedding hymn, in which the bridegroom is God and the bride either the Church or the Christian soul. Saint Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate (the definitive Latin Bible), also translated Origen’s *Homilies on the Song of Songs* into Latin, conferring on the controversial author’s reading a stamp of approval that guaranteed its dissemination and continued influence in the Christian West. Thus, in his *Sermons on the Song of Songs*, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) interprets the kiss as a mystical one (*spirituale osculum*) from the mouth of Christ, with whom mystical union is achieved through a series of ascending spiritual kisses: of the feet (beginning stage of penitential devotion), of the hand (linked to practice of a holy life), and, finally, of the mouth (Matter, p. 125, on Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, Sermo III.i.1).

Despite this spiritualization of the kiss, mystical union with Christ was usually described in highly eroticized terms. In an example analyzed by Schmitt (1990, p. 297–299), Rupert of Deutz (c. 1070–1129) describes how in a vision Christ not only received his kiss as a gesture of love (*gestum dilectionis*) but opened his mouth so that Rupert could kiss him more deeply (*os aperiret ut profundius oscularer*) (Rupert of Deutz, *De gloria et honore filii hominis super Matthaëum*, as quoted by Schmitt, p. 298). Rupert’s use of the word *dilectio* is particularly striking since this term was commonly used to refer to physical love between a man and a woman or, as in this case, two men.

In the liturgy of the medieval church (which seems to inform Bernard’s three-step mystical kiss) and in feudal ritual, one sees most clearly how the kiss was the constitutive gesture of sanctified social bonds. In the Gospels the kiss does not seem to possess a ritualized significance, but Saint Paul’s use of the formula for leave-taking with a sacred kiss (*en philemati hagio*) is highly suggestive of such a function. By the time of Justin Martyr (c. 100–165) the exchange of a kiss before the Offertory as a sign of charity was clearly the practice between Christians regardless of sex. Here again, tensions inherent in the kiss led to divergent understandings: The fact that the “sacred kiss” was exchanged between men

and women in the early church was criticized by non-Christians. Its use was subsequently limited to those of the same sex, then further to specific contexts, such as the welcoming of newly baptized members, the reconciliation of penitents, or the consecration of bishops. The *osculum pacis*, or Kiss of Peace, given by the clergy to the faithful during mass, was similarly limited in the later Middle Ages to the clergy alone, with the substitution of a sacred object for the faithful to kiss. The Kiss of Peace was omitted from mass on Maundy Thursday (doubtless so as to avoid all reference to the Kiss of Judas) and from the Mass for the Dead (during which the Eucharist was not distributed to the faithful, perhaps in order to prevent the placing of a consecrated host in the mouth of the deceased). Thus, within the liturgy of the church the kiss was a gesture so highly charged that its practice underwent numerous changes, the thrust of which was to limit all possible ambiguity or contamination (Cabrol 1907).

The possibility of ambiguity in the kiss given by the feudal lord to his vassal in the ritual granting of a fief also seems to have elicited containment. This ritual, analyzed by Jacques Le Goff (1977), typically consisted of three aspects: a verbal declaration of faith by the vassal; homage, signified by the vassal’s placing his hands between those of his lord (*immixtio manuum*); and finally the *osculum*, a kiss bestowed by the lord to the vassal mouth to mouth, *ore ad os*. Women, however, were apparently exempted from the *osculum*; nor did it figure in oaths of allegiance made by serfs. Indeed, while homage indicated the subservience of the vassal to his lord, the kiss denoted the recognition of mutual responsibilities and a thus a kind of parity. Its practice was therefore limited to noblemen (Le Goff 1977, p. 357).

There were also strikingly transgressive or subversive dimensions to the kiss. In a number of saint’s legends, the kissing of a leper—sometimes followed by miraculous healing—indicated that the saint rejected his worldly status, as in Thomas of Celano’s *Second Life of Saint Francis*, and embraced a bond of community with the most wretched (Peyroux 2000). In an entirely different register, courtly texts typically represent the kisses and embraces of lovers, often in a formulaic manner. A notable case of a transgressive kiss occurs in Canto V of Dante’s *Inferno* (lines 127–138), when Francesca and Paolo, incited by their reading of a Lancelot romance, seal their fate by exchanging a kiss. Another couple whose reading, in the context of master and pupil, was interrupted by kissing with equally disastrous results is Abelard and Heloise, as related in the former’s *Historia calamitatum* (c. 1132).

Sometimes, as has already been seen, a kiss could be given in the context of a game, as at the beginning of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century),



Paolo and Francesca. *Two young lovers kiss in Paolo and Francesca, a painting by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.* © THE ART ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

where the lady who loses the game must receive a knight's kiss. This text then stages another kind of game in which Gawain and his host Bertilak swear to give each other what each has garnered over the course of three days, during which Bertilak is on the hunt and Gawain back at the castle, passively receiving the advances of his host's wife. Gawain dutifully renders to Bertilak the kisses received from his wife, first *comlyly* (line 1505, in a comely way), then *hendely* (line 1639, in a courtly way), and finally *sauerly* and *sadly* (line 1937, tastily or feelingly, and seriously or solemnly) (Dinshaw 1994, p. 206). In her discussion of this text, Carolyn Dinshaw notes that the exchange of kisses of a carnal kind was severely condemned by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who wrote in the *Summa theologiae* that kisses and embraces for the sake of carnal pleasure were mortal sins. For Peter Damian (1007–1072), a moral reformer obsessed with the prospect of sodomitical behavior among the clergy, such kisses were especially egregious when they occurred between men (Dinshaw 1994, p. 210). How then was a medieval reader (or hearer), who had certainly heard the sin of sodomy condemned

from the pulpit or in the confessional, to understand the pleasurable kisses given by Gawain to Bertilak? As Dinshaw argues, the text presents rather perversely a test case in which the possibility of a homosexual—as opposed to a homosocial—bond is entertained, only to be ultimately contained.

A final example of a kiss between men that is fraught with sexual ambiguity occurs at the conclusion of the Pardoner's Tale in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (VI, lines 943–955), when the Pardoner invites the Host to kiss his relics. After the latter angrily responds to this sexually ambiguous invitation with the threat of castration, the Knight's suggestion that the two should exchange the Kiss of Peace, as Robert Sturges notes, “ironically raises exactly the sodomitical possibilities that the Host angrily disavowed” (Sturges 2000, p. 9).

The above examples, chosen from among many, demonstrate that the kiss, overly invested as it was with multiple meanings of both a sexual and non-sexual nature, could be deployed in the interest of social cohesion but could in certain circumstances result in a

cultural incoherence that threatened the very bonds it was meant to create.

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Robert L.A. Clark

KISS, MODERN

Kissing is the placing of the lips on some part of a person, animal, or thing, sometimes accompanied by a smacking sound. The word may come from the Old English *cos*, and has variants in both old Germanic and old Romance languages. Kissing in modern times can serve as a gesture of affection, a greeting, a parting, a romantic overture, a sexual practice, a sign of respect, a blessing, a sign of reverence, or an indicator of subordination. It seems to have historically been more important in the West than in many Asiatic, Polynesian, and sub-Saharan societies, and its ceremonial use in the West in the last thousand years has diminished as its erotic significance has grown. In nineteenth-century America, kissing was part of publicly conducted courtship, but became more private among middle-class couples as courtship moved indoors to sitting rooms and private parlors. The 1920s saw a resurgence of more public forms of kissing in the "petting parties" of teenagers and young adults, and public kissing between men and women has been viewed as a normal part of young adulthood ever since, though such tolerance in the United States has historically demanded that participants adhere to the American norms of heterosexual courtship; which is to say that those kissing should be of different genders and have the same racial background.

METHODS OF KISSING

In the United States, methods of kissing vary with degree of intimacy. An intimate form of social kissing used between good friends, family members, and lovers involves one person placing his or her lips directly on the lips of someone else. A slightly more formal kind of kissing is the greeting where one person places his or her lips on another person's cheek, a greeting or leave-taking usually practiced by friends and family, and a traditional gesture of respect—and, some would argue, domination—bestowed by men on women in the earlier and middle twentieth century. As the social relations between men and women began to change because of feminism and more women entering the workplace, this gesture, once considered a part of masculine decorum even in political and business settings, has been replaced by the more gender-neutral and less awkward handshake. Confusion as to the propriety of the old-fashioned chivalrous kiss of greeting can be seen fairly often in the breaches of protocol that occur when U.S. presidents, foreign diplomats, or Olympic athletes accidentally proffer the queen of England or other female royalty gentlemanly kisses on the cheek instead of the more proper bow and handshake.

Air kissing, where the lips of one person do not touch another's body but instead make only kissing sounds, evolved as a gesture of affection in the mid-twentieth century between women of the middle and upper classes who did not want to touch each other directly either because of physical squeamishness or, as is more likely, to avoid smearing each other's makeup. This gesture is sometimes still used by older women and women wearing a lot of makeup, but has fallen out of fashion, parodied in films and on television to comic effect as a superficial and hypocritical gesture of affection between social rivals who loathe each other in private but must keep up appearances of ladylike civility in public. The European gesture of touching one's cheek to either side of another person's face, a form of greeting that does not involve touching the lips anywhere, is related to the air kiss in that smacking sounds are sometimes made with the lips at the same time, but this form of greeting is less practiced in the United States than it is abroad.

Contemporary lovers and married people are allowed—and even expected—to kiss each other on the mouth in a more prolonged fashion, as a sexualized form of greeting and farewell. This type of kissing may be repetitive, open-mouthed, and more intense, though it is generally considered in poor taste to be overly sexual in public. Open-mouthed kissing, also known as "French" kissing, is always considered to be sexual, and its public use is determined by individual taste and social and cultural propriety. Marriages are sealed with a kiss that is expected to have some erotic significance, and kissing

in public between men and women or boys and girls of the same race is met with general societal approval almost everywhere in the United States and Europe. Tolerance for interracial relationships is increasing in many parts of Europe and the United States, though it can still be dangerous to display sexual affection for someone of another race. Same-sex erotic kissing, however, is prohibited in all but the most liberal enclaves in the United States and abroad. It is often permissible to kiss a same-sex partner in gay-friendly neighborhoods, businesses, and countries where gay marriage or domestic partnerships are legal, such as Canada, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands. Women kissing each other is generally more tolerated than male-male kissing because women are often not perceived to be sexual without men and many heterosexual men find lesbian displays of affection attractive and titillating. Nevertheless, kissing anyone of the same sex is usually read as indicative of homosexuality, and can be dangerous when performed in homophobic parts of the United States and the world where gay bashing is common.

Kissing is not as sexualized elsewhere to the extent that it is in the United States, and same-sex kissing may therefore be more freely tolerated even in parts of the world that severely punish homosexual acts. For example, it is considered normal in many Mediterranean countries and parts of the Middle East for men to kiss each other, hold hands, and keep their arms around each other, and affection between women is the norm in most of the world. Furthermore, in Muslim countries such as Malaysia, even men and women can be arrested for kissing each other if they are not married.

Kissing is not, of course, confined to the lips or face. It is common to kiss the hands of friends and loved ones as a gesture of affection in many parts of Africa. Kissing the hand can be a gesture of respect or reverence, such as when clerics kiss the rings on the hands of archbishops, cardinals, or popes. Presidents and kings are expected to kiss the heads of children in a gesture of blessing, and a kiss on the head by a parent or authority figure is commonly understood to sanction and favor the undertaking of a young person, such as a marriage or journey.

Sexualized kissing can involve any area of the body, from mouth kisses to the genital kisses of oral sex. Kissing the neck, breasts, stomach, genitals, or anus of a lover or lovers can be either a prelude to other types of genital sexual activity or a sexual activity in itself. This type of kissing in the context of heterosexual sexual intercourse is commonly referred to as “foreplay” for those interested in differentiating coitus from the types of sexual acts that precede it. Prolonged kissing of all kinds is considered crucial to sexual arousal as long as participants view these

types of kisses as attractive, and physiological responses to kissing include all the signs of arousal, such as increased heart rate, increased breathing, flushed skin, dilated pupils, vaginal lubrication, swelling and tenderness of the nipples, clitoral or penile erection, swelling of the testes, and thickening of the scrotum.

TABOOS AND CENSORSHIP

Some types of kisses are considered unacceptable in certain contexts. Some people find genital kissing to be repugnant, and many people consider anal kissing, or “rimming,” taboo. Kissing or licking in such a way as to suggest sexual activity with other traditionally taboo objects, such as animals or dead people, is almost universally held to be taboo. Open-mouthed, or French, kissing, is the most erotically charged kind of social kissing, and therefore is generally taboo between people who are not socially approved as lovers in various contexts, such as between adults and children in countries where child marriage and sex between adults and minors is illegal, people of different races or religions in areas of prejudice and racial and religious strife, unmarried men and women in Muslim countries, same-sex partners in homophobic countries, married people and partners other than their spouses in places that condemn adultery, and those related by blood ties that are deemed too close for marriage, such as siblings, children or grandchildren, parents or grandparents, and sometimes, first cousins. The term *kissing cousins* can refer to married first cousins, people related to each other by marriage but not by blood, or simply cousins who know each other so well that they greet each other with kisses.

The media has traditionally censored kissing in much the same way as it has other kinds of sexual behavior. In India, any type of kissing was until recently unacceptable to portray on film. In the United States, the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors Association adopted its Production Code, also known as the Hays Code, in 1930 to regulate moral standards in its films. The Catholic National Legion of Decency was formed in 1933 to monitor sexual content in the movies, introducing a rating system that was later adapted by the Motion Picture Association of America, which released its first rating scheme in 1968. The Hays Code of 1930 forbade the sympathetic portrayal of sinful, criminal, and perverse behavior, and forbade lustful kisses of any kind. Kisses were limited to quick pecks and the closed-mouthed pressing of lips between men and women in such a way as to suggest fierce but contained passion. Gay or lesbian romantic kisses were almost never shown on film and never shown on television until 1991, when *L.A. Law* had female coworkers kiss, and when they were, such as the 1994 *Roseanne* episode in which Roseanne kisses Muriel Hemingway, the network

broadcast a parental advisory. One of the loveliest tributes ever made to the power of the screen kiss remains Giuseppe Tornatore's 1988 film, *Cinema Paradiso*, the story line of which includes a village priest who censors and excises film kisses, a boy who loves the movies, and a final scene where the boy-turned-man, heartbroken and alone, returns to the little town and movie house of his childhood to find an old reel of all the censored passionate kisses spliced together, one after another, in glorious succession. As this film suggests, the kiss in modern culture is understood chiefly as a romantic gesture, and it is this aspect of kissing that enjoys the most social significance in film and television.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay*.

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Jaime Hovey

KOLLONTAI, ALEXANDRA 1872–1952

Alexandra Kollontai, née Domontovich, Bolshevik feminist and diplomat, was born in St. Petersburg on March 31 (March 19, old style), 1872, the daughter of a Russian general and a half-Finnish mother. Her girlhood radical sympathies arose from reading French and Russian novels and from news about the executed assassins of Tsar Alexander II in 1881—one of whom was female. Alexandra was briefly married to Vladimir Kollontai, son of a Polish political exile. In the 1890s, she aligned herself with the Russian Marxists who in 1903 divided into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. At first a Menshevik, she published anticapitalist works and distributed illegal pamphlets to St. Petersburg factory workers. After witnessing Bloody Sunday in 1905, when tsarist troops shot down unarmed workers, Kollontai became a full-time revolutionary. At the same time, Russian feminists, after the establishment of a parliament, were agitating for women's suffrage. Kollontai, outraged that feminists ignored the class struggle, worked to enlist female factory workers into a proletarian women's movement that would join the struggle for a socialist revolution. She launched an



Alexandra Kollontai. KEYSTONE/GETTY IMAGES.

assault on what she called “bourgeois feminism” while attempting to bring issues of women's lives to the attention of her largely indifferent male socialist colleagues.

During World War I, Kollontai sided with the Bolsheviks on their antiwar positions. In 1917 she organized women against the war and the Provisional Government. When the Bolsheviks took power that year, she gained a temporary appointment as commissar of public welfare and a few years later headed up Zhenotdel—the women's section of the Bolshevik (now Communist) Party. In the early 1920s, she used her position to fight prostitution, recruit women into politics, propagandize their right to divorce and abortion, and work for the emancipation of Central Asian Muslim women. But she also incurred censure for leading an opposition faction within the party. Kollontai's factionalism and her sexual writings led Vladimir Lenin and his successors to remove her from Soviet domestic politics by appointing her to diplomatic posts in Norway and Mexico, and eventually as ambassador to Sweden. She survived Joseph Stalin's lethal purges and World War II and died in Moscow on March 9, 1952.

Kollontai, more than any other Bolshevik—male or female—delved into gender issues before and after the revolution. While condemning prostitution, which “smothers love in human hearts,” she allowed for sex outside formal marriage for both genders. She viewed marriage practices of her day as emotionally constrictive and failing to allow for incompatibility. Her ideal partnership was a comradesly union of equals, whose offspring would be raised, if the couple wished, with the help of the state. She considered free unions just as legitimate as legal marriage, but warned women of the traps set by consuming passion that could drain their energy and often flatten their egos. For Kollontai, reproductive freedom was essential, though she saw the 1920 Soviet legalization of abortion a necessary evil that a socialist society would obviate through the state’s ability to care for of all children. Going beyond legal and social policy, Kollontai developed the notion of “winged eros,” sensuous and rarefied “love play” that required mutual sensitivity and independence for both partners. Opposing any restraint on sexual and reproductive life, she posited a “New Woman” of self-discipline, individuality, sexually, and economic independence in a future collectivist society where those who chose parenthood cared for their own and for others’ children under a state umbrella of communal housekeeping.

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Richard Stites

KRAFFT-EBING, RICHARD

1840–1902

Richard Freiherr (Baron) von Krafft-Ebing was one of the great modern sexologists, and is remembered for his exhaustive catalogue of modern sexual desires and practices, the landmark *Psychopathia Sexualis*, first published in German in 1886. Krafft-Ebing was born August 14, 1840, in Mannheim, Baden, Germany, to a family from the minor nobility. His grandfather encouraged him to study medicine, which he did, attending the University of Heidelberg and specializing in psychiatry. He then worked as an alienist, or psychiatric doctor, in various insane asylums, before becoming a professor. He taught first at Strasbourg, at that time only recently acquired by Germany, then later at Graz, in the Austro-Hungarian empire, and then in Vienna. In those days alienists were wardens without a proper medical procedure for classifying and treating the insane, so Krafft-Ebing provided a system for categorizing and classifying mental disorders in his first major work, *A Textbook of Insanity*, published in 1879. He continued his system of classification in his second major work, *Psychopathia Sexualis*.

Psychiatric interest in sexual deviance in the mid-nineteenth century was part of a larger interest in criminal behavior, including the psychological makeup of criminals. Psychiatrists stressed the need to look at underlying mental illness as well as criminal behavior in treating offenders, and more specifically, at the relationship between sex and psychology. In *Psychopathis Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing introduced four categories of sexual abnormality. The first, “paradoxia,” described sexual desire at the wrong time of life, such as infancy or old age; the second, “anaesthesia,” referred to lack of sexual desire; the third, “hyperesthesia,” to excessive desire, and the last “paresthesia,” to the “wrong” object or aim of sexual behavior, also known as “perversion.” It is for cataloging this last group of so-called abnormalities that *Psychopathia Sexualis* and its author are best remembered in the early twenty-first century.

Most of *Psychopathis Sexualis* is concerned with sexual perversion, or “the perversions.” Perversion is an old-fashioned diagnostic term that once served as a label for sexual activities considered outside the norm of heterosexual sexual desire and activity. Sexual perversion was defined as any type of sexual activity, regardless of the sex of the participants, other than heterosexual coitus. *Psychopathia Sexualis* defines sexual perversion as a disease of the sexual instinct, as opposed to sexual *perversity*, which is defined as vice rather than pathology. The sexual perversions delineated by Krafft-Ebing included sadism, masochism, fetishism, bestiality, sexual inversion in men and



Richard Krafft-Ebing. *One of the great modern sexologists.*
IMAGNO/GETTY IMAGES.

women (understood either as what is now termed homosexuality, on the one hand, or gender dysphoria, on the other, or both), rape, nymphomania, onanism (masturbation), pedophilia, exhibitionism, necrophilia, and incest.

Krafft-Ebing spent a major portion of *Psychopathia Sexualis* discussing homosexuality, primarily in men. He developed three categories of homosexual: Psychosexual Hermaphroditism, Congenital Inversion, and Acquired Anti-Pathic Sexual Instinct.

He theorized that some men with degenerate heredity suffer from Psychosexual Hermaphroditism, which makes them attracted to both women and men. He believed that hypnosis, electricity, and the avoidance of masturbation could be used to cure psychosexual hermaphrodites of their homosexual desires. He also thought that patients with Congenital Inversion suffered from degenerate heredity, but concluded that since most congenital inverters felt that their inclinations were natural, treatment was unlikely to be effective. He classified two types of Acquired Anti-Pathic Sexual Instinct, the first as an acquired awareness of perverse feelings brought on by excessive masturbation; the second resulting from over-indulgence in heterosexual activity, where bored men

then turn to men and boys for new sexual thrills. Krafft-Ebing diagnosed these men as “cultivated pederasts,” and sternly condemned their unrestrained lust.

Krafft-Ebing’s book was criticized by doctors who thought homosexuality was pornographic and best ignored, so to mollify them, Krafft-Ebing described sex acts in Latin. This also had the effect of discouraging non-medical readers from accidentally learning something new. This practice of Latin encoding continued in editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* until well into the middle of the twentieth century, and many of these copies can still be found. Other critics complained that the book lacked an underlying theory to account for the practices and desires it classified. This lack of a grand theory may be one reason why the book lasted so long as a scholarly resource; its classifications do not require that one buy into one school of psychiatric medicine or another, and the book functions equally well as a work of cultural history.

Krafft-Ebing’s work helped transform society’s view of sexual deviants from criminals needing punishment into patients needing treatment. To do this, he distinguished between the perverse and the pervert. Those who commit “abnormal” sex acts for thrills or money are, in Krafft-Ebing’s terms, perverse, and deserve punishment because they act against their normal heterosexual natures. Perverts like congenital homosexuals, on the other hand, are acting in accordance with their natures, and cannot help themselves without medical treatment. Krafft-Ebing thought that these people were sick and deserved treatment, not punishment. Later in life he revised many of his prejudices about homosexuals, eventually coming to believe that homosexuality should be decriminalized.

Despite the Latin phrases in many editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing’s work helped incite and proliferate the very sexual diversity it sought to classify and control. His categories helped people name themselves and their desires, and served to break down the isolation many of them experienced as homosexuals, fetishists, masochists, and sadists, among others. Krafft-Ebing coined the words *masochist* and *sadist*, the first after the author of *Venus in Furs*, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose protagonist wants to be enslaved by a beautiful woman; the second for the Marquis de Sade, whose writings celebrated the pleasures of sexual cruelty. *Psychopathia Sexualis* was the first book to discuss homosexuality scientifically, and one of the first to discuss female sexual pleasure in any depth. Readers contacted him throughout his lifetime, some to seek treatment, others to discuss their particular cases and sexual desires.

Krafft-Ebing retired from teaching at sixty-one, but continued to write and see patients. He died a year later,

on December 22, 1902, just three years before the publication of Sigmund Freud's revolutionary *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Freud's work would radically blur the line between normal and abnormal, heterosexual and homosexual, and healthy and deviant sexuality. Krafft-Ebing, however, laid the groundwork for a greater tolerance of sexual diversity in society at large by taking sexual behavior seriously, lending it the dignity of scientific examination, and separating sexual issues from criminal and moral ones. In the early 2000, he is rightly revered as one of the great nineteenth-century pioneers of sexual science, whose painstaking research helped bring modern, twentieth-century notions of sexual expression into existence.

SEE ALSO *Sexology*.

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Jaime Hovey

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LABOR AND WORKFORCE IN AFRICA, ASIA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST

In an era of globalization, labor and workforce patterns in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are linked to transnational trends and economies, as skilled and unskilled workforces compete in increasingly mobile and interconnected labor markets. A skilled workforce with strong female participation plays a key role in building a healthy economy, just as the buffering effects of long-term employment arrangements contribute to economic, social, and political stability. Conversely, extended periods of high unemployment and weakened economies can lead to instability. Women, children, and unskilled workers are the most vulnerable to exploitation in weak or failing economies.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER

Although the link between human development and economic growth is complex, many countries in these regions that have invested heavily in human development have reaped the benefits of skilled and diverse workforces able to compete in the global economic market. Other countries that were faced with a legacy of sluggish economic systems, outdated infrastructures, and weak human capital, are ill-equipped to face the challenges of the twenty-first century. To compete in an increasing global market and ensure economic growth, countries must invest in human capital and promote women's empowerment.

The East Asian experience demonstrated the effectiveness of economic models based on labor-intensive, light manufacturing for export that are highly reliant on female labor. Investment in the workforce contributed heavily to the strong economic growth of the Asian economic "Tigers"—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea—beginning in the 1960s and continuing through the late 1990s. These export-driven economies required an educated, trained, skilled, and disciplined workforce.

Malaysia and Singapore heavily promoted science and technology for undergraduates, whereas approximately half Taiwan's university population studied engineering or business development. Improved education for girls from the 1970s through the 1990s played an important role in increased women's employment in Malaysia, where women account for just under 36 percent of the workforce. In Cambodia, women represent 84 percent of the garment industry workers—estimated at 200,000.

Because of the sheer size of its workforce, low wages, and new models of production, China has begun to impact global markets in a significant way. The restructuring and privatization of state-owned and urban collective-owned factories in the late 1990s initially brought about massive layoffs, but increased labor productivity. In the early twenty-first century China's manufacturing industry is among the most competitive in the world, albeit highly dependent on stable energy costs. The vast majority of China's manufacturing jobs lie outside city boundaries, while an estimated 100 to 150 million rural workers subsist on part-time, low paying jobs.

The Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998 devastated many economies in the region, but most have since



Japanese Department Store Workers. “Service girls” are trained at a Matsuya department store in Tokyo. Women learn how to bow to the correct angle and practice bowing to customers entering the store or riding the escalators. © KAREN KASMAUSKI/CORBIS.

recovered despite lingering structural weaknesses. Between 1990 and 2002, increasing numbers of East Asian women have moved out of agricultural work and into industrial and services sectors. Cambodia saw an 8 percent increase of female employment in manufacturing, while Indonesia and the Philippines witnessed 10 and 6 percent increases respectively.

India is another economic giant in Asia. Unlike China’s export-driven manufacturing economy, India’s greatest strength lies in the service sector, catering to the information technology needs of other countries. At the center of India’s success is a well-educated workforce, skilled in the digital world of information technology, and proficient in English.

By contrast, much of the Arab world suffers from sluggish economies that have failed to invest in human capital and integrate women into the formal sector. Education systems in the Arab world fail to consistently produce graduates with solid marketable job skills, and the influence of conservative Islamic influences greatly hinders the entry of women into the formal sector.

Unemployment rates remain at double-digit levels in many countries of the Middle East: Yemen 35 percent, Libya 30 percent, and Algeria 17 percent. Over-reliance on oil production in the Gulf region has created lopsided economies, large and inefficient public sectors, and workers heavily reliant on government jobs. Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Kuwait, for example, depend greatly on imported labor from South and Southeast Asia to fill vacancies for jobs deemed undesirable or inappropriate by locals.

Research indicates that women traditionally work more than men in most environments. In developing countries, however, women’s labor accounts for an even larger share of the workload: 13 percent higher than men in society as a whole, and 20 percent higher in rural areas. In more traditional Muslim communities, the bulk of women’s work is typically unpaid and lies in the informal sector—agriculture and family enterprises, for example—while religious and cultural traditions prevent a high participation of women in the formal sector. In 2004, women only represented approximately 15 percent of the

2006 World Development Indicators		
Country	Estimated Annual Wages for Manufacturing	Female Percentage of Workforce
East Asia & Pacific		43.8
China	\$729	44.6
Hong Kong	\$10,353	45.8
Indonesia	\$3,054	37.8
Malaysia	\$3,429	35.6
Singapore	\$22,317	39.8
South Korea	\$10,743	40.7
Middle East & North Africa		27.2
Algeria	\$2638	30.2
Egypt	\$1863	21.8
Kuwait	—	24.8
Saudi Arabia	—	14.8
Yemen	\$1291	27.7
Sub-Saharan Africa		42.2
Lesotho	—	44.7
Madagascar	—	48.4
Mauritius	\$1973	35.3

SOURCE: <http://devdata.worldbank.org/wdi2006/contents/Section2.htm>.

2006 World Development Indicators. THOMSON GALE.

formal workforce in Saudi Arabia, 25 percent in Kuwait, and 22 percent in Egypt. Where Islamic restrictions on interaction between the sexes are strong, even in professional settings, men work almost exclusively in many service industries—hotels, restaurants, and retail shops. Domestic workers in Pakistan are routinely men, boys, or Christian women. Saudi Arabia and Jordan hire large numbers of non-Muslim women from South and Southeast Asia to serve as domestics.

Under the 1996 to 2001 rule of the radical Islamist sect, the Taliban (meaning “the students,” because they had formerly been educated at radical madrassahs in Pakistan proper and the Pakistani tribal areas, where they fled during the rule of the Afghan warlords following the collapse of the Soviet-dominated government), Afghan women suffered from extremist interpretations of Islamic norms. Officials from the government’s Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice department—modeled after Saudi and Iranian virtue and vice law enforcement systems—enforced restrictions preventing women from working outside the home. Women caught in the street, shops, or taxis without a male family member escort ran the risk of beatings. Girls’ education in many parts of Afghanistan was strictly forbidden. Female teachers and health-care workers forced out of the public’s eye often provided underground services out of their homes. As a result, education and health care for girls and

women suffered. By contrast, the Taliban recognized the indispensability of female labor in the agricultural sector, and women were regularly found in the fields.

In sharp contrast to the skilled workforce of the Asian economic “Tigers,” gender inequalities related to education and formal sector employment have contributed to slow economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa. According to one estimate, women perform 60 to 90 percent of the agricultural work. Women play a smaller role in the textile and garment industries, with the exception of a few African countries, such as Lesotho, Mauritius, and Madagascar. Women entrepreneurs also face a variety of gender-based obstacles. In Uganda, one study cited restrictive access to finance, assets, justice services, and information as a reason for limiting economic expansion.

MIGRANT WORKERS: BENEFITS AND CONSEQUENCES

Many economies in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia rely heavily on remittances sent from abroad. Migrant workers often send remittances to their native countries to support families, construct homes, start businesses, and build “nest eggs.” An estimated 20 million Asia migrant workers worked abroad. Migrant workers from Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Indonesia, Cambodia, and other countries migrate to the Middle East, Europe, and North America in search of better paying jobs. In 2000 alone, remittances to the Philippines amounted to \$6 billion, while migrant workers sent \$1 billion to Indonesia.

Oil-producing Gulf states have traditionally imported workers from other Arab countries, and from South and Southeast Asia to fill gaps in the labor market. Reliance on remittances from family members abroad has masked failing economies in the Arab world that otherwise would be vulnerable to unpredictable oil markets, economic shocks, and political uncertainties. Palestinian and Jordanian economies, for example, suffered after the Gulf War with Iraq in 1991. As a result of Palestinian and Jordanian support for Saddam Hussein, oil-rich Gulf countries, such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, expelled 700,000 workers to return to their native countries to face high unemployment, low salaries, and limited prospects.

Although most adult, voluntary economic migrant workers find legitimate employment, others suffer various types of exploitation and fall prey to human traffickers. Women and children are often the most vulnerable. The majority of Filipino and Sri Lankan female migrant workers serve as domestics. An estimated 1.5 million Filipino women work throughout Asia, while 84 percent of migrant workers from Sri Lanka are women. Some 200,000 foreign domestic workers can be found in Hong

Kong and 155,000 in Malaysia. The majority of the one million female workers in Saudi Arabia work as domestics. Sub-Saharan African women also work as domestics: Ethiopian and West African women migrate to Lebanon, and Ethiopians and Cape Verdeans can be found in Italy.

Female domestic workers may fall victim to physical and verbal abuse, long hours, sexual exploitation, low wages, and exploitative conditions in the Arab world and elsewhere, where employers are known to seize passports, intimidate, and threaten victims with deportation. In Singapore, an estimated 147 domestic workers died—most as a result of suicide or falling from buildings—between 1999 and 2005. Approximately 19,000 women fled their domestic employers in Saudi Arabia in 2000 alone.

The International Labor Organization estimates that nearly 2.5 million victims of human trafficking suffer exploitative conditions. Most of these victims come from South and Southeast Asia—approximately 375,000 men, women, and children. Some 50,000 Africans are trafficked each year. Women and children from Nepal are routinely trafficked to the Arab countries, India, and elsewhere for commercial sexual exploitation. According to one estimate, between 100,000 and 200,000 Nepalese women and girls are forced to work as prostitutes in Indian brothels against their will. Indian and Pakistani women and girls are trafficked to the Middle East. According to an anti-trafficking nongovernmental organization (NGO) in Iraq, criminal gangs traffic local women through Northern Iraq to Syria, Jordan, Turkey, Iran, and other countries. Women and children from Eastern Europe, China, Thailand, Malawi, and Mozambique are trafficked to South Africa.

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Craig Davis

LACAN, JACQUES 1901–1981

Jacques Lacan was born in Paris, France, on April 13, 1901, and died there on September 9, 1981. Lacan began his career as the *chef de clinique* of psychiatry at Sainte-Anne, the major psychiatric hospital in Paris. His doctoral dissertation had been on the subject of paranoid psychosis, although he was not to publish it until 1975. It was written in 1932 and was entitled *De la psychose paranoïaque dans ses rapports avec la personnalité*. Lacan argued in this thesis that narcissism can be the cause of psychosis when two people, seeming to merge into one, have not individuated into one. For example, the infant and the mother are identified in the infant's psyche as one between about six to eighteen months of age. With the advent of language and "no," individuation—psychic separation—occurs for most people. His thesis gave a whole new meaning to narcissism, which, indeed, he later rethought and argued was a cornerstone of the "I" in every person and not in and of itself pathological, as Sigmund Freud thought.

From the beginning of his career, Lacan was a leader in psychoanalysis in France. Fluent in German, he had access to Freud's texts in a way that most of his colleagues did not. Given that one of his early assignments was to design a formal institutional training program for analysts, it follows that he would critique the various methods, ultimately coming up with his own seminar that could be attended by anyone, with credit for courses given to those in psychoanalytic training.

Lacan's ideas began to take on a radical cast as he attended Alexandre Kojève's lectures on Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. Lacan ended up rethinking the master/slave relation, viewing the slave as the master, as well as making use of Kojève's idea that the synthesis was not about unity but about the plethora of contradictions that each thesis and anti-thesis give rise to in



Jacques Lacan. RUE DES ARCHIVES/THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

their sublation. He also began to meet with the surrealist circle of writers, painters, and philosophers in whose journals he began to publish short essays, such as “Logical Time” (1945), a reply to Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) on the three prisoner conundrum. This means that three prisoners are offered freedom for the first one who can ascertain the color of the disk that has been pinned on his back. The warden has three white disks and two black disks and does not tell them he will not use any black disks, although he does not. They cannot see their own backs, nor is there any mirroring device in the room. They all figure out at the same time that if anyone had seen a black disk on his neighbor’s back, he would have first exited, having figured that he had a white disk. They exit together. The logic has to do with what they do not see, a black disk. This gives rise to a different way of thinking about the logic of time. There is the moment for seeing, the time for understanding, and the moment of conclusion. Unlike Freud, however, Lacan did not publish his major writings regularly throughout his career. Although he published some papers from 1926 on, he did not publish his first major

collection, the *Ecrits*, until 1966 when he was sixty-five years old. His twenty-seven volumes of Seminars are being published one by one by Lacan’s chosen literary and intellectual inheritor, Jacques-Alain Miller. More than half have appeared in French and Spanish and are being translated into multiple languages.

Miller has discerned three major periods of Lacan’s teaching. It has been said that Lacan’s first two periods of teaching are similar to Freud’s first period of studying the subconscious, preconscious, and conscious mind, and his second period studying the id, ego, and superego. Lacan’s shift from work on language and identifications to his topological placing of different subjective effects in the third period of his theory, though, was so profound that it is distinct from his own previous work and the work of Freud.

LANGUAGE, SEXUALITY, AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Lacan’s first theoretical period was 1953 to 1964, when Lacan elaborated the rereading of Freud he had begun in the 1920s and 1930s and worked on the assertion that “the unconscious is structured like a language.” By that he meant that the unconscious has order, structure, and that it speaks the language of desire, different from the language of conscious thought. But unconscious language is nonetheless made up of concrete letters of thought and works according to the laws of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor means that one signifier is substituted for another one in meaning making, and metonymy means that we displace primary references into a primordial period that cannot itself be remembered—only unary traits of them are left over. There is no memory possible before language, but there are unary traits of early experiences that seem to dwell outside language. Lacan’s work on the metaphorical/metonymical structure of unconscious language laws was taken from his putting together Freud’s work on condensation and displacement as well as linguist Roman Jakobson’s work on metaphor and metonymy as the two major tropes of speech, as well as the two different ways in which the brain works by motor (dis)order or sensory (dis)order.

Not only is the unconscious structured like a language, and in concrete letters such as A, B, or C, but it is also not some mystical unconscious, nor some Freudian mechanistic id. The unconscious also functions in sexuality, Lacan says in Seminar XI. Unconscious language enters conscious language through *jouissance*, which gives libidinal quality to language. The unconscious projects libidinal meaning of desire—whose home is the unconscious—into language, images, and thought, materializing language for *jouissance*, not only representational meaning. Desire—unlike *jouissance*, which is

absolute—functions as an oscillation between wanting and having. We cannot want something if we have not lost it. Refinding any object we have desired means momentary fulfillment, with the structural lack always reinserting itself. In one sense, this is a new theory of motivation. Lacan's *Che vuoi?* (What do you really want?) graph is marked by the signifier for desire which is the subject as lacking (Ξ), (Lacan's macheme for the dividing subject) aiming itself via the path of the voice, castration, jouissance, and fantasy to the place of the ideal ego that is an unconscious formation. We only get glimpses of the ideal ego through the partners we choose, whom Lacan calls ego ideals or Others. The first period of his teaching is also marked by a development of the imaginary order; that is, the order of narcissism and identification with the Others of one's surrounding universe. This first occurs in a mirror-stage period that lasts approximately from three to eighteen months and is a first fixation of identification with immediate Others and the Other of the social order.

In Lacan's first period of teaching, when he was preoccupied with the function and field of speech and language in psychoanalysis, he pushes the study of language away from its empiricist, behavioral, and developmental positivistic roots in the ideas of a consciousness of self. He flies in the face of cognitive theories that would have the brain speak itself to show us, rather, how the symbol system comes to reside in the brain in the first place. Lacan argued that there was no ego synthesis and that developmental psychology tries to equate the development of mentality with biologically based cause, be it via the theories of Charles Darwin (1809–1882), Jean Piaget (1896–1980), or Noam Chomsky (b. 1928). Psychic causality does not lie in organodynamism, but in a series of structures that are laid down from the beginning of life on, such as the mirror-stage logical structure, the experience of the objects-cause of desire (the breast, the feces, the urinary flow, the [imaginary] phallus, the voice, the gaze, the phoneme, and the nothing) ("Subversion," p. 303). It is important to know that Lacan has no innate structures nor any biological explanations for the cause of being or behavior. All these structures continue to function throughout life. So we have a root cause for aggressivity and jealousy in the mirror-stage structure, a root cause for desire in the primordial objects that cause it and drive us to seek to refind the jouissance of an object desired.

Lacan also comes up in his first period of teaching with the object *a*. At first he stressed the importance of the Other (*Autre*) in the seeking of objects to fill our lack-in-being. Then, he dropped the idea of a person qua object and argued that anything can work as a filler for lack. Thus, he coined the term object *a*. Experiences surrounding these early moments—object-cause of desire, mirror-stage, Oedipal "castration" by the Name-

of-the-Father function—build into fundamental fantasies that operate consciousness from the unconscious realm of "fictions" that Lacan wrote as *fixions*. The infantile is replaced by structure, that which gives order, but does not speak its fantasy. Rather, bits of the unconscious are welded to language and appear also in the phenomena of the slip, humor, repetitions, and so on, that Freud named. Nor is there a self-knowledge preceding consciousness, only a series of emergent forms of images, words, and traumata of the real. Lacan's imaginary dimension displaces Freud's concept of sexual developmental stages (the oral, anal, and genital), arguing that we depend on others and a universe of language to satisfy and multiply our desires. And our primary desire is for the satisfaction that is jouissance, meaning both enjoyment and an excess in enjoyment that can border on pain of the repetitious, fixations. We refind the function of our organs in language where the signifier is incorporated, materializing or corporifying language and the imaginary body by the real.

SIGNIFIERS AND SYMBOLS

The second period of Lacan's teaching lasted from approximately 1964 to 1974. Lacan set forth his major concepts at the *École normale supérieure* and the Law Faculty adjacent to the Sorbonne and Panthéon. He not only developed the symbolic order as the order of language and conventions, of law and the Name-of-the-Father signifier (which interdicts psychic oneness between a child and its mother), he also rewrote Freud's Oedipal complex in what he called a paternal metaphor. In this formula the Name-of-the-Father signifier supercedes the mother's desire. Thus the Name-of-the-Father places the social order of language and law—the Other—over the phallus, or the child as the beloved person between the parental couple. The child will be alienated into the desire of the Other by language and intentions, starting even before birth. He or she is further set apart from any direct access to the unconscious by the continual cuts or losses of things that satisfy. There is a constant movement of seeming consistency among the imaginary and symbolic orders, but the real of conflict or discontinuity continually inserts itself into these two other orders, making vague anxiety and trauma the order of the day as opposed to any holistic sense of an ongoing harmony of being.

During this period, Lacan also came up with a theory of the drives that displaces Freud's idea of them as id "motive forces." The drives are made up of the images and signifiers, the cuts and alienations, the material of everyday life, and Lacan calls them a montage. They still bear the Freudian vicissitudes of aim, goal, object, and force, but the aim misses its goal and the object remains

just out of reach, although it can be temporarily grasped to fill the void in being that Lacan places at the center of all experience. Lacan developed this *matheme*, meaning that the ensemble of the Other is not whole. There is always loss at its center because this is the way that objects are invested with desire in the first place, having value only once they are lost.

In the second period of his teaching, Lacan was rejected by the International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA). Various reasons were given for this, including the fact that Lacan had sessions of varying length. Given that language is operated on by the real, the moment of ending of a session is enunciated by the analysand, not the analyst. Lacan was rejected, as well, for criticizing various theories of the ego in his first period of teaching and for showing how the social enters the individual through language. He had called into question the sacred theories of classical-psychoanalytic biological drive theory and ego defense theory, as well as the whole person theories on which object relations theories based themselves. Although the IPA shortly thereafter tried to get Lacan to rejoin them, he refused and carried on his development of Freud's work in what is now called the Freudian Field.

TOPOLOGY OF SUBJECTIVE EFFECTS

The third period of Lacan's teaching was from 1974 to 1981. In this period, he reworked his category of the real, making it the basic binding of flesh to thought via unary traits. He also developed a topology based on the Borromean knot, illustrating his reconsideration of the interlocking categories of the real, symbolic, and imaginary. A revolutionary moment occurred when his *Seminar XXIII* on James Joyce, *Le sinthome*, appeared. A major rethinking of the Name-of-the-Father signifier was articulated. He argued that the Name-of-the-Father is not the only way to bring law and order into the dyad of the infant and mother, thus creating a social order, but that the function of such a name can be pronounced and effected by anyone to whom such authority is granted. This took away the Oedipal family idea of how one comes to be a speaking being with desire, fantasy, drives, and so on. In one tribe, Lacan remarked, the Name-of-the-Father function was not even linked to reproduction; the function was given to a river god. Moreover, Lacan made a distinction between the symptom, which is a sign of bodily discontent, and the *sinthome*, which is the way in which the Name-of-the-Father binds the orders of the real, imaginary, and symbolic together such that they are more than a vast associative linking of orders that work by different laws, but which work together to effect any conscious act. They only work because a certain "ideo-

logical" knotting joins them together. In psychosis, this knotting does not exist, because the condition of psychosis is a refusal of the separation Lacan called castration, a refusal of twoness in the name of an ongoing mental identification with the maternal One.

In the third and final periods of his teaching, Lacan brought into question what it is that we call mind, knowledge, even science. Generally *mind* is taken as a kind of metaphor for identifications with language, images, and others, or as a brain function. This is not to say that the brain is not affected by our mental activities. Lacan simply reversed the order of cause and effect. By arguing that the symbolic and the imaginary constitute not only subjectivity, but also the real of the drive, Lacan showed how mind and body are linked via desire/lack, *jouissance*, fantasy, unary traits, and so on, thus obviating both the mind/body dualism of centuries of Western thought, and the phenomenological split between the subject of consciousness and objects of the world. The subject is consistent with an image of his or her body in the imaginary, fading and covered with holes and gaps in the symbolic, and absolute in the real. Thus, the subject dwells—*qua* object—in the gaps between signifiers, in the language materialized by *jouissance* effects.

LACAN'S INFLUENCE

What is most relevant for theories of sex and gender in Lacan's teaching is not only that he rethought them in a revolutionary fashion, but that he made sexuality the *cause* of being and knowing, making childhood sexuality itself the base of the four different categories of desire that mark each person's resolution of the trauma of sexual difference as a matter of not being whole—of identifying with the difference between the sexes as itself a third thing, an abstract signifier. These four ways of resolution are: the normative masquerade marked by repression of the sexual difference as having any meaning; the neuroses (hysteria and obsession) marked by denial that the difference makes any difference; perversion marked by a repudiation of this difference that is replaced by a fetish; and psychosis that forecloses the difference, remaining imprisoned in the logic of One. The normative person plays out the sexual roles of a given cultural moment. Within the neuroses category, the hysteric, usually female, is split between identification with the father and brothers and the mother and sisters, while the obsessional's question is one of guilt, having been preferred to his father by his mother. His question is "Am I alive or dead?" The obsessional has identified so strongly with the mother that he is hard put to act "manly" in the symbolic. The hysteric's basic question is "Am I a woman or a man?" The perverse subject practices masochism or sadism. The masochist is one who is not intent

on desire, but on directly bringing *jouissance* to the Other. The sadist is concerned, rather, with making the Other feel anxious, thus protecting himself from anxiety. This is quite a different coupling than the linking of perversion with homosexuality, or sadism and masochism as a binarily happy couple. The psychoses (paranoia, schizophrenia, and manic depression) all cluster around a foreclosure of the sexual difference itself, and aim at retaining a mental symbiosis of Oneness with the primal mother. The psychotic is marked by rigidity of personality because he or she has few identifications to go on; fragility because the symbolic order threatens his or her tenuous hold on it; and a compensatory identification with the symbolic (there being no imaginary, except a prosthetic one, for the psychotic).

For feminists, what is perhaps most relevant in Lacan's theory is his formalization of a logical subject instead of a biological one. Each sex coheres as an identity only by losing its sense of wholeness vis-à-vis the other who is sexually different. Little boys tend to confuse having the penis with being the desired object—the phallus—while little girls must substitute something else of value for not having this imaginary phallus—the body itself, a baby, a husband, a career, and so on. But the little girl can also believe unconsciously that she has the phallus—having and being concerned with the difference itself. Lacan calls this experience of learning sexual difference “castration,” dealing with the lack of being whole. The body is represented in parts, not as one whole. Lacan argues that the phallus is symbolic, representing the lack of being whole; imaginary, as its appearance seems to concern *having* and *being*; and real, in that its presence or absence can set up a trauma.

Lacan also set out a sexuation graph in *Seminar XX* demonstrating his theory that the sexual difference is discovered in such a way that it not only gives birth to culture—identifying with a third term—but is the key to gender identity, equated with identification of the masculine with the feminine rather than with biological sex. He argues that sexuation is not gender specific, but that each person identifies as predominantly masculine or feminine within a given culture. The logic at play in sexuation is complex and involves a rethinking of universals and particulars. Moreover, sexuation—sexuality plus identity—is established as an asymmetry between the masculine and feminine. Opposing Freud, Lacan theorizes that to identify as a male, the boy is required to give up his primary identification with the mother and identify with an abstraction of the symbolic order—difference per se—while the girl can identify with her mother, but must work with the problem of the logic of sameness. Vis-à-vis the phallus, the male is asked to bond together in a group of “brothers” (see Freud's *Totem and Taboo* [1913]) who live together under the law of castration, of

not being the one exception to the group who is the Ur-father, structural exception to the law of castration.

The female also participates in the symbolic law, but since she does not have to eradicate the primary mother, and, further, since there is no essential woman, no essence of the feminine, she is, so to speak, free to go her own way, one foot in the symbolic order camp and the other in the real of the experiences of the effects of loss and lack. Woman, like man, is a signifier. But the logic of marking sexual difference as a third thing, apart from the reality of the man and the woman make it seem that there is a feminine essence, because there is a logic of the feminine, which can characterize a man or a woman. On the side of the masculine, which is one with the symbolic order, the logic is that of “all.” The discourse spoken here is totalizing, that of the master. On the feminine side of sexuation, the logic of the “not all” marks the point that this side is identified with the reality of loss and the void. The reason has to do with the identification of the feminine with the social idea of the woman as “not all” under the interdiction of the symbolic order conventions. The “not all” is also of a part with the incompleteness of the other which is registered on the feminine side. These concepts are developed at length in Lacan's sexuation graph.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund.*

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Ellie Ragland

LADYBOYS (KATHOEYS)

Kathoei, or “ladyboys,” are biological males who openly function in Thai society as transsexuals or transvestites. The ladyboy represents a gender position that is unique

in that it has a national identity. Although *kathoey* (pronounced “kateuyee”) may embody gender in ways familiar to cultures outside Thailand (most similar to transsexuals or transvestites), they are different in that their gender operates in society in a sanctioned way. They are part of Thai society and history and apparently have existed openly for hundreds of years. “Northern Thai legend suggests that the pre-modern Thai sex/gender system was based on a model of the three genders: male, female and *kathoey*” (Totman 2003, p. 82). Thailand is the only nation in its region that resisted colonization by European powers and sometimes is seen as having a set of cultural values less influenced by outside pressures, including normative heterosexuality and binary gender.

The *kathoey* are analogous to marginalized genders in other cultures but have qualities that make them distinct from those categories. Like drag queens, they often work in cabarets as performers. It is this group of *kathoey* to which the term *ladyboy* applies and with which most tourists and non-Thais are familiar. Their performance is seen as a manifestation of a unique talent, however, rather than as a camp identity-based expression. In short, they perform as ladyboys because they are *kathoey* rather than being people who might be understood as drag queens because they perform. As with other marginalized gender categories, there is a high incidence of sex work among *kathoey*, and they also function as objects of fetishistic desire.

Kathoey is a more inclusive term than *transsexual*, *transvestite*, *drag queen*, or *hermaphrodite*, although it can encompass all those categories. Some *kathoey* undergo sex-reassignment surgery, others take female hormones and have breast implants, and some undergo no physical alterations other than dress and makeup. All are recognized as *kathoey*. Although individual *kathoey* may meet resistance from their families and friends, culturally there is a high degree of acceptance. Most *kathoey* realize and announce their intentions to transform before or during puberty, and many begin hormone treatment at that age with the knowledge of their families. *Kathoey* take on new feminine names and live as *kathoey* for their entire lives. The transformation is permanent; unlike drag, it is not a part of their life that emerges at specific moments or in specific situations.

A kind of femininity is expected of *kathoey*, and there is a high incidence of normatively feminine physical traits (particularly hairless faces) among them that has led to biologically based theories of their origin. Femininity is not universal among the *kathoey*, however. Some are accomplished athletes, including volleyball players and kickboxers. *Kathoey* are part of national sports teams, for which some choose to deemphasize their femininity

but do not abandon it entirely. They are thus a part of mainstream culture outside their perceived sexual roles.

In terms of sexual activity the majority of *kathoey* are homosexuals, but some are heterosexual or bisexual. Not all homosexuals are *kathoey* in Thailand. There is a large gay community in Thailand, especially in Bangkok, to which the *kathoey* do not specifically belong. As in other cultures, homosexuality in Thailand is accepted or rejected to various degrees by individuals but does not enjoy the widespread cultural sanction of the *kathoey*.

There is widespread cultural acceptance of *kathoey*, and several have become celebrities as models and singers. Thai universities maintain dormitories specifically for *kathoey* students and provide them with support. There is discrimination against them as well, however. Their value as performers demonstrates respect for their unique talents, but this is one of the few legitimate occupations open to *kathoey*. Traditionally feminine employment (as hairdressers, shop sales clerks, and waitresses) is possible in some circumstances, or they may find work as non-skilled laborers or in situations in which they can be kept out of the public eye by their employers. Professional careers are rarely open to *kathoey*, and they are not employed in large corporations, business, or academia. This often is seen as a function of the growing global role of and the influence of other cultures on Thailand. This explanation is not fully convincing, however, because *kathoey* had limited occupational options long before Thailand entered the global community.

SEE ALSO *Hijrās*; *Transsexual M to F*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

LADY CHATTERLEY’S LOVER

In 1926 the novelist D. H. (David Herbert) Lawrence began writing a novel about Sir Clifford and Lady Chatterley, a young couple living on a British Midlands estate supported by a coal mine. Sir Clifford was injured in World War I and paralyzed from the waist down. A writer and intellectual, he entertains groups of male friends

at the estate, often leaving his wife, Lady Constance, a young and healthy woman, bored and unoccupied.

THE STORY PLOT

After an affair with an upstart Irish playwright Constance begins to take walks through the estate's woodlands, where she meets Mellors, the gamekeeper, a former soldier and the son of a local coal miner. The novel describes in poetic detail the sexual relations between Lady Chatterley and Mellors, which in the end result in Lady Chatterley's pregnancy. The novel ends with the breakup of Lady Chatterley's marriage to Sir Clifford and her anticipation of a life with Mellors. As an expression of Lawrence's interest in the harmony between men and women as well as the naturalness of sexual rhythms *Lady Chatterley's Lover* fits with other Lawrence novels, such as the less explicit *Women in Love* (1921).

PUBLICATION HISTORY AND OBSCENITY TRIALS

Lawrence completed the novel in 1928 after writing three versions. The explicitness of his descriptions of sexual relations between Mellors and Lady Chatterley, including elaborate descriptions of erections, female orgasm, and anal sex, were well beyond the degree of explicitness tolerated at that time. The novel also used vivid four-letter words that were not considered part of legitimate artistic endeavor.

Knowing that he would have difficulty with censors as well as public opinion, Lawrence had the book printed privately in Florence and distributed through friends. Because the book was published privately, there was no copyright, and the novel quickly became the object of piracy. Several of the pirates wanted him to authorize their versions, but Lawrence refused, instead republishing the novel in Paris in 1929 with a run of three thousand copies that sold out quickly. In this version Lawrence included a brief prefatory essay defending the novel. However, his explanation carried little weight with a public that rapidly denounced the book and declared that the author was obsessed with sex. Lawrence, who was in failing health, wearied of the public's reaction and never was able to publish the book with a copyright before his death in 1930.

After Lawrence's death publishers released reworked and expurgated versions of the novel, including one endorsed by his widow. In the United States a bookseller who sold a copy of the unexpurgated novel was convicted of selling obscene material. Expurgated versions removed all language that might be objectionable and all explicit sex scenes, calling the version "abridged." The abridged versions, however, rarely noted where the omissions had

been made and had a certain inconsistency caused by the deletions.

The novel, however, was popular even as it remained the object of scorn. In 1944 Dial Press published one of Lawrence's earlier versions of the novel, *The First Lady Chatterley*, which lacked both the vocabulary and the finely drawn relationship between Lady Chatterley and Mellors of the final text. Although Dial Press was raided and copies of the novel were seized, the court did not declare the novel obscene.

They were pressuring to publish an unexpurgated original of Lawrence's third version. In 1959 Grove Press undertook the publication of the original *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and faced not only an obscenity trial in the U.S. district court but public castigation by everyone from the postmaster general to President Dwight Eisenhower. The postmaster was charged with making sure the U.S. mail was not used to distribute obscene materials, and so when Grove Press mailed the first copies of *Lady Chatterley*, the postmaster refused to let Grove mail the book, calling it "an obscene and filthy work." Grove challenged the ban in the U.S. district court, where luminaries such as Aldous Huxley and even the judge in the case in his written opinion, Judge Bryan, as well as literary critics and others argued for the novel's artistic merit.

The judge found that the novel's artistic quality outweighed any obscene passages and that it could be mailed. The government appealed, but in the end Grove Press won. Although conservatives felt that public morality was endangered by what they saw as the left-wing intellectualism of the court's decision, the easing of censorship contributed to a more tolerant environment in the United States. Quickly following the novel was a film version of *Lady Chatterley*, made in France. The film was banned by the state of New York, and the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the state's judgment of obscenity.

In England the novel had a similar fate. Its publication by Penguin was challenged under the Obscene Publications Act, which permitted the publication of morally obscene material if it could be shown to have literary merit. As in the United States, the trial evoked support from writers, including E. M. Forster, who was called as a witness. The court found that the novel's merit outweighed its obscene passages, which were an intrinsic part of its art.

Other countries also banned *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, including China, Japan, and Australia. Countries such as Denmark and Portugal allowed the publication of abridged versions.

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Judith Roof

LADY MACBETH

Lady Macbeth is Macbeth's wife in Shakespeare's 1606 play *Macbeth*. The play, a celebration of the family history of James I, was presented to mark the establishment of James's line as the ruling family of England and Scotland after the death of Elizabeth I. *Macbeth* is based on Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577), which was based on Boece's *Chronicles of Scotland* (1527), but Shakespeare altered Holinshed's account so that he could present a more positive portrait of the newly enthroned King James I's mythical ancestor Banquo. After defeating Duncan, the historical Macbeth ruled southern Scotland from 1040 until 1054, when he was defeated by Earl Siward and forced to flee. Lady Macbeth is Shakespeare's rendition of the historical wife of Macbeth, Gruoch, who was the granddaughter of King Kenneth III of Scotland, the widow of Gillacomgan, and the mother of Gillacomgan's son, Lulach the Simple, whose nickname came from his apparent stupidity.

Shakespeare portrays Lady Macbeth as ambitious for her husband and unscrupulous. She contrives a plan by which Macbeth and she can murder the reigning leader, Duncan, although she is unable to murder Duncan because he looks too much like her father. She frames Duncan's servants by leaving bloody daggers in their hands and feigns surprise and grief when the murder is discovered. Macbeth becomes king but is made uneasy by the prophecies of the play's three witches and plots to murder those who might threaten his rule: Banquo and Macduff. Lady Macbeth stands by her husband but eventually is overtaken by guilt. She begins to walk in her sleep, rubbing her hands and trying to rid herself of spots, presumably the blood of Macbeth's victims. "Out, damn'd spot! Out I say!" she exclaims in Act V, scene I. In Act V, scene iv, a messenger announces her death.

The depth, range, and ambition of Lady Macbeth have made her a favorite multifaceted female role.



Lady MacBeth. Actress Ellen Terry as Lady MacBeth, c. 1900. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

Because of her daring and active part in Macbeth's plotting as well as her dramatic sleepwalking, the role gives actresses a larger part in the staged drama of tragedy. The role was played by Shakespeare when he had to take over after the boy actor Hal Berridge died suddenly before the first performance. It was performed by Mrs. Pritchard in 1768 and 1812, Sarah Siddons in 1775, Ellen Terry in 1889, Mrs. Patrick Campbell in 1895, Sybil Thorndike in 1926, Dame Judith Anderson in 1954, Dame Judi Dench in 1979, and Glenda Jackson in 1988. Giuseppe Verdi composed an opera based on the play, *Macbetto*, first staged in 1847. More than fifty films have been adapted from the play, including the 1948 *Macbeth* directed by Orson Welles and starring Jeannette Nolan as Lady Macbeth and the 1971 *Tragedy of Macbeth* directed by Roman Polanski and starring Francesca Annis in that role.

The character of Lady Macbeth inspired paintings by John Singer Sargeant, who did a portrait of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth in 1889; Odilon Redon; and Henry Fuseli, who produced several portraits from the play, including one of Mrs. Pritchard as Lady Macbeth in both 1768 and 1812.

Literary critics have been fascinated with Lady Macbeth, seeing her strength and resolve as more masculine than was typical for female characters in tragedies of that era. Lady Macbeth's willingness to dash "the brains out" (Act I, scene vii, line 58) of an infant to achieve her ends casts her as both evil mother and infanticide. As an annihilating mother Lady Macbeth is both a danger to a patriarchal order that depends on maternal kindness to sustain itself and a motivational force for Macbeth, whose actions are spurred by his wife's bravado.

Lady Macbeth is both a threat to the system and a necessary part of it, undoing Macbeth by encouraging his murderous temptations and providing an opportunity for him to prove his manhood in the face of her increasing guilt. Her active presence is a constant reminder of the potentials of birth for Macbeth, who fears the witches' prophecies about the inevitable fate of all those born of women. The fact that Lady Macbeth is initially as murderous as he enables Macbeth to stake his world out as masculine and inhospitable, as being without a woman's touch and, he hopes, without the fate assigned to mothers' mortal children. Macbeth's denial of the feminine in his ambitions results finally in his increased recognition of his own weakness and fears, as they also are reflected in Lady Macbeth when she is overcome by guilt. Lady Macbeth's death spurs Macbeth's recognition of life as empty:

Out, out brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more. It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

(Act V, scene iv, lines 23–28)

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Judith Roof

LANGUAGE

Language is central both to gender ideologies and to gender and sexual identities as they are performed in the course of social practice. What people say (or write) and, as importantly, what they do not say but imply or

take for granted by their utterances, is critical in constructing, maintaining, and challenging assumptions about sex, gender, and gender relations. Different languages offer different resources to their users, and broader sociocultural and historical contexts also affect just how language enters into matters of gender and sexuality. But though details differ, sometimes dramatically, language is always critical for understanding gender and sexuality in social life.

CONTENT

U.S. second-wave feminists in the late 1960s and early 1970s pushed language reform, emphasizing how English represented women and when it seemed to obscure their presence. One target was sexually charged, derogatory, or trivializing terminology to refer to girls and women, such as *cunt*, *chick*, *bitch*, *girl* (for mature women), and *baby* (for nonintimates). Another involved the nonparallelism of male and female forms, as in *cleaning lady* versus the nonexistent *garbage gentleman*; in the absence of marital status information in the male social title *Mr.* versus its presence in *Mrs.* and *Miss* (*Ms.* was introduced to parallel *Mr.* but it cannot do that with *Mrs.* and *Miss* still in use); and in the laudatory ring of *stud* (sexually promiscuous male) versus the derogatory tone of *slut* or *whore* (sexually promiscuous female). Also targeted was *hel/man* language, the use of the same forms to talk about both humans in general and male humans in particular—for example, the pronoun *he* in certain generic contexts or the use of *man* in speaking of humanity. Efforts to change such usages often met with resistance (Harvard University linguists of the early 1970s cried "pronoun envy!"), but nonsexist guidelines had been widely adopted by the end of the twentieth century, and *hel/man* language was rare in public contexts by the early twenty-first century.

Other cultures have looked at content issues somewhat differently, sometimes apparently for linguistic reasons. For example, in French-speaking Canada and other places using languages with grammatical gender (such as France, Spain, and Germany), rather than seeking to get gender-neutral terminology in occupational terms (such as how Americans substituted *flight attendant* for *stewardess*), shifts have been more toward creating feminine gender forms to pair with traditional male ones. Studies of metaphorical source domains for speaking of women or of sexual activity have been done in many languages. Often women are spoken of using the terminology of food (especially fruits and desserts, but also sometimes less-appetizing substances), small animals, or flowers, and heterosexual engagement is represented in terms of eating or violent combat. But there is considerable variety and ongoing change in many societies using very different languages.

New or reclaimed terminology has helped change gender and sexual relations. Terms such as *sexism* (on the model of *racism*), *date rape*, *queer* (as a prized oppositional identity), and *transgender* do not just label phenomena independently identified but facilitate people's collective work on new political analyses of their situations and their selves. Innovations are not confined to North America or English-speaking countries: Hong Kong activists, for example, adopted *tongzhi* (comrade) to designate those whose erotic preference is for same-sex partners.

Content goes far beyond word meanings. Messages conveyed implicitly in ongoing discourse count as much or more. Conflating humanity with maleness can happen without apparently ambiguous forms such as *man*—as in “pioneers and their wives.” And content itself can be debated: Consider the discussion in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries on whether *marriage* is appropriately applied to long-term committed relationships of two people of the same sex. What matters is how people engage with one another in ongoing discourse—drawing inferences (often unnoticed and unintended by the speaker) and actively making meanings, sometimes challenged and sometimes effective.

STYLE

How people say what they say (or write or speak) is as important as what they say, especially in constructing social identities and relations. To explore vocal dimensions of gendered and sexual identities, linguists have looked at vowel pronunciations and voice quality, intonation and pitch, rhythm and tempo, and volume along with many other subtle but significant features of sound. Vocabulary (content domains, slang or learned terminology, euphemisms, obscenities) and grammatical choices (sentence structures, choice of competing forms) have also been investigated, as have higher-level features of language: kinds of speech events or activities, narrative structure, and genres.

Early research on linguistic dimensions of sex and gender seemed to assume that identities somehow automatically produced styles. A woman would speak *women's language* because that was who she was (albeit perhaps made who she was through social forces). A gay man would display *the voice* because he was gay. (Less attention has been paid to the possible social forces that might have led gay men to speak in certain ways.) Male-to-female transsexuals were instructed to choose supposedly feminine vocabulary, breathy voices and swoopy intonations, apologetic requests, and hedged assertions or directives. Research, however, continued to show that real women (and real men) were very diverse, with access

to far wider arrays of speech styles than stereotypes might suggest.

By the 1990s much research embraced Judith Butler's notion of *gender performativity*, that is, that gender (and sexual) identities are not (merely) properties people have—ways they *are*—but depend on what they *do* and are sustained in ongoing performances that echo but do not completely reproduce previous performances. Linguists began exploring the fine linguistic texture of the social construction of identities.

How could linguistic resources be deployed to convey (varieties of) femininity and masculinity or straightness or gay or lesbian identification, all interwoven with other identity features? Looking at people who sometimes deliberately perform identities quite different from those they might claim or have attributed to them in other contexts (often thought *authentic* identities) shows what social meanings speech patterns can convey. African-American male drag queens, for example, draw on (and frequently exaggerate) speech features canonically linked to middle-class European American women. Phone-sex operators who in private life identify as lesbian or bisexual or straight and as female or male effectively present themselves over the phone line as heterosexually desirable and desiring young women of various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Discovering how people manage these explicit performances gives some insight into more everyday and less self-conscious uses of language in styling oneself as a certain kind of person.

Exploring how a single individual's speech changes from situation to situation is another good tool for better understanding the social meaning of linguistic choices. A young gay male physician is likely to operate in very different linguistic styles in interacting with patients, in exchanges with colleagues, and in backyard parties with close friends. A middle-aged woman scientist who is also the mother of a school-age child will use different styles in discussing her research with peers at a conference, during a meeting with her child's teacher, and at the dinner table with her partner and children.

As with content, available styles keep changing, and their changes help constitute changes in other social practices. English-speaking students of Japanese are often told about its *women's language*, marked by certain honorification devices, sentence-final particles, pronouns, and verb forms. Letters to Tokyo newspapers in the early twenty-first century continued to bemoan the way so many young women reject these *traditional* forms, speaking *roughly*. But even their mothers and grandmothers may well have seldom, if ever, used the canonically *feminine* forms, which were associated with a Tokyo elite and were foreign to those in other social groups and regions. Miyako Inoue (2006) argues, offering evidence

from many different sources, that Japanese *women's language* was given currency as a form to aspire to during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of efforts to develop Japanese national pride and solidify a modern but non-European, non-North American Japanese state. Early twenty-first-century Japanese women (and men wanting to sound feminine) can still exploit some women's language features for various purposes, but linguistic practice in Japan is far more complex and variable than Japanese language classes for foreigners have standardly conveyed.

LINGUISTIC PRACTICE

Ultimately, what matters for both content and style is how linguistic resources enter into doing the many things that constitute gender and sexual dimensions of social practice. Analysts cannot look just at linguistic forms in isolation but must consider their functions in flirting, condescending, bossing, deferring, suggesting, imploring, joking, gossiping, insulting, arguing, and everything else people do linguistically. And such speech acts and activities do not happen in isolation. They are part of parties, classes, job interviews, playground confidences, sports team practices, family dinners, TV watching, backyard barbecues, coming on, coming out, and the rest, and as such they are deeply embedded in social practice.

Since the early 1990s sociolinguists have tended to emphasize how language functions in gender and sexual practice. Of course, this has made research more difficult. It is easy to count linguistic forms: How many times did she say *sorry* or did he say *dude*? How many times did he say *goin'* or *going*? How often does she use the singular *they* ("every student has handed in *their* paper")? It is far more difficult to figure out what those forms are doing—the significance of their use.

Some insight into the work linguistic forms are doing has come from observations of language use in friendship groups, workplace units of various kinds, families, informal play groups, and musical or sports groups—what have been called "communities of practice" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). More abstract and larger communities have been useful for analyzing language in magazines aimed at teen girls or at gay men, or in online discourse of various kinds (chat rooms, blogs, social networking sites).

INTERPRETATION AND METALANGUAGE

Linguistic interpretation has been less systematically studied than has production, with analysts often assuming it is essentially automatic. Assigning functions or meanings to utterances, however, can be influenced by interpreters' assumptions about those who produce the

utterances. A woman may be heard as unsure if her declarative ends with a rise, whereas a man doing the same thing may be heard as checking on whether the hearer has understood. (Of course, both might be at play in many utterances.) Even what sounds are detected is affected by assumptions about who has produced them. But it would be wrong to conclude that speakers alone determine the meanings conveyed by their utterances. Though some might intend *marriage* to include same-sex couplings, they cannot always succeed in conveying that. And though some might intend praise by labeling a person or project *feminist*, not all interpreters will so understand that label. Interpretation involves inferences that go beyond simple decoding of linguistic expressions: Interpreters are actively involved in the meaning-making process.

Linguists and other scholars of language have often been dismissive of ordinary people's ideas about how language is used and structured, dubbing them *folklinguistics*, and about self-conscious efforts to regulate language use, called *prescriptivism* and sharply criticized. But since the 1980s, research on language, gender, and sexuality has increasingly highlighted language ideologies as important subjects of scholarly investigation in their own right as well as important influences on actual language use. And attempts by feminists and queer activists to reform language—through, for example, nonsexist language guidelines or hate-speech policies—have been seriously studied along with other instances of what Deborah Cameron (1995) dubs *verbal hygiene*.

Not surprisingly, ideologies of language compete, and students of language themselves are not immune to taking sides. Is language and gender about separate cultures in which girls and boys grow to be women and men? Or is it about male power and female subordination? Even those seen as advocates of the *difference* or the *dominance* approach do not take these questions as adequate for framing investigations of language and gender. Nonetheless, debates about separation versus sexual politics continue to some degree into the twenty-first century. In the area of language and sexuality, there has been debate about what matters in thinking about language: sexual identities—being gay or lesbian or bi or straight or . . . , or sexual desire—how linguistic practices not only express but help shape erotic preferences and activities. Here too, most researchers find this a false dichotomy, pointing to interrelations of identities and desires and to the necessity of studying both.

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Sally McConnell-Ginet

LAWRENCE, D. H. 1885–1930

Most famous for his poetic novels, David Herbert Lawrence often explored the relationships between men and women, and between humans and nature. Riveted by the rhythmic cycles of life and the ways life in the early twentieth century seemed to alienate men and women from one another, Lawrence wrote a series of novels in which he traced families and couples as they grew away from a pre-technological culture and its life-sustaining cycles. Many of Lawrence's novels contain explicit, if lyrical, passages of sexuality, which shocked the public



D. H. Lawrence. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

and which made his work, particularly *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), notorious.

Lawrence was born in Nottinghamshire, the fourth child of a coal miner and a schoolteacher. Lawrence's mother had more education than his father, and her slight class superiority and his father's drinking caused unhappiness in the household. Lawrence was very close to his mother. Lawrence won a scholarship to Nottingham High School, but did not do particularly well. After completing school, he worked in a surgical supply house as a factory worker. Later, he trained as a pupil teacher, a student who works as a teacher trainee. He came down with a serious bout of pneumonia after the death of one of his older brothers, Ernest. When he recovered, he took the university entrance exams and went to Nottingham University to study to be a teacher. After leaving Nottingham, he got a job teaching at a boys' school in Croydon.

Lawrence had begun writing poetry and short stories while working as a pupil teacher, and he had one short story published as a university student. While teaching, he began writing poetry as more than a hobby. Ford Madox Ford (1873–1939) took an interest in Lawrence's work and oversaw the first publication of his poetry in *The English Review* in 1909. Ford was interested in Lawrence's writing

about his childhood and encouraged his prose as well. Ford introduced Lawrence to such other writers as H. G. Wells (1866–1946), William Butler Yeats (1865–1939), and Ezra Pound (1885–1972). Also at that time Lawrence had several intense relationships with women, including his friend and writing partner of adolescence, Jesse Chambers, his colleague Agnes Holt, and another friend, Helen Corke. His first novel, *The White Peacock*, was published in 1911.

When his mother became ill, Lawrence returned to Nottinghamshire on and off. He nursed his mother, terminated his relationship with Jesse Chambers, and took up a relation with Louie Burrows, to whom he became engaged. When his mother died, he returned to London, determined to develop a career as a writer, but also renewed his relationship with Helen Corke. He began a second novel, one he never published, and also began thinking of a third, *Paul Morel*, upon which he worked in his spare time. In 1912 he became ill again with pneumonia, quit his teaching job upon the advice of his doctors, returned to Nottinghamshire, and began to write in earnest. He renewed his intellectual relation with Jesse Chambers, and ended his engagement to Burrows.

In Nottinghamshire, he fell in love with a married woman, Frieda Weekley (nee von Richthofen), wife of a local professor and mother of three children. She had a record of extramarital dalliance, but was reluctant to admit her affairs to her husband. Instead she traveled to Germany with Lawrence on the pretext of visiting her family. In Germany, Lawrence completed his manuscript *Paul Morel*, which was rejected by the publisher Heinemann for being too sexually explicit, but which was published after slight revision by Duckworth. After obtaining a divorce, Frieda married Lawrence in 1914 and the two returned to England during World War I, living in Cornwall as Lawrence wrote and tried to avoid being conscripted into military service. He began a small magazine, *The Signature*, which failed, and wrote the novel *The Rainbow* (1915), which was suppressed and taken from distribution soon after publication on the grounds of obscenity. The charge of obscenity was clearly going to haunt Lawrence throughout his career as his vision of life required an expression of all its aspects. His focus on the relations between men and women demanded that he acknowledge the importance of sexuality in those relationships.

After the war, Lawrence and Frieda thankfully began to travel throughout Europe and then to the Far East, Australia, New Mexico, and Mexico. Australia inspired the novel *Kangaroo* (1923), which Lawrence wrote mostly in New Mexico while visiting Mabel Dodge Sterne. Tiring of Sterne, he and Frieda traveled to Mexico, where

he renewed his inspiration for *The Plumed Serpent* (1926). He and Frieda returned to New York, planning to spend some time there so Lawrence could write, but after a quarrel, Frieda returned to England and Germany alone and Lawrence traveled solo through the United States. Joining back up with Frieda in England, Lawrence spent time in London, and then returned to New Mexico, where Sterne, now Mabel Luhan, presented him with a ranch. Lawrence continued to write, but his health began to fail; he suffered, first, a bronchial hemorrhage signaling tuberculosis, then typhoid.

In 1925, Lawrence and Frieda returned to England at the death of Lawrence's father, but moved on quickly to Germany and Italy, where Lawrence would spend most of the rest of his life. His health was poor, but he began work on what he originally planned as a short story. Becoming the notorious novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, this work would make him more money than any other writing. Increasingly sick with tuberculosis, Lawrence stayed in Italy, going to Paris only to oversee the publication of this last novel. He died in a sanatorium in Vence, France in 1930.

During his career Lawrence also wrote seven plays, eight collections of short stories and novellas, including *The Fox*, *The Captain's Doll*, *The Ladybird* (1923), published eleven collections of poetry, four collections of travel writing, did translations, and wrote volumes of essays. Through his writing, Lawrence developed a lyrical style that helped define modernism, the literary movement of his time. The poetic quality of his prose made his renditions of explicit sexuality more aesthetic than pornographic, a practice finally acknowledged by the courts of the United States and Great Britain when *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was finally published in the late 1950s.

SEE ALSO *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

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Judith Roof

LE ROMAN DE SILENCE

Le roman de Silence (The romance of Silence), by the otherwise unknown Heldris de Cornuaille, is a thirteenth-century romance surviving in a single manuscript and consisting of 6,706 lines of octosyllabic verse in

rhyiming couplets. The foundational medieval romance for the study of cross-dressing and transgenderism and now firmly established in the canon despite its recent rediscovery, *Silence* relates the story of a girl whose parents decide to raise their daughter as a boy because King Ebain of England has declared that women may not inherit property. They name the child *Silentius*, with the idea that the masculine *-us*, although it is against the *us*, or custom, of nature, can be easily altered to *-a* if Eufemie and Cador—the mother and father—should have a son.

The text stages a self-conscious debate over gender identity when the personification of Nature, revolted by the couple's decision, quarrels inconclusively with her counterpart, Noretur (Nurture), as to which of them has the stronger claim over the child. Sent to an isolated location to be brought up male, the "boy who was a girl" remains ignorant of the sex/gender split until the age of reason, when his father tells "him"—Heldris is remarkably consistent in using male pronouns to refer to his cross-dressed protagonist—that he is in fact a girl. An obedient child, the ambiguously named Silence adheres to her parents' wishes, wearing breeches and excelling at wrestling, skirmishing, and jousting, while carefully concealing her sex from her companions. When Silence reaches the age of twelve, Nature enjoins her to abandon her assumed gender, to "go to the chamber and learn to sew," activities assumed to be "natural" to women. Though troubled at the thought of living a life of deception, Silence decides that being a boy puts her "on top" and that womanhood would be a demotion. Recognizing that there is nothing feminine about herself, she worries, in what may be a veiled reference to sodomy, about what her role as a boy would be in the "game under the covers."

Silence's cross-dressing takes on new complications when, jumping class and perhaps race distinctions, she darkens her skin with an herb from the forest to run away with two minstrels. Ironically, her excellence at minstrelsy ultimately poses a greater threat to her well-being than her cross-dressing—her comrades, jealous of her success, conspire to kill her—just as her prowess as a knight, after her return to Ebain's court, exposes her to the designs of the wicked queen Eufeme (whose name can be read as meaning "Alas! Woman!"), the negative image of her mother Eufemie ("use of good speech").

After banishment to the French court, where her chivalric valor wins the admiration of the French king, Silence is given the impossible task of capturing Merlin. When she succeeds and brings the magician to the court, he reveals Silence's subterfuge as well as the queen's, whose lover is cross-dressed as a nun. Ebain pardons Silence, who declares that she wishes to remain silent no longer and to live according to her biologically assigned sex. Nature reclaims her rights, transforming the handsome warrior into a fair

maiden who is married to Ebain while Eufeme is drawn and quartered. Despite its unconventional approach to gender and the sympathetic portrayal of its queer main character, critics have argued that *Silence* ultimately reveals a deep-seated misogyny, but the conclusion's neat reinscription of sanctioned gender roles in no way diminishes the text's insistent interrogation of medieval culture's assumptions and expectations regarding gender.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Clothing; Gender Identity; Gender Roles: I. Overview; Ide and Olive; Literature: I. Overview; Maiden; Manliness; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Passing (Woman); Transgender.*

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Robert L. A. Clark

LEGENDS AND MYTHS

Myths and legends prescribe and proscribe gender-appropriate behavior and provide categorical associations for each gender that define masculinity and femininity and, by extension, the proper spheres of activity for men and women. Myths, or narratives about gods, typically have more social power than do legends dealing with humans, queens, and so on.

MYTHS AND GENDER STEREOTYPES

When they are connected to active rituals and celebrations, myths are reinforced by both verbal and imagistic repetition. For instance, the story of the incarnation of Jesus Christ is recited aloud in countless churches each December as well as being evoked by holiday cards that depict a young mother and a newborn child in a hay-filled stable, watched over by a kindly old gentleman, a sky full of angels, and a few shepherds. The repetition of culturally significant myths often provides an occasion for exegesis that enforces gender bias, as occurs when the

Christmas story is used as an occasion for sermons decrying abortion or reminding women of their social role as chaste matrons.

However, differing information can be contained in mythic narratives and images. Viewers familiar with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation typically see Christmas images as illustrating the New Testament story of the birth of Jesus, but the imagery has its source in eastern Mediterranean religions in which a goddess (Anat, Ishtar, Isis, Astarte) was celebrated as the all-powerful force of reincarnating life. Thus, careful instruction is necessary to consolidate the unitary vision of gender found in monotheistic religions and to discourage the faithful from seeing alternative possibilities in those stories and pictures.

Because there has never been a historical monotheism centered on a goddess, monotheistic religions require myths that support a male-dominant heavenly hierarchy. That supernatural reality, it can be argued, must be reflected in a similar hierarchy on earth. Thus, the image of the Virgin Mary as a mother is employed to show that human women are ideally men's helpers rather than independent actors and to promote an ideal of womanhood that does not allow women to practice sexual agency. The early Christian Church deliberately adopted goddess iconography to encourage the embrace of the "mother of God" in place of the "mother of all the gods," but worshippers must be reminded continually that a powerful woman is really a meek helper, whereas her apparently helpless male child is the omnipotent savior.

LEGENDS AND GENDER

Legends, a category that includes fairy tales, folk tales, epics, and fables, depict a greater range of possible behavior for men and women. Many legends are based on premonotheistic goddess images and therefore convey culturally subversive ideas and information. One of the most enduringly popular European legends is that of Tristan and Isolde, who drink a magic potion intended to assure deep and lasting passion between Isolde and her intended husband, Tristan's uncle, King Mark. However, once they mistakenly drink the potion, the lovers are helpless against their desires; the story centers on their failed attempts to remain true to patriarchal marriage vows in the face of overwhelming passion.

The idea of love as an irresistible, fatal power is a staple of Western poetry, fiction, and especially drama, from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* to the 2005 movie *Brokeback Mountain*. However, Isolde's story originally was not one of fated human love; it derives from a Celtic religious myth in which the earth goddess chooses a virile

young man over one whose powers are failing, a story also reflected in the British Guinevere–Lancelot–Arthur and the Irish Gráinne–Diarmait–Fionn love triangles. Although the story has been used as a cautionary tale against the social danger posed by women's sexual activities, it shows a broader range of possible action for the heroine than can be found in the official mythos of a monotheistic culture. Isolde may be in the grip of magic, but she consummates her love.

Although sacred narratives that no longer are supported by ritual often are called myths, they are functionally legends, existing as narratives detached from religious observation. An example is the classical Greek story of Demeter and Persephone, which describes the rape of the grain goddess's daughter by the underworld king Hades, the mother's mournful withholding of the earth's fruits, and the eventual partial reunion of the devoted mother and her child.

This myth formed the basis of the Eleusinian mysteries that were celebrated in Demeter's sanctuary near Athens. The rites of that religion are unknown, having been kept secret by thousands or perhaps millions of initiates for as much as two millennia. Although the mysteries have not been celebrated for fifteen hundred years, the story survives, recorded by ancient writers and retold by modern ones, a powerful narrative of intense maternal love in which the male divinity exists only to endanger that relationship. As the story of Demeter's withholding of grain until her beloved daughter is returned shows, the range of behavior for female characters is far greater in legend and nonritualized myth than it is in myths supported by monotheistic religious ritual and practice.

THE GENDERING OF NATURE

Narratives and images are not employed only to encourage or prohibit gender-approved behavior by men or women. Nature itself is envisioned as possessing gender, as are specific aspects of nature, which thus become subject to cultural definitions of approved behavior. This personification of natural objects and powers is found in all cultures. The agricultural Mohawk people of the northeastern American woodlands described their major food crops as Deohako, the "three sisters," with corn, beans, and squash each having unique feminine characteristics; the Inuit saw the sun as a woman forever fleeing her rapist brother, the moon; and the ancient Germans saw the sun as a woman and the moon as a man, her husband.

Although the earth occasionally is seen as masculine, as with the ancient Egyptian god Geb, the planet most often is defined mythically as feminine. The names borne by the earth goddess were myriad: Al-Lat in Arabia, Ala



Tristan and Isolde. *The legend of Tristan and Isolde is a story of forbidden love.* THE ART ARCHIVE/NEUSCHWANSTEIN CASTLE GERMANY/DAGLI ORTI.

among Ibo-speaking Africans, Asase Yaa among the Ashanti people of Ghana, Dzivaguru among the Zimbabwean Korekore, Prakriti among the Hindus, Spenta Armaiti among the Zoroastrians, and Ja-Neba among the Samoyeds of Siberia. She was Kadi in Assyria and the mountain dragon Mamapacha among the Peruvian Incas. In Siberia the earth was Mou-Njami, a green-furred woman in whose womb all the eyes of every creature gestated; in Mali the Bambara people called the earth Muso Koroni, “pure woman of ancient soul,” and described her as a dark leopard. In Slavic paganism the goddess was Mokosh, “moist mother earth,” a black-faced woman whose image survives in eastern European icons of the virgin mother Mary. Among the Germans she was Nerthus, carried in a wagon through the fields each spring. On the North American continent one finds Agischanak (Tlingit), Atira (Pawnee), Awitellin Tsita (Zuni), Estsanatlehi (Navaho, Apache), Kohkang Wunti (Hopi), Muzzu-Kummik-Quae (Ojibway), Nokomis (Algonquin), Queskapenek (Okanagon), and Tomaiyovit (Luiseño).

These are only a few of the hundreds of names for the earth goddess. Her symbolism varied between agri-

cultural and hunting peoples, with agriculturalists tending to depict the goddess as the dark fertile soil and hunters tending to emphasize her control over wildlife. In both cases, however, the maternal aspect of the earth was emphasized, for she was depicted as the source of human nourishment, as a mother is the source of milk for her infants.

This gendering of the earth as feminine becomes problematic in monotheistic religions. Monotheism leads to dualism: When there is only one god, most of the universe must be “not god.” When the god is male, whatever is female is thus not god. Similarly, culturally desired attributes (strength, intelligence, power) are connected with the masculine, whereas culturally rejected or feared qualities (weakness, emotion, powerlessness) are ascribed to the feminine. Maternal qualities thus become devalued whether they are found in individual humans, divinities, or nature. The gender of “Mother Earth” thus leads to assumptions that nature is passively available to provide whatever her children desire. Within this gender construct earthquakes, hurricanes, and similar natural events that are destructive of

life or property are read as deliberate “unnatural” violence against humanity, with personified terms such as *raging*, *battering*, and *furious* employed as descriptors. Thus, the mythic and legendary gendering of both humans and nonhuman nature is problematic in societies based on patriarchal monotheism.

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Patricia Monaghan

LESBIAN, CONTEMPORARY

This entry contains the following:

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I. OVERVIEW

The term *contemporary lesbian* refers to a woman who sexually desires other women and who participates in, or is at least aware of, a larger lesbian community or subculture. As a phrase that notes both a temporal frame and

a psychosocial subject position, contemporary lesbian posits the term *lesbian* as a cultural construction—an unstable identity category that holds different meanings in various times and places. This encyclopedic outline of lesbian subjects, representations, and cultures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries traces the general formation of the psychological type and identity group *lesbian*, while at the same time describing erotic, sexual, and social practices that have been associated with lesbians and that have been incorporated into contemporary lesbian histories.

Queer histories (called “queer” in order to contest sexual distinctions and absolute categories such as “homosexual” and “heterosexual”) have generally observed a marked difference in the development of lesbian subcultures and gay male subcultures, the latter of which began with the London molly house raids of 1699. Women’s subjugation—their domestic isolation, restricted freedoms, relative poverty, controlled sexuality, and lack of political power—impeded the development of recognizable lesbian subcultures. Only with social and economic advances did women begin to articulate their sexualities, acquire social and sexual freedom from men, and occupy public space as self-identified lesbians. Not surprisingly, lesbian subcultures did not develop until the twentieth century. Nevertheless, because women have had sexual and erotic liaisons with one another across time and cultures, the manifestation of the contemporary lesbian has allowed for and even demanded the production of histories that legitimize this behavior in the eyes of an intolerant public. Contemporary notions of lesbianism emerge from and elaborate on four main historical precedents from the nineteenth century on: romantic friendship, passing women, female inversion, and the bohemian lesbian circles of the 1920s.

ROMANTIC FRIENDSHIP AND THE IMPROBABILITY OF FEMALE– FEMALE DESIRE

Feminist scholarship in the 1980s began to explore women’s friendships as a site of female homoeroticism and same-sex intimacy. Under the rubric of “romantic friendship,” historians revealed a world of passionate female–female relationships that was validated and normalized in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Romantic friendships were often lifelong and involved sharing beds, maintaining an ardent correspondence, and pledging devotion and love to one another. These friendships were conducted alongside traditional heterosexual marriages and were accepted by the participants’ husbands and families.

It is difficult to ascertain whether these proclamations of love and displays of physical intimacy were merely social conventions of friendship or whether they represent sexual desire and experience that later came to be understood as distinctly “lesbian” practices. The question of definitively detecting sexual activity or erotic attachment in these romantic friendships is highly problematic because of the “passionlessness” that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women were supposed to possess. Stereotypes about white female virtue and white feminine asexuality (the lack of sexual desire in women) made sexual relations between “proper” women almost inconceivable.

A case that illustrates the cultural implausibility of lesbian relations at the time is that of Marianne Woods and Jane Pirie, two mistresses of a school for girls in Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1810 the friends were accused of “improper and criminal conduct” by a mother whose disobedient daughter had suggested the illicit behavior. The school went under, and Woods and Pirie lost their incomes. They successfully sued for libel. Their lawyers easily convinced the judges that the accusations were unfounded, largely because the judges were predisposed to believe that, for one thing, sex could not occur without a man present. As one judge asserted, “I do believe that the crime here alleged has no existence.” The American playwright Lillian Hellman later used the scandal as the basis for her first play, *The Children’s Hour* (1934), which was later (in 1961) turned into a movie starring Audrey Hepburn and Shirley MacLaine.

Scholars Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Lillian Faderman have explained how the strict gender segregation of Victorian society effectively divided the world into male and female homosocial spaces. In a climate that distanced women from men, women’s affective bonds with one another provided emotional support as young girls embarked on the rituals of marriage and childbearing that structured their lives (Smith-Rosenberg 1983). Faderman’s 1981 work, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, traces the development of romantic friendships from the Renaissance through the twentieth century and shows how changing theories of female sexuality impacted experiences and understandings of love between women. Once sexology legitimized female sexual desire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these friendships were increasingly called into question, and “lesbian” desire was eventually condemned.

The ideology of romantic friendship as outlined by Smith-Rosenberg and Faderman does not of course adequately describe all female–female relations and is most relevant to the middle-class white world from which they draw most of their evidence. The mid-nineteenth-century example of the freeborn African Americans Addie

Brown and Rebecca Primus offers explicit evidence about the sexual nature of this particular friendship and reveals how expectations of women and friendship differed in an African-American context. Brown, a domestic worker, and Primus, a schoolteacher, shared a long, deeply passionate relationship though they lived in different East Coast towns. In her 1996 essay about this relationship, Karen V. Hansen stresses that the Brown–Primus friendship was overtly erotic and public rather than private: “It was highly visible and deeply enmeshed in the domestic networks of Hartford [Connecticut]’s African-American community” (p. 178). In reading their correspondence, Hansen explores what she terms “bosom sex” in Brown’s descriptions of her sexual relationship with Primus. Hansen traces out a specific practice that, she suggests, may have been fairly universal to female friendships of the nineteenth century—that is, the expectation that one share access to one’s bosom (one’s sexuality) when sharing a bed with a friend.

A subset of romantic friendships, relations between women termed “Boston marriages,” flourished in the nineteenth century in New England. Boston marriages were monogamous arrangements between usually professional, bourgeois women and involved sharing a household and encouraging one another in individual artistic, political, or reformist pursuits. Because they took the place of heterosexual marriage, foreclosed the possibility of childbearing, and were instrumental in feminist progress, Boston marriages were typically viewed critically in the public eye.

PASSING WOMEN AND FEMALE INVERSION

Another precedent for contemporary lesbianism is the phenomenon of passing women—female-born people who lived part or all of their lives as men. These women who “passed” as men have represented a more working-class counterpart to romantic friendships in lesbian histories and were a particularly pronounced phenomenon in the nineteenth century, when women first began to infiltrate the public sphere.

Although passing women usually claimed that their motivation to dress and live as men was to seek adventure or better economic opportunities, no doubt some of them wanted to pursue same-sex erotic relationships. A number of passing women courted and married women—some of whom knew the “true sex” of their husbands, but most of whom claimed they did not. As many historians point out, passing women contribute to transgender as well as lesbian history, and in the latter case provide an interesting historical overlay for what much later became familiar as tomboyhood, lesbian butch style, or female-to-male transgenderism.

Similar to the decline of socially accepted romantic friendships, with the influx of the twentieth century's new sexual knowledge, passing women went from social curiosities to social outcasts. The case of Lucy Ann Lobdell illustrates that emerging notions of female homosexuality redefined how passing women were understood in society. Born in New York state in 1829, she took up hunting and other "men's tasks" at a young age in order to compensate for her father's inability to work. She married and had a child with a man who became abusive and deserted them. In fact, she claimed, in her self-published *Narrative of Lucy Ann Lobdell* (1855), it was his announcement of a return that prompted her to dress as a man and seek a living on her own. As "Joe Lobdell," she married a woman who had been similarly deserted and claimed to have reached sexual satisfaction for the first time with this wife. Institutionalized in 1880 for ten years, probably until her death, Lobdell's doctor, P. M. Wise, classified her in terms of homosexuality and perversion, concepts that reconfigured understandings of female independence and feminist revolt.

In fact, passing women and the increasing suspicion around female friendships were both factors in the pathologizing of female-female intimacy, love, and desire that accompanied the advent of sexology and psychoanalysis around the end of the nineteenth century. European sexual scientists such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Havelock Ellis (1859–1939), and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) devised theories that classified sexual behavior and constructed sexual typologies, including the transvestite, the sadist, the masochist, the fetishist, and the homosexual (or "invert"). Specifically, Ellis's theory of sexual inversion sketched the lesbian prototype as a mannish woman. For the sexologists, all of the aforementioned women—passing women and those in romantic friendships or Boston marriages—were instantly understood as "inverts," whether the women had been conscious of same-sex desire or not.

Not surprisingly, these scientific articulations of female-female sexual desires—however pathologizing, condescending, or simplistic—resonated with many women who finally found their experience recognized and named. Among these was the British novelist Radclyffe Hall, who used Ellis's theory of inversion as the theoretical basis for her controversial apologia for homosexuality, *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). The novel centered on the coming-of-sexuality of protagonist Stephen Gordon, an aristocratic woman who possesses exceptional talent and intelligence as well as an inescapable desire for feminine women.

Heralded as the first lesbian novel, Hall's book has been in print since its publication and has had untold

impacts on the emergence of a recognizable lesbian culture, the development of lesbian style, and the tone of queer resistance. Although it has been argued that Gordon—and even Hall, whose friends called her "John"—might embody a nascent articulation of transgender identity more than that of a mannish lesbian, Hall's lead character remains fixed in the lesbian imagination, both as a discomforting instance of lesbian self-denial and as a model of lesbian gallantry and integrity.

LESBIAN BOHEMIA

In *The Well*, Hall also provided a fictional description of the "gay life" that was booming in Paris in the 1920s. Like networks of self-identified lesbians in large cities such as Berlin, New York, and London, the Parisian lesbian scene revolved around artistic interest and expression. Painters, writers, poets, and heiresses—female expatriates such as Natalie Barney, Romaine Brooks, Djuna Barnes, and Gertrude Stein—inhabited Paris's Left Bank as artistic and sexual "moderns" alongside other famous modernists, such as Pablo Picasso, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, Man Ray, and Paul Cezanne. Exiles from their homophobic homelands, these women and their friends populated the fourteenth arrondissement known as Montparnasse.

The lesbian world of 1920s Paris was depicted in fictional form in Djuna Barnes's satirical roman-à-clef *Ladies Almanack* (1928) and her dark novel *Nightwood* (1936), which loosely chronicled her dramatic, real-life relationship with the sculptor and silverpoint artist Thelma Ellen Wood. The novel was published in the United States with a glowing introduction by the poet T. S. Eliot and has been recognized as one of literature's great works by such writers as Dylan Thomas, William S. Burroughs, and Anaïs Nin. Barnes also wrote the famous essay "How It Feels to Be Forcibly Fed" (1914), an indictment of the custom of force-feeding that was used on imprisoned suffragists who were on hunger strike.

A pioneering experimental writer and lesbian and modernist icon, Stein hosted a reputed literary salon in her Parisian home at 27, rue de Fleurus—first with her brother, Leo, and then with her partner of forty years, Alice B. Toklas, who, like Stein, was an American expatriate from California. Artists and writers flocked to see the avant-garde art that hung on Stein's studio walls—an assortment later referred to as the first modern art collection. Stein and Toklas's approach to lesbian life has been understood as old-fashioned and modern, cautious and radical, and is likewise representative of and exceptional among other lesbian relationships of the time. Their lesbianism was an "open secret" to their friends, but Stein and Toklas were extremely

reserved when it came to the nature of their relationship. Their lives were structured by propriety, routine, and middle-class values, even in this age of debauchery and experimentation. For those not in the know, Toklas was Stein's companion or secretary, a friend in service to Stein's literary genius, and in many ways she was exactly that. She typed Stein's work, cooked their meals, and arranged their travels. Feminists have critiqued their relationship for its recapitulation of heterosexual roles (Stein as demanding husband and Toklas as subservient wife). Yet, scholars such as Catharine R. Stimpson (1984) have seen in the remarkable symbiosis of the Stein–Toklas relationship a more complicated role-playing that speaks to their creative assemblage of a highly productive life.

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Dyke; Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined.*

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Emma Crandall

II. POST 1950

Since 1950 there has been an explosion of visible lesbian public cultures. As lesbian identity became a more rec-

ognizable subjectivity, stereotypes and experiences of lesbian sexuality shifted from an amorphous, "soft" sexuality to brazen sexual autonomy and pride, from sexual "impossibility" to overt commitments to loving, and seducing, women. Beginning with lesbian bar cultures of the 1950s through the lesbian feminist movement of the 1970s, lesbian self-presentation became a creative, politicized mode deeply tied to community-building. The diverse range of lesbian aesthetics, styles, and tastes—emerging within cultural, political, intellectual, and artistic discourse—is commemorated and displayed in the annals of contemporary lesbian scholarship, art, and literature.

LESBIAN BAR CULTURE

Like Paris in the 1920s, New York City was home to a thriving underground that was instrumental in the codification and expression of gay and lesbian identities. Greenwich Village, Times Square, and Harlem became New York's "gay ghettos." During the period known as the Harlem Renaissance, Harlem in particular was home to a vibrant blues culture. With the presence of gay men's "pansy acts" and lesbian blues performers such as Gladys Bentley, elaborate drag balls, all-night "rent parties," and art salons hosted by New York's queer elites (including the heiress A'Lelia Walker and the novelist and photographer Carl Van Vechten), Harlem's world-renowned permissive sexual atmosphere was also notoriously queer.

Through the 1930s and 1940s, bars in major cities (San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York in the United States) began to cater exclusively to lesbians, with some of the bars fielding lesbian sports teams that competed with rival gay bars and clubs. Gay life was conducted within an underground empire of gay and lesbian board-inghouses, public parks and streets, and bars and night-clubs. These gay haunts were scrutinized and raided by police, and in the 1940 and 1950s patrons were arrested at bars most effectively under a law that required people to wear at least three items of "gender-appropriate" clothing.

With the advent of World War II, the influx of GIs and sailors into port cities contributed to the development of a new type of gay public, one that was urban, young, and commercially driven. With men away at war, unaccompanied women who socialized together were less questionable, and in general the climate provided a "protective covering" for independent lesbians who lived a woman-focused life (Kennedy and Davis 1993).

While gay men cruised in public parks and streets, lesbians congregated in safer environments because of the dangers that faced women who went outdoors alone. This type of restriction established the lesbian bar as *the*

central and primary locale for lesbian socializing, support, and acculturation. Lesbian bars facilitated the rise in public visibility of lesbians in the twentieth century, especially because butch–femme communities of the 1950s and early 1960s were rooted in bar life. Butches, observably “masculine women,” and femmes, those projecting highly “feminine” characteristics, formed erotic and emotional attachments through their own intricate processes of courtship, seduction, and devotion. The working-class bars where this social life unfolded were dramatic stages for jealous brawls, butch and femme mentoring, refuge from homophobic violence, and the perfection of butch and femme social and physical styles. In the climate of the sexual revolution, lesbian feminists eventually critiqued the specific language and performance of lesbian sexuality represented by the butch–femme relationship on the grounds that it mimicked heterosexuality. Nevertheless, butch–femme relationships persisted, and expressions of these identities have evolved into new guises and new contexts (for example, in lesbian sadomasochism scenes and as theorized in queer theory). Aside from a number of butch–femme anthologies, the authors Joan Nestle (b. 1940), Esther Newton (b. 1940), and Sue-Ellen Case (b. 1942) have considered butch and femme identities and cultures in their writing.

Lesbian bars continue to exist throughout the world but are typically in a more precarious economic situation than gay male bars. More often, lesbian nights occur at gay male bars and clubs. In the 1990s, the lesbian bar cultivated the expansion of a vibrant, global drag king scene and began hosting bar viewing nights prompted by the inauguration of lesbian television shows. Famous examples of lesbian neighborhoods and towns are Park Slope in Brooklyn, Andersonville in Chicago, and Northampton, Massachusetts.

LESBIAN FEMINISM

In 1955 partners Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon founded the first lesbian political organization in San Francisco, the Daughters of Bilitis. While the group derived its name from Pierre Louÿs’s faux archaeological find, *Les Chansons de Bilitis* (1894; The songs of Bilitis), in order to sound innocuous, the group became increasingly political and focused on using education to change attitudes toward lesbianism. Chapters were soon founded in other U.S. cities, and the group published their own magazine, *The Ladder*.

As the homophile movement grew in the United States and Europe, it overlapped with the feminist and civil rights movements. Lesbian feminism responded to and critiqued sexism in the homophile movement, homophobia in the feminist movement, and antifeminism and

homophobia in the civil rights movement, and was itself critiqued for internal racism and insensitivity to class issues. While lesbian feminism shares a history with nineteenth-century women who lived as independent, feminist women (including passing women, women in Boston marriages and romantic friendships, and female suffragists and Victorian female prostitutes who depended on one another for erotic and emotional attention), lesbian feminism is most closely tied to the second wave of women’s liberation. Most simply, lesbian feminism represents both a cultural movement and a critical perspective that empowered lesbian women and promulgated a fierce, political analysis of heterosexism and misogyny that displayed the social construction of sex, gender, and sexuality.

The founding of the Radicalesbians in 1970 marks the beginning of formal lesbian feminist organizing. The group reconceptualized what “lesbian” meant, claiming that “A lesbian is the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion.” Taken from their manifesto, titled “The Woman-Identified Woman,” this phrase illustrates the group’s desire to agitate for social change as well as to critique heterosexist, patriarchal institutions that harm women and do not affirm female–female relationships. In response to the feminist Betty Friedan’s statement that lesbians, whom she dubbed the “lavender menace,” threatened the feminist agenda, Radicalesbians dispersed their manifesto during a political “zap” of the 1970 Congress to Unite Women in New York City with which they argued that lesbian issues were central to the fight for women’s rights.

Lesbian feminism was eventually seen as the ultimate embodiment of slogans such as “the personal is political” and “feminism is the theory, lesbianism is the practice.” In addition to consciousness-raising, protests, and zap actions, lesbian feminist politics manifested in the context of linguistics, spirituality, and community living. Lesbian feminists took on woman-identified names and altered words to reflect antipatriarchal values. For instance, *women* became *womyn* or *wimmin*, and *history* became *herstory*—as in the Lesbian Herstory Archives, founded in New York City in 1973. Lesbian feminists also identified with ancient Amazonian female warriors and adopted their legendary weapon, the labrys (double-bladed ax), as a lesbian symbol. Many lesbian feminists explored versions of female-centered, pagan, and pre-Judeo-Christian religions, reclaiming the figures of goddesses and witches as symbols of female power. Spiritual lesbian groups continue to function as feminist spaces that encourage community involvement, female self-esteem, sexual expression, and gynocentric beliefs.

In the face of rampant sexism and homophobia, some lesbian feminists advocated lesbian separatism as

the only way to escape the trappings of a deeply male-dominated society. Lesbian separatists viewed all heterosexual relationships as harmful to women and considered the discord between women and men to be irreparable. In both rural and urban locales, lesbians created cooperative living arrangements that were founded on egalitarian ethics, values, and activities. Like feminist consciousness-raising groups, these communities eschewed hierarchy of any kind and supported women-owned businesses.

By the late 1970s and 1980s, lesbian feminist activists and scholars split over the question of sex—its practices, representations, and power. With this conflict, what became known as the “lesbian sex wars” began. Many lesbian feminists had initially charged heterosexuality in its various incarnations as the primary root of women’s oppression. Arguments specifically cited pornography as a “how-to” manual for women’s sexual exploitation and disrespect, and some writers and activists (including Catharine A. MacKinnon [b. 1946] and Andrea Dworkin [1946–2005]), calling into question notions of consent, compared all heterosexual sex to rape. These “extreme” viewpoints were fetishized in the press and used as evidence for the “ridiculousness” of radical, lesbian feminism. In truth, a strong contingent of lesbian feminist writers, scholars, and activists, including Amber Hollibaugh (b. 1946), Patrick [formerly Pat] Califia (b. 1954), and Ann Snitow (b. 1943), were adamantly pro-sex and defended heterosexual desire. They also critiqued “vanilla” lesbian feminists for their conservative ideals about lesbian sex and openly discussed lesbian sadomasochism and other deviant behavior. Even lesbian bookstores banned pro-sex lesbian books dealing with such topics, including Califia’s *Sapphisty: The Book of Lesbian Sexuality* (1980), the SAMOIS collective’s *Coming to Power* (1981), and Del Lagrace Volcano’s [formerly Della Grace] photography book *Love Bites* (1991).

LESBIANS OF COLOR AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Like most political movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the lesbian feminist movement was fraught with internal conflict. Just as lesbians had protested homophobia in the feminist movement, lesbian women of color and working-class lesbian women faulted white lesbians for ignoring and speaking over racial and class-based issues. Two central texts that critiqued lesbian feminism for its privileged silencing are the Combahee River Collective’s “Black Feminist Statement” (1979) and Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa’s creative and critical anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981). Work by Paula Gunn Allen (b. 1939) and others called attention to the spe-

cific struggle of Native American lesbians, and Dorothy Allison (b. 1949) and Nestle addressed questions of class.

It is important to note that all of these women and those in their circles accomplished much for the plight of women in general, especially when it came to sexual expression, professional advancement, and, in the words of the era, “breaking the silence” on many previously taboo topics. On the question of separatism, these lesbian women of color refused to renounce men of color and proudly claimed them as their brothers because of their commonalities as racial minorities and their shared fight against white supremacy.

One of the most profound theoretical contributions of lesbians of color was their carving out of the “intersectional thesis”—that is, the claim that modes of social oppression do not function independently of one another. Intersectionality continues to be a useful concept for social service providers, social theorists, and activists—most of whom continue to explore the ways that race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, religion, ability, and other markers of difference overlap to form specific experiences of oppression and identity.

In 1974 Latina and black New York lesbians founded Salsa Soul Sisters, an alternative place to congregate than the lesbian bars, which were sometimes discriminatory, alienating, and unsafe for discussions of racism or racial and ethnic pride. Chicana, Native American (sometimes called “two-spirited”), Indian, and Asian and Pacific Islander lesbians have theorized colonialism and imperialism from lesbian feminist perspectives, and, in the creation of “third world feminism,” have illustrated the ways that capitalist, white supremacist, homophobic, and patriarchal government oppression are interconnected. Important activists and scholars in this decolonizing, feminist thought include Angela Y. Davis (b. 1944), Gloria Anzaldúa (1942–2004), Barbara Smith (b. 1946), Michelle Wallace, and Andrea Smith (Cherokee).

LESBIAN SCHOLARSHIP

As this brief history of lesbian feminism demonstrates, scholarship and theory have played a central role in the theorization, performance, and politics of contemporary lesbianism. As indicated by the aforementioned contributions of black feminist thought, third world feminism, and pro- and anti-sex scholars, lesbianism’s intellectual history is rich with diversity and methodologically innovative. Lesbian scholarship is closely related to feminist scholarship and has important origins in Continental poststructuralism.

One important thread of lesbian scholarship is French feminism, a style of intellectual inquiry influenced by

Continental philosophers interested in semiotics, and one that critiqued phallogocentrism (the Western privileging of the “male” word). Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), Luce Irigaray (b. 1930), and Hélène Cixous (b. 1937) are key proponents of French feminism, although they define and address “feminism” in different ways. The three writers analyzed the relationship between sexuality and language and tied modes of communication to gendered and sexual oppression. Their theories of *écriture féminine* (literally, “women’s writing”) privileged experience over language and circularity (characterized as feminine) over linearity (characterized as masculine). In her famous 1975 essay, “La rire de la Méduse” (“The Laugh of the Medusa,” 1976), Cixous challenged woman to “write her self” and analogized women’s exile and alienation from their bodies with women’s relative absence in literary and intellectual history. In her 1980 essay, “La pensée straight” (“The Straight Mind”), another French feminist, Monique Wittig (1935–2003), claimed that “lesbians are not women” on the basis of their rejection of the heterosexual social contract.

A seminal redefinition of lesbianism that has remained controversial in lesbian cultural studies is the 1980 essay “Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence,” by the poet and writer Adrienne Rich (b. 1929). Arguing for the formation of a new vocabulary for women’s relationships with one another, Rich claims that intimacy between women, whether erotic, sexual, or not, will become more and more commonplace and valued once it becomes more visible and nameable. Within this strident critique of heterosexuality as an institution, Rich suggests the term *lesbian continuum* to describe a wide range of woman-identified experiences.

Early gay and lesbian studies, feminist theory, and activism that responded to the HIV-AIDS crisis inspired new scholarship in the field of what became known as “queer theory.” The scholars Gayle Rubin (b. 1949), Judith Butler (b. 1956), and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (b. 1950) made important theoretical progress in theorizing pleasure, the body, and sexual identity in relation to nonnormative subjectivities and practices.

LESBIAN LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND ART

Despite the relatively late cultural formation of explicitly lesbian social, erotic, and political identities in the twentieth century, there is a great deal of pre-Stonewall (that is, pre-1968) literature that has been canonized as “lesbian literature.” This canon includes the poetry of the Restoration dramatist Aphra Behn (1640–1689), the first English woman to make authorship her livelihood; the poems of the Mexican nun and scholar Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695); the poems and letters of the reclu-

sive American poet Emily Dickinson (1830–1886); and the diaries of Anne Lister (1791–1840), a well-to-do English landowner. Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), the story of the coming of age and failed love affairs of invert protagonist Stephen Gordon, is considered to be the first lesbian novel.

In the 1950s and 1960s, lesbian pulp novels were widely published and distributed. Most of these lurid novels were marketed to a male readership, and the tragic lesbian protagonists of the books reached their formulaic “bad end” among a variety of punishments for their transgressions—insanity or death if she did not recover to heterosexuality. Some pulp novels—notably the Beebo Brinker Chronicles by Ann Bannon (pseudonym of Ann Weldy)—allowed lesbian protagonists to escape these cruel fates and began to present a more positive view of lesbian relationships and identities, though not without dilemmas. Bannon’s books were reissued in the 1980s and early twenty-first century by Naiad Press and Cleis Press, respectively, to the excitement of a large lesbian reading public that remembered these books as crucial to their coming out. Another exception to the depressing narrative arcs of early pulps is *The Price of Salt* (1952), by the American mystery/crime writer Patricia Highsmith (1921–1995).

The lesbian feminist publishing boom in the 1970s resulted in the distribution of magazines such as *Lesbian Connection* (East Lansing, Michigan), *Lesbian Tide* (Los Angeles), *Amazon Quarterly* (Oakland, California), and *Azalea: A Magazine by and for Third World Lesbians* (Brooklyn) as well as in the development of a number of women’s presses, including Naiad, Diana Press, and Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press. In 1973 Rita Mae Brown (b. 1944), one of the founders of Radicalesbians, wrote the first of several lesbian novels, *Rubyfruit Jungle*, a proud and recuperative coming-of-age tale that is somewhat autobiographical. Other influential writers associated with this era are the African-American poet and activist Audre Lorde (1934–1992), the Jewish-American poet and activist Muriel Rukeyser (1913–1980), the American poet and historian Judy Grahn (b. 1940), and the Native American poet Chrystos (b. 1946; Menominee tribe).

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Emma Crandall

III. STATUS

Lesbian music was central to the development of lesbian feminist communities in the 1970s through the 1990s. "Women's music" answered the categorical absence of women in the recording industry and spoke to the revolutionary moment by presenting music made by women, about women, and for women. Lesbian artists such as Ferron, Tret Fure, Alix Dobkin, and Ubaka Hill were important voices in the genre's founding. Cris Williamson's album *The Changer and the Changed* (1975) was the first album produced by Olivia Records, which was the first women's music label (founded in 1973 by a collective that included the musician Meg Christian). Christian's playful lesbian anthems, such as "Ode to a Gym Teacher" and "Leaping Lesbians," synthesized folk music with lesbian humor. While local lesbian activists across the United States and Europe organized concerts that showcased these performers and others, annual music festivals began to pop up that operated as weekend- or weeklong feminist "safe spaces" that fostered pride, arts and crafts, and sexual expression. Most festivals continue to function as communal spaces, and some require attendees to sign up for volunteer work shifts. Many lesbian performers have benefited directly from the women's music festival circuit or from the advances that can be credited to this history. Tracy Chapman, the Indigo Girls, Melissa Etheridge, Sweet Honey in the Rock, and Me'Shell NdegéOcello are among these.

The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (MWMF) is the largest, longest-running, and most controversial of these festivals. MWMF's history illustrates how debates about inclusion, transgender identity, and difference in the lesbian community have evolved—most obviously in their exclusion of men and transgendered or transsexual women from the festival. Founded in 1976 by nineteen-year-old Lisa Vogel, MWMF did not formally institute its "womyn-born womyn" policy until an incident in 1991 in which a security guard banished a transsexual woman from the grounds. Since then, the festival has been boycotted and protested—most notably by the formation of the nearby Camp Trans, which is attended by transwomen, transmen, genderqueers, and their allies.

The lesbian feminist music world of the 1970s and 1980s merged with the American and European punk and post-punk rock cultures that included artists such as Yoko Ono, Patti Smith, Joan Jett, and the Slits to produce the Riot Grrrl movement of the 1990s. Riot Grrrl culture has been important to young, urban articulations of lesbianism in contemporary times. A counterculture that emphasized do-it-yourself (DIY) attitudes and art activities (such as zine writing and publishing), Riot Grrrl promoted feminist issues and was for the most part lesbian-friendly or even lesbian-focused. The founding of Riot Grrrl conventions; the lesbo-queer record label Mr. Lady Records (now defunct); the international all-women Ladyfest music festivals; and slogans such as its famous "Love Rock Revolution Girl Style Now," all indicate the influence of lesbian feminism on this movement, genre, and style of self-expression. Like 1970s lesbian feminism, Riot Grrrl has been critiqued for its inattention to racial issues and was simplified in coverage by the mainstream media. The "riot grrrl sensibility" nevertheless persists in contemporary queer electroclash music, queer activist direct-action groups, and national feminist magazines such as *Bitch: Feminist Response to Pop Culture, Bust*, and Norway's *Fett*.

Lesbian visibility in the mainstream media has been further augmented by an emergent lesbian cinema. Films made by lesbians about lesbian issues became more accessible around the globe beginning in the 1990s, and classic lesbian films are remembered as instrumental to the "coming out" of many contemporary lesbians. Pre-Stonewall films such as *Queen Christina* (1933), Alfred Hitchcock's *Rebecca* (1940), and the aforementioned *Children's Hour* (1961) are part of the lesbian cinematic canon, while lesbian classics such as *Desert Hearts* (1985, based on the novel by the lesbian author Jane Rule), *Go Fish* (1994), *The Watermelon Women* (1996), and *Bound* (1996) present lesbianism in explicit terms. Movies such as *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931, Germany), the first movie

to address lesbianism; Lizzie Borden's *Born in Flames* (1983, United States); and Deepa Mehta's *Fire* (1996, India/Canada) reveal the diversity in lesbian cinema. Lesbian directors include Dorothy Arzner (1900–1979), who was the only female Hollywood director in the 1930s and 1940s; Barbara Hammer (b. 1939); and Rose Troche (b. 1964).

Lesbian art follows a similar trajectory as lesbian literature and in many cases was produced alongside the novels and poems that defined lesbianism in each generation. In expatriate Paris, well-known lesbian artists included the American portrait painter Romaine Brooks (1874–1970) and the British painter known as Gluck (Hannah Gluckstein; 1895–1978). Lesbian feminist artists include Joan Snyder (b. 1940), Tee A. Corinne (b. 1943), Fran Winant (b. 1943), and members of the Feminist Lesbian Art Collective. Lesbian photographers have a rich and influential history and include, among those already mentioned, Berenice Abbott (1898–1991), Annie Leibovitz (b. 1949), Catherine Opie (b. 1961), and Deborah Bright (b. 1950), who glued her own image onto classic Hollywood film stills in her project “Dream Girls” (1989–1990).

Lesbian theater and performance art held a particularly significant role in lesbian community building in the 1980s. The WOW Café Theater is an East Village (New York City) women's theater collective that has been an important house for gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) theater since 1980. The lesbian theater companies Split Britches and Five Lesbian Brothers came out of the WOW Café and continue to perform across the globe. Comedic lesbian performance artists Carmelita Tropicana (Alina Troyano) and Holly Hughes (b. 1955) were also involved in the WOW Café's early days.

INTERNATIONAL LESBIAN RIGHTS AND GLOBAL LESBIAN FEMINISM

As a social and political identity with specific historical origins in Western cultures, lesbian is not a universal category. Even in Western contexts lesbian possesses varied meanings. According to the scholar Monika Reinfelder (1996a), terms used internationally to refer to “lesbian” practice and women who love women include *lesbian*, *dyke*, *Zami*, *wicker*, *mati*, *khush*, *entendidas*, *sakhi*, *subak*, and *jami*. Many women who have sex with women do not identify as “lesbians”—a fact that has made mass organizing difficult across the globe and has contributed to a vast lesbian invisibility that reinforces heterosexism in developing nations. Victims of executions, beheadings, stoning deaths, imprisonment, institutionalization, forced marriages, and suicide in these countries, “lesbians” endure a global oppression that hinges on racist, sexist, homophobic, colonialist,

and imperialist regimes. As Reinfelder writes, “In many countries the legacy of colonialism/neo-colonialism and the effects of continuing North/South inequalities have given priority to struggles around poverty, illiteracy, famine and national liberation. This has often rendered it impossible for women to engage in issues of sexuality” (1996b, p. 11). Homosexuality (and lesbianism) are made illegal, usually through sodomy laws, across the globe, and in some countries anyone advocating for gay rights is subject to arrest and possible imprisonment. GLBTQ people and their allies in countries such as Jamaica, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Poland, and the United Arab Emirates have been especially persecuted, according to the U.S. State Department's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2005*.

Specific laws against lesbian sexual acts are complex in terms of phrasing and enforcement, precisely because of the issues of implausibility and invisibility of female–female desire that have been previously addressed. A famous illustration of this matter is the legend (most likely apocryphal) of Queen Victoria's response to the clause about lesbianism proposed for the antigay Labouchere Amendment that was drawn up in 1885 in London. The amendment, under which Oscar Wilde was later prosecuted, referred only to male homosexuality because the queen reputedly did not believe sex between women to be possible.

Until the second half of the twentieth century in the United States and in contemporary times in other nations, lesbians underwent corrective therapy including psychiatric treatment, electroconvulsive therapy, or any number of medical procedures, such as hysterectomies, hormone injections, and clitoridectomies. Lesbian invisibility has been sustained through such terroristic threats and violence.

In developing nations, lesbianism and homosexuality have been considered products of the West that have been imported to their purely heterosexual cultures through the media, as an effect of global capitalism, or as a “white people's disease.” To combat this mythology, women discover and write histories of lesbianism in their countries and build coalitions to battle the isolation that many lesbians feel. Another impediment to lesbian awareness and organizing in developing countries is linked to culture-specific senses of family duty, reputation, and honor. Often lesbians who travel, study, or work across international borders may live as heterosexuals in their home country and explore their lesbian desires while abroad.

The global AIDS pandemic has indirectly brought homosexuality into public discussion in such areas as Africa and India and in some cases has helped gay men and lesbians to mobilize together for gay rights. Working on

AIDS issues in such countries can sometimes camouflage groups that also function as gay and lesbian assemblies.

By contrast, in some countries (such as South Africa), lesbian socializing is not uncommon or particularly difficult to come by (Fester 1996). Yet, lesbian solidarity has been and is fractured by apartheid, movements for national liberation, and poverty.

There is much overlap between global lesbian cultural practices, including the expression of butch and femme genders, though these go by many different names. In Malaysia, for instance, the term *pengkid* (from “punk kid”) refers to working-class queer butches who bind their breasts, wear men’s underwear, and are chivalrous and devoted to their girlfriends (Nur and A. R. 1996). Tens if not hundreds of other examples of alternative female genders legitimize this behavior as a cross-cultural practice and draw a suggestive link between queer cultures and gender diversity.

In some cultures, masculine women and/or lesbian relationships are not ridiculed, or at least were not until the Western gender system filtered into isolated villages and cultures. This is the case, for example, in parts of Indonesia and India and in some American Indian tribes. Nevertheless, in the face of the global marginalization of lesbians, these cases are anomalies. Because of the progressive narratives about sexual liberation in the West and a general ignorance about global human rights, many people are unaware of the extreme persecution of lesbians in other countries. Sister Namibia, El Closet de Sor Juana (Mexico), and Can’t Live in the Closet (Philippines) are among the most well-known international lesbian groups. More information about GLBTQ international affairs can be found through the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (United States) or the International Lesbian Information Service (Netherlands).

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Emma Crandall

LESBIANISM

Although the term *lesbian* designating a woman who has same-sex erotic relations first appeared in French in the sixteenth-century manuscript of the *Dames galantes*, composed by memoirist Pierre de Brantôme (1540–1614), it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that it (along with *lesbianism*, used to mean female homosexuality) began to enter into the lexicon in English.

THEORETICAL POSITIONS

If one posits that sexuality itself is the product of diverse discourses in society and thus cannot be viewed as a stable or fixed category, retracing the history of lesbianism intersects with the social construction of female sexuality in different times and cultures.

The interplay of contradictory notions colors any attempt to describe and delineate lesbianism from ancient societies to the contemporary period. If the starting point is a strong notion of lesbianism as constituting an identity in terms of late-twentieth-century social constructionist theory, a careful balance must be maintained between the imposition of modern categories on earlier times while acknowledging that these categories may indeed be appropriate and proactive in some cases. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) argued in his *History of Sexuality* (1976) that sexual preference as an identity only fully developed in the nineteenth century. Sexuality is thus a creation of nineteenth-century medical discourse. This statement is not to deny that groupings of individuals together according to their sexual practices—giving them, as it were, an “identity”—did exist; rather it negates the attribution of the deep psychological core to that identity that came out of the medicalization of sex. It also contradicts an essentialist viewpoint that searches for individuals with a homosexual, heterosexual, or other sexual orientation in a transhistorical, transcultural model. To apply this notion to the study of lesbianism assumes the critical stance that, in one sense, specifically rejects the notion of an identity politics that searches out “gay” people in the past. Thus while contemporary lesbianism will not be found in earlier societies, a diverse spectrum of female homoerotic relations as well as theories and definitions pertaining to them will emerge. These do not deny the consciousness of same-sex desire; rather,

they complicate it in ways productive to understanding contemporary concepts of lesbianism.

ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

The Greek poet Sappho (fl. 610 BCE–c. 570 BCE), from the isle of Lesbos, is frequently cited as the original lesbian. Her poetry, read as autobiographical, provides the bulk of the little is that known about her life. However, the identification of Sappho as lesbian is not universally accepted. She has been variously constructed in literature and literary criticism and biography as heterosexual, bisexual, and homosexual. Jane McIntosh Snyder (1997) has suggested that to pose the question about the real Sappho's sexual preference is perhaps useless, since it can never be answered definitively. Rather, her female-voiced poetry addressed to women with its evidence of same-sex desire merits consideration, can be seen as lesbian, and gives us a model of lesbianism as it appears in early Greek literature.

Gender roles, based on a binary distinction between active (penetrator, gendered male) and passive (penetrated, gendered female) appear to have been the dominant way of categorizing individuals in ancient Greece and Rome. For women, this category meant that women who penetrated (using a dildo or thought of as having a large clitoris) were guilty of gender transgression. Roman authors wrote of tribades as belonging to a distant, Greek past, harking back to stories of Sappho. Following established gender roles, they masculinized them.

Despite these protests by Roman authors, religious studies scholar Bernadette Brooten (1996) was able to establish the existence of female same-sex relationships in Roman society. Drawing on sources in Greek and Latin as well as rabbinical texts and artistic evidence, a wide spectrum of female homoerotic relations can be delineated. Erotic spells commissioned by women to use on women offer a glimpse into an aspect of same-sex desire. In contrast to more tolerant attitudes toward male homoeroticism, early medical literature cast female homoeroticism in a negative light, using terms like *dis-ease*. This negative attitude may derive from the element of disruption of the social order associated with this type of relationship. The active female usurps the male role; the passive female has chosen the wrong partner and subverts the heterosexual model. Brooten argues convincingly that lesbianism in this form was clearly perceived as a real threat to the overarching structure of the active/passive that was integral to that society. Astrological literature from the period proposes the explanation that as a result of a particular celestial conjunction a lifelong orientation toward same-sex desire exists, giving early credence to the notion of a "lesbian" identity.

EUROPEAN MIDDLE AGES

With the rise of Christianity, the Pauline injunction against same-sex relationships began to infiltrate secular law. However, what the literary critic Valerie Traub once labeled the "insignificance of lesbian desire" informs the attitudes toward female same-sex relations in the Middle Ages. Penitential manuals referred to same-sex activities and frequently gave details of proscribed male sexual practices, whereas female homoerotic practices were not frequently elaborated. The "lesbian" did not exist as a separate category; rather, judicial language included female same-sex relations under sodomy, and modeled it to male sexual practices. Mark Jordan (1997) has argued that the category of *sodomia* marks the beginnings of a notion of homosexual identity; however, this identity erases any female specificity. Thus, lesbianism remains marginalized.

The assimilation of the lesbian to the sodomite placed an emphasis on the use of a prosthetic device as a necessary component to substantiate most prosecutions. Given this standard of proof, it is not surprising that prosecutions were uncommon. The infrequent instances of female same-sex relations in legal documents from this period contribute to an understanding of how these relations were viewed by the dominant culture, yet for the most part they contribute only slightly to any understanding of how the individuals involved in the relationships viewed their own identity. One exception may be a fifteenth-century incident found in a letter of pardon, where the recorded testimony tells that one young woman called the other her "sweetheart." Such an expression of affection is a rare glimpse into a homoerotic relationship between two women in that period.

Further traces of lesbian-like behavior can be found in letters exchanged by nuns, expressing longing and affection. The scope of these relationships cannot be determined with any certainty. By their language, they are not dissimilar from what will be termed romantic friendships. However, the atmosphere of the convent as an enclosed female world facilitated strong affective and erotic relationships. The rules of convents that forbade nuns sharing beds imply that the practice may have gone beyond the bounds of friendship. The evidence of Benedetta Carlini's "lesbian" relation, brought to light by Judith Brown (1986), substantiates this possibility. Thus it is possible that in some cases the desire to enter a religious order masked same-sex desire.

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The first significant discussion of lesbianism in the early modern period appears in Brantôme's *Dames Galantes* (Lives of fair and gallant ladies, 1666). In a "discourse" on what constitutes adultery, Brantôme examines various

types of female same-sex relations, drawing both on Latin sources and on examples taken from contemporary society, including women in the French court. Although he dismisses these relations, for the most part, as poor imitations of heterosexual relationships, reinscribing the notion of phallic superiority in the Renaissance, and though he cites the dangers for those women who use prosthetics, he does suggest that there might be a certain pleasure involved in lesbian sexual acts.

Despite Brantôme's assertion that lesbianism was a common phenomenon, relatively few instances of same-sex couples are recorded for this period. A poem authored by Madeleine de l'Aubespine (1546–1596) was identified in the nineteenth century as referring to a lesbian relationship, but no verifiable source confirms this. A scattering of legal records cite female same-sex relations, but with the exception of a case cited by Michel de Montaigne in the 1581 edition of his *Essais*, concerning a female cross-dresser who had been living with another woman, these would not have been known to a wide public. In medical discourse, female same-sex relations were often associated with hermaphroditism.

As Valerie Traub (2002) has remarked, “references to female-female desire in English texts increased dramatically over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” (p. 7). A similar statement can be made for texts in continental literature as well as medical and legal treatises. To a large extent, facilitated through the rediscovery of Sappho and the circulation of classical texts, the model of penetrator/penetrated that was prevalent in ancient societies reappears in the early modern figure of the tribade, a masculinized woman whose active role in same-sex relationships defines her. Sappho became the model for the tribade in early-modern medical texts. The most commonly perceived characteristic of the tribade was clitoral hypertrophy, thus establishing a physical source for her lesbianism. It would be an overstatement to conclude that this figure can be equated with a modern vision of lesbianism. Nonetheless, it does contribute to the understanding of the complicated notion of what constitutes lesbianism at different historical moments. The French *sapphisme* appeared in dictionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century as the term for lesbianism, and the noun *lesbienne* made its appearance in 1867. English would not adopt the term *lesbian* until the early twentieth century.

The concept of a passionate friendship, modeled on a Platonic ideal, developed in the early modern period as well. Although examples of such friendships were relatively rare among women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century these relationships, termed “romantic friendships,” became common. As the literary historian Lillian Faderman (1981) has shown,

romantic friendships between women were condoned and often encouraged. In the eighteenth century these passionate relationships were not thought to violate rules of sexual conduct. Rather, they served as a type of apprenticeship for marriage, allowing women to explore feelings of love outside of a sexual relationship. Homoaffective but not erotic, the female romantic friendship was not a threat to the marital economy. The romantic friends, then, can be seen as the counterpoint to the disruptive tribade who usurped the role of the male in a relationship. Romantic friendships continued to be common throughout most of the nineteenth century, but as new discourses arose concerning female same-sex relations, such relationships came under closer scrutiny.

INVENTING LESBIANISM

In the mid-nineteenth century, European sexologists began to formulate a taxonomy of sexual deviance, including homosexuality. The terms *lesbian* and *lesbianism* categorized women whose sexual desire was directed toward their own sex. The lesbian had a particular pathology. Rooted in the paradigm of heteronormativity, *lesbianism* described women whose sexual orientation was the result of a biological anomaly, believed to be genetic or hormonal. The lesbian became associated with manliness, both in dress and in behavior. This version of lesbianism was typically known through the theory of sexual inversion. Works such as the *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) by Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and *Sexual Inversion* (published first in German in 1896 as *Das Konträre Geschlechtsgefühl* [Contrary sexual feeling]) by Havelock Ellis (1868–1935) disagreed as to whether sexual inversion was a disease—Ellis indeed argued that, although innate, it was not a disease. However, the view of homosexuality as disease prevailed, and thus the late nineteenth century had formulated a pathology of lesbianism within a new paradigm of hetero- vs. homosexuality.

The burgeoning science of psychiatry situated lesbianism in abnormal psychological development. Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis, rejected the genetic/biological models for homosexuality and added the element of penis envy to the lesbian's psychological makeup. As thus constructed, the lesbian was not entirely dissimilar from the earlier tribade, in respect to the association with masculinity; however, the model functions through the developmental analogy of castration. Lesbianism was characterized as a lack. Popularized notions of Freudian theory associated lesbianism with the desire to be a man. The significance of this shift is that it created a purportedly recognizable group with “masculine” attributes being considered a prerequisite to lesbianism. For the most part, the association of

lesbianism with masculinity no longer prevails at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

MODERN LESBIANISM

By the early twentieth century, a new consciousness emerged. The lesbian saw herself as an erotic subject, “a woman whose desire for women was felt as a fundamental component of her sense of self” (Duggan 1993, p. 791). There also emerged in this period the figure of the “mannish lesbian,” embodied most notably by Radclyffe Hall (1880–1943) in her autobiographical novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Havelock Ellis wrote the preface to the novel, and Hall presented it as a study of congenital inversion. The “mannish lesbian” has been considered a problematic figure for her adoption of masculinity and for embracing the characteristics of lesbianism developed by the sexologists. Some mediating factors are pertinent in understanding this figure. A masculine style of dress was not limited to “mannish lesbians” in the early twentieth century. It also was prominent in the fashion of the 1920s and was equally associated with the appearance of independent, educated women who were not lesbians. Modern style broke with the ornamentation of female dress during the Victorian period. Additionally, Esther Newton (1984) posits that masculine dress enacted a conscious rebellion against the paradigm of romantic friendship.

The definition of lesbianism that privileged the “mannish woman” had a secondary consequence of displacing the “feminine woman.” The femme lesbian became an occulted figure, existing outside popular imagination and marginalized in scientific discourse. The lesbian couple created in this paradigm, prefiguring the later butch-femme couple, only consisted of one recognizable lesbian. In this context, the femme can be viewed as a type of passing, since the feminine lesbian defied facile identification. The butch-femme categories that developed later in the twentieth century recognized the femme as lesbian, refuting the “mannish lesbian” as the only model for lesbian identity.

LESBIANISM IN LATE TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEORY

In the late twentieth century, the definition and origin of lesbianism became the subject of debates between those working in the fields of poststructuralism and psychoanalytic theory. Most notably, the psychoanalyst Melanie Klein (1882–1960) and French theorists, including the writer and critic Hélène Cixous (b. 1937), psychoanalytic theorist Luce Irigaray (b. 1930), and Julia Kristeva (b. 1941), influenced the opinion that lesbian desire originates in the experience gained through bodily contact in the pre-Oedipal relationship between the mother and

the daughter, categorizing female homosexuality in terms of sameness.

This view is congruent with lesbian feminism, a political movement that flourished in the United States in the 1970s and combined feminist ideologies and lesbian sexuality, and with that movement’s precept of female identification (woman-identified woman). Lesbian feminism created lesbian communities in various parts of the United States, as well as a subculture including coffee houses, bookstores, newspapers, and so on. As a political force, these communities attempted to exist outside the patriarchy. Many lesbian feminists espoused a separatist ideology, dissociating themselves not only from men, but also from women who were not lesbians. They viewed with irony a culture that defined lesbianism as male-identified. Their political stance functioned as a rejection of the early-twentieth century “mannish lesbian” since they refused the identification of lesbian with the desire to be a male.

Poststructuralist theory, following the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) and French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), called into question all sexual and gender categories, stressing the role of society. No category is natural or stable; rather, lesbianism is a social construct. That construct informs a self-conscious recognition of a sexual identity, in this case the lesbian, and produces the definition of lesbianism. The emergence of queer theory, building on the work of the poststructuralists and Foucault, and elaborated in the writings of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (b. 1950) and Judith Butler (b. 1956), moves beyond what Sedgwick (1990) called the “hetero/homo binary.” Since that binary itself serves as the foundation for the nineteenth-century medical discourse—that theory of lesbian as identity and as self-conscious subject—the very notion of lesbianism as a transparent category is called into question. Although such discussions take place primarily in the academy, their effect is not totally unfelt in popular culture. Certainly within the essentialist viewpoint, the category is clear-cut and unproblematic.

Despite the influence of social construction and queer theory, it would be an exaggeration to maintain that the understanding of *lesbian* as a woman who engages in homoerotic activities and *lesbianism* as the specific term denoting female homosexuality no longer exists. Thus, it may be possible to both problematize sexuality and at the same time understand what lesbianism is.

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Edith Joyce Benkov

LESBIAN-LIKE

Lesbian-like is a term introduced in 1998 by medieval historian Judith Bennett in response to the gap between scholars who speak of lesbians in all historical periods and those who deny the very possibility of their existence before the end of the nineteenth century. Bennett’s theory advances the task of retracing the history of lesbianism in the distant past and of theorizing early lesbian existence. The term has been widely applied or at least referenced by scholars discussing contexts in which the category lesbian seems adumbrated, but not realized. The concept acknowledges the objections of strict constructionists to the claim of early lesbian existence, as well as antihomophobic resistance to this exclusion from history.

The term lesbian-like designates social and familial positions and experiences that, albeit not of a “lesbian” nature in the contemporary sense, are indicators of lives

led independently by women outside the constraints of marriage and male domination, creating the possibility for the historical, or actual, existence of women who might have focused their lives on other women. The usage eschews sexuality as the sole determining component of same-sex lives, emphasizing the absence or fragmentation of male control. Thus women who live alone, by their own means, or who live with other women in communal arrangements represent social and behavioral choices previously underprivileged in attempts to define what a lesbian is, or what she might have been, in early European societies.

While some scholars feel strongly that the term usefully “destabilizes” notions of single sexual identity and returns attention to behaviors instead, others object that, by shifting “the focus from a noun (lesbian) to an adjective (lesbian-like),” the reference ends up “uncomfortably concentrating on the unknowable, rather than the knowable” (Vicinus 2004, p. xxi).

SEE ALSO *Homoaffectivity, Concept; Lesbianism; Same-Sex Love and Sex, Terminology.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

LESBOS

Lesbos is the third-largest Greek island in the Aegean Sea. It is a mountainous, green, volcanic island with a temperate Mediterranean climate. Devoted in the early twenty-first century to tourism, the cultivation of olives, fishing,

and the manufacture of the Greek national drink, Ouzo, the island is visited regularly by Greek island cruise ships and is often the destination of lesbian tourists from around the world. It is the birthplace and was the home of the ancient Greek poet Sappho, who wrote verse that was occasionally addressed to women. The contemporary word *lesbian*, meaning female homosexual, comes from the name of the island—the imagined site of an ancient women’s artistic and romantic culture.

Its location in the Aegean Sea has meant that Lesbos has often changed hands politically, gaining, for example, its Greek language and culture when Greeks from Thessaly migrated to the island in the late Bronze Age. The island was conquered by the Persians, was retaken by the Greeks, was a part of the Athenian confederacy, and was ruled by Macedonia, then the Romans. It was a part of the Byzantine Empire after the fall of Rome, was turned over to the Italians as that empire fell apart, and was conquered by the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century. It finally returned to Greece in 1913.

These political upheavals affected the island’s artistic culture. When Sappho flourished sometime between 610 and 580 BCE, Lesbos was already a thriving cultural center. Its main city, Mytilene, where Sappho resided, was the site of literary creativity. According to myth, the head and lyre of the singer Orpheus are interred on Lesbos. Sappho, born to an aristocratic family in the

Lesbian city of Eressos, resided primarily in Mytilene. Her wealthy background is reflected in the kinds of celebrations, court occasions, parades, and society described in her poetry as well as in her complex and elaborate language. During Sappho’s youth, the government of the island was toppled, and aristocrats such as Sappho went into exile in Sicily. Some of Sappho’s poetry laments this exile. In 581 BCE Sappho returned to Lesbos and continued to develop her lyrical verse.

The survival of Sappho’s work and stories of her community on Lesbos have occasioned conflicting critical interpretations and speculation, especially about the extent to which her community practiced what is understood in the early twenty-first century to be lesbian relations.

Sappho’s verse served as a model for lyrical poetry for quite a long time. Her work was studied by the Romans, but was dropped by the Byzantines, and it ceased to be copied by them. Some believed that her work, focused as it is on both paganism and erotic love, was deliberately suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church. During the Renaissance her work was revived, and the Victorians understood her poetry and culture as something like a girls’ finishing school with Sappho as the headmistress, one not above a few dalliances with her female students. In the 1950s Mary Barnard retranslated Sappho’s work in a way that better conveyed Sappho’s clean, clear language.



Sappho and Alcaeus on Lesbos. Sappho and another woman listen as Alcaeus plays the lyre. Sappho and Alcaeus, both poets, are the most famous inhabitants of the island of Lesbos and are rumored to have been lovers. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

Although there are no references to an academy in Sappho's work, the idea of a female artistic community charged with erotic energy has made Lesbos the mythical center of lesbian tradition. Lesbos provides a geographical site for a history and practice that, in the same way that Greek culture affords a classical model for gay men, endows lesbian sexuality with an ancient and cultured derivation.

Some of Sappho's love poems are addressed to women, and many of the poems describe the poet's romantic interest in and even infatuation with other women. The poems in general do not describe specific sexual acts or physical relations between women, but present instead emotional longing. Whether or not Sappho's poetry complies with contemporary notions of lesbian ardor depends on how one understands emotional and romantic ties among women. Her poetry is considered to be more personal and emotional than that of her contemporary, the poet Alcaeus, who wrote about more civic themes.

Every year in the middle of August lesbians from around the world gather at Eressos, Sappho's birthplace on Lesbos. During this time there are lesbian celebrations, events, and parties. Lesbians also visit at other times, seeing Lesbos as their site of spiritual origin. Those who travel to Lesbos report varying experiences. Some are impressed with the tolerance of year-round residents. Others have experienced some negative reception on the part of residents, but because tourism is a large part of the local economy, clashes between demonstrative lesbian tourists and Lesbos natives seem to have calmed recently.

In contemporary Internet culture, the term *Lesbos* often refers to pornographic web sites featuring images of women having sex. It is also often used in lesbian romance novels or as a sign indicating some lesbian activity in a movie or a novel or on a web site.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism; Love Poetry; Sappho.*

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Judith Roof

LEWINSKY AFFAIR

There is a middle-aged man whose business is in a crisis. A young woman on his staff who has been assigned to help during the crisis flashes her thong underwear at the man in an attempt to seduce him. This could be a summary of the Lewinsky affair except that the middle-aged man was William Jefferson Clinton, the president of the United States, and the young woman was Monica Lewinsky, an intern at the White House.

Although the seduction is successful, sexual intercourse is not consummated. Instead the couple indulges in oral sex provided to the male, anal sex (nongenital), and phone sex, all instigated by the young woman. The young woman confides in someone whom she considers a friend but who betrays and exposes her. This perhaps banal tale of a sexual encounter provokes the most important sex scandal in the history of the country and only the second impeachment of a president of the United States. The Lewinsky affair did that because it came at the confluence of a set of events that were direct or indirect results of the sexual revolution and because the legal issues in the affair turned on the precise kind of sexual activities indulged in by the couple.

Of course, Clinton was not the first president to have affairs (those of John F. Kennedy were legion and notorious), but Clinton did not have the social and political support network of the earlier politician, and the presidency itself had become more vulnerable. Independent prosecutors could investigate executive malfeasance without control or financial limitation, and sexual harassment had become a more pressing legal and political issue partly as a result of a law that Clinton had signed. An independent council was named to investigate possible crimes surrounding an earlier Clinton family business affair called Whitewater. At the same time Paula Jones, a former Arkansas public official, was encouraged to pursue a sexual harassment case against Clinton with the support of some of the president's political opponents (hence the charge of "a vast right-wing conspiracy" made by Hillary Clinton). Clinton and Lewinsky began their sexual relations in 1997.

Within a year Paula Jones's lawyers learned about the Clinton-Lewinsky connection and subpoenaed the young woman. She and Clinton tried first to hide and then to minimize their relations. They ultimately were unsuccessful, and the independent prosecutor, Judge Kenneth Starr, added perjury and obstruction of justice charges against Clinton.

Clinton tried to defend his denials by pointing to the fairly obscure definition of sexual acts used in the Jones depositions. The president claimed that he had remained completely passive and had been unconcerned about any potential pleasure for his partner; if taken together, those

factors would have failed to satisfy the definition of sex in the Jones depositions.

Starr displayed great zeal in his investigation of Clinton's sex life, encouraged by Republicans. The president's defenders, mostly on the left, argued that he was being prosecuted for sex acts or at most for lying about sex, and thus the prosecution was unfair and hypocritical. The right insisted that Clinton was being held to account not for his dalliances but for the disrespect for the law shown by his perjury. That point later was weakened by the claim by some of those politicians that the 2007 perjury conviction of Scooter Libby did not involve a serious crime.

Larry Flynt, the publisher of an extremely explicit pornographic magazine and a defender of the First Amendment, took it upon himself to out leading Republican lawmakers who were guilty of adultery. Congressman Robert Livingston, who was forced to resign, was his most visible victim. The conservative *National Review* published a special issue claiming that Clinton's tawdry doings had ruined sex.

In 1998 Kenneth Starr and his office published their findings in a government document that became known as *The Starr Report*. The report became a political and cultural sensation, was translated into several languages, and provided salacious reading in the form of an official U.S. government document. Ultimate proof of the affair was provided by a semen stain that had been preserved on one of Lewinsky's dresses.

Clinton was impeached in the House of Representatives by a narrow margin but in January 1999 was acquitted in his trial in the Senate. The entire discussion brought the practice of oral sex out of the closet, with many adolescent Americans apparently deciding that it was not "real sex" and hence could be practiced with less moral reprobation. In Spain an act of fellatio became known as *una Monica*.

Many observers considered the Lewinsky affair and the subsequent impeachment a low point in American politics at a time when Osama bin Laden was preparing the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States. However, the affair showed the increasing centrality that sexual matters were taking in American politics generally and contributed greatly to more open discussion of sexual practices.

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*Allen Douglas
Fedwa Malti-Douglas*

LIBERACE 1919–1987

Wladziu (Walter) Liberace, who was born on May 16 in West Allis, Wisconsin, was a famous pianist and entertainer known for his flamboyant style and his insistence that he was not a homosexual. Despite what are now recognized as quintessentially, if not stereotypically, homosexual mannerisms and affectations, plus his long-term relationships with male partners, Liberace publicly maintained that he was a heterosexual until his death on February 4 in Palm Springs, California.

Liberace rose to fame on television in the 1950s, achieving celebrity status as an attractive and flamboyant pianist who presented a very middlebrow idea of refinement to mass audiences. As a musician he was mostly a critical failure, often accused of playing in a flashy style without a great deal of technical proficiency. His weekly television show *The Liberace Show* debuted in 1951 and quickly became one of the most popular in the United States. At the same time, he began to perform at large concert venues like the Hollywood Bowl and Madison Square Garden. He became a regular performer in Lake Tahoe and Las Vegas (which is now the home of the Liberace Museum), and also headlined several performances at Radio City Music Hall in New York City in the 1980s that broke box office and attendance records for the venue.

His trademark was overblown style, and included elaborately coiffed hair, a gleaming white piano, and a huge, ornate silver candelabra. These were all stage techniques designed to make every detail of the set visible even from the last row of a huge theatre. His style was particularly evident in his stage costumes. Over time simple flashiness was replaced by bright, feminine colors, as well as capes encrusted with rhinestones and sequins. His style became a model for other Las Vegas performers (including Elvis Presley), and embodied a camp sensibility that was recognized and imitated by the gay community even though Liberace denied its significance.

Liberace's relationship to the gay community is unquestionable but complicated. While all indications are that Liberace was a homosexual, he denied it even as he was dying of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) (at that time a disease mainly associated with



Liberace Performing at Radio City Music Hall in 1984.
AP IMAGES.

male homosexuals). His dramatic weight loss prior to his death was attributed to a watermelon diet, rather than acknowledged as a symptom of AIDS or any other disease. Liberace was involved in at least two court cases involving claims that he was a homosexual. In 1957 Liberace successfully sued the London tabloid *The Daily Mirror* for libel after it published an article that mentioned his *neuter* quality and hinted at his homosexuality. During his testimony Liberace claimed that he was not and never had been a homosexual, nor had he participated in any homosexual acts.

In 1982 Liberace was sued by Scott Thorson, his longtime partner, for palimony. Thompson claimed that he was owed \$113 million, but eventually settled for \$95,000 after the bulk of his claims were dismissed in 1984; Liberace argued that he did not have a homosexual relationship with Thorson. Despite his protestations, Liberace is remembered more as a gay performer and icon than as a classical pianist.

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Brian D. Holcomb

LIBIDO

The term *libido* comes from the Latin word *libere*, meaning “to please.” Libido refers generally to desire or lust, or as a psychoanalytic term, to the drive or force that directs sexual instincts toward an object. Contemporary slang terms for libido would include such words and phrases as “horny” or “hot for.”

The concept of a libido came from the ideas of nineteenth-century dynamic psychotherapy, which asserted that mental diseases were the effects of a balanced mental economy gone wrong. These doctors were interested in female hysteria, used hypnosis and rapport with the patient as modes of treatment, thought that individuals were comprised of conscious and unconscious minds as well as clusters of sub-personalities, and believed that nervous disorders were partly caused by the activities of a fluid force that existed within us all. This “fluid force” is the basis for the concept of the libido as a sexual desire and instinct that develops and differentiates through human development. Neurologist Moritz Benedikt (1835–1920) used the term *libido* to characterize one of the causes of female hysteria, a nervous disorder in which women displayed nervous ticks and general discontent and malaise. Others, including Richard von Krafft-Ebing, used the term to refer to desire, though biologist Albert Moll endowed the term with the broader meaning of a sexual instinct as that has developed through evolution.

Sigmund Freud, who incorporated the idea of libido into his understanding of the psychical system, adapted the concept of the libido from Moll’s broader, more evolutionary version. Moll’s concept itself came from a long line of thinkers beginning with Plato, who believed that humans had a sexual instinct that compelled them towards sexual activity. Like Plato, Freud believed that individuals were originally bisexual and that often the sexual instinct, or libido, was sublimated or ignored in favor of a higher purpose. Freud thought the libido was masculine in character. Freud also adopted Moll’s idea that the libido went through stages of development, beginning as the asexual impulses of infancy in the form of an undifferentiated force in which anything can be an object, working through a bisexual stage, and evolving finally into a differentiated force which takes the other gender as its object. After Freud, Carl Gustav Jung extended the meaning of libido to include all life forces.

Freud developed his ideas about the relation between libido and psychosexual development in his 1905 study, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. The first essay of this collection treats sexual deviations, seeing all sexual behavior as arising from the basic bisexual disposition of all human beings. For Freud there was not a large distinction between a “normal” or heterosexual aim and such “perverse” aims as homosexuality or fetishistic behaviors, since they all derive from the same sexual predisposition. In all varieties of sexuality, libido is at least partially repressed and redirected, and also persists throughout life in its undifferentiated, infantile form.

In Freud’s second essay, he explores the phenomenon of infantile sexuality, in which various “zones” become the object of the libido. In the autoerotic phase, any body part can be an erogenous zone, although attention tends to focus on the mouth. This constitutes what Freud calls the oral phase. During the second phase, the anus becomes the primary zone for libidinal attention (the anal phase), and in the third phase, the genitals become the focus (the genital phase). During all of these phases the libido fixes only on what Freud calls “partial” objects.

In the third essay, Freud traces what he believes are transformations in the object of the libido that occur at puberty. Individuals move from the autoeroticism and partial objects of infantile sexuality to sexual objects of the opposite sex with reproduction as the end result. This development joins libido with the sexual instinct to reproduce seen as a biological force. Freud thought that the libido was masculine for both men and women and throughout the psychic and sexual development of both. In addition, males can accomplish the transition to mature reproductive heterosexuality more easily than females, since for both males and females, the mother is the first libidinal object outside of themselves. Males, thus, can simply transfer sexual instincts to another woman, while females must alter the gender of their objects of desire. For Freud, this partly accounts for why women are more likely to become hysterics, as their libidos can more easily become misdirected or repressed.

In Freud’s later work, the concept of the libido developed into a larger instinct Freud called “the sexual instinct,” or “eros”: In his 1922 work *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, he describes this instinct as the desire to come back together with a long lost other half. This sexual instinct works in relation to both the desire to stop and be quiescent (the pleasure principle) and the instinct to die, which Freud called the Death Instinct, seeking the pleasure of the release of sexual tensions and perpetuating the libido. In this context, libido constitutes the “first instance of force of sexual instincts directed towards an object” (“A Short Account of Psychoanalysis,” 1924). The force towards an object was then joined by another libidinal urge towards one’s own

ego. The combination of forces produces a complex interaction that accounts for many processes of mental life.

Although libido is primarily a psychoanalytic term derived from a long tradition of explanations about life forces, it is also understood as the effect of hormones in the body. Libido understood as sexual desire is the effect of a combination of testosterone and dopamine. Both males and females produce testosterone and dopamine, although males produce far more testosterone than females. Libido may also be stimulated or depressed emotionally. Libido may be inhibited by certain medical conditions such as heart conditions and diabetes or by such drugs as antidepressants or barbiturates.

There is an entire industry of remedies for stimulating the libido, particularly the libidos of women. A range of herbal formulations promise to increase libido and enhance women’s sex lives. The only accepted medical pharmaceutical treatment is estrogen replacement therapy. For males, stimulating the libido seems to be less of a problem than sustaining an erection, for which there are also a number of pharmaceutical cures, including Viagra.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay*.

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Judith Roof

LILITH

Lilith is the most infamous Jewish she-demon, a figure of considerable mythic power. She is likely of Babylonian origin, bearing characteristics of two Babylonian demoneses, Lilitu, a succubus, and Lamashtu, a child-strangling witch. The Jewish Lilith takes on characteristics of both—she serves as the incarnation of lust and as a mortal threat to newborn infants. The word *Lilith* appears only once in the Bible, in Isaiah 34:14, where it says, “Lilith shall repose there.” But the major development in the Lilith myth is found in the rabbinic interpretations of the verse “Male and female He created them” (Gen. 1:27). This passage appeared to contradict the sequential creation of Adam and Eve, leading the rabbis to conclude that Adam had a wife before Eve, whom they identified as Lilith.

While there are a few scattered references to Lilith in the Talmud, alluding to her long hair and the danger she poses to men who sleep alone in a house, a comprehensive myth emerges in chapter 5 of *The Alphabet of Ben Sira* (c. eighth–tenth century). Here God is said to have created Lilith so that Adam would not be alone. Lilith and Adam fought over everything, including the missionary position, which Adam insisted on as his natural right. Finally Lilith pronounced the secret Name of God, the tetragrammaton, and flew out of the Garden of Eden to the Red Sea, where she encountered a great many male demons, took them all for lovers, and prolifically gave birth to baby demons. This serves to explain the proliferation of demons. God sent three angels to command her to return to Adam, but when she refused they agreed to use an amulet against her, with the words “Out, Lilith!” on it, which would protect women during pregnancy and children after birth. This amulet is still in use in some Orthodox Jewish circles.

In the Middle Ages Lilith took on the role of queen of demons, married to Ashmodai, the king of demons. A multitude of Jewish folktales recount her dangers as a seducer of men and as a child-strangling witch. At the same time, Lilith came to symbolize the feminine side of evil in kabbalistic texts. One shocking myth in the *Zohar* (thirteenth century), the central text of Jewish mysticism, describes how after God’s bride, the Shekhinah, left God, Lilith took her place (*Zohar* 2:118a–118b).

In a strange twist, modern Jewish feminists chose Lilith as a role model in the 1960s and later (in 1976) founded the still-active *Lilith* magazine. Feminists admired Lilith’s independence and especially her sexual independence and tended to ignore her dark baggage. This most recent evolution of the Lilith myth demonstrates Lilith’s primary role in Jewish lore, which persists to this day.

SEE ALSO *Judaism*.

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Howard Schwartz

LITERACY

SEE *Education: I. Gender in America*.

LITERATURE

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renée c. hoogland

I. OVERVIEW

All cultures have literature, which consists of the various genres through which stories might be told. Although many cultures consider oral traditions and less formal genres of written storytelling (such as pulp or popular fiction, pornography, and comic books) as “low” literature and more formal, complex, and challenging written genres as “high” literature, all literature reflects the practices, mores, and aesthetic values of the culture within which it is produced and read.

Literature treats the most central and important patterns of life and death, including heroism, courtship and marriage, and the rites of passage of growing up. For this reason, literature, whether prose fiction, plays, or poetry, reproduces, reflects, and meditates upon the events, emotions, and elements that make up human lives. As basic elements of life, sex and gender play a crucial role in all literature in so far as literature considers what it means to be human—to be a good woman or man or to have families. Many plays, poems, and stories valorize ideal men and women, showing what it means to be masculine or feminine in a particular culture at a particular time.

ORAL LITERATURE

Oral literature includes the stories, poems, and songs that preserve and perpetuate the important myths and history of a society. These stories describe the creation of the world and its people, the rhythms of the seasons, the meaning of life and death, and the place of the individual in the order of things. They may also preserve tales of the feats of gods and famous heroes, celebrate famous love stories, and impart wisdom and traditions. Because these stories are repeated from generation to generation, they tend to be formulaic and preserved as poems or as ritual performances linked to specific contexts. They are also closely linked to the myths and rituals of religion.

Written literatures began partly as attempts to preserve oral traditions in cultures that had developed

writing technologies and the ability to preserve texts. Although not all writing was devoted to storytelling, tales about gods and heroes began to be preserved, often as epic poems, but also as parts of religious traditions. The Greeks, for example, recorded tales about their gods and such heroes as Achilles and Odysseus. Tales about heroes not only preserved a sense of cultural history and identity, but also illustrated the qualities of ideal men, what their roles were in culture and history as well as the often less important and active roles of women. Myths about gods often linked gender roles both to the actions of gods and to the rituals of seasons and fertility. The Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone, for example, linked seasonal changes to a story about how the cereal goddess Demeter lost her daughter Persephone for four months of each year to the jealousy of Hades, god of the underworld, a myth that accounted for winter. Chinese mythology understood creation as a war of emperors.

WRITTEN LITERATURE

Early cultures with forms of writing such as the various peoples of the Middle East, Greece, and later Rome began to record the feats of gods and heroes. In Greece, this emerged in the eighth century BCE as two epic poems, the *Iliad*, about the feats of Achilles in the Trojan War, and the *Odyssey*, about the return of Odysseus from the Trojan War. Attributed to Homer, these poems demonstrate a sophisticated set of rhythms (metrics) and a formal style, aspects that would come to distinguish written from oral literature. At approximately the same time, the Chinese were also inscribing the sayings of Confucius as well as the love poems of *Shi jing* (1200 to 600 BCE). The lyrical parts of the Hebrew Bible were also inscribed during this time. Later cultures such as Rome inherited the idea of a written literary culture from those who preceded them. Roman literature began around 300 BCE and continued even after the disintegration of the Roman Empire between 200 and 500 CE as literature written throughout Europe in Latin. Like Greek literature after which it was modeled, Latin literature often recounted the feats of heroes as the poet Virgil does in *Aeneid*, a poem detailing how Aeneas, a hero of the Trojan war, founded Rome. As did the Greeks, the Romans composed love poetry and produced philosophical writings.

During and after the reign of Augustus Caesar (27 BCE–14 CE), the poet Ovid composed his poetical rendition of the history of the world in *Metamorphoses* and was banished from Rome for writing *Ars amatoria*, a sophisticated and cynical poem about the arts of love and courtship. Ovid's work was influential throughout the Middle Ages in Europe where Latin was still a major

language for literary composition. Gradually from 500 to 1000, various European peoples began to evolve their own languages, derived from Latin, but developing independently. These so-called Romance languages—including French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian—also began to develop their own literatures. These literatures still followed the style of Rome in that they consisted of poetry describing religious or heroic accomplishments—or like Ovid, concerned themselves with romance, a word that derives from the Romance language group in which they were composed.

In France, the first written literature was religious—plays and saints' lives derived from church ceremonies beginning in the tenth century. Epic poems about heroes quickly followed in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Beginning with the *Song of Roland* (c. 1100), which extolled the tragic virtues of Roland as he fought the Saracens threatening invasion from Spain, French chansons de geste, or songs about heroic deeds, became elaborate stories about the virtues and flaws of heroes, their kings, and their ladies, and the social order of feudalism in general. The chansons de geste were joined by sets of sophisticated love poems written and performed by traveling poets called troubadours. Nourished in the royal courts of the south of France, such poetry, which expounded a set of romantic relations called “courtly love,” moved throughout France as Eleanor of Aquitaine, a prime patron of courtly poetry, married the future king of France in 1137.

Courtly love was perhaps more of a formal convention than a description of actual relationships between a high-born lady and a poet (often a nobleman) who could never hope to do more than court the object of his affections. The suitor owed the lady homage, self-sacrificing duty, and tokens of love. Her response was minimal, but even her glance could keep the lover's hopes alive. The rules of courtly relations were described in detail by Andreas Capellanus (also known as André le Chapelain) in *The Art of Courtly Love* (c. 1185), and combined with tales of heroic accomplishment, made up the subject of many tales of chivalry, including Arthurian legend. The chivalric ideal of courtly love spread throughout western Europe in such tales as *Tristram and Isolt*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (c. 1370), and Dante's famous *The Divine Comedy* (completed 1321). It became more allegorical in the *Romance of the Rose* (c. 1237–1280) composed by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun.

Stories of courtly love and heroism depended upon a strict gender code in which heroic lovers acknowledged their duties both to their lord and to their beloved lady. Other stories existed, however, which travestied these relations and made fun in general of those with excess pride, gluttony, and wealth. These *fabliaux*, as they were

called, represented the other side of literary culture. Bawdy, fun, and irreverent, these tales of tricksters make their way into such later collections of tales as Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1348–1353) and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387–1400), alongside more serious renditions of courtly heroics.

That difficult and often ill-fated love relations became the stuff of poets was true not only in Europe but also in China's Ming dynasty (1368–1644), where the opera had developed as the vehicle for telling such stories. In the Middle East, an Arabic collection of stories called *Arabian Nights* also treated issues of love, sex, murder, and adventure. Composed from the ninth through the fifteenth centuries, *Arabian Nights* consists of the stories a newly married queen Scheherazade tells her husband, a cruel sultan who has vowed to kill every woman he marries after one night because his first wife was unfaithful to him. Entertaining the king with stories keeps Scheherazade alive until the sultan relents and allows her to live.

Throughout the later Middle Ages to the present, poets have continued to write about the difficulties of love. Most of these writers have been male writers writing about beloved women, though there were women writers even in the late Middle Ages. Christine de Pisan (1364–c. 1430), for example, wrote lyrical love poetry in France. Until the nineteenth century, however, women were not generally prominent as writers.

From the Renaissance to the modern era, literature continually expanded its genres and subject matter, though love and its difficulties have always been a staple literary topic. The plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) treated history, but almost always love as well. Though courtly relations are still present in Shakespeare's work, his plays often combine the attitudes represented by both chivalric poetry and the more earthy aesthetic of folktales about the trickster. His plays also accomplish a certain social satire or commentary that identifies and pokes fun at the pride and presumptions of certain kinds of people such as the conceited Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* (c. 1600). In France other dramatists were refinding inspiration in classical stories of love, sacrifice, and heroism; Jean Racine (1639–1699) and Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) wrote about the tragic effects of love, while Molière (1622–1673) satirized the foibles of the bourgeoisie.

Love and heroism continued to dominate the literary landscape until the development of the novel in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Novels such as Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749) and Laurence Sterne's *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767) satirized the heroic, the idea of a hero, and the conventions of writing itself, while novels written by women increasingly

introduced hearth, home, and the loves of ordinary people as a subject for literature. The wry tales of bourgeois manners and courtship of Jane Austen (1775–1817) established the novel as a highly successful form for a rapidly enlarging reading public. Until the nineteenth century, literacy was restricted primarily to the upper classes. With the invention of cheaper printing technologies and ideals of universal education, more people began to read. The novel replaced lyric poetry as the major genre of literature, and because of its length, range, and audience, the novel began to shift the focus of literature from events of public importance such as heroism or the poetical difficulties of love and existence to the more commonplace happenings of individuals and families. The characters of novels were no longer noble or larger than life, but instead were interesting, often quirky members of bourgeois or even poor families.

In the nineteenth century in Europe and the United States, the novel became the primary means by which gender relations, proper social conduct, and heroic ideals were examined and disseminated. For the first time, women writers such as Austen, Charlotte (1816–1855) and Emily Brontë (1818–1848), George Eliot (1819–1880), and George Sand (1804–1876) joined such male writers as Charles Dickens (1812–1870), Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), Thomas Mann (1875–1955), Fyodor Dostoyevsky (1821–1881), and Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) as prose fiction explored individual conscience and social issues, class difficulties, and the tragedies of poverty.

Dramatic literature gained renewed vigor in the late nineteenth century as playwrights as well began focusing on the social problems of contemporary society, focusing often on the inequities of gender relations. Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), Anton Chekhov (1860–1904), and George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) wrote plays that explored the irrational excesses of gender assumptions.

By the twentieth century, literature had become less a recorder of social conventions and cultural myths and more a means of individual expression, especially as conventions and myths were reworked by such writers as Marcel Proust (1871–1922), T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), Virginia Woolf (1882–1941), James Joyce (1882–1941), William Faulkner (1897–1962), Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), Samuel Beckett (1906–1989), and Toni Morrison (b. 1931). Often experimental, twentieth-century literature focused on aesthetics, as did the modernist writers of the first half of the century, or on the problems of expression and the meaning of existence itself, as did the postmodern writers of the second half. By the twentieth century writing had become a profession shared by women and men. Sexuality had become much more openly described, and the conventions of gender themselves had come into question.

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II. THE STUDY OF

Since the late 1960s the relations between gender and literature have produced a rich, new perspective in literary studies. Recognizing that Western cultures were biased toward the masculine and patriarchal, literary critics influenced by feminist insights devised modes of criticism that focused on images of women, critiques of patriarchy, the rediscovery of women authors and their works, examinations of the differences between masculine and feminine writing, and an acknowledgment of women's particular perspective on the world. Following feminist insights, lesbian, gay male, and more recently queer theorists have deployed similar critical questions and methods to examine images of lesbians and gays in literature, critiques of homophobia, the rediscovery and identification of lesbian and gay male writers, and an acknowledgment of specifically lesbian and gay literary aesthetics.

The various women's movements of the twentieth century—the women's suffrage movement that occurred between 1890 and 1920 in the United States and from 1903 to 1928 in Britain and the feminist movement that began in the 1960s—invited a critical focus on the relations between gender and literature. The analysis of these relations commenced with Virginia Woolf's 1929 essay *A Room of One's Own*, which answered the question of why there were few women authors with an investigation of the material conditions within which women lived, and the received ideas about female capabilities that limited women to only a few roles. Woolf followed this first essay with *Three Guineas* (1938) in which she continued her analysis of the ideological and material disadvantages of women. Woolf's work was joined by Simone de Beauvoir's 1949 treatise *Le deuxième sexe* (*The Second*

Sex, 1953) to provide the critical basis for the emergence of feminist criticism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Feminist criticism paved the way for gender studies, which considers the ways literature reflects and critiques the male/female system as a whole; and sexuality studies, which focuses on the ways concepts about sexual orientations and sexuality have influenced and are reflected in literature.

TEXTS BY WOMEN AND WOMEN IN TEXTS

Feminist literary criticism began with an investigation of how various literatures have portrayed female characters. Work about images of women in literature occupied the first decade of feminist critical endeavor, from 1968 until approximately 1978. Critics such as Kate Millett examined the ways patriarchal assumptions in literature demeaned women. Other literary critics, noting that many female authors had been hidden and/or ignored by male literary critics, began to “rediscover” and analyze literary works by such modern women authors as Woolf, Gertrude Stein, H. D. (Hilda Doolittle), Elizabeth Bowen, and Djuna Barnes, as well as make more prominent female authors from the past such as Christine de Pisan, Aphra Behn, the Brontë sisters, Jane Austen, and Rachilde. This process, called “gynocriticism” by critic Elaine Showalter (1998), revealed the large number of women authors and their works that had been omitted from critical consideration by an academy that believed that women writers had little worth. The rediscovery of these female authors and their works contributed to a revision of the literary “canon,” or set of works deemed worthy of critical study, which now includes many literary texts by women.

During the late 1970s and 1980s, feminist critics also began to consider much more seriously literary works by women of color, including the narratives of female slaves, the poetry of colonial black women authors such as Phillis Wheatley, and the writing of more contemporary black and Hispanic women writers such as Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, and Gloria Anzaldúa. During this time as well, feminist critics began to pay more attention to the work of lesbian authors, such as Stein, whose descriptions of their experiences flew in the face of mainstream expectations about and images of women.

FRENCH FEMINISM AND PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

By the late 1980s, feminist criticism had developed a sophisticated set of methods for understanding and elucidating the relations between gender and literature. Some feminist critics and theorists, particularly such

French writers as Hélène Cixous, Luce Irigaray, Julia Kristeva, and Marguerite Duras, believed that because males and females occupy different places in the social order and thus have different perspectives on the world, women's use of language and style reflects both that different positioning and female bodily differences. Women's writing is an *écriture féminine*, a feminine writing that picks up and conveys different rhythms, images, economies, and values than writing premised on a more phallogocentric worldview.

Other feminist critics such as Jane Gallop, Jacqueline Rose, and Barbara Johnson took up models of gender and identity from psychoanalysis, using Sigmund Freud's and Jacques Lacan's understandings of sexual difference as a way to understand how gender is inscribed in literary texts as well as how, if ever, the relative empowerment of masculine and feminine can be altered. Yet other feminist critics such as Lillian Robinson and Judith Newton took up issues of how women's material existence affected both what they wrote and how they wrote it. Many feminist critics, including Shari Benstock and Jane Marcus, continued to examine the relations between the sociocultural conditions within which specific female writers lived and wrote and the writing they produced.

Since the early 1990s, feminist criticism has focused increasingly on issues of race and transnationalism, trying to understand the interrelationships of gender, race, and national location as those different frameworks define the literatures women produce. This work has been stimulated by the critical writings of Gayatri Spivak and others and has been instrumental in making the writings of such Anglophone writers as Bharati Mukherjee and Anita Desai more visible.

GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Feminist engagements with issues of sexuality also provided a model for understanding the ways sexual orientation operates as both a theme and a set of styles in literature. Thinking about the relation between femininity and literary production invited a reconsideration of the relations between masculinity and literature as well as questions about how the sexual orientation of authors inflects what they write and how issues of sexual orientation themselves are conveyed in literature. Although issues of masculinity and literature have formed an important but less innovative area of study, primarily because literary practice itself was always understood as a masculine endeavor, issues of sexual orientation stimulated a much larger new critical project.

Issues of sexuality in literary study employ two broad strategies. The first is to understand the relation between a hidden identity such as homosexuality and the ways such a hidden identity is conveyed in literature through

codes, allusions, and other indirect means. These encodings produce their own dynamic and literary aesthetic, defined by critic Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1990) as an "epistemology of the closet." The other critical tack is to analyze the configurations through which homosexualities and lesbian dynamics appear in literary and popular cultural texts, from the apparitional or invisible figuration of the lesbian identified by Terry Castle and Bonnie Zimmerman to the camp, burlesque, and hypermasculinization identified in gay male texts by such critics as Michael Warner and Robert K. Martin.

Issues of sexuality also inaugurated the more political category of "queer" studies, which examines literary and textual phenomena that play against the heterosexual and heteronormative impetus of mainstream culture. Inspired by homosexualities, the category of the queer positions itself less as literally gay or lesbian identity, and more as a position defined by its play on and perversion of sexual, patriarchal, capitalist, and other economies aligned with normative cultural practices.

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III. POPULAR

Popular literature refers to fiction intended to please large audiences. Consisting primarily of novels, serialized novels, and short stories, popular literature is a market commodity aimed at specific target audiences defined often by gender, class, race, and age, such as housewives, teenage boys or girls, men, urban black populations, or gay or lesbian readers. The main purpose of popular literature is to entertain by providing predictable and formulaic stories often about extraordinary occurrences that happen to

ordinary people. Such stories feed the fantasies, hopes, and frustrations of the groups who read them. Although some literature intended to be merely entertaining may also be innovative and have artistic value, most popular literature is unremarkable as art even if enjoyable as a pastime.

Popular literature appears in such genres as romance novels, westerns, detective fiction and urban crime tales, thrillers, science fiction, children's literature, and gothic horror novels. Each of these genres has a set recipe of plots and character types, which is repeated with variations in each successive publication. Each genre also has subgenres that also appeal to specific audiences, defined mainly by the gender and the age of the reader. There are heterosexual, gay male, and lesbian romance novels, for example. Detective and urban crime novels may involve white or black protagonists. Science fiction stories may appeal to those interested in hard science or in fantasy. There are adventure stories for children with girl heroines for girls and boy heroes for boys.

Literature in the form of oral stories for group entertainment has been present throughout history as epic poems about heroes' adventures and love affairs or folk stories about tricksters such as Renard the Fox or William Shakespeare's Falstaff. Still familiar are such Greek heroes as Achilles and Odysseus as well as the knights of the Round Table from Arthurian legend. And variations on jokes in which various categories of dupes (people from other states, women with certain colors of hair) are tricked continue to be told and enjoyed. These traditions of oral literature are the foundations for the romance, horror, action, and detective genres that nineteenth- and twentieth-century publishers gradually developed for sale to a reading public.

The phenomenon of popular literature as printed books to be purchased by individuals arose mainly in the nineteenth century as literacy became more widespread in the middle and lower classes, and especially as more women learned to read. Popular books and serials were also enabled by technological innovations in the paper and printing industries as well as the evolution of strategies for marketing and distribution. The invention of mechanical typesetting, the availability of cheaper, machine-made paper, and the development of faster printing presses helped make printed material cheaper and more affordable to greater numbers of people. Printed material was distributed through the mail as newspapers, and later as serialized stories and penny novels. Serialized stories had first appeared in England in 1698 as a way to avoid the extra tax on paper. Although popular, serials appeared less often as the British government imposed a tax on newspapers in 1712. The serial reappeared as a popular phenomenon

in 1836 with the serial publication of Charles Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*. The first serial novel appeared in the United States in 1839, according to Radway, and serials became popular as a supplement pamphlet sent with newspapers at reduced rates through the mail. Although the U.S. Post Office Department determined in 1843 that these newspapers and their serialized supplements could no longer be sent at newspaper rates, the market for cheap books had been established.

GENDER AND GENRE

By the twentieth century the establishment of a large middle class with stay-at-home wives and mothers in the United States offered a large market of readers to whom romance novels might be sold. The practice of identifying specific groups of readers, such as middle-class housewives, and finding both products to please them and marketing and distribution strategies aimed at their habits and convenience, became a large part of paperback book publishing. Despite, however, the tendency to link popular literature in the form of romance novels to women as the primary consumers of such literature, the first scheme for distributing popular literature paperbacks as magazine supplements involved mystery stories sold with magazines at book and newspaper stands. Mercury Books' mysteries were joined in 1939 by Pocket Books' romances. The monthly publication of new volumes required that new books conform to the set formulas and characteristics of the genre that had been calculated to appeal to specific kinds of reading audiences—mysteries and horror thrillers to both men and women, westerns and science fiction to males, children's adventure stories to children, and romances, the largest category, to women. Paperback books began to be distributed through drug and grocery stores as well as magazine stands where people regularly shopped.

The formulaic character of popular mystery fiction helped refine the development of formulaic genres to targeted readerships. From the late 1930s to the 1950s the mystery genre spawned many popular protagonists regularly featured in entertaining but predictable narratives. Such characters as Ellery Queen, Perry Mason, Nero Wolfe, Lord Peter Wimsey, Mike Hammer, Miss Marple, and Hercule Poirot figured in paperback novels purchased regularly by both male and female readers. The formulas of most of these novels involved an ingenious solution by a very sympathetic but somewhat idiosyncratic, often amateur, sleuth. Many mystery novels involved the kinds of courtly behavior practiced by Arthurian knights. Ladies in distress were rescued by unlikely and often cynical heroes. Although the mass market for mystery paperbacks seems to have died out somewhat in the 1950s, these characters spread from the

pages of books to films, television series, and later reprintings of their series.

In the 1960s and 1970s, urban crime, thriller, and horror novels became widely popular. Like mystery stories, these novels appealed to both men and women and included some of the best-selling novels of all time. Iceberg Slim's and Donald Goines's novels about black urban existence were best-sellers targeted toward a black audience. William Blatty's *The Exorcist* (1971) and Peter Benchley's *Jaws* (1974) are still near the top of the all-time best-seller list, while Ian Fleming's James Bond series has been widely influential. Thrillers by Robert Ludlum, Tom Clancy, John Grisham, and more recently Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), sell to huge audiences. These cliff-hanger novels extol the virtues of the clever, brave hero against the odds presented by international espionage, financial wrongdoing, and extensive, conspiratorial criminality. On their actions lies the fate of the Western world.

Like mystery, science fiction developed its pulp formulas and audience in the 1930s, more often in magazine and story collections than in novels. Although the genre was always linked to real or speculative science and often took place in the future, its renditions of culture and society, particularly of gender relations, tended to be conservative or anachronistic, preserving the secondary role of women in relation to the intrepid and heroic roles of men. Its primary audience was male.

Children's serial novels such as *The Bobbsey Twins*, *The Hardy Boys*, *Nancy Drew*, *Trixie Belden*, and *The Motor Boys* presented attractive children and teens from well-parented families who had extraordinary adventures and resolved all dilemmas ethically and generously. The mystery-adventure format of *The Hardy Boys*, *Nancy Drew*, and *The Motor Boys* combined daring and virtue in formulaic encounters with greedy but nonpedophilic villains. *The Bobbsey Twins* provided tame adventures for both boys and girls that modeled bravery mixed with common sense. Unlike the deliciously dangerous dilemmas of gothic heroines, the child heroes of children's popular literature were models of behavior and virtue, teaching proper, but not constrained gender roles, the virtues of curiosity and work, and the attractiveness of gumption. More recently the huge best-selling *Harry Potter* series has captivated boys and girls as well as adult readers with issues of power and ethics in the fantastical, yet grounded world of a wizard's academy.

While mystery novels appealed to both men and women, science fiction to males of all ages, and children's books to boys and girls depending on the gender of their protagonists, romance novels were aimed primarily at women. Initially romance novels were modeled after

Daphne du Maurier's best-selling gothic romance, *Rebecca* (1938). Looking for similarly exciting mixes of mystery, heroines in peril, and cross-class romantic involvement, other paperback publishers sought their own versions of the story. In 1960 Ace Books published Phyllis Whitney's *Thunder Heights* and Doubleday published Victoria Holt's *Mistress of Mellyn*. These gothic romance tales created worlds of glamour, darkness, and mystery in which a heroine, whose qualities and upbringing are more like those of her readers, encounters a mysterious set of circumstances and conquers an enigmatic upper-class suitor.

Gothic romances were romantic, thrilling, and immensely popular, accounting for 24 percent of Dell's sales of paperbacks in 1971 (Radway 1984). Overall at that time, paperback publishers were churning out more than thirty-five gothic romance titles per month, but the genre soon saturated the market. There was renewed interest in romance novels in the early 1970s as they began to appear in more sexually explicit subgenres such as "erotic historicals," "Sweet savage romances," and "Bodice-rippers" (Radway 1984, p. 34). The increased explicitness of the romance sex scenes followed the taste for more scandalous material incited by the publication of two best-selling books in the two previous decades: Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place* (1956), a novel about small-town scandal, adultery, and sex, and Jacqueline Susann's *Valley of the Dolls* (1966), depicting a group of pill-popping women, reported to be the best-selling novel of all time.

In the 1970s as well, the gothic romance was joined by the historical romances of Barbara Cartland and the more modern romances involving wealthy powerful people, written by such best-selling authors as Danielle Steel, Judith Krantz, Harold Robbins, Colleen McCullough, and Sidney Sheldon. Scholars and critics have given many possible reasons for the popularity of the romance novel. Some suggest that romance fantasies enable women to escape their humdrum existence by offering a more exciting world in which ordinary women become the paramours of rich, enigmatic men. Others, such as Ann Douglas (1980), suggest that the popularity of romance novels reflects women's unhappy rebellion against feminist challenges to traditional female roles in the 1970s era of rising feminist activism. Certainly their popularity is due to a number of factors, including the availability of leisure time in which to read, the pleasures of repetition, the reassuring possibility that daily lives might still be exciting, and the availability of cheap books.

Most recently, popular fiction has developed a new genre, aimed at young women and teenage girls, involving sexually active, hip, urban career girls whose encounters with employers and family members result in absurd and

humorous situations. Lauren Weisberger's *The Devil Wears Prada* (2003) and Emma McLaughlin and Nicola Kraus's *The Nanny Diaries* (2002) are examples of this genre.

POPULAR FICTION AND SEXUALITY

While the typical gothic romance novel did not include anything more than suggestions of torrid sexuality, the explicit character of these best-sellers made the public hunger for more graphic depictions of sex. Romance novels in their various genres supplied titillation short of pornography, which could not be distributed as openly as lurid romances. More graphic depictions of sexuality such as Terry Southern and Mason Hoffenberg's *Candy* became scandalous best-sellers in the youth rebellions of the late 1960s as sexual mores became less repressive. At the same time the relaxation of the film production codes by which sexually explicit material in films had been repressed made film a more attractive medium for openly sexual material. By the 1970s, sexually explicit popular novels had to compete with the growing availability of films featuring nudity and explicit sexual situations and behavior, as well as with sexually explicit pornographic videotapes.

The overwhelming majority of popular books assume the heterosexuality of their characters and present a world grounded in male–female romance. The emergence of gay male and lesbian populations beginning in the late 1960s offered a new set of markets to popular literature publishers, though not markets with a large enough audience to justify mass publication and marketing of gay-themed books. Popular literature aimed at gay male and lesbian audiences tends to be published, at least initially, by smaller niche presses such as Alyson, Plume, and Naiad. In the 1970s and 1980s books treating gay male protagonists by such authors as S. E. Hinton, James Kirkwood, and Larry Kramer became more mainstream. Kirkwood's novel *Some Kind of Hero* (1975) was made into a film, and Kirkwood also cowrote the Broadway play *A Chorus Line*. Rita Mae Brown produced more mainstream lesbian novels, the most famous of which, *Rubyfruit Jungle* (1973) has continued to sell large numbers of copies. Lesbian mystery writers such as Katherine V. Forrest have become widely popular among lesbian audiences.

Although electronic media may eventually replace books, reading continues on the World Wide Web. Some writers now post serialized novels on their web sites, and the formulas for popular fiction continue to evolve.

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IV. GAY, CREATIVE

In its widest sense gay literature is writing that expresses, describes, or otherwise represents a spectrum of intense friendship, love, erotic desire, and sexual contact or relationship between male individuals as well as engaging with the social context of the ways in which those matters are received by the broader society. Such literature may be produced in any literate culture at any point in human history. More narrowly, some commentators argue that the concept of gay literature should be confined to a specific period since the late-nineteenth-century conceptualization of sexual "identities"—in this context homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality—are regarded as psychological states or conditions that affect the whole nature of the self and its social circumstances. In its narrowest definition gay literature dates from the mid-1960s in the West and is written only by gay authors, especially openly gay authors who subscribe to the aims and ethos of the gay liberation movement, which, following the models of the American civil rights and feminist movements, has demanded equality of rights and treatment for gay people across the spectrum of social institutions.

Throughout the history of literacies, the predominant mode of male homoerotic writing has been determined not by a universal essence of homosexual love but by broadly common social and cultural conditions that center on sexual segregation and male privilege. Wherever female virginity was prized above the education of girls, men made deeper alliances with one another than with women. Honored as a bearer of sons and strengthener of the bloodstock more often than as a soul mate, the highborn woman was protected against the acquisition of knowledge as much as she was protected against the eyes of the wrong men. Relationships between men were built on common interests stemming from shared levels of education, and relationships between men and boys

were pedagogical, educating the boy up to the level of the man. Ideally, therefore, a meeting of bodies eventually would develop into a meeting of minds.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

The *Greek Anthology*, the medieval collection of more than 6,000 Ancient Greek and Byzantine poems, is a repository of such celebrations of boy love in its different moods. Most fully theorized in Plato's *Symposium*, Greek pederasty was governed by strict conventions that protected the reputations of male citizens and the boys—future citizens—they loved. Although not arguing against sexual relationships, or at least those tempered by rational self-control, Plato's dialogue recommends the refinement of love that transcends bodily need. Similar affirmations of institutionalized pederasty can be found in the literatures of China, Japan, India, Persia, Turkey, and the Arabian diaspora.

Much Greek poetry cites the precedence of the febrile passions of the gods in justifying the self-evident frailty of humankind in matters of the heart and the lower organs. Where Zeus and Ganymede or Apollo and Hyacinth went before, mortal men and boys were apt to follow. Indeed, men's taste for boys was traced meticulously back to its origins in a moment of divine inspiration on the part of an individual man. This candidate for the honor of being the first mortal man to desire those of his own sex sometimes was identified as Orpheus, sometimes as Thamyris, and sometimes as Laius. Significantly, the first two of those men were poets.

Many Roman poets wrote erotic verse about boys—with Virgil, Martial, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and Catullus being prominent examples—but they also wrote about women. The love of boys never was regarded as being incompatible with that of women. Correspondingly, Roman literature often is insulting about men with an exclusive interest in the same sex and even more insulting if any adult man showed signs of sexual passivity. Juvenal's satires are exemplary in their contempt for such abdications of the manly duties of citizenship.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE CHRISTIAN WEST

In the classical literature of male love Plato's *Symposium*, Theocritus's *Idylls*, Virgil's *Eclogues*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* had the most radical impact on man-loving and many more generally humanist poets of the Renaissance period. In England, Christopher Marlowe's passionate shepherd and Richard Barnfield's Ganymede were produced by writers obviously steeped in the homoerotic classics. Shakespeare's sonnets, though relatively sparing in classical references, clearly are derived from an ethos

the poet had taken from his extensive reading of southern European literature and adapted to his northern emotional life. The controversy of the sonnets is not a recent one, as is often claimed, imposed on them by the irrelevant obsessions of nineteenth- and twentieth-century homosexuals. As early as 1640 John Benson reissued the poems, cutting some of them altogether (19, 56, 75, 76, 96, 126), changing the gender of the pronouns in others (101 and 108), and toning down phrases such as "sweet boy" (108) and "fair friend" (14) to "sweet love" and "fair love," respectively. The publisher wanted to avoid any impression of sinful practices.

In Christian Europe the condemnation of all sex except a narrow range of acts in the marital bed gave forbidden love a new status among the upper classes. In literature diverse figures such as Pietro Aretino, Théophile de Viau, John Wilmot (the Earl of Rochester), and the Marquis de Sade made a virtue of vice, boastfully expatiating on the ambisexuality of the libertine. This tradition helped shape a particular kind of fictional character. The Byronic hero and the antihero of the Gothic novel, perhaps derived from darkly seductive figures such as Milton's Satan, evolved, by way of major characters such as Vautrin in Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie humaine* and the Baron de Charlus in Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*, into the gay villain of mid-twentieth-century fiction. The demonization of Oscar Wilde in 1895 added a fresh resonance to this stereotype of the sodomite as criminally seductive and subversive.

Across cultures and eras one of the most acceptable and therefore common ways of celebrating passionate friendships between adult men has been in circumstances or through representations of mourning. In the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Gilgamesh extravagantly mourns the death of Enkidu. In the Bible, David laments the loss of Jonathan: "I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant have you been to me; your love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Samuel 1:26). In the *Iliad*, Achilles laments the loss of Patroclus. In the *Chanson de Roland*, Roland laments the loss of Olivier.

The English pastoral elegy celebrated male love, usually in its most conventional guise as temperate friendship, through literary history from Edmund Spenser to A. E. Housman and Wilfred Owen. Again, the circumstance of mourning released writers from some of the restraints on intensity of expression where male love was concerned. Spenser's "Astrophel" commemorated Sir Philip Sidney, who had died in 1586. John Milton's "Lycidas" commemorated Edward King (died 1637); Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard" commemorated Richard West (died 1742); Percy Shelley's "Adonais" commemorated John Keats (died

1821) (Shelley's heart would be wrapped in a manuscript of the poem during his cremation on the beach at La Spezia); Alfred Tennyson's "In Memoriam" commemorated Arthur Hallam (died 1833); Matthew Arnold's "Thyrsis" commemorated Arthur Clough (died 1861); and Walt Whitman's poems from the American Civil War, culminating in the great elegy on Abraham Lincoln, "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd," resonated with echoes of the same sources.

Although it often was received by man-loving male readers in England as being "Greek" in spirit, Whitman's quintessentially American poetry was far more inclined to celebrate the adult male—and the working-class male at that—as something new and particular to the physical geography and social structures of the United States. In Whitman spiritual refinement is derived not from education and class but from bodily health and liberty.

GAY LITERATURE IN THE MODERN ERA

Heterosexuality and homosexuality, the new definitions of sexual identity that emerged through the popularization of sexology and psychoanalysis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, coincided with other major technological, aesthetic, and social developments that have come to be seen as having the characteristics of modernism. In literature the modernist experiment was especially concerned with tempering the objective focus of high realism with more subjectivist approaches to a reality that increasingly was assumed to be pluralist and fragmented. The objective, omniscient narrator of the realist novel gave way to a stream of individual consciousnesses.

Under those new conditions writers seemed especially capable of scrutinizing the voluntary and involuntary bases of sexual desire in its protean manifestations. Many of the great modernist writers were homosexual or bisexual and took same-sex desire as one of their major topics. In France, Marcel Proust, André Gide, and Jean Cocteau combined major technical innovations with penetrative explorations of the nature of desire. In Germany, the novels of Thomas Mann and the poetry of Stefan George wrestled with the relationship between physical desire and spiritual desire as embodied in etherial boys. In Greece, Constantine Cavafy elaborated a comparison between classical pederasty and modern homosexuality in poems that gave modern urban cruising its finest early expression. At opposite extremes of seriousness and frivolity Henry James and Ronald Firbank approached the matter of love from an oblique angle that is identifiably "queer" or even camp, subjecting heterosexuality to the distanced scrutiny of a discriminating

aestheticism. Indeed, there is so much gay writing in modernism that one might go so far as to describe that movement as being intrinsically queer.

The antihomophobic novel of the twentieth century almost invariably suffered the consequences of its inherent flaw. Needing to argue politically the ordinariness of homosexuality and the moral neutrality of homosexual love, those novels were burdened with the necessity of a dull central character. This explains the unremarkable suburbanism of the eponymous central character of E. M. Forster's *Maurice* (written in 1913). Setting himself the task of countering prejudicial assumptions that homosexual men must be decadent, effeminate, and untrustworthy—a stereotype largely based on the version of Oscar Wilde that had been constructed in newspaper accounts of his trials—Forster had to contrast the dullness of the middle-class Maurice with the far more interesting figure of Risley, an aristocratic aesthete who is witty and seedy and ends up in jail.

This also can be said of the protagonists of some of the best-known gay novels published in the middle of the twentieth century. Many of those men are tediously self-absorbed. In Gore Vidal's *The City and the Pillar*, Jim Willard is given a strong backhand at tennis so that he will not be assumed to be effeminate by homophobic readers, but that is his only talent. The literature informed by the postwar homosexual and gay movements was concerned principally with conveying what came to be called "positive images" by which the author was expected to counter negative public representations of homosexuals as untrustworthy, unpatriotic, unmanly, neurotic, immature, and generally unlikable. Positive gay literature had to convey the possibility of homosexual happiness within the requirements of social convention. The central characters of those novels would overcome the adversities of having to endure homophobia, would experience true love, and would settle down eventually to a solidly happy ending. Subsequent literature by and large has been released from these restrictive imperatives.

In light of the restrictive tendencies of politically influenced literary texts, it is not surprising that much of the most striking fiction about male-male relationships was the most transgressive, often elaborating on the interplay between eroticism and violence. In this respect the major figure of the mid-twentieth century was Jean Genet, whose work depended for one of its main effects not on the idea that men who love men can be as decent and unobtrusive as one's next-door neighbor and that books about them can be similarly unexceptional but on the idea that all love involves personal betrayal and that male bodies are the weapons with which both love and betrayal are effected.

CONTEMPORARY GAY LITERATURE

In Japan, Yukio Mishima superimposed the Samurai and ancient Greek traditions of homoeroticism on the everyday details of modern life, enlivening a realist perspective with his personal sadomasochistic interests. In the United States, encouraged by younger beat writers such as Brion Gysin and Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs combined an aggressive social critique with the celebration of a taste for adolescent boys in heroin-fed fantasies of a womanless universe. The technique of randomly cutting up his prose denies his characters any sentimental identification on the part of sympathetic readers. In the Netherlands, Gerard Reve based his radical aesthetic on an obsessive regard for the corporal punishment of socially deviant boys. In France, Tony Duvert wrote as if the *nouveau roman* had been hijacked for the purposes of a militant pederasty.

The changing possibilities for more assimilationist gay writers may be exemplified best in the career of the postwar British poet Thom Gunn. Gunn began as a poet of restraint, guarded and edgily ironic; his poems were virtuosic in their application of seventeenth-century techniques and forms to decidedly modern topics (Elvis Presley, leather-clad bikers). His tone of voice combined Cambridge refinement and erudition with a held-in masculinity derived from American movies. However, as the 1950s and 1960s progressed and Gunn moved to San Francisco to live with his American lover, he discovered a more flexible technique to accompany his newly relaxed California lifestyle. Gunn adopted a syllabic line that owed much to the American models of William Carlos Williams and Yvor Winters and associated the consequent lightening of tone with his own coming out as a gay man. The later collections were all openly and relaxedly gay.

The elegiac tradition of earlier centuries offered a ready template for consolatory lamentation when the AIDS epidemic affected gay men in Western cities in the 1980s. In the face of intense hostility from the political classes and the mainstream media, gay men sought understanding voices within their own suffering communities and were answered in the United States by poets such as Thom Gunn and more recently Mark Doty and Rafael Campo. What was distinctive about such writers was their ability to turn personal involvement in the epidemic and personal grief into a reaffirmation of the highest principles of gay liberation, akin to the *amor vincit omnia* (love conquers all) of the ancients.

One of the most common themes in contemporary gay fiction is the family, that is, the families from which young gay individuals emerge, the families that closeted individuals construct by marrying and having children, and the alternative families that “liberated” individuals

develop out of new social circumstances. Informed by the feminist critique of the coercive nuclear family as well as by conservative retrenchments claiming the nuclear family as the only socially and morally responsible mode of living, gay novelists have tried to show how oppressive and harmful the heterosexual family structure can become and how protective and nurturing different structures, imaginatively constructed according to the needs of individuals, can be if the concept of the family is allowed to expand and develop flexibly, encompassing fresh sexual and affectional arrangements. Major late-twentieth-century gay novelists included Alan Hollinghurst and Patrick Gale in Great Britain, Edmund White and Andrew Holleran in the United States, and Yves Navarre and Dominique Fernandez in France.

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Gregory Woods

V. LESBIAN, CREATIVE

Since the emergence of lesbian and gay studies in the Euro-American academy, literary scholars have struggled with the question of definition, trying to answer the question of what counts as a lesbian text. Should the author be a self-defined lesbian, or is it enough that a

number of readers have taken a text to be a lesbian one? Can male authors writing about female same-sex desire be legitimately included in the domain of lesbian literature? And what if self-proclaimed lesbian authors choose not to write about lesbian themes—should such texts still be included in a lesbian literary history? These questions have been answered in different ways, leading to different demarcations of the field and different processes of canonization.

TRACING SAPPHO

Female same-sex desire has figured in Western literary history since the ancient Greek poet Sappho of the isle of Lesbos (fl. c. 610–c. 580 BCE) penned the passionate lines that would associate her name and place of origin with women's love for women to this very day. The increasing availability of literary texts with explicitly lesbian characters and themes, written by openly lesbian novelists and poets, in the final decades of the twentieth century, issued, somewhat paradoxically, in a narrower critical scope than would appear to be warranted by the continuing significance of this mythical predecessor. As a result, a dominant approach in late twentieth-century literary historiography has been to see the process of lesbian canonization as one of excavation, of rediscovering a tradition of creative writing that has been obscured or repressed by and within an overwhelmingly heterosexist and lesbophobic mainstream culture. Obviously, there have been periods in which moral and social codes have prevented writers, male and female, from explicitly naming the object of their fascination and literary imagination. This is not to say, however, that there have not been more covert ways of giving expression to the love that reputedly *dare not speak its name*, or to represent characters and develop narrative strategies that render lesbianism textually present.

The first pioneering attempts at mapping out a history of lesbian literature in the second half of the twentieth century—most notably the classic bibliography *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, first published by Jeannette Howard Foster (1895–1981) in 1956 at her own expense—as well as later literary historiographers, such as Lillian Faderman, in *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (1981), and Terry Castle, in her monumental *The Literature of Lesbianism: A Historical Anthology from Ariosto to Stonewall* (2003), adopt a much more inclusive perspective on what counts as lesbian literature than the *hidden from history* approach that, mainly for sound political reasons, prevailed in the latter decades of the twentieth century. If, however, the need for social recognition is provisionally left aside, so that the notion of lesbian literature is allowed to encompass a

much wider range of writings than those authored by self-declared lesbians, the putatively *forbidden* topic turns out to have had a much richer and much more varied existence in the world of Euro-American letters than the idea of *lesbian invisibility* might suggest.

Crossing both generic and national boundaries, literary expressions, representations, and configurations of female same-sex desire appear in various guises in Euro-American literature from the mid-sixteenth century onward. Recurring patterns of imagery and a number of persistently returning telltale scenes jointly combine into landscape in which lesbianism as a theme—as a site of the cultural imagination—could grow into a full-fledged literary topos. Rather than merely reflecting changing social perceptions of female same-sex desire, such elaborations have, as Castle points out, played a considerable role in furthering the development of the *lesbian idea*, that is to say, in making the possibility of female same-sex eroticism not only thinkable but also practically available to a general audience.

There is little evidence to suggest that, before the recovery of Sappho's poetry in the late Renaissance, there was much cultural awareness that women might desire women. Although Sappho's work endured well into Roman times, inspiring such authors of antiquity as Ovid, Martial, Lucian, and—famously—Gaius Valerius Catullus, the near obliteration of her work during the reign of the Roman Christian and Byzantine churches rendered the notion of what later would be called *sapphism* culturally unavailable for almost ten centuries. The rediscovery of ancient texts and learning, and their incorporation into European art and science at the end of the Middle Ages, also (re)introduced the conceptual possibility of female same-sex desire into the Euro-Western cultural imagination. Because Renaissance poets, from Petrarch (1304–1374) and Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), through Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1584) and Louise Labé (c. 1524–1566), to Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) and John Donne (1572–1631), found a source of inspiration in the gradually rediscovered lyrics of the muse of Lesbos, Sappho and the form of love to which her legendary reputation has subsequently given its name was firmly planted in the Euro-Western collective consciousness by the end of the sixteenth century. Whether maligned or revered, dismissed or embraced, the Sappho legend continued to be explored by poets and novelists well into the twentieth century. She figures directly, for instance, in Alexander Pope's *Sappho to Phaon* (1712), Madame de Staël's *Corinne* (1807), Charles Baudelaire's *Les fleurs du mal* (1857), A. C. Swinburne's *Lesbia Brandon* (posthumously published after the author's death in 1909) Paul Verlaine's *Scènes d'amour saphique* (1870; first published as *Les Amies* [1867]), the pseudonymous Pierre Louÿs's *Les chansons*

de Bilitis (1894; real name, Pierre Louis), Compton Mackenzie's *Extraordinary Women* (1928), Colette's *The Pure and the Impure* (1933), and Marguerite Yourcenar's *Sappho; ou, Le suicide* (1937). Sappho also frequently surfaces in the poems of Natalie Barney (1876–1972), the pseudonymous Renée Vivien (1877–1909; real name, Pauline Tarn), Amy Lowell (1874–1925), H. D. (Hilda Doolittle; 1886–1961), and numerous others.

TOPOI OF LESBIAN DESIRE

Generating one of the more enduring literary topoi in which lesbian desire is likely to prosper, the significance of Sappho's native island Lesbos, where she was assumed to have initiated young girls into much more than what later ages would consider proper female accomplishments, reverberates in the secluded setting of an all-female environment in which a great many stories and novels of lesbian desire from the sixteenth century onward evolve. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature, such a space is usually a convent or a nunnery—there were, at that time, very few other places where women could live in complete separation from men. Male writers of the period tended to satirize such spaces, presenting them as morally unhealthy and corrupting, such as Andrew Marvell in "Upon Appleton House" (1650). Others, while whetting their pornographic appetites, presented them in lurid terms as the breeding grounds of perverse female desires, as suggested by Denis Diderot's lewd novel *The Nun* (written 1760, published 1796).

The fascination with the erotic possibilities opened up by an all-female environment extends into nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, especially in stories and novels written by women, in which, reflecting the changing social contexts, the convent or nunnery is usually replaced by a girls' school or women's college. Starting with Sarah Scott's *A Description of Millenium Hall* (1762) and Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* (1853), and through Colette's *Claudine à l'école* (1900), the pseudonymous Clemence Dane's *A Regiment of Women* (1917; real name, Winifred Ashton), Christa Winsloe's *The Child Manuela* (1933), a novel based on the more famous film, *Mädchen in Uniform* (1931), for which Winsloe also wrote the script, Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour* (1934), Muriel Spark's *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961), Brigid Brophy's *The Finishing Touch* (1963), and Violette Leduc's *Thérèse et Isabelle* (1966), the secluded, safe space of the girls' school has continued to offer imaginative possibilities for literary lesbianism.

Such possibilities, however, primarily arise from the fundamental restrictions this literary topos implies: not only is the all-female environment quite literally cut off from the "real" world of heterosexual relations, the same-

sex passions and desires—whether for admired teachers or for fellow pupils—flaring up within its seclusion, also remain confined to the protagonists' pre-adulthood, and can thus be conveniently reduced to adolescent *crushes*. What is more, these passionate affairs must necessarily end when the girls finish their education and leave school. Still, as an enabling space, the all-female environment—whether in its earlier form of a girls' school or women's college, or in one of its later permutations, such as a hotel, a female prison, a summer camp, a sport's team, or commune, has also given rise to another recurring configuration, that is, the combination of an older woman and a young girl entertaining—usually quite explosive, or destructive—amorous relations, as in Elizabeth Bowen's *The Hotel* (1927), Naomi Royde-Smith's *The Tortoiseshell Cat* (1925), Rosamond Lehmann's *Dusty Answer* (1927), Dorothy Strachey's *Olivia* (1949; married name, Bussy), and Harriett Gilbert's *The Riding Mistress* (1983).

CROSS-DRESSING, MEDICAL MODELS, AND THE LESBIAN VAMPIRE

Another figuration in which female same-sex desire has traditionally found expression is that of mistaken (gender) identity or cross-dressing. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) may well lay claim to the most delightful early renderings of the erotic possibilities generated by such (deliberate) gender confusion, as, for instance, in *Twelfth Night* (1601), while later male authors have often taken up this theme to expose the monstrous or degenerative aspects of women who impersonate men, or appropriate male (nuptial) privileges. Examples here include Henry Fielding's *The Female Husband* (1746) through Wyndham Lewis's *The Apes of God* (1930). Female authors of the early twentieth century, largely under the influence of the new sexological accounts of homosexuality that explained women's desire for women as the result of gender inversion, tended to explore the more tragic aspects of the lesbian's terrible fate, most notoriously represented by Radclyffe Hall's tormented heroine Stephen Gordon in *The Well of Loneliness* (1928). Butch/femme culture of the 1950s and early 1960s can be argued to extend both the erotically titillating possibilities of cross-dressing, and to have absorbed the pathologizing aspects of sexological and psychological discourses. The self-torture and psychic confusion of many butch protagonists, as, for instance, in Ann Bannon's *Beebo Brinker* series (1962) and Maureen Duffy's *The Microcosm* (1966), show that, by the mid-twentieth century, the latter appears to have won out over the former in the cultural imagination. In contrast, a series of novels featuring the figure of the tomboy (Carson McCuller's Frankie, for instance, in *The*

Member of the Wedding [1946] or Scout Finch in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird* [1960]) can be placed in the more lighthearted, Shakespearean tradition, even if these works also partake in the (Freudian) idea of female same-sex desire as an adolescent, hence passing phenomenon.

The pathological notion of female same-sex desire prevailing in the first half of the twentieth century, and the literary depiction of lesbians as freaks of nature, can be linked to the earlier association of love between women with the monstrous or the supernatural, or to that nineteenth-century invention, the lesbian vampire. From its inception, the vampire in art and literature, falling outside the bounds of nature as much as it is excluded from polite society, has consistently been linked with homosexuality. With predecessors in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Christabel" (1816) and in Sheridan Le Fanu's gothic story *Carmilla* (1872), contemporary authors have, however, succeeded at once in exploiting and perverting this tradition by presenting lesbian vampires as enabling female figures whose unnatural powers are often wielded in attempts to overthrow patriarchal society. Whereas Zoë Fairbairns, in *Benefits* (1979), and Sally Gearheart, in *The Wanderground* (1978), primarily use the transgressive sexual and gender potential of their bloodsucking heroines, Ellen Galford additionally oversteps religious boundaries by making her undead heroine in *The Dyke and the Dybbuk* (1994) Jewish, while Jewelle Gomez, in *The Gilda Stories* (1991), takes the transgressive aspect another step further by presenting her readers with a black lesbian vampire.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY BEFORE STONEWALL

Although the appearance of a black lesbian is no longer so remarkable in late-twentieth-century literature, there are relatively few literary texts predating the civil rights movement and the Stonewall riots (1969) that focus on the intersection of racial difference and female same-sex desire. This is all the more remarkable, because, from the emergence of modern science in the eighteenth century onward, all forms of sexual degeneration, including lesbianism, have been associated with racial difference, savagery, and primitivism. Still, even during 1920s and 1930s, when African-American culture generally flourished—a period known as the Harlem Renaissance—lesbian self-expression occurred only in highly coded fashion. Exemplary are the writings of Alice Dunbar-Nelson, the love poems of Angelina Weld Grimké (suppressed by the author herself, and rediscovered only in the 1980s), Nella Larsen's novel *Passing* (1929), and the lyrics of the bisexual blues singers Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey, Josephine Baker, and Ethel Waters. Jane

Bowles's novel *Two Serious Ladies* (1943) offers one of the first explorations of a white woman's desire for a brown prostitute. It is only in the 1970s, with writers such as Audre Lorde (*From a Land Where Other People Live* [1973]), Ann Allen Shockley (*Loving Her* [1974]), and Pat Parker (*Movement in Black* [1978]), that a tradition of African-American lesbian writing begins to take off. While increasingly politically motivated, most of such literary representations emphasize the strength and endurance of friendship and love among black lesbians faced with the overall racism of white society as well as the homophobia in black communities, as, for instance, in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* (1982), and Ntozake Shange's *Sassafrass, Cypress, and Indigo* (1982).

Lesbian writers on both sides of the Atlantic began to use a variety of traditional literary genres, as well as develop new ones, to give overt expression to their feelings, preoccupations, and outlooks on life and society. Earlier in the twentieth century, few had followed Radclyffe Hall in thematizing their sexual love for women, preferring to couch such concerns in modernist experimenting or behind sociocultural critiques, as in the works of Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and Djuna Barnes (1892–1982), or to enfold it in a fantasy figure such as Virginia Woolf's ageless, intermediately sexed Orlando, the eponymous hero/ine of her comic romp of 1928, believed to be a love letter to Vita Sackville-West, with whom Woolf was having an affair at the time. Stein's openly lesbian text *Lifting Belly* (1953) was not published until after her death, the same fate as was suffered by H.D.'s novel *Paint It Today*, which did not appear in print until 1992. What the novels, poems, and short stories of the early decades of the twentieth century often quite liberally do depict, however, are strong bonds between women, often tinged with eroticism, echoing what in earlier centuries had been called *romantic friendships*.

Dorothy Miller Richardson's *Dawn's Left Hand* (1931) explores the close interrelations between intense female friendship and homoerotic passion. Sylvia Townsend Warner's novel *Summer Will Show* (1936) equally concentrates on the erotic bond between its two female protagonists, albeit in a story displaced into the nineteenth century. Most of the early novels of Elizabeth Bowen (1899–1972), and quite a number of her short stories, feature women developing passionate relationships with each other. Though not offering a particularly pleasant portrait, Mary McCarthy's inclusion of a lesbian character in her best-selling novel *The Group* (1963) suggests that, in the early 1960s, lesbianism was becoming an acceptable topic in North American literary writing. The British novelist Brigid Brophy's *In Transit*

(1969) therefore quite literally marks a moment of transition, not only because its protagonist has no determinate gender, and the text offers its readers a distinctly eroticized bi-textuality, but also because it represents a moment of transition between the occluded, indirect, or ambivalent representation of female same-sex desire in literature before Stonewall, and the outspoken, sometimes defiant, and often celebratory expressions of lesbianism in the literature since then.

AFTER STONEWALL: GENERIC AND STYLISTIC DIVERSITY

The genre of the picaresque, with its lone hero fighting against the world, proved particularly fruitful in the politicized early days of gay and lesbian liberation. In sharp contrast to the rather quiet, reflective novels of the early 1960s, such as May Sarton's *The Small Room* (1961), Jane Rule's *The Desert of the Heart* (1964), and Isabel Miller's *A Place for Us* (1969; reissued as *Patience and Sarah*, 1973), the quintessential lesbian hero of the early 1970s was Rita Mae Brown's feisty and outrageous Molly Bolt, protagonist of her semi-autobiographical coming-out story *Rubyfruit Jungle* (1973). Whereas Elana Nachman's *Riverfinger Women* (1974) similarly revolves around a picaresque lesbian hero, Monique Wittig, on a rather grim note, presents the main characters of her *Les guérillères* (1969) as social warriors, expressing the elation and rage of many lesbians fighting at the barricades against the oppressions of the heteropatriarchal system. Some Stonewall writers took up the Sapphic tradition by imaginatively exploring the possibilities—and problems—of all-female societies, including June Arnold in *The Cook and the Carpenter* (1973), Gearheart in *The Wanderground*, or, in a more utopian vein, Joanna Russ in *The Female Man* (1975).

Where older lesbian poets, such as May Swenson (1919–1989), Elizabeth Bishop (1911–1979), and Sarton (1912–1995), still tended to avoid overtly lesbian subjects, the new generation of poets showed no such qualms. With Audre Lorde (1934–1992) and Adrienne Rich (b. 1929) as two of the most articulate voices of the period, the 1970s gave rise to an astonishingly rich tradition of explicitly lesbian poetry, especially in the United States. Much lesbian poetry first appeared in such newly founded women's journals as *Heresies*, *Conditions*, *Sinister Wisdom*, and *off our backs*, but many also succeeded in getting their work published as books, including Olga Broumas's *Beginning with O* (1977), Judy Grahn's *Edward the Dyke* (1971), Lorde's *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), Pat Parker's *Child of Myself* (1971), June Jordan's *Pit Stop* (1973), and Rich's *The Dream of a Common Language* (1978).

As suggested, few African-American writers, with Shockley's novel *Loving Her* a rare and important exception, explored lesbian issues before the 1980s. Lorde published her autobiographical novel *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* in 1982. The landmark publication, one that opened up the literary field to lesbians from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, was *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981), edited by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. Inspired by the then prevailing emphasis on the *politics of difference*, this anthology of essays, fiction, and poetry gave eloquent voice to the frustrations and anger experienced by all lesbians of color within the overwhelmingly white (lesbian) feminist movement. Anzaldúa later published the influential prose poem *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987). Paula Gunn Allen is one of few lesbians writing from a Native American perspective (*The Woman Who Owned the Shadows* [1983]), while Willyce Kim is probably the best-known Asian-American lesbian novelist, and Michelle Cliff explores the racism of Jamaican society in her novels *Abeng* (1984) and *No Telephone to Heaven* (1987).

Prose genres that proved particularly amenable to lesbian appropriation include such forms of formula fiction as romance, mystery, and detective novels. Growing out of the 1970s coming-out stories, the lesbian romance became one of the most popular genres of the 1980s, with representatives such as Doris Grumbach's *Chamber Music* (1979), Nancy Toder's *Choices* (1980), and Katherine V. Forrest's *Curious Wine* (1983). Among the spate of lesbian detective novels by, among others, Camarin Grae, Claire McNab, Barbara Wilson (later known as Barbara Sjoholm), and Vicki McConnell, those by Sarah Schulman (*The Sophie Horowitz Story* [1984]) and Mary Wings (*She Came Too Late* [1987]) stand out by being less formulaic, and, stylistically as well as thematically, more inventive than many of their contemporaries.

Schulman's later prose style shows the influence of postmodernism, but her stories also move beyond the strict political and cultural constraints of mere lesbian expectancy, complicating the sexual lives of her protagonists with issues of ethnicity and social economics. Another lesbian writer who presents a wider vision of contemporary society than even her best-selling debut, *Oranges Are Not the Only Fruit* (1985)—adapted for BBC television in 1990—might have suggested, is the British author Jeanette Winterson (b. 1959). Like some of her North American counterparts, such as Bertha Harris (*Lover* (1976) and Carole Maso (*Ghost Dance* [1986]), Winterson has succeeded in reaching mainstream audiences, by developing what might be called the postmodern lesbian novel of ideas, especially through her later works, *The Passion* (1987), *Sexing the Cherry*

(1989), *The PowerBook* (2000), and *Lighthousekeeping* (2004). Other important novelists of the 1990s include Jennifer Levin (*The Sea of Light* [1993]), Paula Martinac (*Home Movies* [1993]), and Dorothy Allison (*Bastard Out of Carolina* [1992]), whose novels engage lesbian characters, but whose main focus is on social issues such as death, AIDS, and poverty.

One of the most successful genres that continues to thrive, and one equally finding its origins in the 1980s, is what might loosely be called lesbian erotica, especially in its S/M variety. Pat Califia (*Macho Sluts* [1988]), Robbi Sommers (*Kiss and Tell* [1991]), and Tee Corinne (*Dreams of the Woman Who Loved Sex* [1987]) were the forerunners in a tradition that as of 2006 makes up most of the titles produced by a quick search for lesbian literature at the online bookseller Amazon.com. If this suggests that lesbian literature has, since the early sixteenth century, developed from a relatively obscure, often submerged, and frequently maligned form of cultural expression, into a fully commercially viable enterprise, there are also quite a number of lesbian authors who have made it into the mainstream through somewhat different channels. Especially in the United Kingdom, there are highly respected and successful novelists whose focus on lesbian subject matter has in no way prevented them from gaining widespread general recognition. With prize-winning novels such as *Hotel World* (2001) and *The Accidental* (2004)—the latter short-listed for the Man Booker Prize in 2005 and winner of the Whitbread Novel of the Year Award—the novelist Ali Smith finds her match not only in Winterson, who has continued to keep up her reputation as one of Britain's most successful lesbian novelists with *Weight* (2005) and *Tanglewreck* (2006), but also in the best-selling Sarah Waters, whose debut *Tipping the Velvet* (1999) and *Fingersmith* (2002)—short-listed for the Man Booker Prize—were both adapted for television by the BBC, in 2002 and 2005, respectively. Waters's next novel, *The Night Watch* (2006), again features lesbian characters, this time against the setting of World War II. The increasingly widespread cultural resonance of such writings only goes to show that the lesbian novel continues to be redefined—the ultimate results of which are as yet unknown, but can definitely be awaited with great anticipation.

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renée c. hoogland

LITTLE RED RIDING HOOD

Little Red Riding Hood is a fairy tale or children's story common to many European cultures in various forms. While probably an ancient tale of the oral tradition, the earliest known written form is contained in Charles Perrault's 1697 work, *Contes de ma mère l'Oye* (*Tales of Mother Goose*, 1729). His version is much simpler than the version later popularized by the Brothers Grimm: A young woman in red encounters a wolf, tells him her destination, and then is eaten by him when he lies in wait for her farther down the path. A postscript explains it as a cautionary tale, an example of what can happen when a young woman talks to a strange man. The name of the story derives from the red hood and cape that the young girl wears, a detail believed to have been original to Perrault's version.

The Brothers Grimm included the tale in their *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812–1815; *Children's and household tales*; known in English as *Grimm's Fairy Tales*). The story tells of a young village girl who travels into the woods to visit her grandmother. Along the way, she encounters a wolf who wishes to eat her, but does not because there are woodcutters nearby who would defend her. Instead, the wolf engages her in conversation and learns her destination. He gets there before her, eats the grandmother, and disguises himself in her clothing to lure the girl into the house. He then eats Red Riding Hood, but is soon attacked by a woodcutter who has followed them. The woodcutter cuts the wolf's belly open with his ax, freeing the grandmother and girl who are inside, whole and unharmed. The wolf's belly is then filled with heavy rocks that hold him in place until he dies. No specific moral is indicated in this version, although its similarity to Perrault's is unmistakable. There are important differences, though: In the Brothers Grimm version, two women

are victimized through the carelessness of one, and rather than being killed by the wolf, the women are rescued by a man. The danger in the later version is doubled, and it is made clear that male intercession is needed to protect the women. Critics have claimed that the Brothers Grimm version portrays women as essentially vulnerable and in need of help from men. The Perrault version, while a worse ending for Red Riding Hood, did allow her to succeed or fail on her own merits.

Many critics have analyzed the tale, both as a work of literature and as a cultural document. The American child psychologist Bruno Bettelheim used the story as a basis for his discussion of fairy tales as models for child psychological development in *The Uses of Enchantment* (1976). Many twentieth-century retellings of the story have been based on Bettelheim's understanding, including the 1987 Broadway musical *Into the Woods* by Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine. In this adaptation, Red Riding Hood consciously uses her experience as a means of constructing whom she will be as an adult, having left childhood behind in the belly of the wolf. This understanding of the story as one of growth and transition to maturity is also common. Many critics have seen the conversation between the wolf and Red Riding Hood as a seduction, a distinctly sexualized interaction. The meeting, therefore, is likened to a first sexual experience. The red color and flowing nature of the hood and cape are likewise linked to menstruation. Some critics have interpreted Red Riding Hood's willingness to put herself in danger as a desire for sexual experience, and others have linked her actions to prostitution.

SEE ALSO *Big Bad Wolf*; *Fairy Tales*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

LOLITA

Lolita, a novel by Vladimir Nabokov (first published in Paris in 1955; published in the United States in 1958), details the sexual obsession of its narrator with his young stepdaughter. The novel's depiction of a sexually abusive



Vladimir Nabokov, Author of Lolita. GERTRUDE FEHR/ PIX INC./TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

relationship between an older man and a young girl generated a great deal of controversy in both the United States and in Europe, leading to its banning in France and England and to confrontations between those who lauded its artistic integrity and those who deemed it pornographic. *Lolita* achieved great success worldwide and, in the United States, shot to the top of the bestseller list within weeks of publication. In 1962, Stanley Kubrick released a film version of the novel, with a screenplay credited to Nabokov himself; Adrian Lyne directed a second adaptation in 1997. In popular culture, the name *Lolita* has come to refer to any sexually precocious young girl.

THE NOVEL

In 1950, Nabokov, having relocated to the United States and taken a teaching job at Cornell University, began working in earnest on the manuscript that would eventually become *Lolita*. The novel details the pursuit, conquest, and subsequent sexual abuse of twelve-year-old Lolita by Humbert Humbert, the debonair European boarder her mother takes in. Humbert is immediately obsessed with Lolita, whom he identifies as a "nymphet": a young girl of no more than fourteen in whom Humbert

can discern a preternatural sexual power and allure. In an effort to gain continual access to Lolita, Humbert seduces and marries her mother, who dies (rather conveniently) shortly thereafter. Fearing any interference with his custody of Lolita—and indeed, anything at all that might divert her attention from him—Humbert isolates Lolita to a great degree from her peers and other adults. Though Humbert casts himself as a dutiful parent figure, his every worry for Lolita's health, safety, and upbringing is underwritten by his concern that she remain sexually available to him at all times. Lolita eventually makes her escape, and Humbert is reduced to a fanatical search for both Lolita and the man whom he believes stole her away.

Controversial as the storyline may be, *Lolita* is notable both for its aesthetic commitments and its ethical stance. Though many have read Humbert's often ecstatic and beautiful narration as evidence of a Nabokovian project to aestheticize child abuse, both the narration and the novel are much more subtle and complex. While Humbert is disturbing for the degree to which he is able to charm and placate his readers in spite of the increasingly unsavory behaviors in which he engages, both Humbert's fundamental unreliability as a narrator and his sorrow, despair, and self-disgust at the novel's end suggest that, as Nabokov once claimed, *Lolita* is indeed "a highly moral affair."

PUBLICATION AND RECEPTION

Nabokov was well aware of the controversy that his novel might incite. For many years, he showed no one at all his manuscript and, when he began searching for a publisher, he seriously considered publishing the novel anonymously. Most American editors who saw the manuscript responded favorably, but publishers were deeply concerned about getting embroiled in a costly obscenity trial. After rejections by five American publishing houses, the manuscript made its way to Maurice Girodias, the owner of the newly founded Olympia Press in France. Olympia Press, though it had several titles of literary repute, primarily produced cheap English-language pornography. In 1955, Girodias offered to publish the novel, and *Lolita* was quietly published in France that same year.

While *Lolita*'s publication initially went largely unnoticed by both reviewers and the public, British novelist Graham Greene, in the London *Sunday Times*, listed it as one of the three best books of 1955. Shortly thereafter, John Gordon, editor of a London weekly, took issue with Greene's choice of best books and devoted a column to an attack on *Lolita*. Greene retaliated, and the beginnings of a controversy began to stir in London. In February 1956, an American paper picked up

the story, igniting American interest in *Lolita*. Papers began receiving letters about the novel, critics began speaking out in favor of its literary qualities, and American publishers began expressing interest in the book. In France, a well-respected, mainstream publishing house noted the controversy and offered to bring out a French translation. Other countries also began inquiring about rights to the book.

In spite of the increase in its publicity and renown, *Lolita* still faced a number of obstacles to publication in the United States. Both Britain and France had banned the book. Several American publishers were eager to publish *Lolita* but were still concerned that it would ultimately be banned in the United States as well. Additionally, Nabokov and Girodias were embroiled in a dispute over copyright that made it difficult for Nabokov to negotiate a contract with another publisher. In 1957, Nabokov published an essay called "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*," which argued for the artistic merit of the novel and attempted to lay the groundwork for a defense against any obscenity charges that might be leveled against the book. In spite of brisk American black-market sales of the book and numerous favorable reviews, however, it was not until March 1958 that a contract for publication in the United States was negotiated and signed.

G.P. Putnam's Sons finally published *Lolita* in mid-August 1958, almost five years after Nabokov had completed the manuscript. Public response to the novel was overwhelming. Advance reviews of the book were primarily favorable, though occasionally outraged. Sales were high, and *Lolita* went into a second printing almost immediately. Many were offended or outraged by the book's subject matter and some localities went so far as to ban it, but these adverse reactions seemed only to fan its popularity. By the end of September, *Lolita* had topped the bestseller list and its author had become a celebrity.

FILM ADAPTATIONS

Even before *Lolita* was published in the United States, Harris-Kubrick Pictures had expressed interest in attaining the movie rights. In late 1959, after rejecting an early version of the screenplay written by Calder Willingham, Kubrick approached Nabokov about writing the script for *Lolita*. Though Kubrick and producer James B. Harris professed complete admiration for the script that Nabokov eventually submitted, his screenplay was gutted during the film's production and the final product bore little relationship to either Nabokov's novel or his screenplay. The film, which premiered in June 1962, starred James Mason, Peter Sellers, and Sue Lyon as Lolita. Lyon looked decidedly older than the actual Lolita's twelve

years, and she portrayed Lolita as a young woman rather than as a mix of child and adolescent. Due to pressure from censors, the physical relationship between Lolita and Humbert could only be hinted at. Kubrick did, however, translate some of the linguistic play of the novel into a darkly comic, often farcical scenario. For both Kubrick and Nabokov, the film was a disappointment. In 1974, Nabokov published his original, unaltered screenplay of the film.

Kubrick's movie, although severely constrained by the requirements of the Production Code, was brought to the screen with minimal difficulty. Lyne's 1997 version of *Lolita*, however, faced much the same problem that Nabokov's original novel did. Starring Jeremy Irons, with Dominique Swain as Lolita, the film was financed independently, but Lyne was unable to find an American distributor for the film. Ultimately, the cable channel Showtime purchased the distribution rights to the film and, after a one-week limited theatrical release meant to enable Academy Award consideration for the film, *Lolita* premiered on Showtime in 1998. The furor over the film's release—already somewhat surprising in a era when young women are routinely sexualized and commodified in popular culture and when the onscreen depiction of sexuality is increasingly graphic—is all the more notable for the tepidness of Lyne's actual film. Though it does depict more physical contact between Humbert and Lolita than Kubrick's film was ever able to do, Lyne's *Lolita* is a lyrical, pretty film that portrays Humbert's love for Lolita as more befuddled and passive than the overwhelming lust and passion of Nabokov's Humbert.

LOLITA IN POPULAR CULTURE

Although Humbert Humbert gives a quite specialized meaning to his term *nymphet*, in popular culture the name Lolita has come to signify very generally a sexually precocious pubescent or, more often, adolescent girl. Cultural critics have often invoked the term *Lolita* in the context of child pornography, the JonBenet Ramsey murder, and the sexualized depiction of young females in film and television. Most famously, perhaps, the name Lolita was linked with the 1992 attempted murder of Mary Jo Buttafuoco by her husband's teenaged lover, Amy Fisher, whom the media quickly dubbed "the Long Island Lolita."

Often the banning of books by groups or governments appears in retrospect as a somewhat hysterical overreaction to a text that later audiences consider tame. *Lolita*, on the other hand, still generates controversy, and that it takes pedophilia as its subject continues to bother even those who venerate the novel for its artistic and aesthetic achievement. The continuing controversy over

Lolita and the widespread application of the term to issues of child sexuality and the depiction of women and girls in popular culture suggest the degree to which *Lolita*, even as it forces its audience to grapple simultaneously with Humbert's compelling personality and perverse sexuality, forces society to confront its own complicity in enabling the Lolita phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Literature: II. The Study of.*

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Maureen Lauder

LORDE, AUDRE 1934–1992

Audre Lorde was born in Harlem, New York City, on February 18 to Linda and Byron Lorde, Caribbean immigrants. The youngest of three daughters she was raised in a strict household. In 1951 she enrolled in Hunter College. In 1952 she began to define herself as a lesbian. Lorde married Edwin Rollins, a white man, in 1962; they had a son and a daughter. After their separation in the late 1960s, Lorde and her children lived with Frances Clayton, a white female psychologist.

In her career, as in her life, Lorde actively resisted categorization. Referring to herself as a "black, feminist, lesbian, mother, poet warrior," she consistently challenged all definitions of identity (De Veaux 2004, p. 367). She stretched the limits of several literary genres, publishing ten volumes of poetry, two noted collections of essays and speeches, and one *biomythography* titled *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982). She blurred



Audre Lorde. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

the boundaries between the personal and the political by mining her experiences in her work.

Lorde published her first book of poetry, *The First Cities*, with the Poets Press in 1968. Her third collection of poetry, *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), was nominated for a National Book Award for poetry in 1974. Lorde accompanied the prize-winning poet Adrienne Rich (b. 1929) on stage when she accepted the award. As part of her acceptance speech, Rich read a *feminist manifesto* that she, Lorde, and novelist Alice Walker (b. 1944), a conominee, drafted together.

In her poetry Lorde explores relationships between women. Her work examines the power of voice, language, silence, and anger. After a visit to Africa in 1974, her work took on a diasporic dimension as she embraced her west-African cultural heritage. Lorde also published poems that explicitly depicted intimate same-sex encounters between women. Her decision to remove a poem with a lesbian speaker, *Love Poem*, in *From a Land Where Other People Live*, was the result of a homophobic response from Broadside Press' black male pub-

lisher, Dudley Randall (1914–2000). She included the poem in her fourth collection, *New York Head Shop and Museum* (1974), which was also published by Broadside Press. In 1991 Lorde became the first African-American woman to be named New York State Poet.

Through her essays and speeches, Lorde made a significant contribution to the development of feminist theory. In *The Uses of the Erotic* (1978), Lorde posited a theory of sexuality as a creative force in women's lives. In this speech she argues that many feminists distanced themselves from the power of female sexuality because, throughout history, white, European and North American, masculine definitions of the erotic disempowered women by objectifying their bodies. Lorde argues that feminists must claim the erotic as an empowering connection between work and life. In one of her most popular essays, *Poetry is Not a Luxury* (1977), Lorde argues that poetry can help women to claim their subversive, creative power and, in doing so, help them realize social change: "The white fathers told us: I think, therefore I am. The Black mother within each of us—the poet—whispers in our dreams: I feel, therefore I can be free" (Lorde 1984, p. 38). Positioning herself on the margins of the feminist movement's second wave, she challenged white, middle-class feminists to acknowledge their privileged positions in an inherently racist and classist society and realize the importance of difference. In *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House* (1979), she persuades white feminists to take a more inclusive stance toward acknowledging the multiplicity of women's experiences in their theoretical articulations. From the margins of the black community Lorde's essays and speeches questioned the role of women, gays, and lesbians within that community.

In *The Cancer Journals* (1980) Lorde chronicled her experiences as a breast cancer patient. The essay collection garnered the Book Award from the American Library Association Gay Caucus in 1981. Critics argue that her reflections have made a crucial impact on breast cancer patients' perceptions of themselves as survivors. When the cancer returned Lorde reflected on her experience in another collection titled *A Burst of Light* (1988). Lorde spent her final years in St. Croix with her companion and caretaker, Gloria Joseph. She died on November 17. Her final collection of poems, *The Marvelous Arithmetics of Distance* (1993), was published posthumously.

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Cherise A. Pollard

LOVE—DEVOTIONAL AND EROTIC

Love in religious poetry modulates through many keys: *eros*, *agape*, *amor*, *minne*, *bhakti*, *prema*, and *'ishq*. The biblical author declares, “God is love” (I John 4:16). The cherubic archer of Bernini’s *Teresa in Ecstasy* and the alluring song and dance of Lord Krishna convey intense experiences of devotional love. Sufi poet Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–1273) is drawn toward God like a moth to the flame: “Let go all your scheming, lover / let yourself go mad / go mad / just step into the heart of fire / make yourself a moth / a moth . . .” (Lewis 2003, p. 385). Such examples evoke a powerful and pervasive analogy between human love and love of a divine Other.

God’s lovers often express their longing in terms of human love relationships. Sufi saint Rabi’a al-Basri (d. 801) refused all offers of marriage due to her all-consuming desire for God, maintaining that “the groaning and the yearning of the lover of God will not be satisfied until it is satisfied in the Beloved” (Smith 2001, p. 122). Men as well as women employ the trope of female submission and dependence for the human-divine relationship. But passion for God transposes into masculine as well as feminine modes. Margaret Malamud has demonstrated that medieval Sufi *ghazals* and Rumi’s poetry about his spiritual master project desire for divinity in homoerotic terms.

These Islamic cases occur at the intersection of East and West. This discussion illuminates cross-cultural dynamics of the *eros* analogy for devotional love, beginning with Augustine’s influential work. Examples from medieval Christian and Hindu contexts test the boundaries of the analogy in the West and the East. Finally, orthodox boundaries dissolve with the contemporary feminist suggestion that the erotic is divine.

THE EROS ANALOGY

The confluence of devotional and erotic love may be at the heart of *eros* in the West. *Eros* is an ecstatic movement of the self toward a divine or human Other. Desire for an Other draws one out of egocentric existence; it embraces



Teresa in Ecstasy. Teresa in Ecstasy, sculpture by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1645–52, in the Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. THE ART ARCHIVE / ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN.

difference and yearns toward the future. When Psyche of classical Greek mythology abandons herself to the unknown, she finds herself in the arms of Eros, the god of love. “Because Psyche possessed the courage to live in that open space,” Wendy Farley explains, “she gave birth to Joy. Desire is this absurdity that holds open the infinity of possibility” (Farley 2005, pp. 15–16). As a type of love that opens toward an Other, *eros* includes sexual acts but is not reduced to them.

In the Jewish and Christian traditions, theologians usually argue that the primary case in the love analogy is divine love, from which all other loves derive: “We love because [God] first loved us” (I John 4:19). Following Ludwig Feuerbach and Sigmund Freud, however, other theorists view devotional love as a human projection of ideal relation. Conscious of the limited usefulness of human experience for understanding spiritual reality, Saint Augustine elaborated the famous analogy for the Trinity as lover, beloved, and the love between them (Augustine 1991, VIII.5); but he emphatically attested to the shortcomings of such comparisons when applied to divine mystery.

Regardless of the rationale for the *eros* analogy, several features are salient. A love relationship requires at least two discrete subjects. Confronted with the alterity of the beloved, the lover longs for the intimacy of knowledge and touch. Love implicates particular faculties, typically those related to desire and the will. Certain emotional experiences, such as those associated with the beloved's presence and absence, travel on both sides of the analogy. Furthermore, poetic metaphors (ecstasy, loss of self, madness, and religious devotion) translate the effects of love in both cases. Augustine's early teachings on desire set the stage for the development of these themes.

AUGUSTINE AND THE DIRECTIONALITY OF DESIRE

For the influential bishop Augustine of Hippo (354–430 CE), the Christian life is an ongoing process of the transformation of desire. One trains the faculties to ascend from attachment to lower, material things to the pure love of God. Without denying the goodness of material and human goods, the Christian orders their value in relation to the source of all good. A virtuous circle of action and understanding ensues. In love of neighbor, human beings come to know the love of God, and this knowledge further purifies the practice of love.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine admirably illustrates his process of transformation as a desiring being. Examples as mundane as an infant's hunger reveal desire as the root of human actions. Augustine writes of his childhood theft of a neighbor's pears, "it was not the fruit that gave me pleasure, I must have got it from the crime itself, from the thrill of having partners in sin" (Augustine 1961, II.8). Desire for the approval of his comrades and the initial rush of wrongdoing later give way to other finite objects such as entertainment, friendship, fame, and physical intimacy. Addiction follows the serial of temporary satiation: Augustine famously prays, "Grant me chastity and continence, but not yet" (VIII.7). Sex is particularly illustrative of a dynamic that applies equally to many objects in his work. Some accuse Augustine of positing sex as the basest desire—its power over him certainly encapsulates the problem of desire and the need for physical and volitional discipline.

"I badly wanted to love something . . . I felt no need for the food that does not perish, not because I had had my fill of it, but because the more I was starved of it the less palatable it seemed" (III.1). Given his thrall to misdirected desire, Augustine credits divine providence for the events leading to his conversion. Philosophical and scriptural readings cultivate his scholarly desire for knowledge into longing for the Beauty, Goodness, and Truth beyond all beautiful, good, and true things.

Purified of their cloying hold on his will, physical and intellectual pleasures—pears, companionship, sex, and so on—are transmuted into praise for their creator.

The end of the process of Christian formation is uninterrupted enjoyment of God. There can be fleeting tastes of eternity in the present life, as Augustine recounts of a vision he shared with his mother before she died.

As the flame of love burned stronger in us and raised us higher towards the eternal God, our thoughts ranged over the whole compass of material things in their various degrees, up to the heavens. . . . At length we came to our own souls and passed beyond them. . . . And while we spoke of the eternal Wisdom, longing for it and straining for it with all the strength of our hearts, for one fleeting instant we reached out and touched it.

(IX.10)

Augustine's vision limns the trajectory of desire over the course of the Christian life. As one realizes the insufficiency of material reality, one's longing turns heavenward, gradually ascending through cosmic and intellectual realities, to God. Redirected, desire modulates from concupiscence to the love of God and all things in relation to God as their creator.

THE EROTICIZATION OF DEVOTIONAL LOVE

Numerous religious traditions address the problem of competing loves: Hindus warn against craving the fruits of action, Buddhists teach that the origin of suffering is attachment, and Martin Luther elucidates the bondage of the will. Desire for liberation or salvation, however, is nearly always salutary. Two examples can be cited as testing the limits of the *eros* analogy for the divine-human relationship. In both, the other-directed movement of the self strongly resembles the colloquial use of the word "erotic." Images of courtship and sexual union guide the devotional imagination in medieval Christian mystical traditions and Hindu *bhakti* movements.

Christian Mysticism of the High Middle Ages Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090–1153) sermons on the biblical Song of Songs amplify traditional bridal imagery for Christ and the Church into an allegory for the relation between God and the soul. His exegesis of the staples of bridal mysticism—the kiss, the bedchamber, and sexual union—leavened the medieval Christian imagination. William of St-Thierry (d. 1148) and Richard of St-Victor (d. 1173) further divided the Christian life into various "ages" or "degrees" of love. Communities of celibate women religious consumed such writings as patterns for their experience of their divine Bridegroom.

Though “only” allegorical, the gendered symbolic operates powerfully at many levels. Latent misogyny shows through explanations of the soul’s “female” qualities (its weakness, fickleness, or submission). Ostensibly the pattern is hetero-normative, with a male Christ’s betrothal to a female soul; yet even as male devotees perform an imaginative gender reversal, homoerotic overtones persist. When transplanted into women’s houses and communities of celibate lay women like the beguines, the implicit sexuality is equally complex. The thirteenth-century Flemish beguine Hadewijch employs conventions from troubadour poetry and styles herself as a knight in pursuit of the divine Lady Love. Barbara Newman (1995, 137–167) has demonstrated that rather than identifying with the female soul as Christ’s beloved, Hadewijch performs her own reversal and takes on “virile” qualities toward a feminized divine.

The writings of Mechthild of Magdeburg (c. 1208–c. 1282) contain some of the most overt allusions to sexual intimacy in orthodox Christian treatments of devotional love. In one exemplary concatenation of biblical motifs with the conventions of courtly love poetry, the bride-soul enters the secret bedchamber of her divine lover.

“Stay, Lady Soul.”
 “What do you bid me, Lord?”
 “Take off your clothes.”
 “Lord, what will happen to me then?”
 “Lady Soul, you are so utterly formed to my
 nature
 That not the slightest thing can be between you
 and me. . . .
 And so you must cast off from you
 Both fear and shame and all external virtues.
 Rather, those alone that you carry within
 yourself
 Shall you foster forever.
 These are your noble longing
 And your boundless desire.”. . .
 Then a blessed stillness
 That both desire comes over them.
 He surrenders himself to her,
 And she surrenders herself to him.
 What happens to her then—she knows—
 And that is fine with me.
 But this cannot last long.
 When two lovers meet secretly,
 They must often part from one another
 inseparably.

(Tobin 1998, i.44)

For Mechthild and many Christians, human nature mirrors the divine: the desiring soul is “utterly formed to

[God’s] nature.” Though this statement may be an innuendo (“nature” refers to body in some medieval conventions), in Mechthild “noble longing” and “boundless desire” belong equally to God and the soul. The deity is no unmoved mover but the creative fount of flowing love. God “surrenders . . . to her” in the powerlessness of *eros*. Divinity meets the soul in the mutual self-abandonment of desire.

The Latin editors of Mechthild’s book, *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, weakened its eroticism, troubled perhaps by the extreme claims of contemporary heretics in the Swabian Ries of southwest Germany to have known Christ physically. Religious ecstasies were becoming increasingly common among women like Mechthild. These intense spiritual experiences blur the line between spirit and body in their physical effects. But Mechthild remains within the fold of orthodoxy by calling upon the analogical nature of theological speech. Her visions are “not of the flesh” but spiritual in nature (VI.36). The Lord takes Lady Soul into the bedchamber “in a manner beyond what is human” (I.44). The above scene teaches that one must “cast off” off all that stands in the way of one’s pure desire for God. Mechthild also emphasizes that ecstatic union is fleeting in this life; the lovers remain united in desire while anticipating a permanent embrace after death.

Krishna Bhakti In Hindu traditions, devotion (*bhakti*) flourished in various regional movements beginning in the sixth century CE. The Sanskrit root *bhaj*, from which *bhakti* derives, connotes sharing, partaking, and even carnal enjoyment. *Bhakti*, then, is a love relationship to the deity. In the *Bhagavad-Gita*, Lord Krishna upholds the superiority of *bhakti* over other paths to God. He declares to his disciple, “Not through sacred lore, / penances, charity, or sacrificial rites / . . . By devotion alone / can I, as I really am, / be known and seen / and entered” (Miller 1986, 11.53–54). This kernel contains a basic principle of *bhakti*: love, not good works and asceticism, is the most effective means of reaching God.

John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer (1988) delineate the personal and non-personal dimensions of *bhakti*. Some great poets including Kabir, Ravidas, and Nanak (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, North India) loved a deity transcendent of all images and attributes. They exemplify *nirguna bhakti*, devotion to God without qualities; and their teachings were often iconoclastic and ecumenical. Other devotees name divinity Ram, Krishna, Siva, or the goddess Kali; they explore the mythology and characteristics of their chosen deity in the modalities of *saguna* (with qualities) *bhakti*.

In *saguna bhakti* devoted to Krishna, the vocabulary of eroticism predominates, but not to the exclusion of

imagery depicting love between parent and child, servant and master, or close friends. Devotees in Vrindavan, the legendary place of Krishna's childhood, foster the spiritual identities of Krishna's associates in the *Bhagavata Purana*. Scriptural stories, community singing, temple worship, and service to a guru cultivate the emotional tenor associated with their chosen roles. Many identify with the *gopis*, the cowherd women who leave their sleeping husbands at home to tryst with the youthful Krishna. The following poem is attributed to a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Bengali, Govinda-dasa.

... I was alone, a woman; the night was so dark,
 the forest so dense and gloomy,
 and I had so far to go.
 The rain was pouring down—
 which path should I take?
 My feet were muddy
 and burning where thorns had scratched them.
 But I had the hope of seeing you, none of it
 mattered,
 and now my terror seems far away
 When the sound of your flute reaches my ears
 it compels me to leave my home, my friends,
 it draws me into the dark toward you.
I no longer count the pain of coming here,
says Govinda-dasa.

(Dimock and Levertov 1967, p. 21)

He elsewhere writes of listening to the sound of Krishna's flute, gazing at the beauty of his body, and desiring his touch. *Bhakti* poetry evokes a full range of senses and emotions, from the bliss of union to longing in separation.

Lest the reader misinterpret sensual language as crassly physical, exegetes of *bhakti* poetry clarify its analogical character. The devotee's intimate knowledge of God is *akin* to seeing or touching, but is *not quite* external sensation. Nampillai (thirteenth-century, South India) interpolates one devotee as saying, "You tell me that you give me mental experience which is the same form of perception—but that is not what I want!" (Clooney 1996, p. 137). Theologians also clarify the adulterous character of Krishna lore as a metaphor for the spiritual relationship of the soul to God: that the *gopis* are married women illustrates the passion and risk inherent in loving God; it does not promote promiscuity in "real" life. Hawley and Juergensmeyer cite explanations "that the Gopis had never consummated their marriages with their husbands [and] that Krishna had by his magical power caused the Gopis to be replaced by likeness of themselves at crucial moments" (p. 78). So complementary are the modalities of erotic love and devotional relation, however, that "[n]one of the poets paid much attention" to these scruples (ibid.).

FEMINISM AND DESIRE

While the orthodox Christian and Hindu theologians cited above worry about the collapse of the analogy between sexual passion and devotional desire, feminists are more apt to explore the overlap. At its best, the immanence of physical intimacy is a transcendent experience, a mutual opening to the other that touches divinity. Luce Irigaray (1993) posits a "sensible transcendental," in which revelation comes not at the expense of particular bodies but through them. In theological terms, human love participates in the erotic outpouring of divine love for humanity. The incarnation of mutuality and diversity not only resembles but reveals the divine. The theoretical qualification dividing carnal from devotional love proves necessary only insofar as it calls human beings to an ever more expansive openness to alterity.

According to Grace Jantzen and Pamela Sue Anderson, desire is not merely of topical interest to theology and philosophy. Desire is integral to method. Often unacknowledged or even repressed, desire fuels critical reasoning about the divine. Many read Feuerbach's theory of projection as a critique of religion; but in bringing theology's hidden basis into the open, Jantzen encourages feminists to employ their desires for divinity strategically. As faculties of imagination and desire stretch toward the transcendent "horizon" of divinity, women's desires may alter the dominant symbolic. If the divine, "that which is most to be respected and valued," encompassed "mutuality, bodiliness, diversity, and materiality . . . the implications for our thought and lives would be incalculable" (Jantzen 1999, 269).

Caution is imperative as feminists reconstitute divine and human love, for the openness to the Other inherent in *eros* can prove even more troubling than any violation of the limits of theological analogy. Gendered constructions of selfless love weigh heavily on women, as when Christian *agape* is construed as "the gift of the superior to the abject dependent" (Keller 1986, 168). Rarely in "superior" positions, too often women's sense of selfhood dissolves as they exercise "unilaterally self-giving, sacrificial love" (ibid., 214) toward the lovers, dependents, and institutions that make claims on them.

Rita Nakashima Brock clarifies that as an "open, interactive self-expressiveness [*eros*] is different from either the need to impose our will on the world or the need to lose ourselves in the feelings and needs of others" (Brock 1998, p. 33). As a model for men and women, *eros* never dissolves the identity of the lover, for in love there must be at least two. Nor does it appropriate the Other—Plato's Socrates advises Phaedrus that the best lover does not to rush in to possess the beloved but holds back in awe.

The boundaries of the confluence of erotic and devotional love shift widely across contexts. From Augustine's cautious assertion of a limited analogy, through imaginative and aesthetic explorations of erotic devotional imagery, to experiments with the collapse of the metaphor, the analogical nature of divine and human love persists due to the inexhaustibility of the divine horizon.

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Michelle Voss Roberts

LOVE POETRY

The apparent timelessness and universality of love poetry may suggest that as a literary genre it can reveal little about historical and social dimensions of sex and gender in individual societies and different cultures. There is more than a grain of poetical truth in Robert Graves's definition of Love as "a universal migraine" in one of his own love lyrics. A cursory look at love poetry in different languages in different eras would reveal similar symptoms worldwide: poems describing the first encounter, the *coup de foudre*, the beauty of the beloved and her or his responses, the pains and the joys of falling in love, the union and the parting, all providing substance to the remembrance of encounters long past. The poems, whether in the shape of lyrics or long narrative poems, attempt to capture some or all of these emotions' evanescent beauty. But this uniformly universal dimension co-exists with a more varied and culture-bound dimension: the game-play and the dramatic elements contained in love poems, long and short. It is here that wider social and historical implications appear refracted in these often deeply personal and strongly felt moments.

The cast of characters varies from poem to poem. There is the poet himself and what is known of him or her through his or her own words elsewhere or through other external sources, and there is the persona of the poet, often actively involved in his or her own lines in the role of the lover. And there is yet a third perspective: the poet as the maker of the poem, the shaper of both the lover and the beloved, the puppeteer who pulls the strings. The beloved too comes in many shapes and costumes: he or she can be a cross-dresser, can refer to the poet's patron in flattering terms fit for an ideal of beauty, or may be conjured up in a much more ethereal and sublime manner, almost nebulous, as a mystical reference to God. Other characters too can inhabit the poem: the rival lover or mistress, the jealous husband, the *dueña* as a co-conspirator, along with the chorus of public spectators, often commenting on this piece of human love or folly and voicing their dismay or approbation. All these figures appear wearing various masks and with different accents and can tell us much, mostly *sotto voce*, about their own

regions and time and the notions of sex and gender from a synchronic and diachronic perspective.

Here at the outset one must, however, take note of cautionary reservations often cited against such attempts at using literary works, and particularly love poetry, as social documents, no matter how obliquely. For example Camille Paglia (1993, p. 706) writes:

A love poem cannot be simplistically read as a literal, journalistic record of an event or relationship; there is always some fictive reshaping of reality for dramatic or psychological ends. A love poem is secondary rather than primary experience; as an imaginative construction, it invites detached contemplation of the spectacle of sex.

We must be particularly cautious when dealing with controversial forms of eroticism like homosexuality. Poems are unreliable historical evidence about any society; they may reflect the consciousness of only one exceptional person. Furthermore, homoerotic images or fantasies in poetry must not be confused with concrete homosexual practice. We must speak of tastes and tendencies in early poets but not of sexual orientation: this is a modern idea.

The matter-of-fact tone of the above, its confidence in its own epistemological presuppositions and the hierarchies of fact and fiction that it sets up, and its warnings against anachronistic approaches and the failure to distinguish artistic imagination from hard historical evidence, are echoed by many other critics who make similar sweeping judgments. Their view of social history appears to be almost entirely based on evidence from recent or contemporary history of the West, with its abundance of easily accessible information in the form of archives, statistics, and searchable data on the screen. But even in this multimedia realm of plenty there is much that a social historian can glean from a perceptive analysis of poems by poets as diverse in their outlook as Adrienne Rich and Philip Larkin without doing violence to their work as imaginative constructs. On the contrary, it can even be argued that imaginative literature is as much part of the history of a society as other evidence—theological, scientific or statistical. In other regions and other eras, where an annalistic chronicle can contain long eulogistic declarations in honor of a ruler or patron, the lines become even more blurred. Historical “facts,” as always, come in all shapes and sizes, and the social historian is even more driven to take more than one tack, using all the documents available, if he or she wishes to get even an inkling of the way the people who populate this distant world saw themselves and described their relationships and arranged their lives.

This should not be confused with drawing false analogies and anachronistic glosses. In his short poem “The Scholars,” W. B. Yeats ridicules the way old scholars shuffle and fret over verses:

... that young men, tossing on their beds,
Rhymed out in love’s despair
To flatter beauty’s ignorant ear.

Such are the perils of “problematizing” love poetry.

The history of love throughout the ages runs the gamut from improvised songs (improvisation is often cited as a divine gift bestowed on women) to long and serious or not-so-serious treatises establishing rules and regulations and elaborate codes of decorum in different ages and languages, such as Ovid’s *Ars amatoria*, Andreas Capellanus’s *De amore*, Avicenna’s *treatise on love* (*Risâla fi’l-‘Ishq*), and the long sections devoted to love in the belles-lettres of many languages, eastern and western. Much of the material in these manuals treats love and its symptoms and cures with a light touch, with the urge to entertain far outweighing any didactic intentions. Still, as any reader who has dipped into anthologies of both love poetry and religious verse knows, many kinds of poems inhabit the pages of both selections, and there is a long and complex historical relationship between the two, as exemplified in such well-loved and celebrated “Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine” of the first lines of the Song of Solomon, or John Donne’s “Batter my heart, three person’d God,” the opening salvo of one of his Holy Sonnets. This fusion of religion and love enriches both love poetry and the theoretical frameworks and commentaries proliferating around it, and makes the task of interpreting its social and sexual context more arduous. In the case of long narrative poems with love as a dominant theme, the task of interpretation and contextualization is comparatively better delineated than in lyrical poetry. In Hellenistic romances or in the stories of paired lovers in Persian and Arabic (which are derived mostly from pre-Islamic Iranian sources as well as pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and lore), it is usually heterosexual love of two young lovers that takes center stage, with the different episodes consisting of a series of setbacks attributed to a variety of factors. For example, the two lovers may come from families at war with each other, or they may be constrained by arranged marriages to others without their will. Other forces may conspire against the lovers, like storms at sea or unexpected invasions by hostile armies.

Although the stories of such love poetry are projected into a distant past, they are essentially celebrations of physical love, even when they idealize unrequited love. And, clearly, they are contributions to the literature of entertainment.

This function of love poetry helps explain the dismissive view adopted towards it in the course of later centuries. When both in the lands of Christianity and Islam, the sacred and the profane began to converge into each other in ever changing mutations, influenced by a host of social factors such as the spread of feudalism in its widest sense as well the growth of interest in intellectual legacies such as Neo-Platonism not only in learned discourses in Latin and Arabic written by scholars for scholars but also in more popular vernacular languages that began to develop a wider and more diffuse readership in the course of the Middle Ages. Thus the earlier types of narrative love poems were dismissed as devoid of significant contact and serving as a device for inflaming carnal passions. Medieval texts of love poetry are typically prefaced by the cautionary comments suggesting that such poetry should not be read out loud to women, as it would surely inflame their latent sexual desires and lead them astray.

As alternatives to the earlier and less inhibited forms of love poetry, there now appeared such intricately woven long poems as Shot'ha Rust'haveli's *The Knight in the Panther Skin* in Georgian and Nizami's *Khosrow and Shirin* in Persian, where heterosexual love becomes a vehicle for moral education and perfection. Such alternative forms, however, should not be interpreted as ushering in a new era in gender relations, empowering women with new status and new possibilities. The audiences of these poems remained predominantly male, and the market for other genres of literature remained as strong as ever: there was still a plethora of stories in which the wiles of women, and their apparently insatiable sexual desires, were the main topics for entertainment disguised as admonition.

The treatment of love in short lyrical poems poses even more problems and has resulted in a much wider debate. On the one hand there are poems in many different languages of the world and in many different eras that express similar feelings of ecstasy and despair associated with love poetry. On the other hand, in some languages and in some specific eras, lyric poetry develops its own distinct vocabulary and its own allegorical techniques, which in turn encourages scholars to create their own taxonomies and theories of borrowings and origins. For example, in the introductory pages to his classic study, *The Allegory of Love* (1936, p. 2), C. S. Lewis has no hesitations in offering a set formula:

Every one has heard of courtly love, and every one knows that it appears quite suddenly at the end of the eleventh century in Languedoc. . . . The sentiment, of course, is love, but love of a specialized sort, whose characteristics may be enumerated as Humility, Courtesy, Adultery, and the Religion of Love. The lover is always

abject. . . . There is a service of love closely modelled on the service which a feudal vassal owes to his lord.

Lewis's confident assertions, themselves based on the preceding scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth century (the term *amour courtois* was coined by the French scholar Gaston Paris in 1883), brought this academic debate into a wider public arena, and his ex cathedra comments were soon challenged by scholars on several fronts. Critics better acquainted with medieval Islamic civilization expressed their dismay at such parochial presuppositions, pointing out that many of the characteristics formulated by Lewis existed also in other cultures and time periods. To quote the wording of one of the more sustained criticisms of Lewis: "courtly experience might occur at any time or place" (Dronke, preface to his first edition, 1965–1966, p. xvii). Other critics have gone as far as to call the term "courtly" an imaginary construct informed by nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century notions of romantic love and by the eroticized medievalism of the Pre-Raphaelites.

The debate is pertinent to our understanding of sex and gender in historical terms as an illustration of a tendency of oversimplification in critical studies that combine social history and literature. One can point to many theological and philosophical debates in the medieval period, both East and West, and both in Christian and Islamic theological writings, that make clear-cut divisions between love and lust. In much of both, and particularly in literature influenced by mysticism, one is constantly aware that the perceived world is a God-centered one. This is to say, however, as some critics claim, that the elaborate vocabulary of love and the codes described in troubadour poetry or *udhri* love tradition in Arabic have no bearing on the history of civilization and more particularly on notions of sex and gender. At the very least, they draw attention to other important aspects of the time. There is for example the element of play, so entrenched in pre-modern history. And, more generally, there is the perpetual re-creation of past traditions and structures. To expel such elements from the history of the Middle Ages in favor of "more secure historical sources" on the grounds that they "are subject to controversial interpretations" (Benton 1968, p. 19) is to neglect important aspects of the past that do not fit the modern concept of verifiable data.

Once one makes the obvious distinction between a medieval lyric and a modern realistic novel, love poetry and its reception and criticism can do much to clarify one's notions of the past and, in the process, make one aware of one's own present day assumptions and attitudes towards sex and gender. When the specific question of "Courtly Love" is broadened into more general questions

of “the courtly experience,” other important factors appear. Homoeroticism, for example, was part and parcel of notions of idealized and not so idealized love in many cultures, including that of classical Greece and medieval Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures. It too had its own specialized vocabulary and its code of decorum. There is no ambiguity in these simple lyrical lines from a Persian poet in the eleventh century:

O boy, if you wish to gladden my heart,
You must give me kiss after kiss having served
me with wine.

(Divan-e Farrokhi [d. 1038], p.46, quoted with minor emendations from Encyclopaedia Iranica vol. XIII/4, 2004, Art. Homosexuality III. in Persian Literature, p. 445)

Here it is apt to return to the claim, quoted earlier, that “homoerotic images or fantasies in poetry must not be confused with concrete homosexual practice.” In terms of this claim, “We must speak of tastes and tendencies in early poets but not of sexual orientation: this is a modern idea.” While there is some validity to such formulations, too violent a disjuncture between premodern and modern cultures is unhelpful and promotes a monolithic view of romanticism and modernity. These forces in fact made themselves felt in different ways in different cultures. Even the tempo varies. There are no fixed timelines for hetero-normalization, and even in the context of decades or centuries, different cultures followed their own trajectories. In many literatures, including Persian and Turkish, the ideal of beauty envisaged in love poetry in the pre-modern period was based predominantly on male attributes, and much of the poetry had a homoerotic flavor. But to associate this feature with notions of honor and shame—or with the way women were barred from the public arena—would be to misconstrue the nature of much of this poetry and its multipurpose vocabulary. In poems almost uniformly bereft of personal names or recognizable idiosyncrasies, one fails to see how questions of specific personal scandal or shame could arise or be substantiated. Ironically, the usual exceptions to this rule occurred when the love poem served a dual purpose and was partly intended as a panegyric to an identified patron, depicted as the ideal beloved. In all these, it is “beauty,” “love,” and “desire” that hold center stage. And these features can easily be removed from their particular context to fit the emotions of the audience, whether male or female.

It is with the advent of modernity and with the fusion of nationalism with literary history that the criticism of love poetry, rather than love poetry itself, becomes a helpful indicator of attitudes to sex and gender. Many of the accounts and overviews of love poetry in Persian, Arabic, or Turkish written in the late nineteenth century and

throughout the twentieth century are tinged with both pride and nostalgia for a long golden era of fine poetry and beautiful artifacts. Faced with homoerotic poetry at a time when such feelings were not only unequivocally branded as a perversion but also attributed by many western accounts as one of the defining characteristics of “the decadent Orient,” some resorted to various methods of denial and rebuttal. This was done partly through a radical re-reading: in their commentaries and paraphrases of these poems the beloved was now always imagined in a skirt, a task made easy in some languages, like Persian, which does not distinguish gender in pronouns, as well as by wider semantic considerations: the vocabulary of aesthetic praise in most languages is asexual. And such nuances as implied by the English words “handsome” for men and “beautiful” for women were something of a rarity. The other strategy, with roots well established in already existing premodern mystical commentaries, was to interpret almost all love poetry in allegorical and symbolic terms as celebrations of divine love. While this latter strategy has had a lasting influence, buttressed by the perennial interest in mystical poetry, the older readings and assumptions have recently been challenged by a new generation of literary historians who have shown the flaws in the argument by citing numerous examples where the beloved cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be female. The newer readings have been enhanced by the emergence of gay and lesbian poetry in literature worldwide and by new attitudes towards gender relationship.

Most love poetry, ancient and modern, is about love as desire and not, as in the more sober theological texts, an incentive for procreation. Matrimony and the joys of harmonious wedlock do appear from time to time, as in Edmund Spenser’s *Epithalamion*, or they become dismantled and less harmonious in time as in Louis MacNeice’s lines:

Divided by the morning tea,
By the evening paper,
By children and tradesmen’s bills.

This ironic and detached approach, so characteristic of the poets throughout much of the twentieth century, persists to this day and is brought to mind again whenever the Beatles song “When I’m Sixty-Four” is heard on the air. The strong connection between music and love poetry has become stronger. MacNiece’s view, as expressed in “World is crazier and more of it than we think” and his “The drunkenness of things being various,” can be taken as perceptive. The poets, song-writers, and performers of today may continue to reinvent previous genres and create new vocabularies that may, in time, subvert once again that “modern idea: the notion of sexual orientation.”

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Olga M. Davidson

LUBRICANT

Lubricant, or lube, is used to moisten the vagina or anus for sexual stimulation and penetration by a hand, penis, or sex toy. Lubricant can also be used for masturbation. There are many kinds of lubricant, and the choice of which one to use is a matter of personal preference as well as health and safety. There are water-based, oil- or petroleum-based, silicone-based, and performing, or specialty, lubricants such as those that increase blood flow in the areas where they are applied, and ones that are warm to the touch or breath, are flavored, or tingle on the skin. Household items such as hand lotion, cooking fat, Vaseline, Crisco, butter, or the gel from Aloe Vera leaves can be used as lubricant. Most safe-sex and health advocates encourage the use of water-based lubricant by everyone under most circumstances, because lubricant helps prevent the anal and vaginal skin tears associated with friction that can allow the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and other sexually transmitted diseases to enter the body. Silicone lubricants hold up longer than water-based lubricants in the water, and thus are recommended for aquatic erotic play. Old-style petroleum-based lubricating products such as Vaseline are discouraged, because they can break down latex, and so are unsafe to use with condoms. Other oil-based lubricants are also discouraged because they can cause vaginal irritation, which is less likely with water-based lubricants.

Some safe-sex advocates still support using lubricant that contains nonoxynol-9, a spermicide thought to help prevent HIV transmission. Nonoxynol-9 was invented as a contraceptive, and laboratory tests have found that nonoxynol-9 in certain strengths also kills the HIV virus in the test tube, yet there are also widespread reports of the toxic effects of contraceptives and lubricant containing nonoxynol-9. Some women using spermicides and contraceptive sponges with nonoxynol-9 have contracted yeast infections and experienced vaginal and cervical irritation, and little research has been done on the spermicide in relation to anal intercourse.

Lubricant has long been an important accoutrement of the homosexual subcultures of Europe and North America. Gay men in early-twentieth-century New York named the path stretching from the southeast corner of Central Park to the mall "Vaseline Alley" because it served as such an important cruising spot for them. The French writer Jean Genet's tube of Vaseline was for him a

symbol of his resistance to normative bourgeois culture and its harassment of gay men, because carrying it on his person would immediately identify him as a homosexual to the police if arrested. The contemporary cultural critic Dick Hebdige has seen in Genet's defiant tube of Vaseline an object that helps explain how the objects and clothing of various subcultural groups can serve as social signifiers more generally. Crisco, like Vaseline, suggests the kind of spontaneous sex that requires the use of household products that come readily to hand. For decades cities all around the world have featured gay bars and sex clubs called Crisco, and no doubt this trend will continue, despite the widespread availability of safer and more sophisticated lubricants on the market. Since the 1990s, the widespread popularity of dildos among lesbians has helped foster an equally widespread use of lubricant in that population.

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Jaime Hovey

LUST

This article will define and distinguish lust and illustrate its role in representative mythologies and theologies. Etymologically the Anglo-Saxon word *lust* and the French borrowing *desire* were very close synonyms. As late as the fifteenth century, lust could mean something as benign as preference or wish, but in modern times, at least since the English renaissance, the word lust has generally been restricted in meaning to something more powerful, something more unreasonable or unethical, and certainly something more sexual, while desire remains the more general and more benign term. Unlike the medical term libido, which connotes the normal and perhaps instinctual sex drive, lust usually has connotations of conniving, excess, or the otherwise abnormal. Libido is also generally undirected, whereas lust is for someone or something.

Lust is frequently contrasted with love, especially by moralists of adolescent sexuality, who fear that the one somehow might be mistaken for the other. With the

demise of dynastic marriage, in European and North American cultures at any rate, in which money is the primary inducement to marry, this fear that lust will be mistaken for love now drives most modern romantic narratives. It is for this reason, perhaps, that so many Americans popularly understand a marriage of convenience to be about satiating lust rather than accomplishing some social, political, or legal goal. Science might someday collapse distinctions between love and lust, but until then it might be said that love is generally considered to be the purer of the two emotions, not quite as concerned with sex.

Myths often explore the role of lust in relationships or in the psyche. The Greek myth of Ares and Aphrodite, in which the god of aggressive war is caught the very act of sex with the goddess of sexual love, suggests the passions in lust and war have something in common. In Hindu mythology Brahma, the creator, lusts for his daughter Shatarupa and in attempting to follow her with his gaze, grows three additional heads. After her apotheosis, Brahma grows a fifth head to follow her to heaven, but Shiva, the destroyer, cuts it off since his lust is incestuous. In another myth Shiva incinerates Kama, god of love, after he has attempted to stir Shiva's sexual passions. Rati, Kama's wife, pleads with Shiva to restore him, which he does, but only as an incorporeal image, representing true love rather than physical lust.

Lust is the popular translation of *luxuria*, the last of medieval Catholic theology's seven deadly or capital sins. Like all capital sins, lust is a sin of thought that leads to sinful actions, such as sodomy or incest. St. Augustine's (354–430) distinction between *use* and *enjoyment* is valuable in understanding how lust works in this system of sin. All things, Augustine reasons, may either be used to bring oneself closer to God or may be enjoyed in themselves, self-indulgently, separating one further from God. In this sense sexual activity is not necessarily lustful if it is engaged in for the purpose of generation: Sex may be used to do God's will, following his injunction to be fruitful. In this system lust is not simply the desire to have sex but the self-indulgent desire to have sex. The logical consequences are myriad. As the desire for sexual pleasure itself, lust is therefore still possible within lawful sexual relations, so even a married couple must be on guard against lusting after one another. This logic helps inform the Catholic Church's stand on artificial birth control, which enables couples to have sex without intending to reproduce, indulging lust. Another logical consequence of this definition of lust is that it must be distinguished from adultery or fornication in that lust is considered a root cause of these actions, not an action in itself. Such theoretical distinctions are notoriously difficult to keep in practice, as Jesus himself suggests when he says, "Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her,

hath already committed adultery with her in his heart” (Matthew 5:28).

Dante’s *Inferno* (1307) contains perhaps the best symbolization of lust so conceived. Dante devotes the second circle of the underworld to the lustful, who are driven incessantly round the vast ring by harassing winds, just as lust torments the living, driving them from one unsatisfying partner to the next. Dante’s chief example of the lustful are Paolo and Francesca, whose lust for one another was inspired by reading a romance about Launcelot, another famous figure for lust and adultery. As noted before readers must be on their guard not to confuse the love Paolo and Francesca so clearly feel for one another with the lust that they indulged.

SEE ALSO *Abstinence; Libido.*

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Erick Kelemen

M

MACROPHILIA

SEE *Dwarves and Giants*.

MADWOMAN IN THE ATTIC

Madwoman in the Attic (1979), Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's critical study of British and American nineteenth-century women's literature, attempts to define a "distinctively female literary tradition." The authors also try to unearth significant women's literature and rescue previously disregarded women's history. Gilbert and Gubar's analysis of authors such as Jane Austen, Emily and Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Mary Shelley, and Emily Dickinson signals a shift in literary studies from examining how male authors write female characters toward a definition of female authorship, or how women authors construct female characters. Gilbert and Gubar take into account the cultural and political climate in which those authors wrote as well as the texts that those authors read. With those issues in mind, Gilbert and Gubar explore "images of enclosure and escape, fantasies in which maddened doubles function as asocial surrogates for docile selves, [and] obsessive depictions of diseases like anorexia, agoraphobia, and claustrophobia" (Gilbert and Gubar 1979, p. XI). In some ways, Gilbert and Gubar contend, the trapped position of female authors within patriarchal literary constructs manifests itself in the literal and metaphorical enclosures about which many of them wrote.

The title of the book refers to the character Bertha Rochester in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), who not only suffers from madness but also serves as a double for the character of Jane. Gilbert and Gubar contend that Jane's central confrontation of the text is not with Mr. Rochester but with Bertha and her manifestation of Jane's emotions. In Jane's coming-of-age journey, she must face oppression, starvation, madness, and coldness at each of the estates in which she lives and works. At Thornfield, Jane meets her "dark double" Bertha, who acts out Jane's feelings of "rebellion and rage." Bertha is the only true "madwoman in the attic" in Gilbert and Gubar's critical study.

Moreover, the authors explore the figure of the madwoman as a double in writings by Mary Elizabeth Coleridge and George Eliot, for example, to demonstrate how nineteenth-century women writers and poets employed mirrors to create the madwoman. These madwomen emerge "over and over again from the mirrors women writers hold up both to their own natures and to their own visions of nature," and they appear "from a silence in which neither [they] nor [their] author[s] can continue to acquiesce" (Gilbert and Gubar 1979, p. 77). The figure of the mirrored madwoman signifies a strategy authors and poets such as Mary Shelley and Emily Dickinson utilized to represent themselves as split or, more specifically, deploying a "female schizophrenia of authorship." This approach also prefigures authors such as Virginia Woolf, Doris Lessing, and Sylvia Plath, who divide and project themselves onto particular characters.

This groundbreaking book on women's literature drew on work by historians such as Gerda Lerner, Alice Rossi, Ann Douglas, and Martha Vicinus as well as

literary-cultural studies conducted by Ellen Moers (*Literary Women*) and Elaine Showalter (*A Literature of Their Own*). Gilbert and Gubar's study elicited a range of responses from feminist, literary, and historical critics, who have worked to expand the field of women's literary studies.

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Michelle Parke

MAGIC

Until fairly recently European and North American scholars continued the ancient and widespread practice of defining magic as something other people do, reserving the more exalted category of religion for their own culture and a few other high cultures. One example of this is the demonization of classical paganism and the religious practices of colonized subjects. An earlier example involves the etymology of the English word *magic*, which comes from the Latin *magice* and the Greek *magike*, both of which derive from the Persian word *magi*, meaning a Zoroastrian priest. This was an expression of the ancient Greek and Roman belief that magic was something foreign or at least marginal. Other examples include famous characters from myth and literature, such as the foreigner Medea, and Circe on her faraway island. Those two figures call attention to the widespread association of magic with women or as being achieved through the agency of goddesses such as Diana, Hekate, and Isis.

WOMEN AND MAGIC

The association of women with magic is so pervasive that in some societies, such as Nepal, male magicians dress and wear their hair like women. However, many religions present vivid portrayals of male magicians such as Zoroaster, Moses, Solomon, and Jesus, whose activities are described in relationship to the "true" god and characterized as *theurgy*, or philosophically grounded magic, especially as the concept was developed by Neoplatonists such as Plotinus (c. 205–270) and Porphyry (c. 232–304). Despite the fact that Proclus (c. 410–485), the

head of the Platonic school in Athens, learned *theurgy* from Plutarch's daughter, Asclepigeneia (Dickie 2001), female magicians are described in more sinister terms. The positioning of women as practitioners of lesser or malevolent forms of magic parallels their exclusion from the most sacred aspects of male-dominated religions, a situation that holds in diverse cultures such as the Hellenistic world and modern Nepal (Levine 1982). Magic is mainly about obtaining power, and whether it is spiritual or secular power, it is illegitimate for women to have it unless they use it to serve men.

Hekate was an important goddess to theurgists as well as to less sophisticated magicians. Both invoked Hekate to gain access to and control over wandering ghosts known as daemons who could carry out their wishes. For theurgists Hekate took on increasingly celestial and benevolent characteristics, commanding as she did celestial daemons, whereas for more common magicians she maintained her earlier role as the goddess of the underworld whose daemons could be put to malevolent uses.

The fact that the tensions between high and low forms of magic often were categorized by gender can be observed in the many magical contests in world literature in which men easily defeat women. For instance, Saint Symeon tricked a woman magician into wearing an amulet that he said would protect her from the evil eye, but he wrote on it "Let God render you ineffective and let him stop you turning men away from himself to yourself" (Dickie 2001, p. 306). As soon as she started wearing it, the woman lost all her magical powers. In a South Asian folk tale the male hero, Gopi Chand, went to Bengal, one of the Indian equivalents of Thessaly, the land of witches and magic, where he successfully battled a band of female magicians by using his superior male religious powers. Rabbis also were believed to have superior powers with which to combat female sorcery; when necessary, rabbis could exhibit greater supernatural powers. In one tale two rabbis were about to start a journey by ship when a woman asked them to take her along, but they would not. She then pronounced a spell, and the ship was held fast. They then pronounced a spell, and it was freed.

LOVE MAGIC

Historically sexual or love magic always has been associated with women, especially courtesans and prostitutes (Dickie 2001, Golomb 1993), who are believed to introduce substances such as hemlock and menstrual blood into men's food. Inevitably this is connected to the belief that women are poisoners, as when Deianira accidentally poisons her husband Hercules through the potion she concocts to regain his love. In other tales love potions are deadly in their consequences rather than their contents,

such as the potion Queen Grimhilde gives Sigurd to make him forget Brunilde in the *Nibelungenleid* and the one made by Isolde's mother that dooms Tristan and Isolde.

In his amusing second-century CE novel *The Golden Ass*, Apuleius describes the many adventures of an eager but hapless student of sexual magic and the association of magic with the goddess Isis. Ironically, in his own life, after he married an older wealthy woman who later died, Apuleius was accused by his former in-laws of having won her love by magic. He was put on trial but defended himself successfully. This brings out the legal sanctions that could be brought against practitioners in the ancient world and is an important indicator of the widespread belief in the power of magic to bewitch or harm people.

The power of menstrual blood in sexual magic derives from pollution beliefs that assert that contact with a menstruating woman can render a man incapable of communicating with the sacred and thus make him vulnerable to the demonic. Such ideas are found all over the world and express belief in the power of women, accidentally or on purpose, to control men, a power that is turned against them to justify men's actual control of women. The antinomian practices of Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism reify ideas about women as polluters and utilize them for the benefit of men by advocating contact with menstrual blood as a path to supernatural power. They also positively incorporate the connections between women and magic in the figure of the *dakini*, semidivine women who can confer magical powers, though they do so mostly for the benefit of male practitioners (Sanford 1991).

Despite male anxiety about female pollution and magical powers, the archaeological evidence in tablets that contain spells and surviving magical texts in Egypt from the Hellenistic period reveals that sexual magic was done predominantly for and by men, as do the practices recommended in the appendix of the *Kama Sutra*. This does not mean that women did not practice magic or hire those who could, but such evidence undermines the idea of their predominance in this area, especially when added to the widespread use by men of binding spells carved on sheets of lead that were buried in the hippodrome to influence the outcome of chariot races. In other words in the Hellenistic period men appear to have resorted to magic more often than women did.

A relevant contrast comes from modern Thailand where both women and men are heavy consumers of magic but women are the primary customers for love magic. Louis Golomb attributes women's precarious marital status to their use of magic. In Thailand polygamy is officially illegal but widely practiced with impunity, and this leaves a deserted wife with few legal rights and second wives and their children with none (Golomb

1993). As a result women believe the only control they have comes through magic.

JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN MAGIC

Jewish magic had great currency in the Hellenistic world and later periods among both Jews and non-Jews. Two major biblical figures are the locus of magical practices: Moses and Solomon. The association of Moses with magic is represented most clearly in his contest with the magicians of the Pharaoh (Exodus 7–10, especially 7:11–13), who can do some of the things Moses can, such as turning staffs into snakes and water into blood. The distinction is clearly not a matter of what is done but of who is doing it and/or what the source of their supernatural power is. It was reasoned that Moses had God's sponsorship; therefore, the magicians must have had a demon's. It is also a matter of miracles. Moses and the Jewish sages who followed, in their mastery of the Torah and with God's help, can perform miracles. Women, in contrast, partly because they were excluded from Torah study and were deemed incapable of any direct experience of the divine, were considered incapable of performing miracles. Consequently, if they showed supernatural powers, they had to be practicing sorcery. The Talmud also contains examples of male sorcerers, but they are fewer in number, reinforcing the idea that magic is a female preoccupation.

The association of magic and healing is found frequently in Jewish sources and is claimed to be one of the special benefits of extraordinary Torah learning. For centuries Christians resorted to Jews because of their supposed magical powers of healing, as is attested to by John Chrysostam's fourth-century sermons against Christians who went to synagogues to be cured of illness (Dickie 2001).

In Judaism and Christianity the connections between magic and healing can be traced back to Solomon, whose renowned wisdom came to include knowledge of magic and healing, whereas his prodigious literary output easily subsumed his authorship of magical texts, such as the widely circulated *Testament of Solomon*. In it Solomon uses a ring given to him by God to bind various demons and make them help build the temple at Jerusalem. However, it is questionable whether this is a Jewish or a Christian text. The biblical citations in it could have been made as easily by Christians as by Jews, especially in light of the syncretic nature of magic in the Hellenistic period.

THE MODERN PERIOD

Nineteenth-century Europe saw a revival of interest in occult and magical practices, and organizations such as the Order of the Golden Dawn in England, which

attracted prominent women and men, had a lasting impact on the practice of magic. In the 1960s the upsurge of interest in the occult met with the women's movement. An offshoot of this is modern feminist magic, which is represented most popularly by Starhawk, who defines magic as "changing consciousness at will" (Starhawk 1997, pp. xiv–xvi) and has utilized ritual and magic in political demonstrations for the rights of women and the protection of the environment.

Throughout America and Europe mostly middle-class women have embraced magic as a form of spirituality that affirms and empowers women (Luhmann 1989, Pahnke 1995). Donate Pahnke's thoughtful analysis of Starhawk's writings, as well as that of Heide Göttner-Abendroth, a leading figure in the women's spirituality movement in German-speaking countries, illustrates the illusory distinction between religion and magic. Both Starhawk and Göttner-Abendroth conflate those terms, most often in their references to ancient goddess religions, although both are opposed to patriarchal religions, and in representing magic as a spiritual path for women. Pahnke makes the point that these remain politically loaded terms that must be used with a fuller understanding of their complexity and history.

SEE ALSO *Witchcraft*.

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Serinity Young

MAIDEN

This entry considers different European concepts embodied in the word *maiden*, both in folklore tradition and in literature. In folklore tradition, especially in some folk tales such as *The Banished Wife or Maiden* and *The Maiden without Hands*, the heroine's hands are cut off because she refuses to marry her father. She is banished, but later on marries a king and recovers her hands. In these examples, the word *maiden* could be replaced by the phrase *young girl*, because the heroine is in a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, between being a daughter and becoming a wife. These maidens leave a father for a husband, and even though they undergo a series of ordeals and journeys, they always end up (re)united with the husband in the prescribed order of society.

The category of maiden also includes young women who are not directly attached to fathers or husbands. In the Arthurian romances, for example, maidens are the young women that heroes encounter during quests. In Chrétien de Troyes's (1991) *Perceval* (written in the twelfth century), the young knight meets a maiden who spends the night with him and is even ready to help him fight. In *The Knight of the Cart*, for example, Lancelot meets a maiden who offers lodging to him on the condition that he agrees to sleep with her. In these examples, the maiden, who should be chaste, is not, and thus virginity is not a requirement for her to be considered a maiden. All these maidens are young women who act as

their own agents. Desired and desiring, they are in control of their relationships with men until they marry and leave maidenhood for wifehood.

A famous maiden in the tradition of the Valkyries and warrior maiden is Brynhild, the heroine of Icelandic and Old Norse literature. In the Volsunga Saga, Brynhild chose war over marriage but was condemned to marriage after killing Odin's (the most important god in the Norse pantheon) favorite warrior. She decided that she would only marry a man who proved to be fearless. In *The Nibelungenlied*, she agrees to marry a man who can defeat her in athletic games because she will lose all her powers once she gets married. In both stories, the man who marries her receives help from another warrior. In *The Nibelungenlied*, even on her wedding night, her husband cannot conquer her and ends up tied up to the bed. The second night he gets help again from the same warrior and wins her. In the Volsunga Saga, when Brynhild finds out her husband needed help to win her, she asks him to kill the warrior and later kills herself (Andersson 1980). Unlike other maidens who willingly accept becoming wives, Brynhild puts many barriers between herself and marriage to delay the loss of her independence and powers.

The story of Brynhild is similar to that of Atalanta—a virgin huntress and the daughter of Boeotian king Schoeneus—who would only marry a man who could win a race against her. Many suitors failed and died, but Hippomenes, with the help of the goddess Aphrodite, distracted Atalanta by throwing golden apples, and won the race. Brynhild and Atalanta are forced into marriage by trickery because both Gunther and Hippomenes need outside help to win their maiden.

Joan of Arc (1412–1431) also embodies the concept of the maiden. Named *La Pucelle d'Orléans* (The maid of Orléans), the young Joan took up arms to free France from the English. In addition she dressed as a man and had short hair, which, she argued, befitted a maiden and protected her from sexual advances. Although fully inscribed in a feminine body, she nevertheless pushed the boundaries of gender roles prescribed by society. During her trial for heresy, the prosecutors were most disturbed by the fact that Joan would not wear women's clothing.

Like Joan of Arc, the *sworn virgins* of Albania showed strength and independence. These women were usually chosen at birth, but could also elect to fulfill the role of the son when there was no heir in a family. They had to renounce marriage and dress and behave as men. Once they became sworn virgins they were changed and they were no longer referred to as women in the community. Thus what may first appear as an example of female independence can also be seen as a reinforcement of the patriarchal system and its values.

These examples, drawn from European sources and mostly from premodern literature, describe maidenhood as a state between childhood and woman/wifehood where the maiden has the virtues of “chastity, purity, delicacy and beauty of body, modesty, humility and lacks the ‘feminine passions’” (Phillips 2003, p. 7). Whereas some maidens do fit this description, many do not but, because they are maidens, their excesses are tolerated, probably because they are going through a transient phase of their lives. However, despite such tolerance, maidens who resist their roles as wife and/or traditional woman may lose their lives.

SEE ALSO *Abstinence; Folklore; Virginity.*

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Patticia Sokolski

MAIL-ORDER BRIDES

The history of the mail-order bride stretches back centuries in world history, with many examples in U.S. history. In the early eighteenth century, Louis XV sent women from France to settle in the New Orleans area, to serve as companions for the men who had already settled there. They were called casket brides, referring to the single trunk of goods each woman was allowed to bring with her. American men living in the West in the nineteenth century would write to family on the East Coast, requesting assistance to find them a bride. In the early twentieth century Japanese settlers in the United States



Mail-Order Bride Agency. Lawrence Lynch and his Thai wife, Thapenee, run a mail-order bride agency through the internet. CHRISTOPHER FURLONG/GETTY IMAGES.

and Canada were introduced to prospective brides—picture brides—through photographs sent through the mail. Through the middle of the twentieth century, marriage agencies would help men find women through the publication of catalogs containing descriptions of potential brides. Men would initiate correspondence with women of interest.

In the 1990s, the mail-order-bride industry changed drastically. The paper catalogs and pen and paper correspondence were supplanted by the Internet and electronic mail. By the late 1990s the U.S. Department of Immigration estimated that there were 100,000 women advertising their availability as foreign brides on hundreds of web sites in the United States (Scholes and Phataralaoha 2006). By the 1990s the term mail-order bride had negative connotations; many in U.S. society condemn both men and women who engage in the practice.

Most often women listed on marriage web sites live in economically underdeveloped or newly developed countries in Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe (especially Russia and Ukraine), and to a lesser extent, Latin America and South America. The men who seek foreign brides typically reside in the economically developed world—Western

Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan, and Australia. In 1995 more than 19,000 Japanese men married women from Korea, the Philippines, China, Brazil, and Peru. In 1998, of the 202 Internet marriage broker sites, more than one-quarter featured Asian women, more than one-quarter featured women from Latin America or women of multiple ethnicities, and just a little under one-half featured women from the former Soviet Union (especially Russia and Ukraine). Among the Asian women listed on the sites, more than 70 percent were from the Philippines (Scholes and Phataralaoha 2006).

Most often, women seek these international arrangements as a means to overcome the socioeconomic limitations in their country. And most men seek women who are the embodiment of the traditional wife: attentive in terms of affection and content with the role of housewife and mother. Men believe these women to be untainted by European and North American feminist ideas of equality, uninterested in careers, and focused on the home. The men may perceive themselves as rescuers of women in need. Whereas these beliefs may underpin the actions of men and women involved in the mail-order-bride industry, the reality can be entirely different—the

men may not be economically secure and the women may have interests outside of the household.

International marriage agencies that operate on the Internet provide photographs of potential brides. The focus is on women's physical appearance and age rather than their personalities or interests. In addition the agencies sponsor tours that allow interested men the opportunity to travel overseas to meet a large number of eligible women in person.

There are examples of abuse on both sides of this issue. Women have utilized Internet marriage services to exploit the desires of men, fraudulently receiving money in advance of a potential marriage that never materializes. Men, from their position of power and control in the relationship, have abused their brides. There are examples of physical abuse, in some cases resulting in homicide. Some women who immigrated to marry Americans were reluctant to press charges of domestic violence against their husbands, fearing divorce and deportation. As a result, the United States now has mechanisms in place to deter this. Immigration laws allow a woman to remain in the United States if she divorces her husband due to domestic violence. However, because of language or cultural barriers, some women may not be aware of these legal protections.

Critics of mail-order-bride arrangements view the practice as an example of women treated as commodities in the international arena—moved across national borders for the pleasure of men. Brides are brought to a new country with the promise of economic support by their intended spouses. In exchange women provide sexual and domestic services. Thus mail-order brides are part of the continuum of trafficking in women, along with sex tourism, the international migration of women for labor, and the forced migration of women across national borders to be sold into sexual slavery. Many argue that men hold an inordinate amount of power in these relationships—that in addition to men's economic dependence, cultural and language barriers also make foreign wives dependent on their husbands. Proponents of these international arrangements argue that they fulfill a need by providing an opportunity for men to find traditional spouses while offering women a chance to improve their socioeconomic circumstances.

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Julie L. Thomas

MAKING OUT

Making out is a slang term for extended bouts of amorous kissing, which may include other forms of petting and sexual foreplay. The term exists as both a verb, to make out, and an adjective that describes various people known to make out or places in which making out occurs. As with its synonym, *necking*, making out describes both a courtship activity and a practice that only became publicly acceptable in the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas in the early twentieth century a couple's public and even private courtship activity rarely advanced beyond holding hands and the polite kiss, the introduction of the automobile and the gradual invention of a separate teenage culture in high schools, drive-in restaurants, and movie theaters enabled more adventurous sexual activity. Making out, like necking, refers primarily to kissing, though the adjective *make-out* may suggest more advanced and involved sexual activities by implying the measure of success and achievement that the phrase *to make out* connotes in other contexts.

The term making out enters a public vocabulary around the middle of the twentieth century, first as an adjective describing a man who tries to make sexual advances on women. In 1949, *The New York Times* printed the following sentence: "They use washed-up expressions like 'wolf' when the correct description for such a fellow is 'make-out artist.'" In the 1950s the expression making out begins to replace the expression necking. The 1959 film *Gidget* has the following line: "Gidget: 'no sweaty hands, no making out in drive-in movies.' Larry: 'Making out?' Gidget: 'My God, Larry, where've you been living? I guess you still call it necking.'" In the 1960s the adjective make-out, referring to sexually adventurous men, appears in the film *The Graduate* when Ben is trying to find out where his ex-girlfriend is getting married: "You don't happen to know exactly where the Make Out King is getting married, do you? I'm supposed to be there."

Although when applied to males the adjective make-out implied an aggressive Romeo, when referring to women, the term had a less flattering connotation. A *make out* is a girl who is a little too loose or willing to give sexual favors.

Make-out also refers to various sites where making out could occur. Vans and other vehicles with provisions

for horizontal activities were sometimes called *make-out vans*. Spots where couples parked to make out had such nicknames as *lovers' lane* or *make-out central*. There were *make-out parties*, and places such as drive-in theaters and parks where there was *make-out action*.

In an era during which a significant transition was occurring in sexual mores and possibilities, making out provided a euphemism or catch phrase for a range of sexual activities that had previously been illicit and forbidden. During the mid-twentieth century, these activities were still illicit—that was part of their attraction—but they were tolerated. Such phrases as making out that referred to such activities were vague and suggestive instead of explicit. Not only did the phrase suggest kissing and petting, it also implied success, as another meaning of the phrase *to make out* is the successful completion of a task.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay; Kiss, Modern.*

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Judith Roof

MALE

Male is a term descriptive of sexual differentiation within a species. The human male is distinct from the human female in that the type of gametes it (or more properly, he) produces are spermatozoa rather than ova. The successful combination of a spermatozoon (a single sperm cell) and an ovum (a single egg cell) is necessary for fertilization in the reproductive process. The term male is relevant within the field of biology: It indicates a specific chromosomal and physical configuration. It is often seen as related to (and erroneously, interchangeable with) the term *masculine*, which indicates a gender formation. Whereas there is a significant coincidence of biological maleness with masculine gender traits (as there is between biological femaleness and feminine gender traits), there is also a great variety of possible alignments between and among these categories. The study of the possible manifestations of sex and gender, as well as the cultural expectations of those manifestations, is the realm of gender studies.

MALE CHROMOSOMAL AND EMBRYONIC FORMATION

The human species typically has 46 chromosomes, consisting of twenty-two pairs of autosomes (nonsex chromosomes that appear in both sexes) and one pair of sex

chromosomes. The sex of a human is determined by the number and type of sex chromosomes, classified by an XY sex determination system. That is, both males and females have an X chromosome (named for its four-armed shape), but females have a second X chromosome whereas males have a three-armed Y chromosome. The presence of a Y chromosome, then, determines maleness in humans. The chromosomes are made up of genes that are themselves made of DNA and carry all of the genetic material from both parents. The first X sex chromosome is contributed by the mother, whereas the second chromosome (X or Y) is contributed by the father. In humans, a single gene on the Y chromosome (the SRY gene) is thought to trigger the development of male expression (primarily the development of testes). Other genes are necessary for the mature male to be able to produce sperm, to develop physical characteristics of the male, and so on. In humans the Y chromosome contains 78 genes, of which more than 50 are also common to the X chromosome, meaning that the genetic differences between male and female humans are very few in number.

Whereas the type of chromosome (X or Y) can determine the sex of an individual, so can the number of chromosomes. Typically, humans have one pair of sex chromosomes, but there are individuals with only a single sex chromosome (XO) or with three or more: Klinefelter syndrome (XXY), triple X syndrome (XXX), and XYY syndrome (XYY), as well as other possible variations. Klinefelter syndrome and XYY syndrome produce male individuals. XYY syndrome individuals have few or mild physical symptoms and generally are not even diagnosed, whereas Klinefelter syndrome causes sterility and can have physical symptoms ranging from almost unnoticeable to a moderate degree of androgyny or atypical feature formation.

After fertilization male and female embryos develop identically for the first several weeks. By the sixth week, gonads develop in a bipotential state. That is, they may further develop into either testes (male) or ovaries (female), the gonads that produce gametes in the adult. The gonads develop into testes in the XY embryo at about eight weeks of development. Another bipotential structure, the Wolffian duct, develops into the vas deferens, seminal duct, and prostate gland in the male. The Wolffian duct typically disappears in females (as the Müllerian duct does in males), although vestiges of it may remain as Skene's glands in the female. The testes begin to produce testosterone, and by birth, the majority of XY embryos have become recognizably and functionally male.

MALE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES

The primary structures specific to the male are the penis, the testes, and the prostate. The penis, or phallus, is actually less important to reproduction and virility than

are the testes, but it is the focus of the most attention. Partly this is because the penis is a highly sensitive apparatus that can bring great pleasure to the male when aroused and partly because it is a particularly visible indicator of maleness. The fact that it can vary in size from individual to individual makes it a focus for potential competition in a way that the testes are not. The penis is a fleshy organ that protrudes from the male body at the groin. It has a shaft and a head, the glans penis. The glans is highly sensitive and contains the urethral opening, through which urine and semen are discharged from the body. It is usually flaccid but when sexually aroused becomes erect. The head of the penis is also covered in a sheath of skin called the foreskin. Although the amount of foreskin can vary considerably, in most cases it will slide back and expose the head of the penis when the penis is erect. If it will not, or if there are religious or other concerns, the foreskin can be surgically removed through circumcision. In the twentieth century, particularly in the United States, it became common practice to circumcise newborn males for reasons of hygiene; the necessity for circumcision has become disputed and the practice, while common, is considered less mandatory in the twenty-first century. The penile erectile tissue comprises three cylinders within the shaft of the penis, two along the top and one on the bottom. During sexual arousal these cylinders fill with blood, causing the penis to increase in length and girth. The penis also rises to an angle similar to that of the vaginal canal in the female, making intercourse both possible and comfortable.

The inability to achieve or maintain an erection is called *erectile dysfunction*. For most of the twentieth century erectile dysfunction was thought to be a largely psychogenic problem, with only rare cases linked to organic causes. Mechanical remedies were available, such as penis implants, vacuum pumps, or other devices, which could generate an erectile response, but they were costly and unpopular. In the late 1990s the first of a series of pharmaceuticals was developed that could alleviate some of the effects of erectile dysfunction. The medical community responded by treating erectile dysfunction as an organic issue, as it could be treated pharmaceutically, although the psychiatric community maintains that the cause is still likely psychogenic.

The other visible male sexual structure is the scrotum, a fleshy sac that contains the testes. It emerges from the groin along the underside of the penis and is usually covered in pubic hair. The scrotum is rather loose flesh until an erection occurs, and the positions of the two testes can usually be easily seen. In embryonic males the testes are located high in the abdomen, near the kidneys. As development proceeds in utero the testes descend through the abdomen, finally becoming located in the

scrotum in about the eighth month of pregnancy. Testicles that do not descend properly can be surgically relocated. The gonadal structures that become the testes in males are the same as those that become ovaries in females; the presence of estrogen or testosterone causes the transformation into the appropriate gonads. The testes produce spermatozoa, which require a temperature slightly lower than core body temperature to survive, which is why the testes are positioned outside of the body proper.

After the spermatozoa are produced they move into the epididymis to mature and acquire the capability to move in the swimming fashion (motility) that helps them progress to the ovum. They are then transferred via the vas deferens, a long muscular tube-like structure, to the seminal vesicle, which stores the spermatozoa until they are ejaculated. This occurs when the seminal vesicle empties into the urethra, the tube through which the bladder empties via the penis. At that point the semen can be ejaculated through the urethra.

The final major male sexual structure is the prostate gland. The prostate is located immediately below the bladder; the urethra bisects the prostate as it leaves the bladder and before entering the penis. The prostate's primary function is to produce a clear seminal fluid that makes up about a third of the volume of semen. It is a highly sensitive region and can be stimulated by rubbing the region between the testes and the anus or by anal stimulation. The rectum abuts the prostate, which means that the prostate can be stimulated through the wall of the rectum, usually digitally, with the use of a toy or implement or through anal sex with a male partner. Much of the pleasure of receptive anal sex for men comes from prostate stimulation.

PUBERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

Puberty is the developmental stage during which a child's body matures into an adult body capable of reproduction. It is largely coincidental with adolescence, a stage of emotional, social, and psychological maturation, but the two are not identical. In the human male the first stage of puberty is generally gonadarche, the enlarging of the testes. The end physical result of male puberty is the ability to ejaculate viable sperm, so the development of the testes is crucial to this goal. Prior to gonadarche the testes cannot produce sperm, thus making it impossible for the male to engage in reproduction. Other physical changes in the male body are triggered hormonally, and the testes are the primary site of production for testosterone and other hormones needed to trigger later stages of puberty.

The penis increases in size during puberty and is more likely to experience erection. Although erections occur prior to puberty, they are generally in response to

manual stimulation or are due to a predictable biological cause, such as a full bladder. In puberty erections occur spontaneously, often due to sexual arousal. Males often begin to masturbate at this stage in response to their emerging libido, and also often experience wet dreams or nocturnal emissions, ejaculations that occur while asleep.

The male body changes significantly in puberty. Males usually grow taller as well as developing heavier bones and increased muscle mass. These increase the overall size of the body in general make the male taller, leaner, and stronger than females. The larynx also enlarges causing the adult male voice to become lower than that of the adult female. The male body will also grow hair, particularly at the groin, the underarm area, the face, and the abdominal region, although a wider pattern of hair growth may occur.

MALE CULTURAL FUNCTIONS

Much of male social expectations revolves around the actual or imagined size of the erect penis; it is assumed that the larger the erect organ, the more virile and powerful the man, as well as the better sexual partner. Whereas it is evident that the size of the male's body, or of his penis, has nothing to do with his social or cultural function, this association remains. Masculinity is often assumed to correspond to penis size; this gender construction is likewise not based in fact, yet is commonly held to be true. The length of the erect penis has little to do with bringing pleasure to the female sexual partner or with the ability to impregnate. The majority of nerve endings in the vagina are in the lower third, meaning that only a few inches of erect penis, at most, are needed to fully stimulate the female. Instead, the firmness of erection seems to be a greater factor in that respect. Similarly, the length of the penis does not correspond to any particular success in impregnation. Once the sperm is ejaculated, the vagina pulsates to move the sperm to the cervix, thus making the specific position of the penis within the vagina somewhat irrelevant.

The ability to father offspring is perhaps the most basic function expected of males, and much of an individual male's role in society is determined by his willingness and ability to do so. Human males are capable of having sex and reproducing with multiple female partners. Many researchers have claimed that the stereotypical male desire to have multiple partners is in fact an evolutionary trait designed to spread their genetic material as broadly as possible, thus preventing any community from becoming genetically impaired by a limited gene pool (Bribiescas 2006). Others, of course, have claimed that no such evolutionary predisposition exists, but the stereotype remains. Females are just as capable of having sex and reproducing with multiple partners as males are;

the cultural and gender expectations for females may make this a more difficult or less desirable option than it is for males.

Biologically, the male is required only until the moment of ejaculation in order to conceive a child. Unlike the female, who carries the child to term and then possibly nurses the child after it is born, the male plays no necessary physical role in fatherhood after conception. The concept of *fatherhood*, therefore, is by its nature sex-based yet socially determined. The most common role for a male to play in reproduction is to father one or more children with one woman, with whom he raises the child or children. The vast majority of world cultures expect a male to be a father according to this model, but there are many exceptions (Dowd 2000).

Polygamy is a practice in which an individual has multiple spouses simultaneously. The most common form is polygyny, in which a man has multiple wives, but each wife is monogamous with her husband. This formation has been accepted at some times in some cultures, primarily in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, India, and China. Islamic law allows a man to have up to four wives, and the majority of polygynous marriages in the twenty-first century are in Islamic countries, particularly in Iran and sub-Saharan Africa (Afshar 2005, p. 73; Majid 2002, p. 64). The practice was originally associated in the United States with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS) but was outlawed by the Church in 1890. Some fundamentalist Mormons (FLDS) still practice polygyny, mostly in the western United States, but it is illegal and remains unrecognized by the LDS Mormons. In most cultures that do or did allow polygyny, it is still not widespread, as the economic reality of one male supporting multiple females and their children puts the practice out of reach of most. Therefore, even in cultures known as polygynous or polygamous, most males probably have no more than one spouse.

Unofficial partners, known as lovers or mistresses, are common and appear to have been so throughout recorded history. This structure allows males to have multiple partners without the strictures of plural marriage. The economic, emotional, and fatherly obligations of such relationships are varied, usually negotiated between a specific male and female. The practice is often seen as one in which males wish to have sexual partners without the need to procreate, but children born outside of wedlock have always been somewhat common, meaning that the reality is that males become fathers regardless of marriage ties.

Homosexual males have a different relationship to the concept of fatherhood than do heterosexual or bisexual males. Many homosexuals do not consider fatherhood

to be a necessary or definitive part of maleness (which is true for many heterosexual males, as well), and if they wish to have children, have to adopt or find some means to have a woman conceive and carry their child. Social pressures have often forced homosexual males to marry women and have children, conforming to heterosexual expectations, and those who did not were usually expected to remain childless. As homosexuals have gained increased rights in some countries, including marriage or marriage-like status with their same-sex partners, the possibilities for becoming a father have increased.

SEE ALSO *Female; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Brian D. Holcomb

MALE BONDING

Male bonding refers to the homosocial, and largely heterosexual, connections that are forged between two or more men. These homosocial connections are usually considered

in terms of friendship, but male bonding can be conceptualized in a wider scope to encompass all beneficial relationships between men that exclude women. In an effort to emphasize the importance of male bonding to all social interactions, it has been categorized as an evolutionary imperative. As such male bonding has been theorized to have biological origins and to be the primary interaction of society.

From the 1970s on some psychologists and lay observers have envisioned a masculine crisis. For these writers male bonding is a largely empty act that does not allow men to relate to each other in a meaningful way.

Attempts to conceive of male bonding as a biological inheritance find suggestive evidence of male bonding in other primates. Male bonding is known to occur in baboons and chimpanzees, where, particularly in the latter, groups of males show overtly aggressive tendencies. Male chimpanzees have been known to form groups for the express purpose of attacking other chimpanzees. In addition to these acts of aggression, male-bonded primates prove to be of mutual benefit to all the members of the group. Male bonding allows for a social hierarchy to develop within a group, it provides a more effective means for a group to defend itself, and it provides the opportunity for a group to serve as a hunting party. In *Men in Groups*, Lionel Tiger (1969) finds the possible connection between male bonding and hunting of particular significance to human male bonding. According to Tiger's evolutionary argument, the transformation of human society into hunting societies made male bonding necessary and created a division of labor on sociosexual grounds.

Tiger is not the only researcher who has suggested an anthropological basis for male bonding. In *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1969) suggests that male bonding is a primary means by which society perpetuates itself. According to Lévi-Strauss, marriage is, at foundation, a relationship based on male bonding. In marriage one man (or group of men) forges a relationship with another man (or group of men). In such a dynamic women are the objects of exchange that bring men closer together and allow communities to prosper. This idea illuminates a seeming contradiction in male bonding. Whereas male bonding is ostensibly the homosocial activity of men organizing in groups to the exclusion of women, it has been suggested that this homosocial bond is always, to some degree, about women. In *Between Men*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1985) suggests that male homosocial relationships always reflect on the relationship between genders and the role of women in society. Many writers in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s on the topic of male bonding reflect on the importance of women to the male bond. These

researchers point to men sharing drinks in a bar and talking about women as one of the most clichéd images of male bonding.

In addition to her emphasis on the importance of women in all male-bonding interactions, Sedgwick illuminates the troubled relationship between male homosocial and homosexual bonds. Whereas the word *homosocial* is entomologically linked to homosexuality, homosocial male bonds are notoriously characterized by intense feelings of homophobia. In his 1985 book, *In a Man's World*, Perry Garfinkel also recognizes the homophobia that characterizes so much male bonding. Garfinkel hypothesizes that homophobia may be part of the reason that so many male homosocial relationships are characterized by men refusing to talk about their feelings and that men feel uncomfortable in situations requiring physical contact with other men.

The characterization of the male homosocial bond as men getting together for companionship and understanding yet afraid to talk about their feelings is related to the socialization of men. In literature of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s men are frequently portrayed as competitive with each other and afraid to confide feelings because that is what they have been taught from their fathers and because men are afraid of being betrayed or made fun of. Yet men group together because of a desire for companionship. In addition male bonding provides initiation rites from childhood to manhood and a sense of belonging. These homosocial initiation rites can vary from culture to culture—from the Gahuku boys of Papua New Guinea who are taken from their village for 6 weeks by some of the men in the village only to return as men (Schechner 1985), to circumcision, and to fraternity hazing. The segregation of women from men, as in Muslim cultures, can also increase the importance of both male bonding and homosociality.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Contemporary: I. Overview; Homosexuality, Defined; Male; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Lance Norman

MALINCHE *c. 1505–1550*

Very little is known about the woman variously called Malinalli, Malintzin, Doña Marina, and La Malinche. She was born around 1505 in the Aztec province of Coatzacoalcos to a *cacique* (chief or leader) and his wife. She was given or sold into slavery after her father died and her mother remarried and gave birth to a son.

FROM SLAVE TO INTERPRETER

On March 15, 1519, Malinalli, or La Malinche, was one of twenty female slaves, along with gold and food, given to Spanish military explorers under the command of Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) as a peace offering from a Mayan village in present day Yucatán. The women were baptized immediately so that the Spaniards could have sexual relations with them, and Malinalli was given the name Marina. Cortés initially granted Marina to one of his captains, Alonso Hernández y Portocarrero. Shortly thereafter, however, Cortés dispatched Portocarrero to Spain and Marina became Cortés's concubine as well as his trusted assistant.

The Spanish recognized Marina's usefulness as *lengua* (tongue), or interpreter, when emissaries from Moctezuma boarded Cortés's ship as the flotilla was exploring the coast of Mexico. As the only person to understand the messengers' language, Nahuatl, Marina became part of a diplomatic linguistic triangle; she translated the emperor's message into the Mayan language that she had acquired as a slave. Franciscan friar Jerónimo de Aguilar, who also spoke Mayan, then translated the message into Spanish. A shipwrecked Spaniard from an earlier expedition, Aguilar had survived slavery and disease and escaped sacrifice until his countrymen—hearing of a white, bearded man—sought him out and bought his freedom. Thus the young Nahua (or Aztec) woman, twice given in slavery, was catapulted into the annals of Spanish and Mexican history and became a part of the myth of the genesis of the Mexican nation.

HEROINE OR TRAITOR?

Malinche reaches us largely through Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* (*The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517–1521*), originally published in 1632. Díaz del Castillo, a



Aztec Princess Depicted Between a Tlaxcalan chief and Hernando Cortés. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

former soldier among Cortés's troops who took sixteen years to write his memoirs, some thirty years after the conquest, speaks highly of Marina, using the respectful title of *doña* and on several occasions signaling her instrumental role in the success of the expedition. He used generic descriptions, as often found in chivalric and picaresque novels; thus literary critic Julie Greer Johnson concludes that far from providing an objective, transparent portrayal of Doña Marina, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva España* transforms her into a literary figure endowed "with the physical strength and courage of the Amazons and the spiritual stamina and zeal of Amadís" of Gaule, the most well-known hero of sixteenth-century Iberian chivalric romance (Johnson 1984, p. 75).

The very instances that Díaz del Castillo cites as occasions when Doña Marina saved the day and the lives of the Spanish soldiers became, for Mexican nationalists, evidence to indict La Malinche for cavorting sexually with the invader, serving as native informant and spy, and bearing the bastard, mixed-race son of Cortés. The shift from the respectful Doña Marina to the deprecatory La Malinche reflects the vilification of the female interpreter as a traitor. In fact Malinche was a native term that referred to Cortés, as Malinali's *amo*, or lord, seen in the suffix *che*. By adding *La* to Malinche, the term is deflected onto Marina. Her name exists only through its identification with Cortés,

carrying with it the indictment of sell-out. La Malinche became a derogatory term, and the historical woman is invoked as an archetypal traitress, as the Mexican Eve, at key historical junctures of the construction of the Mexican nation, in the period after Independence from Spain and the decades following the Mexican Revolution.

Mexican Nobel laureate Octavio Paz's seminal piece, "The Sons of La Malinche," in his 1950 collection of essays, *Labyrinth of Solitude*, served to foment an image of La Malinche as the willingly seduced betrayer of the indigenous people, the cursed mother of the Mexican nation. Although *mestizaje* (miscegenation between European and indigenous peoples in the New World) is celebrated as a defining factor of *mexicanidad* (Mexican national character), Paz shows how La Virgen de Guadalupe (The Virgin of Guadalupe) embodies the good mother of the Mexican nation, while La Malinche is cursed as *La Chingada* (The fucked one). During the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the term *Malinchista*, as defined by Paz, was invoked as an epithet against Chicanas (young Mexican American women) who were seen to adopt U.S. cultural values, most notably by articulating a feminist agenda. Feminism was represented as an affront to the Mexican patriarchal family, considered to be the foundation of Chicano culture, and precisely what the Chicano movement was defending.

MALINCHE RECONSIDERED

From the 1970s forward, Chicana feminists embarked upon the reinterpretation of the woman whose myth had been used as a means of silencing their voices and limiting their political participation. As part of the work of dismantling the virgin/whore dichotomy—enmeshed in the largely Catholic Chicano culture and in the Mexican national mythologies of La Virgen de Guadalupe and La Malinche—Chicana feminists sought to provide a counter-narrative to that of the latter's betrayal and sexual objectification. In addition to pointing out that Spanish alliances with enemies of the Aztecs and extermination of the native population through disease played huge roles in the success of the Spaniards, Chicana historians, creative writers, literary critics, and others have restructured the myth of La Malinche's betrayal, often through a paradoxical gesture of recognizing her victimization and lack of agency as a slave and at the same time reinterpreting her so-called betrayal as the politically astute intervention of a woman bent on preserving lives.

Three texts were instrumental early on in defining this revisionist project. Adelaida del Castillo's essay "Malintzín Tenépal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective" (1977) sought to historicize La Malinche, and defended her as a convert to Christianity. Carmen Tafolla's poem *Malinche* (1985 [1978]) adopts the *Yo soy* structure of the epic poem of Chicano ethno-nationalism,

Yo soy Joaquín (I am Joaquín) (1967), by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, and proclaims proudly “I am La Malinche.” Tafolla stakes out a privileged position for La Malinche as a visionary who imagines the new world to come because only she can serve as a bridge between the two cultures. Cherríe Moraga’s essay “A Long Line of Vendidas” (1981) demonstrates how the myth of La Malinche perpetuates the idea of women’s corruptibility and untrustworthiness, thereby undermining the potential for female solidarity. Like Tafolla, Moraga accepts the appellation La Malinche, if lesbian sexuality, feminist ideology, and human rights activism are what define her as a traitor to her culture.

Since the late twentieth century, Chicana writers have sought to break free of the stranglehold of Octavio Paz’s “colonial imaginary” (Pérez 1999, pp. 5–6). Chicana historian and feminist theorist Emma Pérez identifies an *Oedipal-conquest-triangle* that the *mestizo* son deploys in the effort to identify with the powerful European father (the phallus) through the denigration of his Indian mother. Following this line of reasoning, Chicana scholar Rita Cano Alcalá relates La Malinche to the repressed feminine power of the ancient sister goddesses, Malinalxochitl and Coyolxauhqui, and reinterprets the myth of La Malinche as the resurgence of a Mexican feminist political unconscious, or as the recuperation of the repressed and silenced female voice that resists patriarchal constructions of the proto nation.

SEE ALSO *Colonialism; Nationalism.*

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Rita Cano Alcalá

MANICHAISM

The dualism preached by the Iranian prophet Mani (lived 216–277 CE) was one of spirit (Greek: *pneuma*, Latin: *spiritus*), equated to light, versus matter (Greek: *hyle*, Latin: *corpus*), equated to darkness. Good was thought to be inherent in spirit and light; evil was believed to be inseparable from matter and darkness. Mani drew upon Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian, Gnostic, Hindu, and Buddhist doctrines, literature, and rituals to create a syncretistic faith that was intended to be open to followers of all social, economic, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and devotional backgrounds.

Originally preached in Mesopotamia (now southern Iraq) and Iran, it was spread by male and female missionaries to Egypt and North Africa, to the Roman Empire, to Central Asia, and to China. Manichaeism flourished in Egypt and North Africa into the sixth century CE before being eclipsed by Christianity, but nonetheless influenced dualist Christian heresies such as the Bogomils of the Balkans from the tenth through thirteenth centuries and the Cathars (also known as the Albigensi) of Western Europe (especially Provence) in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Manichaeism became the religion of the Uighur state in Central Asia from 762–840. It continued to be practiced by Central Asians of Iranian and Turkic backgrounds, especially in monasteries along the Tarim Basin, until the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. The religion was recognized officially in China from 732 until 863 and continued to have a following there into the fourteenth century.

IMPACT OF GENDER ON DOCTRINE AND MYTHOLOGY

Distinct in both origin and essence, according to Manichaean cosmogony, spirit and matter or light and darkness became mixed in the world through a sequence of violent events set into motion by the devil, or Evil Spirit, known as Ahriman, who left his residence in the material hell of darkness to attack the spiritual heaven of light. Salvation was thought to occur, at the end of time, through the final reparation of the good spirit, or light, from evil matter, or darkness. The realm of light was

supposed to be ruled by a god known as the Father of Greatness, or *Pid i Wuzurgih* (known in Latin as Benignus Pater); he is also known as the Father of Light, or *Pidar Roshn* and as Time, or *Zurwan*. So, for Manichaeans, the primordial universe was divided between two masculine spirits, equally powerful but diametrically opposed to each other. The Father of Greatness had as his consort the Holy Spirit, or *Wakhsh Yojdahr*, a female entity about whom few details has survived. The Father of Greatness was surrounded by his twelve sons, the *Aeons*, in the spiritual heaven of light. The Evil Spirit, who was both the personification and prime manifestation of matter, dwelt in hell with a host of demons and demonesses.

As his first act of creation, it is believed that the Father of Greatness evoked the Mother of Life, or *Madar Zindagan*, also known as the Mother of the Righteous, or *Ardawan Mad*. She, with aid from the Father of Greatness, then created through divine words a spiritual son known as the First Man. In Iranian sources the First Man was referred to as *Ohrmizd*—drawing upon Zoroastrian belief in a god (*Ahura Mazda* or *Ohrmazd*) by the same name—and, by extension, his mother was referred to as the Mother of the God *Ohrmizd*. The First Man was overwhelmed by the forces of darkness in battle, was imprisoned by *Abriman* in hell, but succeeded in calling to his mother for help. The Mother of Life turned to the Father of Greatness for her son's salvation. The maternal image of intercession and assistance became a powerful indicator to female devotees of an important religious role within the community and within their own families. The Mother of Life, like the Father of Greatness, did not, however, create the First Man—and other divinities male and female—through a physical or sexual process. Her creations, like those of the Father of Greatness, supposedly were evoked or summoned forth in absolute chastity and purity—that is, creation by divine word rather than actions, from piety rather than sexuality. As such, she would have been a powerful image to the Elect or clerical members of Manichaean congregations, men and women for whom the third religious seal and one of the five religious commandments—complete abstinence from sex, marriage, and procreation—was prescribed as a prerequisite for salvation. Influence of the emerging veneration of Mary the Mother of Jesus in Christianity should not be overlooked when assessing the rise of the Manichaean Mother of Life as an ideal, even stereotypical, model each female votary was supposed to emulate to achieve salvation of her spirit from her material body.

In stark contrast to the Mother of Life stood the demonic female spirit *Az* or Concupiscence. *Az* was feared as the diabolic feminine manifestation of insatiable lust and avarice. *Az* was coupled with the Evil Spirit and other ghouls in phrases such as “Concupiscence, the Evil Spirit, the demons, witches, demons of wrath, giants, and arch-

fiends” (Manichaean Middle Persian or Parthian Text 487 b I). This demoness was deemed, by Manichaean doctrine, to have produced male and female human bodies as well as sexual intercourse to serve as material prisons for the spirit or light of god—traps that were multiplied across the world and through time through sex and childbirth. She had “to be cast off” by members of both strata of the Manichaean community; Hearers, or laypersons; and Elect, or clerics, for their spirits to escape the material confines of their bodies and return to the realm of light (*M* 505a). At the end of time Manichaeans hoped *Az* would be defeated and bound with her paramour *Abriman* in an eternal prison. Devotees were told that *Az* was assisted in her quest to enslave the divine spirit present within human bodies by desire, hunger, thirst, pain, disease, famine, and torment, much like her Zoroastrian demonic counterpart. *Az*'s direct evil connection to women was established by scriptural passages in which it was claimed that Concupiscence modeled the first mortal woman's physical form as a parody on the spiritual image of a benevolent female divinity called *Kanag Roshn*, or Maiden of Light. Menstruation, because it was associated with the reproductive cycle, was said to have been generated by *Az* in women as a form of “filth of the female demons” specifically for polluting women and transmitting impurity to men so that they would not be ritually pure for religious duties (Sogdian Text 9 R II).

MAJOR CONSEQUENCES OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY ON COMMUNAL PRACTICES

All members of Manichaean communities were enjoined “to fight lust and evil” by focusing on the spiritual realm rather than the corporeal one (*M* 49 II). Manichaean communities followed a sectarian social order composed of *Hearers*, or auditors whose ranks included all individuals who performed secular occupations, and *Elect*, or clergy whose ranks included elders, bishops, and religious teachers. Men and women could belong to both segments and all ranks within each community.

Manichaeans, owing to the dark corporeality ascribed to *Abriman* and the lewd insatiability ascribed to *Az*, viewed procreation as a means whereby the spirit from god was entrapped in each human's body and polluted through physical impurities. Therefore, they despised the human body as “a prison” (*S* 9 R ii 30). Manichaean theologians seeking to ensure every portion of divine spirit or light could be saved were compelled to conclude, despite the close connect they perceived between *Az* and women through sexuality and menstruation, that the spirit trapped within female bodies could be salvaged when women cast off their material desires or affiliation with *Az*, became members of the *Elect*, and sought salvation beyond matter and darkness. Hymn cycles often were cast in the style of praise uttered by

the souls of nuns gazing down upon the corpses and mortal desires they had abandoned at death. So, although still only Hearers, women were instructed to serve the community and restrain their sexual desire and greed—thereby ensuring that they presented no danger and temptation through thoughts, words, deeds, and physical form to the male members of the Elect. Such circumspect behavior, it was thought, would result in those women or “sisters perfecting themselves with fulfillment” so that they could become “holy virgins” as the female Elect or clerics were called (*M* 36).

Given such negative perceptions of the feminine as a major source of lust and greed, it is hardly surprising that all members of the Elect, both men and women, were expected to remain chaste. Elect individuals were expected to practice celibacy, monasticism, and proselytism because they had “abjured the whole world,” including secular careers and pleasures (*M* 8251 I). The residences of those clerics were monasteries, their family included other bearers of faith, or *Dendaran*, and each individual cleric depended on “a hearer who brings alms” (*M* 221). Lay persons or hearers, called *Niyoshagan*, could live within family units but were encouraged to disavow that social arrangement in favor of an austere life focusing on the spirit. Hearers were urged to renounce sexual intercourse if at all possible so as to separate themselves from sin. However, the clergy recognized that sexuality and women were required for the bearing of children so souls yet in metempsychosis could be redeemed. Hence, sexual intercourse was permitted among the laity or Hearers, who could marry and have children. Yet, as a token of faith, they too were required to abstain from all material acts, including sex, for 1 day each week.

Manichaean women were expected to be particularly cautious not to spread ritual pollution to the community while menstruating nor to sexually arouse men by their appearances and actions. The best women were said to be “holy virgin sisters,” or elect women (*M* 801). The worst women, like their male auditor counterparts, were those who could not obey the injunction to “keep away from lewdness and fornication” (*M* 49 I). Consequently, physical beauty was not accorded praise by Manichaeans, whereas temperate behavior was extolled. Ultimately, the purpose of life was supposed to center around the need to liberate—through abstinence, celibacy, purification, and attaining of mystical religious knowledge or gnosis—the spirit or light trapped by the evil spirit, *Abriman*, within the darkness of matter and passed through cycles of human birth by the demoness *Az*.

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Jamsheed K. Choksy

MANLINESS

Manliness as a concept designates traits, both moral and physical, that a given culture views as desirable in a man. Although closely related linguistically and conceptually to *virility* and *masculinity* and occasionally interchangeable with those terms, *manliness* may carry a moral charge that the other terms, more descriptive in nature, do not necessarily convey. Virility is the more closely related of the two terms, designating in certain contexts a virtue viewed as desirable in women as well as men. More clearly a relational term, masculinity has been the focus of late twentieth-century scholarship in which scholars have sought to apply the insights of feminism and women's studies to the study of men so as to achieve a fuller understanding of the complex process of gendering. Manliness may most usefully be seen as entering into the construction of extremely varied masculinities across a wide array of social groups, in some instances as something to be valued or pursued, in others to be eschewed or redefined.

THE CONCEPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Physiological and moral conceptions of manliness in the Middle Ages were strongly marked by the heritage of the moral and natural philosophy of antiquity. Theories about masculine and feminine types in medieval natural science drew on ideas from anatomy, physiology, alchemy, physiognomy, embryology, and astrology, in a complex interplay of factors that included “four qualities, seven uterine cells, two seeds, seven planets” (Cadden 1993, p. 209) The four qualities or humors were a constant of the Aristotelian tradition, according to which males were hot and dry, females wet and cold. Planetary influences, the position of the fetus in the uterus, and the relative strength of the male and female seed (both of which were thought to be necessary for conception) all were held to play a role in determining the sex of the child and also the greater or lesser presence of masculine and feminine traits. While all

creatures were seen as possessing a mixture of masculine and feminine traits, Aristotle and his followers considered the male principle to be superior to the female and men more “perfect” than women. Theories about the body were extrapolated to the moral qualities of the spirit or the soul. Thus the Italian physician and philosopher Peter of Abano (1250–1316) writes: “The male’s spirit is lively, given to violent impulse; [it is] slow getting angry and slower being calmed. He is long-suffering at the tasks of labor; in deeds eager, able, noble, magnanimous, fair, confident; less flighty and less assiduous and maleficent than the female.”

Natural philosophy was of course but one facet of medieval culture for which, broadly speaking, manliness was defined as the ability to impregnate women, protect one’s dependents, and serve as provider to one’s family (Bullough 1994). Or, in another formulation, for eleventh-century society the markers of manliness were “violence, the pursuit of wealth and—above all—sex” (McLaughlin 1999, p. 25). A great deal of the cultural work of the Middle Ages was the effort, in the service of different ideologies and to different social or political ends, to control and channel the given of violent and impulsive male behavior, particularly that of knights. Yet, it is also apparent that random violence and uncontrolled sexuality on a large scale posed the problem of intolerable social disruption. Beginning in the late tenth century, the *Pax Dei* (Peace of God) movement was an attempt on the church’s part to protect itself and civilians from the violence that had become endemic in western Europe. In the mid-eleventh century, the *Treuga Dei* (Truce of God) sought to prohibit warfare from Thursday through Sunday, on major feasts, and during Advent and Lent, and the Council of Narbonne (1054) declared the principle that to kill a Christian was to shed the blood of Christ (Cowdrey 1970). The formulation of the triadic model at the same time, with its division of Christian society into *oratores* (those who pray), *bellatores* (those who fight), and *laboratores* (those who plow), was similarly an effort to control violence by assimilating knights into an order like the clergy and by making the former subservient to the latter (Duby 1980). The Christianization of knighthood through the dubbing ritual, with its establishment of the principles of hierarchical relations and reciprocal obligations between lord and vassal through the gestures of homage and the exchange of the kiss, was part of this broad attempt to curtail the ravages and exactions of uncontrollable knights.

Medieval literature, both secular and religious, abounds in expressions of how masculinity was articulated. In a French text of the twelfth century, Marie de France’s *Guigemar*, the eponymous protagonist is sent by his parents to the king’s court, as was the custom, to receive his education as a knight. He excels at the preeminent knightly

pastimes, tourneying and hunting, but is indifferent to women, a failing that Marie ascribes specifically to nature. His encounter with a sexually ambiguous white doe while hunting and the symbolically sexual injury he suffers when he wounds the doe result in his healing and sexual initiation at the hands of his *amie*, but before his ultimately successful integration into the heteronormative sex-gender system, he must win his lady by killing the knight who has kidnapped her. In *Guigemar* Marie thus traces both the path the young knight must follow and the pitfalls he may experience before fully achieving manhood, including the complete expunging of sexual ambiguity, or, in William E. Burgwinkle’s reading: “What we have witnessed is a queer young buck led to the heterosexual trough and taught to drink” (2004, p. 160).

The church also led a campaign to eliminate clerical marriage and the keeping of concubines. This effort, which met with fierce resistance among the secular clergy, was part of a larger project of restructuring the medieval gender system that sought to limit severely the participation of women in the public sphere, to force an absolute separation of men and women in monastic contexts, to regulate contacts between the clergy and laywomen, and to limit lay sexuality to marriages sanctioned by the church (McNamara 1994).

CASE OF PETER ABELARD

The case of Peter Abelard (1079–1142 or 1144) is emblematic of the problems the church and individual clerics encountered in defining maleness at this time. As a celebrated dialectician and theologian, Abelard had eschewed relationships with prostitutes, ladies of the nobility, and commoners, but when Fulbert, a canon in Paris, entrusted his niece Héloïse to Abelard for instruction, the two quickly became lovers, exploring all the delights of lovemaking. Once discovered, they consented to a secret marriage, although Héloïse argued against it on the grounds that it would interfere with Abelard’s work as a philosopher and impede his advancement in the church hierarchy. After his castration at the hands of Fulbert’s men, Abelard found consolation, despite Old Testament condemnations of eunuchs and others with damaged testicles, in the example of his predecessor, Origen (c. 185–c. 254), who had castrated himself to be rid of sexual desire. Abelard’s greatest challenge, however, was determining how to fashion a new role for himself as a man, a husband, and a theologian (Irvine 1997). His special relationship with Héloïse and her nuns, despite the former’s unhappiness over the circumstances of her changed relationship with Abelard after his castration and her entry into a convent, was paramount in that it allowed him to combine successfully these three roles in imitation of other men who had been spiritual advisors to holy women, St. Jerome (c. 347–419 or 420) in particular. Manliness in Abelard’s case thus did not repose on

procreative power or genital integrity but did embrace marriage and a striking deployment of male aggression in service, as he put it, not of Mars but of Minerva.

Abelard's example is useful for the way it so clearly illustrates that manliness or virility was not limited to procreation and violence. Nor was it limited to the male sex, for the manly woman, or virago, promoted by the early church as an alternative to the prevailing sex-gender system of late antiquity, remained a powerful symbol throughout the medieval period. Some medieval saints' legends recount not only the steely resolve of Christian women martyrs in the face of torture, usually because they refused to marry or to sacrifice to the pagan gods, but also cases of women who grew a beard to thwart their suitors or cross-dressed as men, living undetected in monastic communities until their death. For such women, cross-dressing was not only a practical solution to an untenable plight: It also allowed them to accede to what medieval culture generally held to be a higher social station, that of the male.

The reverse was, of course, not the case. Men who cross-dressed as women were objects of scorn because they relinquished the superior station that was "naturally" theirs (although certain "feminine" virtues, such as nurturing, were seen as a positive attribute in male religious from the twelfth century on). Historical and fictional examples of women who could "fight like a man" show that "family and class interests could supersede gender without threatening the right order of things" (McNamara 1994, p. 4). In the case of Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), doubtless the most famous virile woman of the period, both her success and demise depended heavily on national interests. Among literary examples of virile women, in addition to the eponymous protagonist of *Le roman de Silence* (thirteenth century; *The romance of Silence*), one may cite the heroine of *Yde et Olive* (thirteenth century), who cross-dresses as a knight to escape her father's incestuous affections and whose valor the poet attributes to her noble blood. When Yde hews off the hand of an adversary, she proudly proclaims (with unintended irony): "Well should I possess valor and courage when I am the daughter of the powerful king Florent!"

In sum, one can say that manliness was both a constant in medieval culture but also a forever shifting and at times elusive quality that was highly dependent on social context. The construct could be inflected in service of religious or courtly ideology, take on positive or negative value, or be applied to men or women.

MANLINESS IN POST-MEDIEVAL ERA

In the court culture of the late medieval and early modern periods, there was a new emphasis on honor won through military or administrative service that complemented the continued importance of hereditary privilege. The valor-

ization of inner moral worth, learning, and courtly refinement as desirable manly virtues was propagated throughout Europe in the sixteenth century by such works as the *Book of the Courtier* (1528) by the Italian humanist Baldassare Castiglione and the writings of the Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536). Nor was the gaining or defending of personal honor limited to the nobility, among whom the private duel became widespread at this time. The slander of a burges's profession or guild was a serious offense that required redress, as were degrading remarks about one's wife or daughter.

The rise of the bourgeoisie and the generalization of the values of "polite society" brought about further shifts in the construction of manliness. In the eighteenth century, manly behavior was no longer limited to performance in the public sphere but embraced men's roles at home as husbands and fathers, and displays of sensibility, including weeping, were positively construed as signs of a refined and generous moral nature. Effeminacy, however, was to be eschewed at all cost, and perhaps for this reason the nineteenth century saw the resurgence of the cult of male virility, a particular concern during the late Victorian and Edwardian eras in Great Britain. Emblematic of this trend was the "muscular Christianity" most often identified with the reform-minded English writers Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) and Thomas Hughes (1822–1896), which sought to combine Christian moral fiber with physical vigor. Sport was emphasized in England, where it was perceived as good training for empire building, and in the United States, where intercollegiate athletics, greatly developed at the end of the nineteenth century, were thought to prepare men for the competitiveness of public life. The cult of virile manliness was dealt a serious blow, however, by World War I, while in the United States the concept of the "man of action" was counterbalanced by that of the gentlemen guided by Christian values. In the late-twentieth-century United States, the men's movement of Robert Bly (b. 1926) sought to provide a virile response to the perceived threat of feminism.

Although somewhat demoded as a category of analysis in cultural theory of the early twenty-first century, by which time *masculinity* had become the term of choice, manliness and virility remain important and useful concepts in the study of medieval gender.

SEE ALSO *Heloise and Abelard*; *Yde and Olive*; *Le roman de Silence*; *Manly (Masculine) Woman*; *Masculinity: I. Overview*; *Medicine, Ancient*.

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Robert L.A. Clark

MANLY (MASCULINE) WOMAN

Masculine or manly women are female-bodied individuals who possess qualities that are perceived to be masculine. These women are masculine in appearance, have masculine interests, prefer the company of men, and/or perform masculine tasks or jobs. Most generically masculine or manly women do not conform to feminine stereotypes. Social concepts of masculine women and effeminate men rely on the binary gender system that directly ties gender (masculinity and femininity) to sex (maleness and femaleness). In this system where activities, styles, bodies, behaviors, and even objects are all definitively gendered, females and males who exhibit

characteristics of the opposite gender are seen as at best, gender variant and at worst, gender deviant. Because she is seen as a deviation from the feminine standard, the figure of the masculine (manly) woman helps to uphold the moralizing “normalcy” of traditional femininity, which itself confirms contemporary heterosexuality as the natural, default sexual orientation (McGann 1999).

Yet, the qualities that masculine women possess—confidence, assertiveness, independence, and daring—are not scientifically or biologically male attributes. Rather, these qualities are constructed as being masculine even though they are commonly found in women. Feminist initiatives have encouraged these values in women and girls. The term “female empowerment” refers to the transformation of power relations between men and women and advocates a redefinition of femininity that would expand traditional concepts of femininity and femaleness.

The observation and identification of a woman as “masculine” or “manly” is highly dependent on race and class. For instance, women of color and working-class women may be seen as more “masculine”—strong, independent, and/or self-reliant—because of the challenges and struggles particular to their racial and socioeconomic reality. The racialized division of labor in many Western countries allocates work that requires manual labor for women of color and working-class women. These women may also be identified in masculine terms because they do not reflect white female beauty standards that, aside from “whiteness,” require money and leisure time to attain. For that matter, women of color are often seen as being more masculine simply because of racist stereotypes. Historical discrepancy in the treatment of women’s sexuality according to class status also accounts for various embodiments and understandings of femininity that result in some women seeming more “masculine” than others (i.e., women of color are stereotyped as being more sexually aggressive, or “masculine,” than white women). Middle- and upper-class women may be afforded more or less range of acceptable behavior when it comes to gender. In the first sense, money, privilege, and whiteness can excuse the “eccentricity” of gender variance (as was the case with English author Radclyffe Hall [1886–1943]). On the other hand, affluent women may have “more to lose” when it comes to defiant or deviant gender expression.

HISTORY

While masculine women have existed throughout history in reality and the cultural imaginary (in folklore or religion, for instance), several historical moments are marked by a greater attention to masculine women. Moments of global and sometimes national conflict, such as the Crusades or the World Wars, have encouraged as

well as bemoaned the rise of women to positions of increased power or to the masculine, public sphere (such as the job force). The figure of Rosie the Riveter, created in the United States during World War II to promote women's work in munitions factories, represents a masculine woman celebrated in a patriotic, if paternalistic, vein. As a cultural icon, Rosie the Riveter later became a feminist symbol that embodied woman's strength, capability, and ambition.

Another important historical manifestation of the masculine woman is the "passing woman"—any woman who lived part or all of her life as a man. The term is usually used in an historical sense to describe women who passed as men to secure better wages, seek adventure, or fight in wars in the nineteenth century. Famous passing women include Jeanne Bonnet (1849–1876, leader and liberator of a San Francisco gang of former prostitutes), Deborah Sampson (1760–1827, a soldier in the Revolutionary War), Murray Hall (d. 1901, a prominent New York City politician), Lucy Ann Lobdell (b. 1829, hunter, minister, and author), Babe Bean (1869–1936, writer), Mountain Charley (1812–1879, stage coach driver), Billy Tipton (1914–1989, jazz pianist and saxophonist), and the legend of Joan English, who was said to have reigned as Pope John VIII in medieval times.

The formation of butch-femme identities in the twentieth century represents one of the earliest public lesbian cultures and, as such, has served a pivotal role in the solidification of the masculine (manly) woman in popular consciousness. While passing women were usually seen as curiosities rather than as social threats, sexology's pathologizing definitions of female inversion made the "mannish woman" a visibly deviant typology that was to be feared, demonized, and discriminated against throughout the twentieth century. However, in 1950s lesbian subculture, butch or masculine women came to define a celebrated and eroticized lesbian style characterized in part by physical strength, chivalry, emotional reserve, and sexual expertise.

Despite repressive efforts by lesbian feminists in the 1970s, butches continue to operate socially as the "face of lesbianism," or in Esther Newton's terms, as a "magical sign of lesbianism" (2000), with the unfortunate side effect of obscuring the experience of more feminine lesbians. As Judith Halberstam observes in her recuperative work on "female masculinity," turf wars that began in the 1990s between butches and transgender female-to-males have become a political preoccupation for lesbian communities that likewise push the concerns of femmes to the margin. Despite such discussions within queer circles, mainstream depictions of lesbianism underrepresent butch or masculine lesbians, in instances that reflect the simultaneous shame and phobia that accrues around the figure of the butch lesbian as symbol of "the stigma

of lesbianism" (Newton 1989, p. 283). Although the butch lesbian is occasionally seen as an "embarrassing" figure for gays, queer culture has an expansive vocabulary that recognizes the nuances of female masculinity. Some of these terms are soft butch, baby butch, hard butch, stone butch, tomboy femme, dyke-fag, boi, stud, soft stud, and aggressive.

SOCIOLOGY

As this historical sketch suggests, masculine women may be motivated by the exigencies of their circumstance, identification with men and masculinity, or female same-sex desires. Masculine women may feel they are born this way, or may see their "masculinity" as an extension of childhood interests or as a conscious rejection of the feminine role. Sociologist PJ McGann has observed that motivations for masculine behavior may shift as the individual develops. At an early age, a child may "choose clothing, toys, and activities based on their *intrinsic* interest" to her, whereas later tomboyhood may be a more pronounced reaction to "imposed meanings of femininity" and the "fusion of restriction and femininity" (1999, p. 111).

CULTURE

Masculine (manly) women have been identified by many different names. Some of these include: tomboy, man-nish woman, passing woman, butch, lesbian, *homasse*, invert, cross-dresser, tribade, female husband, bulldagger, transgender, he-she, *marimacha*, drag king, drag queen, and aggressive. So-called "cross-gender behavior" has been observed in females across the globe, though the meaning of this behavior is culturally specific and thus cannot automatically be dubbed butch, tomboy, or transgender. In many societies, cross-gender behavior is not punished or abnormal and is instead woven into the fabric of the culture, as is—or was—the case in many North American Indian tribes (Lang 1999). Other examples are females who become social men, known as *sadhins*, in northwest India (Phillimore 1991) and the *tombois* of West Sumatra (Blackwood 1999). As Jason Cromwell points out in his survey of historical and cross-cultural gender variance, these examples reflect a global gender diversity and should not be subsumed under or simplified within histories of lesbianism (1999, p. 61). As he and others point out, there is a political tension and conflict of interest in the claiming of historical and cultural figures as "transgender" or "lesbian." Some masculine women may have cross-dressed in order to cover for or pursue their lesbian desires, while others may have identified as men but their transgenderism has erroneously been construed as lesbianism in historical accounts.

Masculine women and girls are often comedic secondary characters or the sidekicks of feminine female protagonists in narratives centered on heterosexuality in literature or film (Roof 2002). Well-known masculine women in literature include the character of Jo March in *Little Women*, Sula Peace in the novel *Sula*, Scout Finch in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Esperanza in *The House on Mango Street*, Frankie Addams in *The Member of the Wedding*, Jess Goldberg in *Stone Butch Blues*, and the heroine of the Chinese poem “Ballad of Mulan.” Tomboys are eventually “tamed” in many of these narratives, as seen in their adoption of a more conventionally feminine attitude and appearance at the onset of puberty. Those who do not are usually seen as suspect (McGann 1999), or are viewed as abnormal, asexual, or lesbian.

Masculine women have a visible presence in women’s sports. Conservative disapproval of these activities has directed much homophobia toward women’s sports (Cahn 1993). Famous masculine female athletes include Babe Didrikson Zaharias (c. 1913–1956, all-around athlete), Martina Navratilova (b. 1956, tennis player), and Jackie Joyner-Kersey (b. 1962, heptathlete). Many female hip-hop and rap artists get their start as tough, masculine women but soften their looks to maintain mainstream success (Queen Latifah [b. 1970, rapper, actress, and beauty spokesperson], Missy Elliott [b. 1971, rapper and record producer]). Not surprisingly, the sexuality of these women and many female athletes is under constant scrutiny. Historical figures that fall into the category of masculine woman, and that show the diversity of experience among them, include the Greek goddess Athena, Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), female pirates Anne Bonny (c. 1697–1782) and Mary Read (c. 1690–1721), diarist Anne Lister (1791–1840), Running Eagle (d. 1850) and Blackfeet *ninawaki* (“manly-hearted women”), abolitionist Sojourner Truth (c. 1797–1883), Radclyffe Hall, blues singer Gladys Bentley (1907–1960), author Leslie Feinberg (b. 1949), and electropunk musician JD Samson (b. 1978).

SEE ALSO *Butch/Femme; Transgender.*

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Emma Crandall

MAPPLETHORPE, ROBERT 1946–1989

Robert Mapplethorpe was a visual artist most famous for his photography, which frequently dealt with homoerotic themes and multiracial sensuality. He was born in Queens, New York, on November 4, 1946, and died in Boston, Massachusetts, on March 9, 1989 from complications associated with AIDS. His ashes were buried in his mother’s grave, but his name has never been added to the headstone. He is remembered for his artwork, which combined fine art aesthetics with quasi-pornographic subjects, as well as for the political controversies over

federal funding for the arts in the 1980s that centered on his work.

EARLY WORK AND ROMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

Mapplethorpe was an artist from an early age, demonstrating as early as high school his interest in work whose form and subject matter were nontraditionally paired. He was first exposed to pornography in the summer between high school and college while working in Manhattan. The images of naked men became a source of inspiration to him. Much of his early work was collage, using images cut from magazines. As his own style developed, images from pornographic magazines became more prominent in his work. Mapplethorpe enrolled at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York, in 1963, where he was a member of Reserve Officers' Training Course (ROTC) and a military fraternity, both at the insistence of his father. Whereas he never pursued a military career, the experience did expose him to a kind of eroticized hypermasculinity, which would later emerge as sadism and masochism (S&M) iconography in his work.

During college Mapplethorpe met musician, singer, and poet Patti Smith (b. 1946), who would become one of his most important and influential lovers and collaborators as well as being the first in his pattern of using people he was sexually attracted to as models. Smith's physical androgyny and sexual ambiguity matched his own, making them an ideally paired couple in some ways. They wore each other's clothes and collaborated on artistic projects while living together in the iconic Chelsea Hotel. In 1968 Smith ended their romantic relationship, and Mapplethorpe began to explore his sexual attraction to men. He and Smith reconciled in 1969, but Mapplethorpe's sexual and artistic life continued to involve male subjects, and they both openly had other relationships with men.

He began to work on collages of images from male fitness and physique magazines of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as from homoerotic artist Tom of Finland (1920–1991). He became increasingly inspired by leather and bondage fetishes, and his work began to reflect those influences. In 1970 Mapplethorpe moved from collage work and assemblages to photography. One of his early photographs of Smith became the cover image for her debut album *Horses* in 1975. The image is typical of Mapplethorpe in many ways: it is black and white; the androgynous Smith, dressed in men's clothing, defies typical categories of gender or sexuality; the pose (based on an Albrecht Dürer [1471–1528] self-portrait from 1500) shows an informed and academic interest in the formal qualities of the visual image while being used for a radically nontraditional purpose.

LATER WORK AND FAME

Throughout the 1970s Mapplethorpe cultivated connections to the international art scene through his friendships and affairs with influential men. He had his first one-person show on his twenty-fourth birthday in November 1970. His work became increasingly erotic over time, and in February 1977, he had his first exhibition of what he called his *dirty pictures*, small-format Polaroid erotic images. On the same night a separate showing called "Portraits" opened in a different gallery. This splitting of material between multiple venues would become a pattern in his career: the erotic, quasi-pornographic material brought him fame, particularly among the gay community, whereas the portraiture was admired by a larger audience and assured an income. The two forms often merged in some of Mapplethorpe's most mature work. The image from the "Erotic Pictures" exhibit of 1977 that gained the most notoriety was "Mr. 10 ½," an image of porn star Marc Stevens with his penis on a butcher block. The bulk of the images in the exhibit were of an S&M theme, although most were obviously staged. His later work would become known for the sense (or actuality) of having captured an actual sexual moment in progress.

In 1979 Mapplethorpe and Smith opened a joint exhibit called "Film and Stills," which brought a great deal of media attention and secured Mapplethorpe as a major figure in the New York arts scene. This fame not only made people want to model for him, but made him a desirable sexual partner. During this period Mapplethorpe juggled multiple long-term lovers and a constant stream of one-night stands and anonymous sexual encounters. One sexual and artistic partnership was with Robert Sherman, whom he met at a gay bar in Manhattan. Mapplethorpe was fascinated by Sherman, who was pale and entirely hairless (including eyelashes and eyebrows), the result of a rare form of alopecia. This made him a unique and fascinating subject. Between 1983 and 1985 Sherman was paired with Ken Moody, an African-American bodybuilder who also suffered from alopecia. The juxtaposition of the two hairless bodies, one dark and one light, became one of Mapplethorpe's most famous images.

CONTROVERSY AND ILLNESS

Mapplethorpe's first *succès de scandale* was his 1979 show "Censored" in New York. He knew that his hard-core S&M photographs, including images of anal fisting, would not be viable for a show in a major gallery under normal circumstances. To make his work desirable to exhibitors, he created a sensation by requesting a showing in a San Francisco gallery, knowing he would be refused. When it became public that his images were too scandalous even for San Francisco audiences, galleries became interested.

“Censored” opened in San Francisco on February 1979 in an exhibition space funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), his first interaction with this source of federal funds for the arts.

In the 1980s Mapplethorpe became famous on a national scale for his portraits of celebrities. This fame made him even more popular in the gay community, for he had managed to develop a gay aesthetic in photography, focusing on erotic, violent, and multiracial scenes while also maintaining a high profile among mainstream clients. His fame, therefore, contained an element of subversiveness that was a good deal subtler than many of his gay-themed images. Much of his work as a fashion photographer also focused on nude male images, which made the male form central to national ad campaigns while often ignoring the clothing. Whereas the female nude was common in advertising of the period, male models were usually fully clothed. Mapplethorpe was thus instrumental in making the naked male form a suitable subject for everyday images.

Mapplethorpe developed a series of illnesses in the 1980s, most probably opportunistic infections associated with AIDS. In September 1986 he developed a form of pneumonia common among people with AIDS, thus confirming the diagnosis he had suspected for several years. As Mapplethorpe’s health declined, his images became more personal. While still violent and disturbing, they focused upon bodies that had become damaged, not bodies engaged in violence. One of his major works is *Self Portrait, 1988*, which showed his body emaciated and frail from disease. This image helped to create a kind of unique gay aesthetic that found dignity in suffering and brought meaning to illness.

His work remained controversial, however, and sparked a national battle over censorship of art. In 1989 Mapplethorpe contributed an image of a bloody penis to a group exhibit called “The Perfect Moment.” Earlier that year an NEA-funded exhibit including Andres Serrano’s (b. 1950) *Piss Christ* had been protested in North Carolina, causing Congressional action to limit federal funding for *obscene* or *indecent* work. Depictions of homosexual or sadomasochistic themes fell into the definition, bringing Mapplethorpe’s work directly into conflict with federal guidelines. The institutions showing the Serrano and Mapplethorpe exhibitions were specifically defunded, causing the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. to cancel its participation in “The Perfect Moment.” The Senate eventually decided to temper its restrictions and limit its involvement in specific funding decisions, but the debate continued. In 1990 the director of the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, Ohio, was tried on obscenity charges stemming from his decision to show “The Perfect Moment.” Although many artists were involved, the case became known as

“the Mapplethorpe obscenity trial,” and hinged on the prosecution’s contention that the images lacked any artistic merit to offset their offensive subject matter. Nobody from the artistic community would testify that the images were without merit, causing the case to end in acquittal.

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Brian D. Holcomb

MARBOD OF RENNES

c. 1035–1123

Marbod of Rennes was a French writer, theologian, and teacher who grew up in Angers and became chancellor in 1069. Other significant positions he held included archdeacon of Angers and bishop of Rennes. Along with the writings of his contemporaries in the “Loire Circle,” Baudri of Bourgueil (1046–1130) and Hildebert of Lavardin (1056–1134), Marbod’s poetry has a tantalizing erotic voice that seems to be incongruous with his religious vocation.

Marbod’s writings are wide-ranging in scope and theme. His surviving prose works include official letters and local saints’ lives; his extant poetic works include biblical stories in verse, poems on the suffering and martyrdom of saints, a lapidary (a text describing the uses of various rocks, stones, and gems, often focusing on their pseudo-scientific curative properties) titled *Liber lapidum* (The Book of Gems), and a rhetorical work *De ornamentis verborum*, (On the Adornments of Words). *Liber decem capitulorum* (The Book of Ten Little Headings) often is considered Marbod’s most impressive accomplishment; it is a ten-chapter meditation on the human condition that addresses themes such as writing, time, women, old age, astrology, death, and the resurrection of the body. This work masterfully and poetically discusses the condition of humanity in a fallen world.

Marbod’s epistles and poetry strike many modern readers as disarmingly sexual in terms of both heterosexual and homosexual attraction. For example, “Dissuasio

amoris veneri” (Argument against the love of Venus) describes a love triangle that ultimately leaves the speaker unfulfilled:

Hanc puer insignis, cujus decor est meus ignis,
Diligit hanc, captat, huic se placiturus adaptat;
Quae, puero spreto, me vult, mihi mandat:
Aveto:
Et mihi blanditur, quia respuo, pene moritur.
Si fecisset idem mihi turpis femina pridem,
Ad Venerem motus fierem lascivia totus;
Pectore nunc duro, nec verba, nec oscula curo.

This distinguished boy whose beauty is my fire,
Loves her, desires her, changes himself to please
her;
She, disdainful of the boy, wants me and com-
mands me [to] desire [her].
She coaxes me, [but] because I scorn [her], she
almost dies.
Once if a base woman had done the same thing
to me,
I would have been wholly lascivious, moved to
Venus;
Now with a hard heart, I care neither for [her]
words nor [her] kisses.

The sexual desires expressed in this poetic love triangle are surprisingly fluid as the speaker suggests that he formerly was attracted to women but now finds this young man more to his taste despite the boy’s apparent heterosexual inclinations. It is difficult to understand the cultural milieu of this strikingly erotic verse, and theories to explain its brash voicing of illicit desire include the idea that Marbod was writing for a small community of like-minded men, that such depictions of love conceived of as an ennobling force ultimately bereft of sexual connotations, and that such desires were expressed only to be repudiated to sanctify the poet within a Catholic understanding of salvation.

Marbod’s oeuvre represents some of the finest medieval Latin verse. The declarations of apparently transgressive sexual desires in his poetry remain intriguingly difficult to contextualize as he appears to celebrate flagrantly sexual sensibilities that mostly were taboo in the medieval world.

SEE ALSO *Alan of Lille*; *Boswell, John*; *Dante Alighieri*; *Homosexuality, Defined*.

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Tison Pugh

MARGINALIA IN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Marginalia are illustrations or notations in the margins of manuscripts. In medieval illuminated manuscripts figurative marginalia provide a rich terrain of artistic expression, with distinctive characteristics according to period, locus of production, and school or scriptorium. Marginalia could reflect, mirror, or expand the main illustration of a text page, as has been the case for some works, such as the late-fourteenth-century allegorical poem the *Romance of the Rose* (Waters 1992). Medieval scholar Lilian Randall’s *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (1966) is largely responsible for calling the attention of many medievalists, beyond manuscript specialists, to these remarkable marginal illustrations.

Medievalists have argued for a tight interfacing of text and image in many manuscripts where full-fledged illustration provide a kind of wordless commentary on the work; and this can be a model for reading a relationship between text and marginalia as well. However, marginalia often graced the margins of the manuscript independently from the text and expressed a content that seemed fairly remote from it.

According to art historian Michael Camille, medieval books of hours are filled with “visual noise” situating the pious believer at the edge of the profane and sacred that coexist on the manuscript page (Camille 1992, p. 12). In these marginalia he sees nothing surrealist or surreal, or even fantastic, as comparative art historian Jurgis Baltrusaitis (1903–1988) would have. Further, Camille refuses the term grotesque, “a negatively loaded term coined in the sixteenth century to describe antique wall painting.” Instead, Camille suggests, the marginalia were conscious creations and, in the terminology appropriate to the time, they might have been called *fabula* or *curiositates*. From these terms he moves semantically to “babuini, babewyns” (baboons or monkeys), and by association, to “monkey-business,” the French word “singe” (monkey), thus “becoming the dubious status of representation itself, being the anagram for signe” (sign) (p. 13).

IMAGINING SEX AND GENDER IN MEDIEVAL MARGINALIA

Medieval marginalia are an important reflection of the imaginary, inflected, in particular, by attitudes towards sex and gender. They may simply represent scenes of daily life that are precious indications of how the culture perceived work, divisions of labor, domestic environments, violence between the sexes, and more, thus providing glimpses of the place and gendered vision of women in vernacular culture.

Many marginalia boldly and unassumedly portray scenes with a flagrant and transgressive sexual content, often by displacing forbidden human behaviors onto animals or hybrid creatures that combine several animal and/or human features. These marginalia skirt obscene and/or erotic art and are about the only place available for such representation in medieval painting until the fifteenth century. Yet these categories are modern ones, and the evidence is that such representations are far from being reserved to *special* books: on the contrary they are just as likely to be found in the margins of books of hours and psalters as in secular literature. For instance a folio of the Ormesby Psalter shows a man blowing a trumpet into the anus of a two-legged, horse-headed boy, and the Rutland Psalter contains an image of a naked man flaunting his posterior as a simian figure, armed with lance and shield and mounted on an ostrich or goose, charges right at him. In a book of hours from Trinity College at Cambridge, England, a man is seen defecating in a toilet-like basin as a servant carries a basket-full of the apple-shaped product to his lady.

A look at one entire manuscript might shed light on the ways these illustrations may have blended in with the work's aims. The 190 folio *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, executed in the 1470s in Flanders, contain many marginalia realized by a number of established artists who contributed to the work and who were by no means insignificant in their artistic inventiveness. Among these, playful or transgressive, images are recognizably gendered and often sexually explicit. Thus, a female monkey, its sex indicated by the presence of a spinning tool called a distaff, instructs a fuzzy infant, as does a spinning sow. A woman armed with the identifying distaff chases after a thieving dog with a hen in its mouth. The letter *D* (meaning *Domine labia mea . . .* [The Lord opens my lips . . .]) contains a pieta, the body of Christ seated across God's lap, but in the margins, there are two human couples whose lower bodies emanate from masses of flowers: one finely clad woman placing a crown on the man's head while another plays the harp to her devotee. An impish simian exposes his rear to a farmer pushing a farm implement. Now a woman underlines her barely hidden nudity with a transparent strip of cloth, and a naked, winged androgyne shoots an arrow at the next page of the manuscript.

These images take their full meaning in the gender lexicon as types in the corpus of medieval marginalia: Women are easily recognizable by clothing and body shape, but the addition of the distaff and spindle, incorporated into numerous variants, conveys the message that they are not just women but seen according to a gendered script, the more obvious when it is Eve who figures with distaff and spindle. Further, the distaff-wielding woman is shown as combative, charging on horseback at a frightened knight or at another woman, both mounted on rams, and this type of imagery creates tension between a normative gender code and codes of a female unruliness that even has devilish associations.

Thus, as carefully combined visual codes, the standardized motifs of medieval marginalia at once provide commentary on sex and gender, and, mirroring text, a parallel space where the illicit and the transgressive can be scripted.

SEE ALSO *Art; Bosch, Hieronymus; Erotic Art; Obscene.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

MARIE ANTOINETTE 1755–1793

The youngest daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Franz I (1708–1765) and Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780), the archduchess Marie Antoinette married the dauphin Louis Auguste, future Louis XVI (1754–1793), in 1770. The marriage was intended to cement the alliance between France and Austria, but powerful factions at Versailles opposed the pact, and dubbed the dauphine *l'Autrichienne*, emphasizing *chiienne*, which means *bitch*. Marie Antoinette's extravagance and unwillingness to submit to French royal protocol, coupled with the kingdom's declining finances, contributed to her unpopularity, drew



Marie Antoinette. MANSSELL/TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

virulent attacks on her allegedly deviant sexual behavior, and fueled monarchical destabilization.

Between 1774 and 1780 Marie Antoinette's reputation for recklessness was established: incognito journeys from Versailles to balls at the Paris Opéra, astronomical sums spent on lavish clothing, excessive gambling losses, all of which, she explained to her mother while dutifully reporting on her menstrual cycles, to which she referred as *la générale*, resulted from anxiety over being childless. It was seven years before the royal marriage was consummated (Louis XVI may have suffered from phimosis), and vicious gossip about the king's impotence and the queen's alleged sexual escapades accorded her a host of lovers, including the comte d'Artois (the king's youngest brother) and the Swedish count Axel von Fersen. Among the slanderous pamphlets that began to appear in the 1770s, *Le Lever de l'aurore*, transformed the queen's peaceful viewing of the sunrise into an orgy at which she hid her adulterous couplings in the shrubbery.

Fantasies about what Marie Antoinette might be hiding were fueled by her frequent withdrawal to the Petit Trianon, a private house in the park at Versailles presented to her by the king in 1774. Most of the court, excluded from this intimate realm and unable to witness

what happened there, imagined it instead, and always to Marie Antoinette's detriment. In 1779 the queen chose to recuperate from the measles at Trianon, accompanied by only a few ladies and four gentlemen, providing ample material for titillating gossip. The impact of such behavior culminated in the disastrous Affair of the Diamond Necklace (1785), when the Cardinal de Rohan, hoping to gain the queen's favor, purchased an excessively valuable necklace at the instigation of the so-called Comtesse de Lamotte-Valois, whom he believed to be acting secretly on the queen's behalf but who confiscated the jewels and fled. Believing that Rohan was attempting to slander her, the queen insisted on his arrest and a public trial before the Parlement. Openly hostile to the queen, the Parlement acquitted the cardinal and humiliated Marie Antoinette. The scandalous plot was largely possible because of the queen's sexual reputation, and hinged on a fictitious meeting between the Rohan and the queen alone at night in a bosquet at Versailles. The queen's nocturnal jaunts to Paris, nighttime strolls in the gardens, and gallant male companions predisposed many to believe the story.

Already accused of moral and sexual disorder, Marie Antoinette's influence over royal politics was criticized as that of a virago bullying her impotent husband. When the revolutionary leader Mirabeau's (1749–1791) remark declared that Marie Antoinette was the only man supporting Louis XVI, the remark was meant as a compliment but might be construed as referring to what the queen's enemies considered inappropriately mannish behavior. At Trianon, Marie Antoinette's small private domain, postings *by order of the queen* were accepted, but they caused scandal at Saint Cloud, likewise the queen's private property, but a much larger one, and it was declared *immoral* for a queen of France to own palaces and give orders in her own right, because, as the pamphlet *Les Crimes des reines de France* (The crimes of the queens of France, 1791) proclaims, "A people is without honor and merits its chains,/When it bows its head to the scepters of Queens."

Marie Antoinette's alleged sexual proclivities were illustrated, embellished, and magnified in pornographic pamphlets, which invented a nymphomaniac queen equally voracious for women as she was for men. The queen was frequently portrayed engaging in sex with her closest friends, the princesse de Lamballe and the comtesse de Polignac. In the pamphlets Marie Antoinette sometimes takes a dominant male role, as in *Le Godmiché royal* (The royal dildo, 1789), where she appears in the guise of a dildo-wielding Juno. Other pamphlets, including *Les Fureurs uterines de Marie-Antoinette* (The uterine ragings of Marie Antoinette, 1791) and *La Vie privée, libertine et scandaleuse de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche* (The dissolute and scandalous private life of Marie Antoinette of Austria, 1793), venomously construct a phantasmagorically deviant, sexually omnivorous creature more

insatiable and dangerous than Agrippina or Messalina, Roman empresses reputed to have had insatiable sexual appetites.

Not only was Marie Antoinette accused of weakening France in favor of her homeland, but the uncontrollable *uterine ragings* that supposedly provided her alleged lovers liberal access to the queen's sexual organs placed the kingdom in jeopardy. As tribade the queen dominated the king (and through him the kingdom), forsaking her marriage and the production of heirs; sexual activity with men cuckolding the king and threatening the legitimacy of the Bourbon succession. Some purported Marie Antoinette's children to be bastards:

Louis, if you want to see
A bastard, a cuckold, a whore,
Look at your mirror,
The Queen, and the Dauphin

(de Decker 2005, p. 101; Zweig 1999, p. 170).

The most perverse sexual accusation against Marie Antoinette was made during her trial in 1793: incest with her eight-year-old son, the duc de Normandie (Louis XVII, 1785–1795), whose alleged corruption by his mother would ultimately empower the *Austrian panther-ess*, ravenous to gorge upon French blood. By dominating her son sexually, the queen would control him and dispose of the kingdom as she pleased.

Marie Antoinette's unwillingness to submit to the performative demands of her station proved personally deadly and ultimately hastened the fall of the monarchy.

SEE ALSO *Lesbianism; Political Satire; Sex, Race, and Power: An Intersectional Study.*

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Desmond Hosford

MARRIAGE

Marriage is an unusually pervasive social institution that confers social status by joining social actors together in sexual and procreative partnerships. It often serves as a rite of passage to adulthood and a means of enfranchising young people in society. Marriage standardizes, normalizes, and legitimates some sexual partnerships and family formations while marginalizing others as abnormal. As an institution that contributes to social stability through the legitimating of offspring and the conferral of rights of inheritance, marriage canalizes sexual urges into formations regarded as legitimate and worthy of social sanction.

Marriage may be, as some social conservatives aver, the bedrock of civilization in its contribution to social stability. But there is no denying that marriage has taken vastly different forms in different societies. Polygyny (meaning multiple wives joined to one husband), polyandry (multiple husbands joined to one wife), complex marriage (polyamorous or multiple-partner arrangements), and temporary marriage all have a place in the history of marriage and in the history of religions. What constitutes marriage, even within a single marital form such as monogamy, has fluctuated so immensely over the centuries that the term *traditional marriage* simply has no meaning.

In ancient Rome, for example, marriage vows were spoken by the groom and the bride's father, as was appropriate in a society that deemed many categories of women unable to make legal decisions for themselves. Major religious traditions recognize a wide variety of marital forms as ideal, and have diverse views on the question of whether marriage is an absolute social good for all persons. Historically, marriage as an institution that contributes to social stability has sometimes been

welcomed and legitimated by religious authorities and has sometimes been deemed contrary to the religious goals that religious leaders hold dear. Precisely because it contributes to social stability, because it perpetuates a social world deemed problematic, marriage did not win the approval of many early Christian and early Buddhist authorities, for example. As these religions became more established and less countercultural, both had to reckon with and find a place for marriage and family life. But many early Christians, as with early Buddhists, tended to devalue mainstream society to the extent that they were either indifferent to marriage or regarded celibacy as the proper path of religious practice.

Marriage exists as both a civil affair, in which civic authorities (such as a justice of the peace) preside over a secular ceremony of marriage, and as a religious affair, in which clergy preside. Some religions, like Buddhism, leave marriage largely in the hands of civil authorities and have no set liturgy for marriage. Other religions have canonical forms, but these are not always rooted in scripture.

ASSESSING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND AGENCY

Gender relations in marriage are often built out of assumptions about essential differences between women and men, girls and boys. The study of marriage is instructive as a window onto diverse historical interpretations of gender differences. It can help one see that whereas many marital formations crystallize unequal relations between women and men, endowing husbands with more rights (and sometimes with more responsibilities, it should be said) than wives, there are other modalities of marriage that challenge familiar assumptions about the fixity of gender and the differences between male and female gender roles. Some marital formations seem to grant women more agency, or allow for more autonomy in some spheres of life, than do other marital forms.

Given the wide variety of marital forms and the differing expectations of the spouses within these forms, it is interesting to consider what marital form might be best for women. Which marital form best ensures that a woman's legal and human rights will be protected? Within a given marital form, what are the conditions for divorce, and do both women and men have the right to ask for divorce? Which marital form gives women the broadest scope for agency in terms of their education and the vocations they can pursue? Are women's rights better protected in monogamous arrangements, where a woman is paired with a single spouse, than in polygynous arrangements, where a woman potentially competes with co-wives for affection, attention, and enfranchisement? These questions are asked for heuristic purposes here as a prompt for future research. But one might take up the

last question as an example of what can be learned by investigating marital forms in a comparative manner.

MONOGAMY AND THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Monogamy would seem to put women on equal footing with men by taking the element of competition between women out of the picture. But much depends on whether a double standard prevails in a monogamy-dominant culture or subculture. Prescriptive literature on monogamous marriage in the major religions often construe marriage as a set of norms that both spouses must follow to win social sanction and religious merit. However, these normative rules are often more assiduously applied to wives than to husbands. There are a number of reasons why this is often the case. Men's inability to conceive children certainly makes male extramarital sexual activities less conspicuous and thus less subject to detection, stigmatization, and punishment.

Dominant religions supported by the state tend to reinforce social hierarchies, and when those hierarchies favor men over women and children, enfranchising men as autonomous social actors while disenfranchising women and children as dependents, one is more likely to see that men's sexual affairs are considered to be their own business. In patriarchal societies where women are sexually and economically subordinated to men and only gain access to material resources and power through their ties to men, men are likely to be held to less rigorous standards of behavior in terms of sexual ethics, as was the case with the elite men of classical Athenian society. Wives are more likely, across vast spans of history and cultural terrain, to be rewarded for sexual loyalty to their husbands and socially stigmatized (if not physically punished) for conducting extramarital affairs, whereas husbands have enjoyed relatively more freedom in this regard.

This double standard in marital ethics must be taken into account, for the latitude that is often implicitly permitted to husbands can make the social labor of monogamous marriage unequal and unfair to wives. When double standards permit monogamously wedded males to go outside the marriage for sex, romance, and companionship, the monogamously wedded wife may be doubly disadvantaged. To secure her husband's affections the licit wife may need to compete with illicit partners whose social influence, level of education, wealth, and power the wife may or may not be in a position to discern. The wife's relative lack of knowledge inevitably disempowers her in this competition. Compared with the position of a woman in a polygynous arrangement who is given some role in the process whereby licit co-wives are formally brought into the family, the monogamous woman may lag behind her polygynous counterpart in terms of agency. Only if the husband of the monogamously wedded wife chooses to be

faithful to her (thus eliminating the element of suspense and competition) can it be said that she enjoys more agency than her polygynous counterpart.

FEMINIST ARGUMENTS FOR POLYGyny

Polygyny seems on the face of it problematic for women. Once again, the specter of competition between wives rears its ugly head. But in societies where polygyny is allowed, it is often the practice of the wealthiest and most powerful men, and not universally practiced by all. The wives of wealthy and powerful men have their own social burdens, as will be seen below, but in general polygynous families are endowed with more material resources than monogamous families in the same society.

In addition to the relative wealth that a polygynous wife might have at her disposal, there is the argument that in cases where women select their own husbands, a woman can select as a mate a man who has already proved himself by the manner in which he cares for his other wives. Some Mormon women who practiced polygyny in the nineteenth-century American West expressed preference for a system in which a woman could select for herself a proven breadwinner by consenting to marry only a man who had done well for himself. Not all Mormon women's accounts are propolygyny, by any means. Some women saw it as a burden to be accepted because it was divinely ordained and laid down as a holy precedent by the patriarchs of the Bible, such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But as Mormon women tended to be pragmatic in their marital choices and there is little discussion of love and romance in accounts of their lives, the opportunity to secure a proven mate may have been appreciated by many Mormon women, who are raised to make practical and not romantic choices in marriage.

Another feminist argument for polygyny is the possibility that women can share the burden of child care with co-wives. Because household arrangements in polygynous societies differ considerably, with some grouping co-wives together in separate apartments under one roof and some spreading co-wives out under separate roofs, sometimes in distant compounds, the degree to which child care could be pursued collectively depends on the context. But the potential for a set of helping hands to share the labor of child care can free women up for other tasks. Again, there is the testimonial of some Mormon women on the American frontier to suggest that collective mothering and the organized division of labor among co-wives could be a positive arrangement for those women who were blessed with a set of cooperative co-wives. Those Mormon women temperamentally suited to tasks other than childrearing had more opportunities than their non-Mormon counterparts (especially middle-class urban American wives) to pursue other forms

of work. The nineteenth-century Mormon Church encouraged women to set up commercial enterprises outside the home and to be entrepreneurs, unlike the wider Victorian bourgeois society that discouraged financial and vocational independence in women. The accounts of some of the polygynous Mormon women of the American West show considerable self-sufficiency.

WEDLOCK AS SOCIAL LABOR

Institutions such as marriage and the ownership of private property do a great deal of social labor and can be regarded as twin pillars upholding a civilized society. In societies around the world, marriage and private property regulations are often the twin foundations of social stability, two primary means of contributing to the perpetuation of a social structure that is perceived as divinely mandated. (Indeed, careful regulation of property exchange and marriage have historically gone hand in hand, with exchanges of property being negotiated by families in establishing the marriage or betrothal contract.)

For those who hold utopian social visions and see the dominant social structure as antithetical to divine purposes or humanistic ideals, attention to property and sexual partnerships are equally important. Experiments with nonmonogamous marriage often go hand in hand with the abolition of private property in utopian communities. For example, the Perfectionist community founded by John Humphrey Noyes (1811–1886) in nineteenth-century America practiced a form of polyamorous marriage in which each woman was in theory married to all the men of the community and free to invite any man she pleased to her bed. Practicing a form of biblical communism based on New Testament admonishments to believers to pool their resources, the Perfectionists came to believe that the Kingdom of God had been established on Earth with the Second Coming of Jesus (6 BCE–30 CE)—an event that they located in the first century of the Common Era.

Monogamy was part of the old order of things that had passed away with the Second Coming. The Second Coming, according to Noyes, reversed the fall of humanity described in the Hebrew Bible Book of Genesis. The Perfectionists believed that the nexus of sinfulness associated with the fall (alienation from God, exile from the utopian state experienced in the Garden of Eden, monogamous marriage, private property, painful and repeated childbirth, labor geared toward private property acquisition, and the condition of death or human mortality) was ontologically broken by the Second Coming. Noyes wrote that this tenacious nexus could be laid to rest by overcoming the breach with God; the rest of the sinful nexus would then be destroyed: “The sin-system, the marriage-system, the work-system, and the death-system, all are one, and must be abolished together” (Muncy 1973, p. 171).

Another utopian community practicing a version of biblical communism was established by Rev. Jim Jones (1931–1978) in Jonestown, Guyana. As with the Perfectionists, the Jonestown community held property in common and believed that exclusive romantic relationships were a sign that the community members who engaged in such relationships had departed from the ideal of biblical communism. Such utopian links between the communal sharing of property and the communitarian approach to marriage suggest that whether one wishes to perfect society through utopian labor or maintain a society that God or some enduring sacred principle has mandated, one must couple properly and be deliberate in how one handles property.

To appreciate the couple's heavy burden of perpetuating or changing dominant social structures, the immense social labor that is performed by marriage, one only has to look at the procreative emphasis found in many religious traditions' vision of proper marriage. The demand that sex be dedicated to procreative ends indicates that marriage is often geared toward redirecting the couple's energies toward larger social goods. This makes the marriage bed a place of sexual self-control as much as a place of sexual indulgence. For early Christian thinkers who looked forward to the imminent return of their crucified savior Jesus and his establishment of an ideal millennial reign of perfection, marriage was not assumed to be a godly institution. As Peter Brown (1988) shows in *The Body and Society*, many early Christian thinkers were openly opposed to marriage as a perpetuator of a dominant social order that they believed to be on the verge of disappearance to be replaced by a heaven on Earth. Some of these early Christian thinkers drew on ascetic practices for the proper channeling of amorous impulses, practices that Romans bequeathed to both Christians and Hellenistic Jews.

The regulation of the minutia of sexual coupling is often the moral equivalent to religious piety of the virtuosos. This identification of the marriage bed as the arena of moral action is a crucial rhetorical step. It makes possible those religions (Theravada, Buddhism, and Roman Catholic Christianity, for example) that hold up sexually active married couples and celibate virtuosos as equally laudable exemplars of the morally proper life. Monogamy in such traditions is itself a moral exercise, a disciplining of the amorous impulses that makes it the lay counterpart to the monastic call to total self-discipline. It is no wonder, then, that many religions that scholars might characterize as pro-sex and pro-marriage raise the majority of their young to couple monogamously, a discipline that requires eschewing extramarital sex (and sometimes temporary sexual abstinence for the sake of ritual purity) while encouraging the path to complete sexual abstinence for the committed religious or monastic.

This vision of the marriage bed as a site of sexual self-control makes marriage a positive social good where lust is channeled productively. This vision of the goal of marriage can lead to the implication that all other forms of coupling are by definition sites of sexual excess and lack of control. Ruth Vanita (2005) suggests that heterosexual coupling out of wedlock and same-sex coupling are often positioned as the sexually permissive *others* by which marriage is constructed as a social good. (These forms of coupling are the *exemplum malum*, the negative examples out of which ideal marriages are constructed by opposition.) By placing marriage above mere lust, other arrangements are deemed intrinsically libidinous. Heterosexual coupling out of wedlock and same-sex coupling are thus constructed as antithetical to the larger social good in that they are defined a priori as antisocial and morally suspect.

MARRIAGE AS ALLIANCE: ARRANGED AND SEMIARRANGED MARRIAGES

Marriage plays an extremely important role in many societies as the primary means of creating alliances between different kinship or descent groups. Marriage is not the wedding together of mere individuals; marriage is the wedding of one family to another in an alliance deemed mutually beneficial to the continued fortunes and power of each. As a method of forging alliances between families, the stakes of marriage are often considered to be too high to allow children to select their own mates. As the star-crossed lovers of William Shakespeare's (1564–1616) *Romeo and Juliet* portray in their ill-fated adventure in mate self-selection, the children of elite families tend to be actively discouraged from becoming romantically involved with inappropriate partners (such as the children of rival families, in the case of Juliet and Romeo). Parents and extended families will utilize their contacts in the community (and sometimes the services of professional go-betweens and marriage brokers) to secure a suitable mate for their children.

Socioeconomic and religious compatibility are considered more important criteria for matchmaking than love between the bride and the groom. Among Hindus, once the matchmaking efforts of the extended family and go-betweens has determined a plausible match, astrologers may then be consulted to assess the suitability of the match based on the horoscopes of the bride and the groom. Although it is often expected that the bride and groom will develop affection for another as time goes on, the romantic feelings and sexual impulses of the children are felt to be less reliable than the judgments of elders and religious specialists about the proposed couple's compatibility.

This is not to say that romance and premarital sexual activity have no place in societies that practice arranged marriages. Children can circumvent the judgments of their elders by eloping with one another. If the relationship proves stable, marriages that began in elopement will often later be recognized as legitimate. Likewise, many families within societies that are said to practice arranged marriages actually favor something more like semiarranged marriages that take the romantic feelings of the young people into consideration. A semiarranged marriage would be one where elders serve as something akin to a dating service, introducing the children to suitable candidates but allowing the children to select their own spouses within an array of socioreligiously acceptable choices. If one explores the Internet-based dating services that cater to Asian Americans looking for religiously compatible mates, one will see that mate self-selection can work together with attention to the criteria of socio-religious compatibility such as caste identity, mutually agreeable horoscopes, and other factors important to the parents and larger community.

Thus, it is probably not helpful to draw a firm line between societies that practice marriages based on mutual affection and those that practice arranged marriages. Much depends on whether one is looking at elite or working-class individuals in a particular society, as well as whether one is interested in the marriages of rural or urban populations. In allowing for a gradation of possibilities falling between the poles of marriages based on romantic love and arranged marriages, due consideration is also given to the bulk of historical practice among the elite of Europe. The ideal of romantic love made its first appearance among the elite with the songs of the troubadours of southwest France, who sang in praise of adulterous love. Scholars dispute when the ideal of companionate marriage based on romantic love emerged in culturally legitimated forms. Suffice it to say, for much of premodern European history, companionate marriage was not practiced by the elite in significant numbers. Matrimony was the primary means by which the elite family's wealth or patrimony was passed down to its legitimate heirs. For the premodern European elite with considerable assets and power to consider, companionate marriage was not considered the social good that it is in the early twenty-first century.

CLASS MATTERS, OR THE SOCIAL BURDENS OF THE ELITE

Elite women have historically done some of the heaviest lifting in terms of the social labor that their marriages have been expected to perform. The higher the social class or position of authority within the society, the more likely it is that her sexual activities have consequence not just for her, but also for others. The purity of descent

lines that elite women's legitimate offspring support only matter if there is an inherited authority or wealth that depends on there being no illegitimate children to sully those pure lines of descent. Where their landed gentry cohorts in medieval Europe might have endured preadolescent betrothals and marriages, locked chastity belts, and constant surveillance by nannies and servants, non-elite girls and women of premodern Christianized European cultures often selected their own mates. Many were encouraged to follow their feelings and, having made their selection, would be betrothed to a mate in a simple ceremony such as handfasting. Sexual activity was permitted after the betrothal as long as the couple presented themselves at the altar for marriage before any offspring were born.

Whereas many women throughout history have been asked to dedicate more resources to the private sphere of home and family than have men, elite men nevertheless have done their share of heavy lifting in terms of sacrificing personal desires for the collective good of the family. Societies that practiced primogeniture—as was common in premodern Christianized Europe—singled out the oldest legitimate male offspring to inherit the family estate. Because the entire patrimony went to the eldest son, the matrimonial destiny of this sole heir was far too crucial to leave up to him. In the arranged or semiarranged marriages common among the premodern elite of Europe, mates were selected for the most aristocratic males when the boys were as young as six or seven. The social labor that the younger sons' marriages were expected to perform was much lighter. Thus, younger brothers were generally free to select their own mates (they were also free to seek their own fortunes, not being eligible to inherit the family wealth).

SAME-SEX MARRIAGES AND CIVIL UNIONS FOR SAME-SEX PARTNERS

Whether same-sex partnerships should be recognized by the state and accorded the same benefits as heterosexual marriage is a hotly debated social issue being adjudicated in courts and in legislative chambers around the world in the early twenty-first century. The social reality of increasingly visible same-sex partnerships and future prospects of expanded legal protections for those partnerships have generated a great deal of controversy since the late 1990s. Within the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, and queer (GLBTQ) community as well as within straight circles, there is as much disagreement as consensus. In North America, there has not been so much contention over the question of who is married and who is not since the nineteenth-century debates over polygamy in the Utah territory and the mid-twentieth-century social upheavals over interracial marriage. On February 24, 2004, U.S. President George W. Bush (b. 1946) declared his support

for a constitutional amendment that would permanently bar gays and lesbians from enjoying the 1,049 rights and responsibilities of marriage that are currently recognized by the federal government (this enumeration comes from a 1997 U.S. General Accounting Office report). Bush's show of support for a ban on GLBTQ marriage came in the wake of a decision by the Supreme Judicial Court for Massachusetts in the case of *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health* (2003) that held that GLBTQ couples should be granted the benefits and protections of marriage for the good of the families that they form and the protection of the children whom they raise.

What has emerged in many nations is a collection of legal categories ranging from same-sex marriages to same-sex civil unions to same-sex domestic partnerships. The Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Spain, and South Africa are the only nations that, by the early twenty-first century, granted civil marriage to same-sex couples. This is the most extensive legal category in that civil marriage for GLBTQ people offers portability to the married couple; they can expect to receive the same benefits and legal protections should they move to another location within the nation that married them. Much of Europe (including Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, France, Germany, Portugal, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia) now acknowledges the existence of same-sex partnerships for such purposes as inheritance law, property law, and the conferral of social benefits. The extent to which nations that do not marry same-sex couples will recognize the marriages of those who do is a fascinating arena of legal speculation and adjudication that may take decades to sort out. "How this trend will play out in countries that have not yet recognized same-sex relationships is still up in the air," observes Paula Ettelbrick, "Will the United States, for instance, accommodate a major corporation's desire to have one of its top executives from Canada move here with her legal spouse?" (2006, p. 21).

Same-sex marriage has virtually displaced several other contentious social issues, such as abortion, in America's early twenty-first-century culture wars between social conservatives and social progressives. Social conservatives often argue against same-sex marriage by asserting that marriage is already ailing as an institution. Social progressives who support same-sex marriage challenge social conservatives who hold these views to show how recognizing the vows of same-sex partners committed to lifelong partnership will harm the institution of marriage. If anything is to blame for the failure of marriages and families in contemporary society, social progressives argue, it would be the choices made by the heterosexuals who currently have the right to marry. If late twentieth-century statistical trends continue, approximately every

other person who enters into marriage in America today will later seek divorce (Schoen and Weinick 1993).

Social conservatives often say that research shows that children only thrive in families headed by a father and a mother. It may well be true that two parents are better than one, social progressives argue, but there are many reasons why this would be the case—reasons other than the inherent rightness of having a mother and a father in the home. Given the feminization of poverty in America and given the fact that many single-parented homes are headed by women who on average earn less than men, many social progressives would consider a household's marital status less significant than financial difficulties that single-parented households face in raising children. The Massachusetts judges who ruled that the state must allow same-sex marriages argued that denying GLBTQ people the right to partner and parent only reinforces the problem of single-parent poverty by denying same-sex parents access to the legal mechanisms to care for their partner's children. (In Ohio and other states, for example, the surviving lesbian partner is not assured of custody of the children if the birth mother dies; inheritance law also presents much ambiguity for same-sex couples.)

Major religious traditions are as divided as the general public about the issue of solemnizing same-sex partners as married couples. Some Christian denominations, already strained over the issue of ordaining GLBTQ people as clerics, have come to verge of schism over the issue. Religious people in their community forums are shaping the future of marriage just as decisively as civil authorities are (with the conferral of various benefits, legal rights, and social status as families to GLBTQ people) in that religious leaders will play a gatekeeping role in sanctioning some partnerships and denying the legitimacy of others. Many religious leaders acknowledge that their congregations are in the midst of debates about issues of sexuality and sexual orientation that are not yet resolved and predict that it will be some time before religious congregations speak with one mind on the issue of marriage for same-sex couples.

Some religious leaders and scholars of religion insist that decisions about who should marry must be made on the basis of appeals to civil rights and not appeals to religious authority, scripture, or moral codes. On this civil basis, for example, Peter Gomes (2004), an American Baptist minister and Harvard University professor of Christian morals, argues for same-sex unions as a social good, regardless of how the New Testament is read or what American Baptist authorities might say about the moral status of homosexual partnerships. In this, Gomes exemplifies the approach of many progressive ecclesiastical leaders who feel that same-sex unions ought to be granted to GLBTQ couples as a matter of

civil rights and social justice. Marriage as a civil affair presided over by civil and not religious officials, Gomes argues, is in fact very much in conformity with the historical tradition established by the first Puritans in New England. The Puritans rejected the English practice of clerical marriage as without scriptural precedent. For some seventy years the only marriages that the Puritans recognized were civil affairs (based on the Dutch custom of civil marriage) and not church affairs. Gomes sees continuity between the decision of the judges in Massachusetts affirming same-sex marriage on civil grounds and the historical practices of the early Puritan colonists.

Other scholars of religion and religious leaders are more interested in basing their arguments for same-sex marriage on appeals to the authority of scripture. For example, Eugene Rogers (2006) seeks to defend marriage for same-sex couples on the basis of nuptial metaphors in the Bible (for example, the community of the Bible is God's spouse, joined to God through mutual, nuptial obligations). He takes issue with those scholars who feel the New Testament's critique of existing social structures obviates the possibility for marriage as a social good and argues that the Bible has resources for establishing the sanctity of same-sex unions.

Just as the scholarly community is divided about what marriage might have meant in antiquity, what their religious traditions say about historical forms of marriage, and what marriage norms should prevail in the light of the demand that same-sex partnerships be recognized as marriages, so too, do GLBTQ people present a spectrum of opinions on what marriage has been and could be and whether they want to be part of the institution at all. Some same-sex couples and defenders of same-sex coupling are not interested in achieving the right to marry because they regard marriage as hopelessly sexist, patriarchal, and bourgeois.

In this, they join the ranks of progressive feminist critics of marriage who work to counter idealized portraits of marriage, such as those critics of federal campaigns of marriage promotion who argue that, whereas marriage has provided some women the cushion of emotional and economic security, it has also locked many women in unsatisfying, exploitative, abusive and even violent relationships. Progressive commentators such as Lisa Duggan (2004) regard federal marriage promotion campaigns as indicative of a decreased willingness to provide a social safety net for those citizens without resources. If the family unit is held up, through such federal initiatives, as the primary source of caretaking, Duggan asks, does this signal the ideological demise of the domestic programs advocated by proponents of the *great society*? Does federal support for marriage imply the privatization of welfare?

Whereas some GLBTQ people worry about such ideological consequences of marriage promotion, other GLBTQ people want to be able to marry and see the potential of same-sex marriage as a force for social good that will not only improve the lives of GLBTQ people but also benefit the rest of society as well. Jonathan Rauch (2004) and Andrew Sullivan (1996) argue for same-sex marriage on moral grounds, suggesting that the legally marginalized status of queer couples discourages fidelity and that same-sex marriage will reward faithful couples and limit promiscuity in the queer community. Michael Warner (1999) objects to this line of reasoning that privileges same-sex marriage as a public good analogous to a deindividuated form of coming out of the closet. Warner suggests in his critique of same-sex marriage advocates, such as Sullivan, that these defenders of marriage have contributed to the making of a new sexual McCarthyism in their attempt to win mainstream approval by stigmatizing those GLBTQ people who choose not to live monogamously partnered lives as well as those heterosexuals who choose not to marry.

It will be interesting to see whether progressive critics of marriage who object to the primacy granted to marriage will find common ground with those GLBTQ-rights advocates who stress the need for access to marriage as a core privilege of citizenship. The former have accused the latter of painting a more idealized portrait of marriage than even the most unquestioning of social conservatives and in the process marginalizing unmarried people and neglecting the social value of other committed partnerships, such as elderly siblings who form domestic partnerships to care for each other financially and emotionally. The debates over same-sex marriage clearly generate much discussion about what social formations people value as cultures and why they value them. As of the early twenty-first century, it remains to be seen what modalities marriage will take. In the meantime marriage will go on as people deliberate about how to couple properly and handle property.

SEE ALSO *Adultery*.

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Liz Wilson

MARRIAGE, SPIRITUAL

Spiritual marriage describes a legal, religious, and/or self-chosen union in which both partners agree to forego sexual relations. Spiritual marriages were practiced primarily in the late classical period (c. 400–330 BCE) and throughout the Middle Ages (500–1500 CE) and served as earthly incarnations of the metaphoric marriage between Christ and his church. As sexuality was often interpreted as a sign of humanity's fallen nature, the members of a married couple might choose to abandon sexual intercourse in an attempt to sanctify themselves before God.

The roots of spiritual marriage can be located in Jesus's and Paul's advocacy of celibacy and the single life. Jesus taught that "Whoever comes to me and does not hate his father and mother and wife and children . . . he cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14.26), and Paul argues that "he who marries his fiancée does well; and he who refrains from marriage will do better" (I Corinthians 7:38). Early Church father Augustine writes in *On the Good of Marriage*, "In our day, it is true, no one perfect in piety seeks to have children, except spiritually" (p. 17.19). These passages adumbrate widespread beliefs among early Christians that elevated celibacy over sexuality. Marital celibacy symbolized a renewal of virginity in marriage, and virginity presaged rebirth and perfect life in heaven; sexual activity, on the other hand, suggested humanity's hopelessly fallen and earthly condition. Spiritual marriages, then, mediated between the positions of pure celibacy as a virgin and sexual congress in marriage.

Medieval saints' lives frequently emphasize their protagonists' triumph over sexuality in all of its incarnations. The most celebrated spiritual marriage, and the archetype of all others in the Christian tradition, is that of the Virgin Mary and Joseph, based upon the belief that Mary remained a virgin for all of her life. The Catholic Church celebrated feast days for numerous saints married celibately, including Hilary of Poitiers, Julian the Hospitaller, Germaine of Auxerre, Chrysanthus, and Cecilia. The ways in which celibacy is introduced into the marriage vary from legend to legend, but Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale* is instructive in its depiction of Cecilia convincing her husband Valerian to choose marital celibacy over sexuality:

And if that [my guardian angel] may feelen, out
of drede,
That ye me touche, or love in vileynye,
He right anon wol sle [slay] yow with the dede
[deed],
And in youre yowthe thus ye shullen dye;
And if that ye in clene love me gye [guide],
He wol yow loven as me, for youre cleennesse,
And shewen yow his joye and his brightnesse.

Valerian accedes to Cecilia's wishes for a *clean love*, and they live a life of perfect chastity together until they are both brutally martyred. The tale's focus on the ways in which wives lead their husbands to chastity in marriage is a frequent trope of the genre, and this pattern can also be observed in the fifteenth-century *Book of Margery Kempe* (1997), the first autobiography written in English, which details Margery's sinful past and her travails in marriage. She overcomes these obstacles when she convinces her husband to transform their marriage into a spiritual one so that she can find greater communion with God.

Although spiritual union appears foremost a method for achieving greater holiness in heterosexual unions, sworn brotherhoods serve as a fascinating subset of such alliances in which two men pledge their eternal fidelity to each other in much the same manner as a marriage. John Boswell (1994) traces the roots of such relationships to the Greco-Roman world and the ways in which early Christian practices syncretized elements from pagan rites. In the early fourteenth century, Edward II's relationship with Piers Gaveston, for example, was described as a covenant of brotherhood that celebrated their deep bonds of love. In the medieval romance *Amis and Amiloun* (Foster 1997), also dated to the early fourteenth century, the narrator details such a brotherhood oath between the eponymous protagonists. The language of the union is reminiscent of marriage oaths:

On a day the childer, war [aware] and wight
[brave],
Trewethes [truths] togider thai gun plight
[pledged],
While thai might live and stond
That bothe bi day and bi night,
In wele [good times] and wo [bad times], in
wrong and right,
That thai schuld frely fond [nobly prove]
To hold togider at everi nede,
In word, in werk, in wille, in dede,
Where that thai were in lond,
Fro that day forward never mo
Failen other for wele no wo.
Therto thai held up her hond.

Such fraternal alliances appear to mirror marriage in many ways, but it is unlikely that they openly condoned homosexual relationships. Rather, such deep bonds of friendship, which are made public through the ceremony of the oath, mimic heterosexual marriage yet also tacitly highlight its spiritual aspects.

Although many exegetes lauded spiritual marriages as an appropriate escape from carnal desire, other Church fathers were suspicious of them. The concept of spiritual marriage conflicts directly with the concept of the conjugal debt, another basic premise of marriage as propounded by early Church fathers, that demands marriages must be consummated. In the cases of religious women living in the houses of clergymen, great suspicions often arose that the spiritual marriages provided a façade for sexual activity. Spiritual marriages were thus both blessed by and bothersome to various Church fathers due to widespread discomfort with integrating sexuality into Christian life.

SEE ALSO *Homoeroticism, Female/Male, Concept; Monasticism.*

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Tison Pugh

MARRIAGE BED, RITUALS OF

Weddings are complex rituals involving practices that have the same purpose in spite of differences between cultures and changing traditions. Those rituals correspond to the sequence identified by Arnold van Gennep (1960) in his definition of rites of passage: A wedding includes rites of separation, transition, and incorporation into a new life. All those rites celebrate the new status of the spouses and the fact that their union is not only a private matter but also an agreement involving families and their social environment. Processions and exchanges of gifts are recurrent manifestations of this wider aspect of weddings. Traditionally even the most intimate part of a wedding—its consummation—was made public through a series of marriage bed rituals.

THE PURPOSE OF WEDDING BED RITUALS

Depending on the focus put on this crucial part of the marriage contract, friends of the bride and the groom, the mothers and other women in the community, and even the priest who blessed the bed in western Europe until the eighteenth century played their roles in the wedding chamber. The bridal room and the bed were prepared and decorated by women who accompanied the bride to the chamber and often undressed her while the groom was with his male friends and relatives. Practices involving the wedding bed are related to three main preoccupations: ensuring the fertility of the couple, exorcising the evil spells that could prevent it, and proclaiming the honor of the bride's family by demonstrating her virginity.

The importance given to the public exhibition of the bride's virginity is reputed to be a characteristic of Mediterranean cultures and Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious traditions. It also is found in Russia and among the Roma. In northern Europe the focus was on the public nature of the bedding ceremony that legitimized the marriage and the children to come. The bride's virginity was particularly significant in patrilineal societies: those in which the family line passed through the father to the firstborn male child. Legitimacy was essential if that child was to be accepted as the rightful heir. Showing the sheet or the bride's gown stained with blood

to both families and to the community provided indisputable proof that her father had proper control over his household, especially over his daughters. His honor as their protector was at stake as he handed his daughters over to another male protector.

Some groups, such as Italian Jews, dealt with possible disputes about the absence of bloodstains of the sheet: Experienced wise women examined the bride before the first sexual encounter and looked at the sheet before and after the act; thus, they could bear witness to her virginity. According to the customs in different traditions, the first witness could be the bride's aunt or the groom's mother. The announcement could be shouted aloud or, as in Bulgaria or Cyprus after the fifteenth century, made by the newly married husband firing a gun. Women would gather in the wedding chamber and congratulate the bride, parents would give money to the couple, and the stained object might circulate among the guests on a platter. It also could be exposed the next morning, hanging on the walls of the house for everybody to see, or could be made available for viewing in a basket placed on the couple's bed.

From the husband's perspective, the public display of the first sexual encounter provided proof of his virility. Just as the honor of the bride's family was attached to her purity, his social image depended on his sexual competence. Symbols of fertility decorating the bed and propitiatory rites meant to protect the wedding bed against magic and evil spells were an important part of what happened in the wedding chamber.

THE NATURE OF WEDDING BED RITUALS

Historians report that in France fear of the groom's impotence on the wedding night assumed epidemic proportions in the sixteenth century. To protect him against a magical spell, rites of exorcism were performed, such as the couple avoiding sleeping in their bed on the first night or having a secret private wedding before the official one. In some places the first sexual encounter did not occur on the wedding night. The tradition might include the *Tobias nights*, in which the consummation was delayed for 1 to 3 nights as a celebration of conjugal chastity. In other places, such as Savoy, the Vendée region in France, and Scotland, the taboo against premarital relations and the requirement of the bride's virginity were not absolute. Practices of courtship that could go as far as allowing the couple to spend the night together were tolerated under parental supervision.

The public aspect of the first night was common to most societies. In ancient Greece maidens used to sing outside the bridal chamber so that the cry of the virgin



Bride Led to Marriage Bed. A bride is led to her husband at the marriage bed in this 18th-century painting. © LEONARD DE SELVA/CORBIS.

was not heard as she was deflowered. In England the bedding ceremony began traditionally with the blessing of the bed by the priest, after which the couple was offered the *benediction posset*, a cup of sweetened spiced wine. In France it is still customary for young people to offer the couple a chamber pot with wine mixed with a variety of ingredients, accompanied by saucy jokes and lewd banter. Although the ingredients or the recipient may vary, the common element is that friends of the couple participate symbolically in their sexual encounter and legitimize it, integrating the couple into the community as a new conjugal unit. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, and even later in rural areas, this was also a way for groups of young males to exert informal control of the behavior of families and their daughters.

With the widespread acceptance of premarital sex, wedding bed rituals have lost a great deal of their significance. Their disappearance is indicative of a reconsideration of traditional hierarchies and a general questioning of the gender inequality they exemplified. It also demonstrates the effects of

the homogenization of cultures, the inevitable accompaniment of westernization and its hegemonic processes.

SEE ALSO *Folklore; Marriage.*

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Madeleine Jeay

MARTYRDOM

Martyrdom is the culmination of a sequence of events in which a person is made to suffer and usually (although not always) die in a manner that is highly symbolic and emotive. Although there may be a historical core to martyrdom narratives, in general the story is crafted with the goal of highlighting the differences between the martyr and the person or forces that drove the martyrdom forward, and to increase a sense of audience remorse, guilt, and eventual repentance. In general the martyr is presented as a heroic, albeit pathos-inducing, figure, who symbolizes a particular cause. This may be religious, but can also be based on star-crossed love or ethnic struggle; sometimes the martyr is noteworthy only for suffering an extraordinarily tragic (and undeserved) death.

Narratives employing the tragic death of a heroine, such as Antigone and Iphigenia, appear in classical Greek literature; however, these narratives are usually not given the morality tale context of the later Judeo-Christian and Muslim martyrologies. They do, however, provide an ancestor to the subgenre of romantic martyrdom so common in both Christian and Muslim literature.

RELIGIOUS MARTYRDOM

The classical religious martyrdom narrative took shape during late antiquity (first–fifth centuries CE) in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Because of the religious divide between Jewish and Christian monotheism and polytheism, the martyrdom narrative was used to extol the sufferings of those who were unwilling to change their religion under duress. For women there was the added possibility of sexual abuse. In order to avoid either some type of ritual impurity (in Judaism) or sexual defilement (in Christianity), it was not unusual for women to kill themselves or to provoke their captors into a killing rage.

Christian martyrdom narratives of women are quite common, Jewish martyrologies somewhat less so. Some of the best-known Christian martyrs are St. Cecilia of Rome (second or third centuries); St. Catherine of Alexandria (d. c. 307); St. Margaret of Antioch (d. c. 304), who is venerated by the Orthodox Church; and St. Ursula, who was canonized along with 11,000 virgins who were martyred with her (fourth or fifth century). St. Cecilia was persecuted as a result of preaching Christian teaching; however, some others were killed for refusing to sacrifice their virginity by marrying men who were forced upon them.

SECULAR MARTYRDOM

The first Muslim martyr was a woman, Sumayya bint Khayyat, who was killed by Abu Jahl, one of the most ferocious enemies of early Islam. She, unlike similar

figures in Judaism and Christianity, never became associated with any cult, nor is she venerated in the religion. However, most female martyrs in Islam were not sacrificed for religious reasons but were romantic literary figures. Majnun and Layla, for example, were a tragic couple whose circumstances did not permit their union. In despair Majnun killed himself and Layla died of a broken heart. Their narrative forms the basis for numerous popular and mystical stories of denied love and death for the sake of the beloved (such as William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* [c.1595]), and are strongly in the tradition of Greek tragedy. The cycle of Majnun and Layla exists in popular versions in Arabic, Persian (versions by Nizami Ganjavi [d. 1202] and Jami [1414–1492]), and Turkish (Fuzuli [d. 1556]) and is commemorated widely in popular Iranian and Indo-Muslim art.

Christian martyrs with popular status in the secular community, such as Joan of Arc (1412–1431), are comparatively rare in the martyrologies. Joan galvanized the largely defeated French populace against the occupying English and was captured and killed as a result. As Jews more frequently became the victims of pogroms during the Middle Ages, heroines such as Rachel (b. 1753), the wife of Rabbi Judah of Cologne, who killed her children and then herself to save them from the Crusaders, became the subject of popular narrative. This *topos* also occurs extensively in Muslim literature, where the figure of the female warrior can be found in both classical Arabian epics and popular tales such as the *Arabian Nights* (tales compiled over thousands of years with no certain original date). The Turkish warrior epic *Battalname* (fifteenth century), focused on the exploits of the border hero Sayyid Battal who fought against the Byzantines, is such a tale. The daughter of the Byzantine emperor sees Battal and immediately converts to Islam. She throws a stone with a message written on it that she will betray her father for Battal's sake. Unfortunately the stone accidentally kills Battal and the emperor's daughter commits suicide to join him in paradise.

MODERN PERSPECTIVES

Later Christian writing emphasizes martyrs who either died on religious missions or at the hands of tormentors unlike the virginal, romantic, or heroic martyrs of late antiquity or the Middle Ages. Women are remarkable for their absence in early Protestant martyrologies, such as that of John Foxe (d. 1587). But there are a number of female martyrs among African and Asian converts to Christianity. Probably the best-known female African Protestant martyr is Dona Beatrix Kimpa Vita (d. 1706), who was burned at the stake for her heresy by Catholic missionaries in the Congo. From Korea there is the figure of Kollumba Kang Wansuk, who was a prominent Protestant activist and martyr killed in

1801 by the Chinese authorities. Like the early Christian martyrs and Joan of Arc, she was a virgin. The best-known contemporary Roman Catholic female martyr is probably Edith Stein (1890–1942). Stein converted from Judaism to Christianity and was murdered in the concentration camp at Auschwitz by the Nazis in 1942. Female Hindu and Buddhist martyrs are virtually absent until modern times.

Many political causes have had prominent women members or actually have been led by women, and have produced many female martyrs. From the women of Tibet, to the female suicide attackers among the Palestinians and Chechens, to the anti-apartheid campaigners of South Africa, to the Tamils of northern Sri Lanka, disproportionate numbers of women (relative to men associated with the same causes) have become martyrs based on their ideology. Some female martyrs, suicide attackers for example, are responsible for the deaths of many others. The phenomenon of female suicide attackers, so unusual in the context of many societies, is the subject of much scholarly research and popular journalistic writing in the early twenty-first century.

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David Cook

MARXISM

SEE *Communism and Marxism*.

MARY MAGDALENE

Mary Magdalene (Mary of Magda, currently Mejdal in Israel) is mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, appearing at the scene of the Crucifixion: “There were also many women there, looking on from afar, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering to him, among whom were Mary Magdalene, Mary the Mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee” (Matthew 27: 55–56). Mary Magdalene is also the most notable witness to the Resurrection, together “with the other Mary”: “Now after the Sabbath, toward the dawn of the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary went to see the sepulcher . . .”(Matthew 28: 1–10). The women are told by the Angel of the Lord that Jesus has been resurrected, and they inform the Apostles.

Mary Magdalene is present at the Crucifixion in all three synoptic Gospels and in the Gospel of John, which stresses the importance of this woman disciple by describing her as the first person to whom the risen Jesus appears in the garden and addresses: “But Mary stood weeping outside the tomb . . . she turned around and saw Jesus standing. . . ‘Mary. . .’ She turned and said to him in Hebrew ‘Rabboni. . .’ Mary Magdalene went and said to the disciples ‘I have seen the Lord,’ and she told them that he had said these things to her” (John 20: 11–20).

THE CHURCH AND THE IMAGE OF MARY MAGDALENE

Thus, Mary Magdalene was recognized as the first witness to the most important tenet of Christian dogma: the Resurrection. After the Church began combining the various women named Mary and pronounced without evidence that Mary Magdalene was the sinner who washed and anointed the Lord’s feet in the Gospel of Luke, her figure became distorted. Thus, Gregory the Great declared in 591 that Mary was the sinful woman in Luke, the same one whom John calls Mary of Bethany and the one who in Mark is exorcised by Jesus. Many Latin Church fathers adopted that version and identified



Risen Christ Appears to Mary Magdalene. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID.

her with Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, and also with the anonymous sinner in Luke 7: 36–50. The Greek Church Fathers, starting with Origen, ascribed a different identity to each of the three Maries, but throughout the centuries in Europe and America, the world Mary Magdalene became associated with the prostitute who washed Jesus's feet and dried them with her hair.

Popular religious legends and traditions, starting from the ninth century with the *Miracula* of Mary Magdalene and continuing with the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus of Voragine (born 1230) dated around 1260, have direct bearing on her iconography, and Mary Magdalene has been depicted as the repentant and penitent Magdalene with loose long hair, a symbol of abandonment to God. The *Legenda*, moreover, records the legend that Mary Magdalene ended up in Marseilles, France, pregnant with a child, perhaps from John, from whom ultimately descends the French royal line.

It also is said of Mary Magdalene, whose second name means *remaining guilty* and whose first name means *marum mare*, or *bitter sea*: “[S]he was magnificent in the superabundance of grace, because where trespass abounded, grace was superabundant.” (*Legenda Aurea*,

pp. 374–375). According to the same legend, Mary died at Aix-en-Provence after having spent thirty days in the desert. In 769, during Charlemagne's time, Gerard, the duke of Burgundy, unable to have a son, had a monastery built at Vézelay and ordered that the relics of Mary Magdalene be brought there from Aix. According to the Chronicler Joinville, in 1248 Louis IX, the king of France (Saint Louis) made a pilgrimage to Aix, where the body of the Magdalene was said to lie (Le Goff 1996). In 1279 new remains of relics were discovered at Aix in the crypt of Saint Maximin, who had been Mary's protector from her time in Palestine and to whom Peter had entrusted her (*Legenda Aurea*, pp. 374–381). She is the patron saint of Vézelay, where her relics are kept and where she is venerated; her feast day on July 22 is a major holy day.

MARY MAGDALENE AS PATRON SAINT

Mary Magdalene has become the patron saint of prostitutes, perfume makers, gardeners, and barrel makers. In France she is associated with the ripe fruits of late summer. The fruits (grapes, peaches, pears, and plums) that suddenly ripen around her feast day were called *madeleines*, and on that day the wine growers made an offering of their first grapes, hanging them on her altar (Canadé Sautman 1995, Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985). Mary Magdalene is also the patron saint of women in labor and is connected to the red color of the veil she wore at the Crucifixion (Canadé Sautman 1995). According to the ethnologist Claude Gaignebet, the wild man of winter in European popular tradition is a companion of Mary Magdalene and is dressed with her hair (Gaignebet and Lajourx 1985). She also is connected with the Apostle James, who, like her, is a Saint of the *Canicula* (dog days), stone cutters, the guarding dog, and the shell of Venus.

The word *maudlin*, meaning *tearful penitent*, is derived from the Middle English *Maudelen*, from the Late Latin and Greek *Magdalènè*. It is apparent that Mary's reputation has been affected by this characterization, though in a melancholy way, and this image has obscured her other side as an exemplar of the contemplative life, in contrast to her sister Martha, as she is seen by Dante (*Convivio*, IV, xvii, 10–11).

OTHER IMAGES OF MARY MAGDALENE

The figure and role of Mary Magdalene are complicated further if one considers the *Gnostic Gospel of Mary Magdalene*, discovered in Egypt in 1896, in which Mary assumes a leading and principal role, more important even than that of Peter (Pagels 2003). This text

establishes Mary Magdalene as a true disciple of Jesus and the one to whom the Risen Christ appeared and imparted things unknown to the others. Thus, Mary becomes, as Ann Graham Brock (2003) states, the “apostle of the apostles,” and her figure is a direct challenge to the doctrine of the Catholic Church with respect to the ordination of women in the priesthood. The importance of the various Gnostic texts, including the Gospel of Philip and the Gospel of Jude, is accepted by feminist scholars who seek to bring back the figure of the historical Magdalene that the Church has chosen to distort. Jane Schaberg, a feminist biblical scholar, does that in *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene* (2002) by showing that Mary was a powerful woman who was very close to Jesus and even John but whose legitimacy was undermined by the Church in its desire to bury the true image of an important female disciple. Schaberg’s contention has been accepted and transmitted in the work of feminist scholars such as Karen L. King (2003), Ann Graham Brock (2003), Margaret Starbird (1993), and Bruce Chilton (2005).

Since 1969 the Catholic Church has made a distinction between the sinner described in Luke, Mary of Bethany, and the Mary Magdalene, who was present at the Cross and the Resurrection. Although it recognizes that Mary Magdalene speaks the language of love (as in the “Gospel of John” in *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* 1968, p. 462), it has not modified its teaching regarding women and the priesthood. In the canonic Gospels, Jesus is shown to have broken the taboo of talking to women in public, as in the case of the Samaritan woman, but the Gnostic Gospels show that Peter and the disciples could not accept the idea that a woman had received preeminence from the Lord, as in the case of Mary Magdalene. The power of popular beliefs and the iconography of the repentant woman implanted and exploited over the centuries made it impossible to dissociate the figure of Mary from the penitent whore. That characterization remained a constant until the work of feminist scholars as well as other biblical scholars raised serious questions about the figure of Mary Magdalene as a sinner or a saint (see *Time*, August 11, 2003, and *The New Yorker*, February 13 and 20, 2006) and the issue of whether she was one of the first apostles.

Although there is no evidence that Mary Magdalene was a prostitute, that she was the lover of Jesus, or that they were married and had a child, there is evidence in both the canonical and Gnostic Gospels that she was an apostle like the others, perhaps one who was even closer to Jesus. The myths and the legends surrounding Mary Magdalene and the popularity of contemporary films and novels such as Dan Brown’s *Da Vinci Code* (2003) have reopened the debate and perhaps will give Mary Magdalene her proper

historical meaning as one of the closest and first apostles to Jesus.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Melancholia and Sex.*

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS

The Virgin Mary has had a formative influence on Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, although she remains marginal to Protestantism. As a unique symbol of maternal femininity in the Christian tradition, she is an important figure for the study of religion and gender, but interpreting her significance is a complex task.

There is a tension between the biblical Mary of Nazareth and the Holy Mother of God revered by Catholic and Orthodox Christians. The mother of Jesus is not a central figure in the Gospels, and her historical life as a Jewish villager in the Roman Empire is virtually



Madonna and Child by Bonaventura. Madonna and Child, a fourteenth-century painting by Segna di Bonaventura.

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unknown. But as Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, and Bride of Christ, Mary has attracted a vast following and her influence extends far beyond the sphere of religion to include art, music, literature, and popular culture.

While Marian doctrine and theology tended to be almost exclusively the preserve of an educated male elite until the late twentieth century, devotion to Mary has been an important source of inspiration for women as well as men of many different classes, cultures, and eras. Representations of Mary, however, reflect their historical and cultural contexts, and to decipher their significance in terms of changing constructs of sex and gender requires contextualized study. In addition, Mary has often been a figure of controversy, such as the debates between Catholics and Protestants or, in the early twenty-first century, between feminists and conservatives. The Madonna has been a mascot for triumphal

Catholicism in wars and colonial conquests (Perry and Echeverría 1988), but she has also become a symbol of consolation and inspiration for indigenous and colonized peoples, for example, in Latin America (Gebara and Bingemer 1989). Some modern interpreters regard her as an oppressive symbol with regard to female spirituality and sexuality (Hamington 1995, Warner 2000), others view her as the repressed goddess of the Christian tradition, and some see her as a symbol of solidarity and sisterhood with contemporary women's struggles for equality. The Orthodox churches have been less susceptible to these changing cultural influences, and they tend to reflect a more timeless ideal of Mary as a holy source of maternal compassion and tenderness whose iconic image invites worshippers to contemplate the mystery of the incarnation. Despite these variations, it is probably safe to say that Mary usually represents the highest religious ideals of motherhood and womanhood in all these different contexts, and her counterpart—Eve—is likely to be invested with negative qualities associated with fear of female rebelliousness, particularly in the area of sexuality.

The following summary is intended to provide markers for those wishing to undertake more detailed study, but it can do no more than gesture toward the significance of Mary for the understanding of sex and gender in the Western religious tradition.

MARY IN THE BIBLE

There are relatively few references to Mary in the New Testament, and there is scholarly debate as to her biblical significance (Brown et al. 1978). Mark's Gospel implies some tension between Jesus and his family (Mark 3:21, 31–35). Luke's Gospel includes the story of the Annunciation, Mary's visit to Elizabeth, the birth of Christ and the presentation of the infant Christ in the temple (Luke 1–2), all of which have had a formative influence on the Marian tradition. The visit of the magi and the flight into Egypt are described in Matthew 2, and in John's Gospel, the mother of Jesus is referred to as instigating the first miracle at the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–12), and she is a significant figure at the crucifixion (John 19:25–27). There is also a reference to Mary praying with the disciples after Christ's Ascension (Acts 1:14). The reference to a pregnant woman in the book of Revelation has traditionally been associated with Mary, although biblical scholars today agree that it is primarily a reference to the church (Rev. 12:1–17).

The Old Testament is the source of some of the most enduring scriptural influences on the Marian tradition. The traditional Christian belief that the prophecies of the Hebrew religion were fulfilled in Christ is problematic from the perspective of Jewish-Christian relations and was subject to considerable revision in

the late twentieth century, but it is crucial for an understanding of the development of Marian theology.

Mary has been identified with the Bride in the Song of Songs and with the figure of Wisdom in Proverbs 8, but the most significant Old Testament influence is the story of creation and the fall in Genesis 1–3. Jesus is referred to as the second Adam in several of the Pauline letters (Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:21–22, 45–49), and by the second century, writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Tertullian were referring to Mary as the New Eve.

The relationship between Mary and Eve relates to beliefs about the nature of Christ (Christology), and to beliefs about the salvation of women (soteriology). From a Christological perspective, it situates Christ within the human story from the beginning and shows the incarnation to be a new creation. As virgin mother, Mary is likened to the virgin earth from which the first Adam was created, while as the New Eve she is the female partner to Christ, the second Adam. From a soteriological aspect, the title New Eve affirms that all women, including Eve, are redeemed in Mary. Early Christian thinkers were developing a narrative of women's salvation in which Eve and Mary together represent "everywoman"—Eve symbolizes the suffering that women experience in a fallen world through domination in marriage and pain in childbirth, while Mary symbolizes the fulfillment of God's promise of redemption (Beattie 2002). This early reconciling vision, however, gradually yielded to a more dualistic interpretation in which Eve—and by association all women—became associated with temptation, sin, and death, while Mary's virginal purity and obedience took on aspects that made her increasingly remote from the ordinary condition of women's lives, particularly after the Reformation.

FOUNDATIONS OF MARIAN THEOLOGY

The earliest theological discussions about Mary's virginal motherhood were primarily concerned with defending the claim that Jesus was fully God and fully human, against various movements arguing that God could not become fully identified with the corruptibility of the material world, particularly with the pollution of the maternal body. In response to these challenges, early theologians argued that Mary's motherhood affirmed the full humanity of Jesus, and her virginity affirmed his full divinity. He was born of a human mother as all humans are, but he was conceived by the power of God and was therefore fully divine.

In combining the apparently contradictory states of virginity and motherhood, the first Christians were looking for a language that would express the mystery of the incarnation through the paradoxical coupling of

opposites—God/human, word/flesh, virgin/mother. A more moralistic trend emerged as Christianity became institutionalized, and from the fourth century Mary's virginal motherhood became increasingly invested with qualities of modesty, humility, and chastity as ideals of Christian womanhood. The lives of ordinary believers, however, rarely conform to the theological and moral dogmas of religious rulers, and it is to devotional rather than doctrinal texts and practices that one must turn for a more fruitful line of enquiry about the Marian tradition in relation to women's lives.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN MARIAN DEVOTION

When Mary was declared *Theotokos* (God-bearer or Mother of God) at the Council of Ephesus in 431, the debate concerning the human and divine natures of Christ was conclusively resolved. There were candlelit processions in honor of Mary in Ephesus, suggesting that she had by that time become a focus for popular devotion. It seems likely that, with the conversion of Rome and the destruction of the Roman and Greek goddess cults, some of the spiritual energy that had been directed toward the mother goddess figures was redirected toward Mary, resulting in the vigorous flourishing of her cult.

The second-century apocryphal gospel known as the Gospel of James or Protevangelium of James is the earliest surviving evidence of interest in Mary's own life story. Here one encounters Mary's parents—Joachim and Anna or Anne—in a narrative that draws heavily on Old Testament texts (particularly the book of Samuel) and on Luke's account of the Annunciation, to describe Mary's early life. The Gospel of James is one of several texts that point to a Marian cult before the Council of Ephesus. For example, the hymns of Ephraem Syrus ('of Syria' or 'the Syrian,' c. 306–373) are among the most symbolically rich of all Marian writings, and they suggest a highly developed cult within the Syrian Church. There is a reference in the writings of Epiphanius (c. 315–403) to the cult of the Collyridians in which women made priestly offerings of bread to Mary. These surviving remnants of a Marian cult focused on maternity, fertility, and birth rather than sacrifice and death, suggesting forms of devotion more closely associated with women's religious practices than men's (Irigaray 1993). They may bear out Geoffrey Ashe's tentative hypothesis (1976) that there was an early Marian religion comprised mainly of women followers that coexisted alongside what would eventually become the mainstream Christ-centered tradition.

The Gospel of James had a vast influence on Marian art and devotion in the Middle Ages, partly because of its influence on two other texts—the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew and the highly popular *Golden Legend* (*Legenda aurea*) by Jacobus de Voragine (1228 or 1230–1298). The

fourteenth-century frescoes by Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua include numerous scenes from the Gospel of James. Between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the cult of Mary's apocryphal mother, St. Anne, flourished alongside that of Mary, in an era in which female saints were a highly visible aspect of Christian culture. As an affluent matriarch presiding over her holy offspring, St. Anne may have reflected the aspirations of the emergent mercantile classes, as well as the ideal of the pious Christian wife and mother. Moreover, at a time when theology had become the exclusive preserve of ordained men in the universities, women were developing new forms of mysticism and spirituality that allowed them to claim some authority that was not entirely under the control of the official hierarchy. The influence of Aristotelian biology meant that, while Christ's divinity was believed to come from a masculine, father God, his humanity came from the female body of Mary and his maternal ancestors, and this gave women access to forms of devotion that expressed a potent sense of identification with the body of Christ and its maternal origins (Bynum 1991).

Beyond the wealthy domestic settings depicted in images of St. Anne, medieval Europe was host to a vast range of other Marian devotions and beliefs that encompassed saints and sinners, rich and poor alike. This cult is evidenced in Marian litanies and feast days; in the prayers, music, art, and architecture associated with the great cathedrals and Marian shrines; in accounts of pilgrimages and miracles attributed to Mary's intercession; and in mystery plays and folktales. Abuse and superstition may have been rife in medieval religion, but weaving together these many different beliefs and practices was a powerful sense of the sacramentality of a world suffused with the presence of the Mother of God in the liturgical life of the maternal church, in the cycles and seasons of the natural world, and in the domestic sphere of women's lives.

MARY IN THE REFORMATION AND COUNTER-REFORMATION

The reformations that swept through northern Europe in the sixteenth century took different forms, but a consistent theme was the rejection of the cult of Mary and the saints associated with Catholic Christianity. With the Reformers' insistence on the Bible as the only source of revelation and their emphasis upon the cross of Christ as the exclusive means of redemption, the prolific popular devotions and sacramental practices of medieval Catholicism were replaced by more austere and word-centered forms of Christianity. In response to the challenge of Protestantism, the Roman Catholic Church introduced a series of reforms during the Council of Trent (1545–1563), and a more transcendent, spiritualized vision of Mary replaced the incarnational maternal

cult of the Middle Ages. Mary became a more isolated figure, embodying romantic ideals of virginal femininity that may have been a reaction against the modernizing forces of science and rationality that were beginning to transform European society.

Continuing into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this increasingly sentimentalized Virgin became the focus of numerous apparitions, often involving adolescent girls such as Bernadette of Lourdes (1844–1879) in 1858 or three of the four young visionaries at Medjugore in the 1980s, suggesting a powerful cultural unconscious that continues to be shaped by religious desires resistant to the control of the dominant Western narrative of secularization and science. Accompanying this has been a rapid growth in pilgrimages, so that perhaps more people visit Marian shrines in the early twenty-first century than ever before in history. Within all these phenomena there are powerful forces at work, shaping and reflecting the image of woman in the context of ideals of piety associated with modern Catholicism. The late twentieth century, however, also saw the beginnings of a transformation of Mary in Christian theology and devotion, attributable partly to the influences of feminist and liberation theologies, and also to a new ecumenical interest in Mary since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965).

MARY IN MODERNITY

The role of Mary in relation to Christ and the church generated one of the most heated debates of the Second Vatican Council, focusing on the question of whether or not there should be a separate document devoted to her. In the end, the council's teaching on Mary formed chapter 8 of the document on the church, *Lumen Gentium*, reflecting the belief of a narrow majority that Mary must be understood in relation to the church rather than in glorious isolation. An unintended consequence of this was a rapid decline in Catholic devotion to Mary after the council. Under the papacy of John Paul II (r. 1978–2005) and influenced by the Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), the last two decades of the twentieth century saw a revival of Marian devotion, often associated with resistance to feminist campaigns for women's ordination and for the affirmation of full sexual equality in the institutional life of the Catholic Church. At the same time, feminist and liberationist perspectives have focused on the biblical Mary as a woman of the people and champion of the poor and oppressed, while seeking to divest her of cultic attributes that are seen as anachronistic and oppressive to women. Others have argued that, as Queen of Heaven and Mother of God, Mary is a powerful focus for feminized forms of spirituality and devotion—whether or not she is accorded the status of a goddess—and that it is important to revitalize

rather than reject this aspect of her cult (Spretnak 2004). Still others have sought to explore her significance from the perspectives of psychoanalysis and critical theory (Beattie 2002, Boss 1999).

MARY BEYOND CHRISTIANITY

Developments in interreligious dialogue have led to some interest in Mary's relevance for non-Christian religions, although this is still an underresearched area. The most significant focus on Mary outside Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity is to be found in Islam (Smith and Haddad 1989). Known by her Arabic name, Mariyam, she is the only woman specifically named in the Qur'an and the nineteenth chapter of the Qur'an is named after her. Although Islam rejects the Christian claim that Jesus was divine, the Koran affirms Mary's virginal motherhood, and many Muslims hold her in high regard. Mary might also be a figure of interest for Christian–Jewish dialogue, given that she is the one through whom Jesus acquired his Jewish identity, and bearing in mind her identification with the Jewish people, for example in the words of the “Magnificat,” the hymn of praise attributed to Mary in Luke's gospel. Nevertheless, there has been a strong anti-Jewish tendency in some Marian art and devotion—particularly during the Middle Ages—and this is also an area that would benefit from further research.

As the influence of formal religion has declined in the West, so renewed interest in Mary has arisen in the context of the New Age movement and postmodern spiritualities. A growing number of art historians and religious historians are recognizing the importance of Marian studies for their disciplines. In many non-Western societies, Marian devotion is shaped by syncretistic encounters between indigenous religions and the Catholic tradition, providing rich areas for anthropological and sociological research. As the study of gender develops its methodologies and insights, it will bring new questions to bear on the understanding of Mary's role as the great maternal figure of the Christian tradition, and as a powerful but enigmatic influence on changing Christian concepts of womanhood and God.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Fatima.*

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Tina Beattie

MASCULINITY

This entry contains the following:

- I. OVERVIEW
Lance Norman
- II. ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS
Lance Norman
- III. CONTEMPORARY THEORIES
Lance Norman
- IV. IN MEDIA AND CULTURE
Lance Norman

I. OVERVIEW

Many contemporary researchers of masculinity have suggested that a unitary conception of masculinity provides an illusionary heterogeneous perception of the masculine

gender. In the place of a single masculinity, a plethora of masculinities emerge. Understanding that the idea of masculinity always contains various masculinities allows for fluid definitions of masculinity based on the culture and the historical period in which a man lives. In each culture there may be multiple conceptions of masculinity, which depend on the position the man fills within the culture. To some extent the difference between a unitary masculinity and a variety of masculinities can be understood as the distinction between sex and gender. A single masculinity suggests a vision of masculinity based on a biologically determined sexual binary, whereas masculinities also involve an understanding of gender as culturally, socially, and historically derived.

BIOLOGICALLY DETERMINED MASCULINITY

The debate surrounding attempts to define masculinity has never completely left behind the effort to conceptualize masculinity as a product of biology. From Lionel Tiger's hypothesis in *Men in Groups* (1969), that aggressive masculine behavioral traits are a biological evolutionary inheritance deriving from the emergence of hunting societies, to more scientifically based arguments founded on levels of testosterone and DNA structures, biological definitions of masculinity have always played an important role in understanding the masculine.

Yet it has been argued that a biologically based definition of masculinity does not add to an understanding of gender. Instead, definitions relying on biology serve an essentializing function. Biological definitions use further understanding of the body to differentiate the masculine and the feminine from each other and thereby reinforce a two-gender dichotomy that was presumed from the beginning. In this way a biological definition of masculinity can become a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy in which bodily difference is used to transform a known difference into an all-important difference. Through such a definition biology is used to confirm what is already known, and the fluid factors that are part of the formation of the masculine, such as culture and history, are minimized if not completely ignored.

Once the impact of history and culture are taken into account, it becomes apparent that the biological determinist view of a unitary conception of masculinity is out of the question, replaced by a plurality of masculinities, each culturally specific, demonstrating not only masculinity in a given society at a certain historical time, but a man who occupies a certain hierarchical position in a given society at a certain historical time. The progression of European and North American masculinity demonstrates the increasing importance individualism plays in masculinity until the very individualism that is so fundamental to masculinity becomes a threat to the masculine ideal.

EARLY MODERN MASCULINITY

Despite the plurality of masculinities, the dominance and influence of North American and European masculinity cannot be overstated. Through the hegemony of its representation within the world's economic, cultural, and media institutions, such masculinity is perched atop the hierarchy of masculinities. In *Masculinities*, R. W. Connell notes that "[m]asculinity is not just an idea in the head, or a personal identity. It is also extended in the world, merged in organized social relations" (1995, p. 29).

Connell suggests that the emergence of the modern conception of dominant European and North American masculinity emerged along with the political, social, religious, and economic transformations of the Early Modern period (1501–1800). Protestantism was destabilizing the dominance of Catholicism, and with this destabilization a new masculine ideal was emerging. Part of this ideal was the privileging of heterosexual marriage, as a masculine sexual ideal emerged that rivaled the purity of denial of sexual desire.

Even more significantly the Protestant religious model offered an individualized vision of masculinity as a substitute for a unitary conception of masculinity more comprehensively integrated with the community. While Catholicism offered religion as a community activity in that religion was based upon interaction with a priest and a congregation, Protestantism placed religion in the hands of the individual, as each individual is in control of their own interaction with God. This created an idea of masculinity that set the stage for Enlightenment (1650–1790) thinking wherein masculinity becomes connected with individual subjectivity. The masculine becomes idealized as an individual in complete control of their destiny.

ENLIGHTENMENT MASCULINITY

During the Enlightenment the masculine would remain firmly connected with the idea of individual subjectivity, but the intellect would replace religion as the model demonstrating this masculine independence. More than the representative example that illuminates subjectivity as an integral component of masculinity, the intellect itself becomes part of the essence of masculinity. In part, to be masculine is to exhibit reason.

Set up in opposition to this masculine ideal of reason is the natural. In *Unreasonable Men*, Victor J. Seidler suggests that "[t]here was a crucial sense in which masculinity occupied a central space within modernity and in which reason and progress were to be tied with the control and domination of nature" (1994, p. viii). The dialectic between masculine reason and a feminine natural was troubling in part because the natural does not have an oppositional status to reason. In order to make

the opposition work, the cultural in general and the cities in particular become conceptualized as the sites where masculine reason is enacted. In this way the city and culture in general become bastions of the reasonable masculine opposing the madness of the natural.

Within this conception it is clear how European and North American empire building becomes a project founded on a vision of reason-based masculinity. From the British project of colonizing India to American Vice-President Teddy Roosevelt's justification of the United States's early twentieth-century involvement in the Philippines as an effort to bring light to the world's dark places, colonization can be seen as the Enlightenment program of bringing masculinity and (by implication) reason and civilization where it apparently does not exist. Colonization is an effort to make the world more masculine.

As the flip side of colonization, slavery offers a vision of multiple masculinities. Slaves can be objectified because they are more natural and less associated with reason. In essence slaves are conceptualized as less masculine. Yet in the process of bringing a reasoning vision of masculinity to the world, those individuals doing the colonizing seem to exhibit a vision of masculinity quite distant from reasoning masculinity. In their extreme and violent acts the colonizers demonstrate a masculine type based on physicality over reason.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN MASCULINITY

America was able to offer a microcosmic ideal of imperialist masculinity in that the country itself provided a space for the individual man to exert physical masculinity and demonstrate virility through colonizing the natural. In *The History of Men* (2005), Michael S. Kimmel describes two types of masculinity apparent in nineteenth-century America: the Genteel Patriarch and the Heroic Artisan. The Genteel Patriarch version of masculinity derived the ideal of masculinity through the ownership of property. He was "refined, elegant, and given to casual sensuousness, he was a devoted father who spent his time on his estate and his family" (p. 38). In contrast, the Heroic Artisan developed his ideal vision of masculinity upon his own body and ability to control his surroundings. This idea of masculinity was focused on bodily strength and workplace independence.

Due to the industrial boom in the middle of the nineteenth century, a crisis developed in American masculinity and a third idea of masculinity developed in America. Kimmel characterizes this new vision of masculinity as *Marketplace Manhood*. Marketplace Manhood embraces a conception of masculinity entirely dependent on economic success, and in contradistinction to both the Genteel Patriarch and the Heroic Artisan, Marketplace Manhood develops its masculine ideal as separate from

the home and the family. Marketplace Manhood quickly moved from being an idea of masculinity to becoming the dominant conception of masculinity. Whereas this form of masculinity became dominant as a cultural ideal, it was relatively unstable on the individual level. As masculinity is founded on something as unstable as a fluid economic market, masculinity becomes something that constantly needs to be proved and is seemingly in constant danger of being lost. This idea develops in close chronological proximity to the closing of the American frontier. Fantasies of the frontier become important to understanding the nineteenth-century masculine ideal. Wilderness novels became very popular and depicted the American wilderness as a masculine realm where men can go and rediscover an untroubling idea of the masculine without the corrupting influence of the city and the feminine. Over the course of a century the city had been transformed from a bastion of masculine reason into an indicator of masculinity in crisis.

SEE ALSO *Femme*; *Manliness*.

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II. ATTRIBUTES AND FUNCTIONS

Many critics attempt to explain the various functions of masculinity through a vision of gender that can only be defined in opposition. In this view masculinity may transform its meaning across cultures and across history but is always understood in relation to femininity. In *Masculinities* (1995), sociologist Robert Connell suggests that "[m]asculinity as an object of knowledge is always masculinity-in-relation" (p. 44). Men's studies theorists believe these differences are an inherent part of the study of gender. In *The History of Men* (2005) sociologist Michael S. Kimmel argues that white heterosexual men as the superordinate masculine category in Europe and North America suffer from an invisibility that is the inverse of that encountered by minorities and women. Women and minorities tend to experience visibility as

members of a group but invisibility as individuals, whereas dominant men experience hypervisibility as individuals but invisibility as a part of a group. Thus defining masculinity, which exists in a shifting context, requires understanding a dominant group whose position as a group is consistently overshadowed by the visibility of its individual members.

Even attempts to make the dominant masculine visible without conceptualizing the opposite must to some extent deal with masculinity as *masculinity-in-relation*. An example is analyzed in *Castration* scholar and author Gary Taylor (2000). Taylor's project of examining the historical significance of the eunuch over the course of European history examines the fluid concept of masculinity by placing critical focus on what masculinity is not. According to Taylor, "[b]y helping us identify what a man is *not*, the eunuch clarifies what a man *is*" (p. 13). Masculinity cannot be defined in itself. It must be defined in relation to its antithesis. Significantly Taylor shares with Connell and Kimmel a desire to understand what the masculine is. Yet this proves a difficult project when its antithesis cannot be agreed upon.

THE EUROPEAN MODEL

Despite the conflict surrounding just what the *other* of masculinity is, masculinity is typically equated with dominance. Indeed anthropologists often argue about whether, due to the prevalence of patriarchy, it is possible to conceptualize masculinity without a vision of the uneven power dynamic between men and women and a consideration of masculine privilege. Some theories suggest that the way the dominant masculine controls the culture of European and North American society is the result of a confluence among the emergence of capitalism, the European idea of masculinity, and modernity. In this analysis capitalism and masculinity both offer a new understanding of the power relations that arose amid a newly developing social order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The respective hierarchies of masculinity and capitalism may be different facets of the same system of domination. Anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss analyzed the manner in which the masculine/capitalist system came to be equated with cultural dominance. Although he described marriage in neutral terms in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1969), Lévi-Strauss demonstrates that marriage is a clear manifestation of the masculine/capitalist system because it is a key institution for the perpetuation of community. Marriage allows one group of men to forge a bond with another group of men by using women as an object of exchange.

The masculine/capitalist system seeks to impose a normative European model of masculinity on other cultures. Widespread acceptance of the European model has resulted in the elimination of variations of the masculine

developed in non-European societies, and indeed these other models are often considered to be nonnormative and inappropriate. As Connell notes, "[F]or the first time in history, there is a prospect of all indigenous gender regimes foundering under this institutional and cultural pressure. Some gender configurations have already gone. One example is the Confucian tradition of male homosexuality in China" (1995, p. 199).

EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF THE DOMINANT MASCULINE

The intimate connection of masculinity with power and control both within a culture and among cultures helps demonstrate a contradictory element of masculinity. Even though much of European and North American culture is based on the dominating institutions and systems of masculinity, many individual men must confront feelings of powerlessness. To a certain degree this can be explained because some men experience subordinate versions of masculinity due to race and sexuality. In *Recreating Men* (2000), social sciences lecturer and author Bob Pease describes this as "a recognition that their social or institutionalized power may not always correlate with their experience as individual men" (p. 9). Men can experience powerlessness on an individual level juxtaposed to the dominant hierarchical vision of masculinity. Some theorists suggest that individual powerlessness is an offshoot of European and North American industrialization. Industrialization emerges as a cultural factor that destabilizes individual masculinity.

Because masculinity must be proved and reproved at the individual level, aggression among men is a fundamental component of masculinity. Aggression provides another means, in addition to race and sexuality, to demonstrate hierarchy. It takes different forms in different masculine subcultures but at root always functions as a means of establishing dominance. In a working-class subculture, actual violence and physical strength are often used to establish roles in the hierarchy, whereas in an office environment the hierarchy might be established in economic terms. Paradoxically while masculinity based on strength is far from the norm in early-twenty-first-century European and North American cultures, it is still the dominant ideal. Media depictions of masculinity often glorify physical strength and the classical masculine physique.

In an effort to demonstrate biological roots for masculinity, some researchers have attempted to find analogous tendencies toward violence in male primates. This research has proven fruitful, particularly in the study of chimpanzees. Male chimpanzees engage in behavior that approximates that exhibited by humans in forming war parties. Males leave the group with the express purpose of attacking and killing members of a different group.

While such research has been championed as the biological link between masculinity and aggression, it is important to note that other anthropological studies suggest that aggression is cultural and not biological. Although some researchers have expressed skepticism as to the rigor of her research methodology, in *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1963) anthropologist Margaret Mead posited aggression as a cultural rather than masculine trait. Mead examined three cultures in New Guinea. In the Arapesh, she found a lack of aggression in both women and men; in the Mundugumor, men and women were both aggressive; and in the Tchambuli, the gender norm was reversed because women possessed the social power in the culture.

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III. CONTEMPORARY THEORIES

One of the most significant twentieth-century insights on the subject of masculinity was the differentiation between the masculine as a gender category and maleness as a biological category. In defining masculinity as the fluid and complex interactions of the cultural, psychological, and social and maleness, alternatively, as the biological, researchers demonstrated that masculinity has variations and a hierarchy instead of being merely a simple and unrealistic unitary category.

PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES OF IDENTITY FORMATION

Sigmund Freud separated masculinity from biology with his psychological model of identity formation. Freud suggested that gender formation was not fixed. Instead numerous psychological conflicts that, at times, can con-

tradict each other contribute to the concept of masculinity. Fundamental to the development of masculinity is the Oedipal complex. In the Oedipal complex biologically male children are attracted to the mother. This attraction is seen as a threat to the position of the father. In comparing the mother to the father a male child recognizes the mother as a castrated form of the father. Unconsciously fearing his own castration the boy shifts allegiance from the mother and tries to identify with the father and become like him. Freud's Oedipal and castration theories provide a normative, though individual, model for identity formation. Male children evolve through the individual and unconscious Oedipal and castration complexes, thereby forging a normative masculinity. Instead of a unified concept of the masculine, Freud offers the possibility for nearly endless variations that can develop as a result of each individual attempt to reach a normative ideal.

Heavily influenced by the work of French psychiatrist Jacques Lacan, some post-World War II theories argue the fear of castration by the father as a component of masculine identity formation in more overtly symbolic and communal terms. Castration is the act that inaugurates the individual into culture. In this view masculinity becomes synonymous with society, and castration becomes the act of entry into patriarchy. Some theorists have criticized these symbolic characterizations of castration as regards African-American masculinity. Recognizing the reality of lynching and castration in the African-American experience, Marlon B. Ross compares symbolic castration to actual castration. Ross says that "From the viewpoint of race theory and African American history, this [comparison] reduces castration to an illusory anxiety afflicting transcendent male subjectivity by obscuring the *historical fact* of castration as a systematic instrument of torture and discipline practiced by white men against African Americans from the time of enslavement through the era of Jim Crow" (2002, p. 312).

GENDER AND BIOLOGY: EVOLVING FREUD'S THEORIES

Freud concluded that each individual was psychologically bisexual: Masculine and feminine traits existed in everyone. In addition to resisting a unitary construction of masculinity, Freud's position on bisexuality firmly divides biology from gender. The feminine man and the masculine woman become combinations of biology and gender that are not only possible but are likely.

The idea that gender and biology are separate was adopted and politicized by self-proclaimed radical feminists such as John Stoltenberg. Stoltenberg disavows "the identity structure that is manhood, or male sexual identity as I call it here: the official man stuff; the belief that between oneself and female humans there is a definitional

divide, a moral and morphological discontinuity, a separation in the species” (2000, p. xxv). Although Stoltenberg uses the term manhood and not masculinity, his conception of manhood is analogous to that of masculinity discussed previously in this entry. Manhood is a social construction that must be renounced to alleviate the oppression of women. All men who silently accept masculine privilege by conforming to the system help to maintain the inferior position of women in society. Consistent with attempts to abolish racial disparities, Stoltenberg argues that institutionalized oppression in matters of sex and gender can be overcome by rejecting the ideal of masculinity. Significantly Stoltenberg’s utopian view proffers the possibility that masculinity is a choice. As a socially determined category it can be accepted or rejected as an individual sees fit.

Although he does not address Stoltenberg directly, sociologist Robert Connell in *Masculinities* (1995) argues against such a strict social construction of masculinity. Connell says that a definition of masculinity based on the social replicates some of the same deficiencies as a model based entirely on biology. Similar to the way biological models reduce gender to a binary, models of masculinity based entirely on the social fail to take proper account of the physical body. In essence the body is transformed into a blank slate for the social to code its vision of masculinity, uninfluenced by physical characteristics. Connell suggests that “it is not enough to assert the significance of bodily difference, important as this has been in recent feminist theory. We need to assert the activity, literally the *agency*, of bodies in social processes” (p. 60). Connell’s theory of masculinity suggests that the body is neither a physical indicator of masculinity nor irrelevant to the production of masculinity. The activities the body engages in, the practice and limitations of the body, become fundamental to the social construction of masculinity.

Sociologist Joseph Pleck’s critique of sex role theory helped add fluidity to the conception of masculinity. Pleck is skeptical about the relationship between normative socially constructed sex roles and psychic health. Freud emphasized the separation of masculinity from biology and the theory of multiple variations on masculinity, whereas many of his successors focus on the idea of a socially constructed masculinity that individuals should model. Pleck’s critique of sex role theory helped add more fluidity to the conception of masculinity. Pleck is skeptical about the relationship between normative socially constructed sex roles and psychic health. Socially constructed sex roles can be oppressive and create anxiety and societal pressure on those individuals who do not or cannot live up to the constructed norm. A socially normative sex role may not be necessary, or even desirable, for the individual who is being influenced to conform.

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IV. IN MEDIA AND CULTURE

Critics who examine media representations and cultural ideals of masculinity often focus on a normative model. In looking at celebrations and critiques in a particular society, one is able to determine what an individual culture values as masculine. The media provides ideal images of appropriate masculinity that men everywhere are expected to emulate. By adopting the idealized model of masculinity, a man can demonstrate both to himself and to those he interacts with that he has learned the gendered stratification of society. In addition, media depictions of masculinity show where individual men have fallen short in their efforts. Through establishing and maintaining a masculine norm, the media implicitly imposes a value judgment. The nonnormative is categorized as a failure of masculinity.

Depictions of masculinity through media and culture are often interdependent. Cultural norms define how the media represents masculinity, yet the media can reinforce ideals, or destabilize them and point the way toward a newer and more appropriate standard.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS AND MASCULINITY

Legendary star of movie westerns John Wayne is a good example of the well-established media representation of American masculinity. In *In a Man’s World* (1985), Perry Garfinkel lists some of the aspects of masculinity Wayne evokes. According to Garfinkel, this archetype demonstrates an essential connection between masculinity and success. A real man always achieves his goals. Aggressive or outright violent action is frequently necessary in order to succeed and is a clear indicator of masculinity and manliness. Aggression is merely a tool that the masculine hero uses to achieve his goal. The John Wayne model of



John Wayne. *The figure of John Wayne is a well-established media representations of American masculinity.* THE KOBAL COLLECTION.

masculinity also suggests that a man is always in control of his emotions. Whereas feelings such as revenge may serve as part of a man's moral compass, such emotions should never be displayed. Finally this is a solitary model, each man standing alone. The ideal man needs help from no one. He is capable of achieving his goals by himself, with nothing to guide him but his inner determination and morality.

Whereas the overt manifestation of the John Wayne archetype appears in the mid-twentieth century, the model first appeared in early-twentieth-century novels by writers such as Zane Gray and the wilderness novels of the nineteenth century. In *The History of Men* (2005), Michael S. Kimmel offers the emergence of the American wilderness novel as a reaction against industrialization. According to Kimmel works such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) by James Fennimore Cooper and *Moby Dick* (1851) by Herman Melville were attempts to work out a crisis of masculinity.

Industrialization presents a vision of a feminized society. In an effort to become masculine again, men must escape the female-dominated cities and rediscover the primitive essence of manliness. In the wilderness men do not have to deal with women or with their own

heterosexuality in any substantive sense. Male bonding replaces heterosexuality; the white man escapes from the city and meets a nonwhite man who knows the way of the wilderness. The homoerotic nature of such male bonding is usually explicit, and the bond is characterized as "a love between males, more enduring and purer than any heterosexual passion" (Fiedler 1960, p. 212). The John Wayne archetype owes an explicit debt to the wilderness novel. Both ideas evoke a nobler vision of masculinity in which the rigid laws of the city are replaced by the primitive but fair laws of men.

The major difference between the John Wayne archetype and the wilderness novel archetype is that the former has tried, unsuccessfully, to exorcise the male bonding component that is so fundamental to the wilderness narrative. As the white hero who prefers the wilderness to the city and who is capable of executing his aggressive creed of success by himself, John Wayne offers a much more restrictive vision of normative masculine modeling. Whereas the wilderness narrative may have empowered the white over the nonwhite, in the John Wayne archetype, the nonwhite tends to be banned from the heroic frame of reference. In so doing the homoerotic element is diminished. The question then is whether the John Wayne archetype frees the masculine image from other racialized visions of masculinity and homoerotic desire or whether it subsumes various models under the exterior of a homogenous, white, heterosexual ideal. Though the John Wayne white heterosexual loner archetype is replicated within the spaghetti westerns of Italian film director Sergio Leone, such films as a genre by no means exclude male bonding: *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), *The Wild Bunch* (1969), and *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) bring male bonding back to the forefront. However with some notable exceptions, such as Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven* (1992), male bonding in westerns is among white men. Men of other races are excluded from the dynamic. So although there are mixed signals regarding the homoerotic component of normative masculine modeling in westerns, the genre provides a clearer image regarding race: The idealized masculine type is always white.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MASCULINE MODEL IN AN URBAN SOCIETY

When the ideals of the western are transposed to industrial settings, the traditional wilderness narrative of a white man bonding with a nonwhite man reappears, as in the Mel Gibson–Danny Glover *Lethal Weapon* films (1987–1998) and the Bill Cosby–Robert Culp television series *I Spy* (1965–1968). The John Wayne archetype reasserts itself in Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* movies and the revenge scenarios of some 1980s action films

such as those popularized by Arnold Schwarzenegger (e.g., *The Terminator* [1984]). These examples show how difficult it is to develop a unified model of masculinity in an urban environment. Multiple models of masculinity are most apparent in these settings; relational boundaries among men and among men of different races are blurry. In this context some critics have focused on the version of masculinity presented in the Chris Tucker–Jackie Chan’s *Rush Hour* films. These films present an opportunity to explore the way the media portrays male bonding and masculinity involving two men who are not white.

No single masculine norm is available either from the media or through other cultural manifestations. Whereas the John Wayne archetype provides the ideal of a unified model, the archetype does not exist in a vacuum. Film portrayals of men of different races, disparate economic status, and diverse sexual preferences indicate a crisis in society’s ability to define masculinity. People no longer have one widely accepted normative role to embrace and emulate, causing a reevaluation of the validity of prior unitary models.

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MASTURBATION

The word *masturbation* is thought to come from a Latin version of two Greek words, one for *the penis* and the other meaning *to disturb*. It did not appear in English until the middle of the nineteenth century; however, the concept of masturbation goes back in art, literature, and myth to ancient times. The Navajo have creation myths involving masturbation, as did the ancient Hindus and Egyptians. In Egypt, the god Atum is said to have created

the entire universe and the Nile River by masturbating. The Greeks tolerated both male and female masturbation, and the Roman physician Galen advised women to masturbate in order to make themselves more fertile.

The ancient example of masturbation that became best known in modern times appears in the biblical story of Onan, whose name became a synonym for male masturbation, or onanism. Onan was condemned for spilling his seed on the ground, which was taken as a biblical condemnation of masturbation; however, scholars point out that Onan’s sin was not necessarily masturbation itself, but the failure to fulfill his duty to impregnate his brother’s widow by purposely ejaculating outside her body, which he did in order to secure his own claim to his brother’s goods rather than create heirs who would usurp him.

Masturbation, or onanism, was not popularly discussed until the publication of the anti-masturbation tract *Onania* in 1716, a pamphlet that circulated myths and testimonials about the debilitating physical, mental, and moral effects of masturbation in order to sell powders and tinctures that would supposedly remedy it. Many illnesses ranging from skin disorders to depression were attributed to masturbation. Half a century later, Samuel-August Tissot (1728–1797) published his medical treatise, *L’Onanisme*, in 1760, where he argued the ill effects that accompanied loss of semen from the body. These included nervous disorders, weakness, loss of memory, blurred vision, and headaches. Tissot considered that alteration of blood flow during sexual activity could result in nerve damage, blindness, and insanity. This negative view of masturbation continued well into the nineteenth century, when bland food, cold baths, and exercise were among the methods devised to prevent masturbation.

Nineteenth-century sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) considered masturbation a perversion, and equated it with homosexuality and pederasty, which he conflated. Krafft-Ebing was a man of his time in viewing masturbation as a perversion. Back then masturbation was considered a practice outside of sex, which was narrowly defined as heterosexual sexual intercourse. Thus mutual masturbation, which is viewed in the early twenty-first century as a sexual practice between partners, would have been viewed in his day as a strange vice rather than as sexual expression.

Blindness, hairy palms, and stunted growth were three of the most common disorders thought to stem from masturbation. Graham crackers and Kellogg’s Corn Flakes were invented at this time to remedy the spicier, meat-filled diet thought by some to induce sexual excitement. Schools and dormitories were designed to facilitate greater surveillance of children in order to prevent them from draining their energies through what was termed

self-abuse. Strange harnesses were invented to restrain erections in boys, and to prevent girls from touching their own genitals. Some doctors argued that circumcision in males and carbolic acid applied to the clitoris for females would effectively curb the impulse to masturbate. Other doctors went further, actually cauterizing the genitals of their young patients.

This notion of masturbation as an activity that weakened the body persisted well into the twentieth century. At the same time, however, doctors also began experimenting with vibrating machines in order to induce orgasm in their unhappy female patients. Diagnosing them as sexually frustrated, doctors reasoned that regularly induced orgasms would alleviate their symptoms of depression. Masturbating female patients to orgasm was considered a viable medical treatment for hysteria, though in the early 2000s the use of a vibrator by a woman in a similar manner on herself would be considered masturbation, and use of a vibrator on her by another would be considered sexual activity. Eventually doctors permitted women to treat themselves at home by using vibrators to release their unhealthy, pent-up nervous energy, though it is doubtful that this was considered masturbation until much later.

Masturbation was still considered a nervous disorder until 1940, but attitudes began to change after that. Alfred Kinsey, (1894–1956) author of the landmark *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), argued that masturbation was a common and harmless sexual practice, and that the medical establishment largely shared this view. In *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, published five years later in 1953, Kinsey felt obliged to debunk the old myths about masturbation causing such undesirable conditions as: facial pimples; mental dullness; poor posture; stomach upsets; ovarian pains; ovarian cysts; cancer; appendicitis; various infections; weak eyes; sterility; headaches; kidney troubles; weak hearts; lack of hormones; and other troubles. He argued that there was no evidence of any causal link between masturbation and these symptoms, and even went so far as to point out that people who had moral objections to masturbation were also those who most often insisted that physical and mental damage had resulted from their activity (Kinsey 1953). By the time William H. Masters (1915–2001) and Virginia Johnson (b. 1925) published *Human Sexual Response* in 1966, masturbation was considered a healthy form of self-exploration that could help people achieve greater sexual satisfaction with a partner, employing the logic that practice makes perfect.

Negative views of masturbation persisted in the form of religious teachings long after medicine began to view masturbation as harmless. The Roman Catholic Church has condemned masturbation as an unnatural act since the thirteenth century, when Thomas Aquinas (1225–

1274) defined male-female sexual intercourse as the natural and best use of the genitals according to God's plan. Modern church teaching views masturbation as unchaste and lustful because it is carried on alone, and thus is not sexuality expressed within the context of marriage. Most Evangelical and Fundamentalist groups, including Mormons, condemn masturbation as sinful, guilty, and unclean. Wiccans, neo-pagans, and liberal Protestants view masturbation as either inherently harmless or a healthy and joyous expression of human sexuality. Orthodox Judaism forbids male masturbation as a waste of seed but says nothing about female masturbation.

Masturbation has gradually become more and more culturally acceptable toward the end of the twentieth century, especially as a safe-sex practice in the wake of the human immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV) and acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) crisis. Mutual masturbation is one of the least risky forms of sexual behavior that any couple can engage in, and health professionals have increasingly touted it as an alternative to heterosexual and homosexual intercourse and oral sex. However, old cultural and moral biases die hard. Surgeon General Jocelyn Elders (b. 1933) was forced to resign in 1994 when she was asked at a United Nations conference on AIDS whether masturbation should be promoted among young people as an alternative form of sexual behavior, and she agreed that perhaps it should be taught.

The most common type of male masturbation involves manual stimulation of the penis. Masturbation can be done alone, with a partner, or in groups, though touching others is now considered to be a form of sexual activity rather than masturbation as understood in its older sense—an activity outside of partnered sexual expression. Forms of male masturbation include manual stroking of the penis by using a loose fist to move up and down the shaft, or using one's fist to masturbate someone else. This varies depending on circumcision; uncircumcised penises can be masturbated by moving the foreskin back and forth. Kinsey noted boys who would masturbate against a mattress or other objects. In order to stimulate the prostate, some men masturbate with dildos or fingers in their anuses. Auto-fellatio is an option for more limber males; there is some fascination for this practice evidenced in gay male pornography.

Some men rub their penises against the bodies of others in a sexual practice known as *frottage* or *outer-course*. Some men enjoy enemas while masturbating. Others like inserting tubes or objects into their urethral opening. Men can also masturbate into sleeves that are fashioned to resemble vaginas, anuses, or mouths. These are usually made of silicone, and are sold as sex toys. Masturbating in a group of men is known as a *circle jerk*. This can involve a homosexual object, where men look at each other or another man, or a heterosexual object,

where men watch a woman. Either one of these dynamics can involve pornography. Many people consider group masturbation homoerotic regardless of object choice, though this position is a controversial one, especially among homophobic men.

Female masturbation is also primarily a manual activity, though this has changed with the recent surge in popularity of dildos and vibrators in mainstream urban culture. Women can rub their vulvas and clitorises with their fingers, use a dildo inserted into the vagina or anus, touch their breasts with the other hand, or do all of these things together. Some women use vibrators to stimulate their clitorises while touching their genitals with their hands or using dildos. Some women are able to stimulate their clitorises and vulva region simply by squeezing their legs together. Others may rub their clitorises against another person, or use a pillow or other object to rub against. Kinsey noted women who masturbated using the following: pillows; clothing; chairs; beds; streaming water; douches; enemas; urethral insertions; and sadomasochistic activity.

Public sites where people seem most likely to engage in masturbation include: theaters featuring pornographic films; theaters and clubs with private booths where patrons pay to watch female or male exotic dancers; peep shows; sex clubs; the back rooms of bars; public bathrooms; fraternity houses; stag parties; public parks; erotic bookstores; and sex shops. Masturbation is technically illegal in most of these because it violates public decency statutes, but the custom of many of these places is that patrons go there to masturbate or to meet partners for casual sexual encounters. At the dawn of the film era in the late nineteenth century, peep shows offered patrons private booths to view short erotic films and photographs. Later on, movie houses showing erotic films sprang up in urban areas, usually near erotic bookstores, strip clubs, and sex clubs. Before home video and DVD players, public places were one of the few ways people without access to movie projectors could consume erotic films. Because the purpose of these films is usually sexual arousal, public masturbation and public sex were routinely part of the experience.

With the advent of home video, pornography is primarily consumed in the home, and masturbating to such material is less and less a public activity. At the same time, sex clubs have attained a new prominence and respectability, especially in Europe. There have long been sex shows all over the world where couples and single people could watch others copulating onstage; these days, however, sex clubs offer people the option of group sexual encounters and masturbation in semi-private, elite settings. Some clubs require couples only, and most select members on the basis of beauty, age, and sexual orienta-

tion. Almost all charge hefty fees in order to screen out casual voyeurs.

Masturbation in the twentieth century shed much of its stigma as a solitary vice, gaining a new respectability with public emphasis focusing on safe sex as a means of avoiding HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. This medical and activist campaign to feature masturbation as an alternative to potentially riskier forms of sexual activity such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, and oral sex has been thwarted in many areas of the world hardest hit by HIV transmission, such as the United States and parts of Africa, by social and religious conservatism. However, medical support for masturbation as a safer sexual practice continues to grow, and may eventually be able to counter much of the moral opposition still attending masturbation in many parts of the world today.

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Jaime Hovey

MATRIARCHY

Matriarchy—from the Greek roots *metr-*, mother, and *-arch*, rule, beginning, origin, or source—describes a society in which mothers rule. In a true matriarchy, the mothers in a society would hold political power over all members of that society (men included), control the economic welfare of the society, and be held in highest esteem socially. In a matriarchate, descent would be determined through the female line (matrilineality), the mother would be the head of the household, and children would belong to the maternal clan. A society where women (regardless of whether they have given birth and become mothers) rule would be called a gynocracy, from the Greek for woman, *gynē*. The two terms, however, are often used interchangeably in both academic and non-academic discussion in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

While anthropologists of the nineteenth century, such as the Swiss jurist Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–

1887), found the idea of a prehistoric matriarchal order useful in their descriptions of societal structure evolving from female-centered to male-centered, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries this view has excited feminist writers and thinkers more than it has anthropologists. In his *Mutterrecht* (Mother Right), Bachofen argues that social structure originated in hetaerism, or sexual communism, before moving to a matriarchy. Bachofen's matriarchate saw the beginning of social regulation, the birth of agriculture, and the worship of a mother goddess. Controlling agriculture and its surplus goods, women were in possession of economic power. A patriarchal rebellion followed the matriarchate and led to the devaluation of women's social status and their political and economic power.

At the same time as Bachofen put forth his theories of Mother Right, Henry Sumner Maine (1822–1888) published a work supporting the opposite theory: that patriarchy was “the primeval condition of human race” (Maine 1861). Thus began the unending—because of scant evidence on both sides—battle between the matriarchists and patriarchists.

Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) furthered the idea of male domination following a matriarchate in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. Engels explains the success of the male rebellion due to male control of moveable wealth in a society: domesticated animals. So long as inheritance continued through the female line, however, men still needed to overthrow Mother Right. Engels smoothly and easily paves the way for rebellion by way of a legal decree, without explanation: offspring of male members of a family should remain members of that family rather than that of the mother. The end of matrilineality leads to the dissolution of the matriarchate.

Bachofen's theory of an early era of matriarchy stems in part from the obvious powerful reproductive role of the female—the female as the *arch*, the origin of all other beings—but was mainly inspired by myths of powerful and influential women and the worship of female goddesses, for example the ancient Greek myth of the Amazons and Indian worship of a great mother goddess.

The Amazons were a mythical group of warrior women (perhaps with a factual basis) who forbade men from their society, using them only for reproduction. They are depicted on vases and friezes as both strong and beautiful. The Greeks tell several tales of these warrior women, often portraying them as an unnatural version of woman, or the “other.” Indeed, Bachofen himself considered the Amazons an extremist group bound to failure because they lived outside an acknowledged social system. Despite, or because of, their otherness, the Amazons elicited strong desires in the Greeks. There are tales of Greek kings equally falling in love with Amazons (Theseus for Hippolyte, or Melanippe, or Antiope;

Achilles for Penthesilea at the moment in which he kills her) and declaring war on them. The Pantheon, that grand edifice of Athenian thought and religion, depicts the battle with the Amazons on its Doric frieze, along with those against the Giants and the Centaurs, and the sack of Troy. The Amazons, then, figured in the Greek Athenian imagination among other mythic barbaric or foreign groups to be conquered.

Bachofen's reading of myth for history would be well served by anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski's (1926) idea of myth as social charter: Myth is the cultural history of societies that use their myths to replicate or reorder their social experience. Such use of a myth of matriarchy can be found in South American societies, particularly in the extreme southeast tip of the continent, and in the tropical rainforests of northwest Amazon and central Brazil (Bamberger 1974, p. 268). Myths of the rule of women in these places are used to reaffirm the patriarchal order. The stories are told to show that women did not know how to wield power when they held it, or that they tricked men and were found out in their tricks. Women's powerful biological role is subverted by her immorality in these tales. Instead of promising a bright future (because of a powerful past) for women, the tales of the Mother Right in South America remind of a dark past replete with failures.

Neither these tales of a rule of women full of chaos and trickery, nor Bachofen's matriarch who looks more like a morally upstanding Victorian woman, resemble today's liberal woman. Nevertheless, myths of matriarchy have inspired feminist writers who have found in them inspiration for a new social order in which women hold important political, social, and economic roles. Elizabeth Gould Davis's *The First Sex* (1971) calls for a (re)turn from Judeo-Christian reverence for the male Jesus to the old religion of the Great Goddess. Despite the lack of sound proof in Davis's claim for a matriarchal golden age, her book sparked the feminist spirituality movement. Spiritual feminism is a refuge from and counterbalance to Judeo-Christian monotheism. Spiritual feminists worship an earth-centered, immanent, and immediate Goddess. This popular movement has given birth to the bestselling book and cottage industry of Dan Brown's novel *The Da Vinci Code* (2003), while it has also brought about a scholarly reappraisal of ancient goddess worship.

Whereas goddess worship is a relatively new movement in North America and Europe, South Indian society has never known a period without goddess worship. The main divinity in Indian worship has always been the Mother Goddess; in this sense, South Indian society can be called matriarchal. They view the principle element, the originator of all, to be the Mother. Foreign invasion by Aryans, Scythians, and Muslims brought foreign devaluation of the female in Indian high society, hence

Brahmin women's seclusion from society. Less affected by foreign invasion, South Indian village religion focuses on the Earth Mother, with several groups claiming descent from divine mothers. Tribes and castes of South India are still matrilineal and exhibit matriarchal elements. Women among these lower castes have far more social freedom and contribute to the economy of the group.

MATRIARCHY, MATRILINEALITY, MATRIFOCALITY

Although contemporary anthropologists argue that there are societies in which women have achieved a high level of power and social recognition, they are hard pressed to find societies in the early twenty-first century that are truly matriarchal, where women have publicly recognized authority surpassing that of men. Nevertheless, within male-dominated society some societal and family structures can be called matrilineal and/or matrifocal. In a matrilineal society, connection to the larger kin group is grounded in the mother. Family name, property, and status is secured by and from the mother. A matrilineal society is not necessarily a matriarchal one. Family name, property, and status may pass from mother to daughter within a patriarchal society where the father, or men in general, hold political and economic rule over women. One example of a group with some matrilineal traits is traditional Judaism; a boy or a girl is considered Jewish only if born to a Jewish mother. Isolated Tamil groups in South India retain traces of matrilineality: A young woman does not lose her secure economic and social position upon marriage. The young women of these matrilineal groups in South India were the first in India to take up higher education and show the highest rate of female literacy in India.

Matrifocality is an attribute of a kinship system or society in which the mother is structurally, culturally, and affectively central. In a matrifocal kinship group, the mother will have some degree of control over the group's economy and decision-making process. As Nancy Tanner puts it, "the structural component of matrifocality relates to economic and political power within the kin group" (Tanner 1974, 131–132). The mother of such a group need not be the genealogical mother, and may rather be the senior woman of a kinship group. The mother's cultural centrality in a matrifocal group derives from her value. The emotional link of the group to the mother defines her affective centrality. The centrality of women in matrifocal kin groups does not signify an absence of men in the group, but rather their shifting status as opposed to the strong, static place of the woman. A kin or social group that is matrifocal (and sometimes matrilineal) will often show an attitude of compromise and adaptation to divided responsibility as opposed to a patrilineal situation, which tends to foster centralized power

and authoritarian rule. Some matrifocal kin groups can be found in Indonesia, Africa, and among Black Americans.

SEE ALSO *Patriarchy*.

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Daniella Reinhard

MATRILINEALITY

Matrilineality refers to the organization of family relationships in societies according to lines of descent from female ancestors. The term derives from the Latin *Mater* or mother and *linea* meaning "thread." Matrilineality is one kind of unilineal family organization in which family members belong to the mother's lineage; another term for matrilineal descent is *uterine* kinship. The other kind of unilineal group is patrilineality in which family relationship is determined according to one's descent from the father's lineage. *Amilateral* or *bilateral* kinship systems are those in which both matrilineal and patrilineal lines of descent are relevant to determining family

relations, social identity, and the inheritance of property and other privilege.

Different cultures have different principles by which membership in a family or clan is determined. This includes inheritance laws and whether married children will live with the mother's or the father's family. Such organizing principles also usually prohibit incest, or intermarriage between members of the same group. Unilineal systems such as matrilineality resolve these issues around a principle of descent from mother to child.

When a culture defines relation and identity in terms of a female ancestor, then decisions about who is or is not a relative are made in relation to the female line. The senior male relative in a matrilineal system is most often the mother's brother. Women own the group's property; and the essential family bond is between brothers and sisters, especially because the brother's children also inherit from their aunts. In matrilineal cultures, when daughters marry, their husbands become a part of the matrilineal group and live with the wife's family. This is called *matrilocal residence*.

A few matrilineal cultures exist today, for example, in South India. The conditions that favor matrilineal organizations such as the ability to sustain unchallenged matrilocal residences and property do not persist as populations grow. As long as there is not competition for inheritance of property from women's husbands or as long as there is sufficient new property for expansion, there is little tension between husbands and the wives' brothers. Matrilineal organizations also persist when the matrilineal descent groups have little function other than to determine relationship. The kinds of cultures that sustained matrilineal organization were hunting and agrarian cultures that existed in areas with much space, such as some African tribes and North American Indians. Traces of matrilineal organization still exist in Jewish cultures, where family membership is traced through the female line.

Matrilineality has been misunderstood as a more primitive mode of group organization. According to the Swiss anthropologist Johann Bachofen (1815–1887), the women in ancient matriarchies were promiscuous, making paternity impossible to determine. Because mothers were the only parents whose relation to children could be certain, women were more socially important. As men gained power, sexual relations became more monogamous so as to protect paternity, which eventually resulted in law and civilization. Civilization came in the form of altering matriarchies and matrilineal systems into patrilineal patriarchies.

Although most matrilineal organizations have disappeared or have been modified to permit more marital influence, there is a traceable genetic bond between mothers and children that is unaffected by the father's

genetic contribution. The DNA of cell mitochondria, which is passed to children through the mother's egg, does not combine with the father's genes and so remains uncombined and identifiable through many generations.

SEE ALSO *Judaism*.

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Judith Roof

MAYA

Mayan civilization developed in what is contemporary Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras. During the Classic period (250 to 950 CE), Mayans built magnificent pyramided cities of stone, produced sculptures and murals, wove complex multicolored brocaded cotton textiles, painted hieroglyphic paper books, and decorated polychrome pottery. The sheer geographical size of the Mayan civilization, together with a history of warring kingdoms, provides a complex picture of ancient Mayan sexuality and gender.

A connection between biological reproduction and gender identity is fundamental to Mayan thought. Early colonial records attest to a fluid androgynous gender ideology. Classic Maya depictions of kings dressed in beaded net skirts represent performances of these gender-encompassing primordial characters. Monumental images also represent members of ruling families as complementary pairs engaged in rituals requiring totalizing qualities like those of dual-gendered creator deities and ancestors. These politically motivated representations deemphasize the bodies of social women and display the bodies of social men. Women's costumes consist of cotton textiles, woven by women in house compounds. Men's costumes employ forest products, including bark cloth, animal skins and skulls. Maleness is further marked by exposing the body, revealing a lack of signs of female sexuality, and by the wearing of a loincloth with a painted image of a World Tree with its branches folded down, implying the possibility of an upward unfolding of the branches as a metaphor for erection.

Monumental carvings featuring women legitimize ruling lineages and cement alliances through marriage. Although there is no evidence that women passed rulership down to other women within their matrilineage, there is evidence that royal women in the cities of Palenque, Naranjo, and Tikal served as regents for their underage sons. Lady Six Sky, the daughter of the king of Dos Pilas, moved to Naranjo on August 27, 682. Five years later she bore a male child and assumed the prerogatives of kingship, portraying herself on monuments performing key calendrical rituals, and trampling captives in the manner of warrior-kings. As queen regnant she ruled then co-ruled with her son for many years creating a new dynasty at Naranjo. This pattern of rulership was repeated at Copan where two of the three founding tombs contain the remains of females.

Other monumental images show men with shields and other insignia of warrior status and women holding weaving implements and ceramic bowls. This suggests that the elite gender system may have been that of “complementary dualism,” in which a male-female pair constitute a dynamic totality where each person plays an equally important, but different, role. There is a marked contrast between these monumental stone images and the small clay figurines and images used by non-ruling elites. The recognition of women’s production recorded in small icons reflects the higher status of women, as a result of their labor, in non-ruling residential groups. During political centralization, women from ruling lineages appear to have lost social status while non-elite women did not.

According to oral and written creation stories, bisexual beings conceived the universe and gave birth to it. In the highlands of Guatemala and Mexico into the twenty-first century, priest-shamans of patrilineages (who are always male) are considered co-gendered “mother-fathers.” This links them historically to elite Classic Maya monuments where male rulers wear a combination of feminine and masculine clothing. A similar co-gendered representation is found among contemporary male and female “day-keeper” shamans who embody and enact the masculine and feminine symbolic nature of mountains, volcanoes, and caves to divine the future and heal their clients using the ancient Maya 260-day calendar.

During the Classic period, adult male gender was indicated by the use of a pictograph consisting of male genitalia as a title. Maleness was further sexualized in imagery showing the piercing of penises to produce blood for rituals and joining men together. Phallic murals in the caves at Naj Tunich, Guatemala, show two nude males embracing, one of them marked by hairstyle and ornament as socially female. In the sixteenth century, the conquistadors found clay figurines depicting men engaging in “sodomy.” For Spaniards of that time the difference



Mayan Blood-Letting Ritual. Mayan stone relief depicting Xoc, the wife of Mayan ruler Shield Jaguar, performing a blood-letting ritual. She is shown kneeling and drawing a thorny cord over her tongue. © BETTMANN/CORBIS/

between the active and passive sex roles was central; the active partner was viewed as the victor and the passive partner as the loser in warfare. A Chontal Maya town was named Cuylonemiquia, “the killing of the passive partner in sodomy.” Here space was apparently used as a marker of sodomy and conquest. In an anonymous Inquisition petition, a Yucatec Maya place-name, Pencuyut, or “fornicating coyote,” may have been a symbolic representation of the Nahuas, or Aztecs, as active sexual partners with passive Mayan men. In this hybrid colonial context warfare was linked to sexual desire, indicating the difference between “self” and “other.”

Coming-of-age rituals in which royal boys between the ages of six and thirteen were given ear ornaments are recorded at Palenque, Naranjo, Bonampak, Tikal, and Piedras Negras. During the colonial period boys and girls eligible for marriage were assembled once a year for a coming-of-age ceremony called “the descent of the gods.” A Mayan priest and four elders, who embodied the Chacs or rain deities responsible for fertility, met in the courtyard of the sponsor’s home. After the ceremony the

boys were sequestered in a house on the edge of the village where they painted themselves black and participated in ball games and cultivated cornfields. Girls returned to their homes where their mothers taught them to spin and weave, raise domestic animals, tend fruit trees, grow herbs, and prepare food. Puberty rituals are observed among the contemporary lowland Maya, but only by girls. These ceremonies, which take place at menarche, are presided over by shamans who place cacao beans and chili peppers on the altar to symbolize the role of gender in the Maya cosmos. (Cacao beans are elongate with a longitudinal crease resembling a vulva. The pods are purple-red and seep white sap. Chilis and penises are interchangeable in Mayan jokes that play on the similarity between the sensation of intense heat caused by placing chili peppers in the mouth and the genital heat of sexual arousal and intercourse.)

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Barbara Tedlock

MEDIA

The term *media* refers to two related entities. It is a general term for the various material and instrumental means through which ideas are expressed, including everything from paint, film, musical instruments, digital files, and architecture to language, images, sculpture, and sound. It is also a general term for the various organizations through which ideas are transmitted publicly, such as radio, television, cinema, and the Internet. Media productions of both types can be deployed to express eroticism and sexuality, and both have been the objects of censorship and repression since the growing influence of Christianity in Rome during the second and third centuries.

Censorship of individual works of art has occurred on the basis of whether the ideas they express contravene public notions of decency, which refer primarily to issues of obscenity. Notions of decency change through history and from culture to culture. The asceticism of early Christians, which dominated European cultures through the Middle Ages (467–1350), began to change during the Renaissance (1350–1600). From the time of the Renaissance, media produced and owned by wealthy private individuals became less the object of official censorship, although work produced for distribution among common people was still subject to a stricter scrutiny. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, artists began to struggle with the occasionally repressive censorship of governments, but the range of permissible expression gradually began to open up. The standards by which artistic creations such as novels and paintings were deemed to be obscene relaxed from the zealous enforcement of obscenity laws in the nineteenth century to a more liberal understanding of aesthetics that began in the United States with the obscenity trial of Théophile Gautier's *Mademoiselle de Maupin* in 1922 and continued through the middle of the twentieth century when censorship of works deemed to be primarily aesthetic ceased. Various interest groups still battle over what should be seen on public media such as television. Considerations about what might constitute obscenity and decency reflect a balance of a culture's attitudes about the value of free speech and aesthetic expression on one hand, and in relation to what a culture imagines are the effects of seeing representations on the other.

As a public mode for the transmission of ideas, media remains a focus for control and censorship. Because such media organizations as television, movies, and the Internet are seen as powerful forces affecting the ways individuals—and especially children—view the world, their content garners more attention and limitation than literature or high art. The impetus to control media representations derives from the belief that realistic images wield particular power. The rationale for the

Motion Picture Production Code, adopted in 1930, states that “A book describes; a film vividly presents.” The difference between description and presentation was understood to affect the imagination, viewers being less likely to filter the realistic images of cinema. Control of media is also motivated by media’s increasing ubiquity within cultures and throughout the world.

FILM AND THE PRODUCTION CODE

Although censorship of print texts had existed long before the advent of photography in 1839 and cinema in 1895, the potential for widely disseminated realistic images of sexuality elicited increased scrutiny of photographic media. The invention of photographic techniques that enabled easy reproduction of photographs, such as postcards or in *aesthetic journals*, prompted the censors’ focus on photographs. The rising influence of the film industry through the first thirty years of the twentieth century catalyzed growing discomfort with cinema content. In cinema’s early years, when film audiences were mainly composed of the working class, civic leaders resisted any official censorship of cinema, seeing such censorship as class oppression. There was, however, pressure to keep films decent, which meant that films rewarded virtue, punished vice, and avoided depicting debauchery of all kinds.

After World War I, as mores relaxed and the power of Hollywood grew, some of the public blamed the movie industry itself for promulgating increasingly lax moral standards. Legislation was introduced in thirty-seven states proposing movie censorship. To forestall such governmental censorship, motion picture studios and distributors formed the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) in 1922. They hired the former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Will H. Hays, to oversee efforts to blunt criticism and to launch a public relations campaign that would assure the public that the film industry was taking a responsible attitude toward its content. After studying the specific complaints proposed in censorship legislation, the MPPDA came up with a list of topics that should never appear in cinema, such as “white slavery, miscegenation, sexual perversion, and ridicule of the clergy,” and other topics about which film makers should be careful, such as “arson, murder techniques, rape, first-night scenes, the use of drugs, and excessive and lustful kissing” (Balio 1985, p. 268). Compliance with this list was voluntary.

For some, however, voluntary compliance with the list was insufficient, so the publisher of the *Motion Picture Herald*, Martin Quigley, collaborated with Daniel Lord, a Catholic priest, to produce a more definitive code, called the Motion Picture Production Code, which was adopted by the MPPDA in 1930. Members of

the MPPDA monitored compliance with the code throughout the stages of film production. Falling movie attendance, however, motivated some studios to begin to ignore the code, a move decried by the Catholic Church, which formed the very influential Legion of Decency in 1933. Pressuring studios by threatening economic boycotts, the Legion of Decency forced the MPPDA to revise the Production Code in 1934. Compliance with the code was allocated to a committee, under the direction of Joseph Breen, which would review and approve all scripts and fine the producers of those films made without approval.

The revised Production Code continued the pressure on the studios to produce films with redeeming moral content yet without necessarily enabling any realistic portrayal of social problems or sexual relations. The code provided generally that films not “lower the moral standards” of their viewers by not sympathizing with criminals and by not providing detailed or graphic presentations of murders or other crimes. It required that “the sanctity of the institution of marriage and the home” be upheld, which meant no overt depiction of adultery; no gratuitous sexual scenes; no “excessive or lustful kissing, lustful embraces, suggestive postures and gestures”; no “sexual perversion,” “miscegenation,” “white slavery,” “child birth,” or “sexual hygiene”; no “vulgarity,” “obscenity,” or “profanity”; no “nudity” or “indecent exposure”; and no “dance suggesting or representing sexual actions or indecent passions.” In addition films could not make fun of or vilify clergymen. Various interpretations of the code resulted in unrealistic portrayals of married life and sexuality, especially the convention of a married couple occupying twin beds, or the notion that in all love scenes the actors must each have one foot on the floor.

Of course, studios had always found ways around the Production Code, particularly by developing their own conventions for portraying extramarital sexual relations and adultery. They may not have actually depicted adulterous scenes of romance, but films suggested such activities through their plots. For instance, the plot of *The Women* (1939) depends entirely on a husband’s extramarital affair. Films in the genre of film noir found ways to imply dark criminal behaviors by protagonists, as in, for example, *Double Indemnity* (1944).

By the 1950s the conditions that had forced studio acceptance of the Production Code had disappeared. The Legion of Decency no longer represented an economic threat, foreign films that ignored the code were imported and shown in the United States, and the mores of culture had relaxed enough to permit some filmmakers, such as Otto Preminger, to ignore the code altogether, which he did first in *The Moon Is Blue*, a 1953 film that by early-twenty-first-century standards appears to be boringly

innocent. By the late 1950s studios were ignoring code provisions about vulgarity, profanity, and adultery.

By the 1960s the Production Code was no longer enforceable. Films were released without approval. To retain some sense of control and fend off any threat of government censorship, the Motion Picture Association of America (the former MPPDA) instituted a rating system in 1968. Its four ratings—*G*, *M*, *R*, and *X*—classified films according to their levels of explicit sexuality and violence. The general principle of the rating system has remained since 1968, though the letters assigned to each level of explicitness have varied. *M* became *GP* in 1970 and then *PG* 2 years later, before being split into two ratings in 1984—*PG* and *PG-13*. The latter restricted films with higher levels of violence to older children. *X* became *NC-17*. From the 1980s on film rating systems were aimed much more at protecting children rather than adults from film content.

THE TELEVISION RATING SYSTEM

Television also received its share of concern over content. For many years networks employed censors who screened television programming for explicit sexual content, profanity (which was bleeped out), nudity, and obscenity. Until the 1990s, with the growing influence of cable television's vaster array of stations, the big three networks' self-censoring was sufficient control. Television's self-censoring was also a necessary economic practice, because its advertisers had an interest in the programming they supported reaching the largest number of viewers. Television programming remained conservative so as not to offend large groups of viewers.

Cable programming removed the local base of network programming. Its providing networks had no discernible location and thus had less motivation to closely monitor their content, especially because cable stations were not freely available to anyone who tuned in and subscribers were paying to see them. Television rating systems were thus instituted not to control the content of television programming but to warn parents about content so that they could monitor their children's viewing.

Television has two rating systems. The first is the TV Parental Guidelines, established in 1996 by the National Association of Broadcasters, the National Cable Television Association, and the Motion Picture Association of America. These ratings appear at the beginning of every television show. *TV-Y* means that a program is appropriate for all children. *TV-Y7* designates programming designed for children who are 7 years old or older. The primary consideration in these ratings is whether content will frighten children. *TV-G* is programming deemed suitable for general audiences, with little violence, no explicit sexuality, and no profanity. *TV-PG* refers to programming

where parental guidance is suggested. Such programs contain violence, sexual situations, infrequent profanity, and/or sexually suggestive dialogue. *TV-14* (Parents Strongly Cautioned) indicates programs with more intense violence and sexual situations, profanity, and/or suggestiveness. *TV-MA* designates programming appropriate for mature audiences only, containing graphic violence, explicit sexuality, and/or indecency.

The TV Parental Guidelines are augmented by another system used by pay cable networks such as HBO. This system began in 1995 before the institution of the TV Parental Guidelines. It, too, indicates relative levels of violence, explicit sexuality, and profanity. *V* indicates shows with intense violence, whereas *MV* refers to shows with mild violence. *AC* designates programs with adult content, which refers to suggestive situations and dialogue. *AL* indicates the presence of mild profanity, with *GL* indicating strong profanity. *BN* tells viewers to expect brief nudity, whereas *N* warns that there will be nude scenes lasting two minutes or longer. *SSC* means there are graphic sexual acts, and *R* indicates the presence of graphic rape scenes.

In addition, the Federal Communications Commission promulgated rules that require computer-chip control of programming on all television sets with screens larger than thirteen inches. The *V-chip* can read ratings encoded in television programming and block access to any programs for ratings selected by parents.

MUSIC CENSORSHIP

Music—even classical music—has not been free from censorship. Because music has no images (though music videos do), reasons for banning music have been related primarily to political issues or profanity and political criticism in lyrics. Music from classical composers who were German or associated with the Nazis was banned for a time in such countries as Israel. In the (Joseph) McCarthy era of the 1950s, Pete Seeger's (b.1919–) and the Weavers' single "Wimoweh" was denounced because of Seeger's supposed ties with communism. In Britain the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" (1977) was banned from airplay because of the lyric, "God save the Queen / The fascist regime." In 1996 retailing giant Wal-Mart banned a Sheryl Crow (b.1962–) album because lyrics in the track "Love Is a Good Thing" implicated Wal-Mart in selling guns. Wal-Mart has also refused to sell any music they believe is nonpatriotic or offensive.

Even if singles played on the radio were not banned, certain lyrics were often censored through several methods. Offensive lyrics were *blanked* or played at zero volume, or *bleeped*. Portions of songs were *resampled* or replaced by other parts of the song, *resung* by removing

the lyrics and keeping instrumentals, *back-masked* by reversing the audio, or simply skipped. This type of censorship typically involves lyrics deemed to be profane, overtly sexual and suggestive, inflammatory (such as mentioning bringing guns to school), or racist.

In 1985 a group of politicians' wives, headed by Tipper Gore (b.1948–), whose husband, Al Gore (b.1948–), would become vice president, formed the Parents Music Resource Center to urge record companies to rate the records in a scheme similar to that used on television. As in television ratings the ostensible concern of such projects is to protect the innocence of impressionable youth, even though music censorship often has more political dimensions. For example, some radio stations refused to play Sinéad O'Connor's (1966–) music after she had refused to play the "Star-Spangled Banner" at her performances. Similarly, certain stations banned the music of the Dixie Chicks because the group's musicians had criticized George W. Bush.

THE INTERNET

The Internet is also seen as posing dangers to impressionable youth. Because the Internet has no specific location and because it has not been censored, legislators have taken action to try to limit pornography and obscenity on the World Wide Web. Their first attempt to protect children from material they might stumble upon online was the Communications Decency Act of 1996. This statute made criminal "the knowing transmission, by means of a telecommunications device, of 'obscene or indecent' communications to any recipient under 18 years of age . . . the knowing use of an interactive computer service to send to a specific person or persons under 18 years of age, or to display in a manner available to a person under 18 years of age communications that, in context, depict or describe, in terms 'patently offensive' as measured by contemporary community standards, sexual or excretory activities or organs."

This act was later declared to be an unconstitutional limitation of First Amendment rights to freedom of expression. Congress quickly passed a substitute law, the Child Online Protection Act of 1998, that was more focused on the World Wide Web and defined restricted material in explicit relation to the standards by which free speech is protected. The law was quickly challenged, again as an unconstitutional restriction of free speech, with litigation pending as of early 2007. Many Internet services, however, provide filtering programs that disable the display of material characterized by certain keywords linking the site to overt sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Advertising*.

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Judith Roof

MEDICINE, ANCIENT

The themes of gender and sex were central to medicine in the ancient Mediterranean world and, because of the subsequent influence of Greco-Roman medical ideas and practices in the medieval Christian and Muslim worlds and subsequently in Renaissance medicine, they had a far-reaching effect on constructs of gender in Western culture.

Cuneiform texts survive from the ancient Near East in which all aspects of the body are discussed, including sexuality: a Ugaritic myth describes how "By kissing, there was pregnancy, by embracing, heating" (Stol 2000, p. 6) whereas material from Egypt shows that ideas such as the mobility of the womb can be traced back before the rise of Greek civilization. The earliest medical texts from the Greek world, dating to the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, are included in what is now called the Hippocratic corpus. Named for its traditional association with the historical figure Hippocrates (traditionally 460–377 BCE), it was in fact written by many physicians holding different views about the nature of the body and the cause of disease; many of these views had originated in popular thought, but were systematized by the early physicians. While it would therefore be misleading to generalize about "Hippocratic medicine," some ideas are widespread; in particular, as well as various uses of the

four qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry, the belief that disease is caused by an imbalance in the fluids that make up the body, including semen and menstrual blood. This means that sex is very much within the domain of medicine, and the Hippocratic texts discuss both sex and gender in a variety of ways. For example, the writers advise men to have more intercourse in winter, because the wetness of the season means that more moisture needs to be removed from the body (Dean-Jones 1992, p. 77).

In the Hippocratic treatise *On Generation/Nature of the Child*, the process of sex determination in the womb is seen in terms of the polarities of strength and weakness, quantity and absence. As in the Near Eastern material, both sexes are thought to produce a “seed,” with the sex of the child being decided according to the relative strength and quantity of the seminal material produced by its parents. Male and female exist on a continuum that includes in its center the intermediate categories of the manly woman, and the womanly man; instead of two genders, there are many variations. The seed is imagined to come from all over the bodies of the parents, and the child’s physical characteristics are understood to result from one parent’s nose seed, ear seed, and so on, dominating at the point of conception.

But this is not the only view in the Hippocratic corpus. The treatises usually known as *Diseases of Women* do not suggest that women produce seed: their contribution to generation rests instead with the raw material provided by the blood that they supply. These treatises single out women as a distinct category, a move reminiscent of the myth of the first woman, Pandora. According to the poet Hesiod (c. 700 BCE), the gods created Pandora as an afterthought to punish the culture hero Prometheus, who had helped humanity by bringing the gift of fire. Pandora was an alternative or counter-gift to fire, and Hesiod described how women “burned up” men with their voracious appetites for both food and sex. The idea that women lack self-control and enjoy sex more than men is also found in the myth of the seer Tiresias, who experienced being both male and female, and annoyed the goddess Hera by revealing to her husband Zeus that women have ten times the pleasure men experience in sexual intercourse. However, the Hippocratic text *On Generation* argues that men feel more pleasure, but that of a woman is of longer duration, peaking when the male seed reaches her womb.

In Greek, *Diseases of Women* is *Gynaikēia*, a word meaning “matters concerning the mature woman”; the same word was used as one of many terms for menstruation, seen as the marker of female difference because it was evidence of the wet and spongy nature of female blood, for which the breasts, and the softer texture of the flesh more generally, acted as evidence. *Gynaikēia* also

meant “women’s diseases” and “cures for women’s diseases,” and the second volume of the *Diseases of Women* has a particular focus on remedies for the retention of menstrual blood, the movement of the womb to another part of the body, and other peculiarities of the female condition. Failure to menstruate was seen as critical because it was from menstrual blood that the fetus was formed, a process discussed in the treatise *On Generation/Nature of the Child*. Indeed, it is not simply intercourse that the mobile womb desires, but conception; female sexuality is seen in terms of reproduction. For a twenty-first century observer, absence of menstruation can be evidence of pregnancy, meaning that one can interpret the remedies given to “draw out” the blood as early abortion. For the ancient Greeks, such absence was worrying because it meant that conception could not take place, and the remedies were intended to flush out the blood from wherever in the body it was hiding; in addition, by traveling to various locations in the body the blood could put pressure on the organs and cause a wide range of symptoms.

Various vaginal discharges that one would regard as the evidence of sexually transmitted infections are discussed in the *Diseases of Women* treatises; in the absence of any theory of infection, these are interpreted as inadequately formed menstrual blood. “The whites,” in particular, are seen as very difficult to treat. Instead of being considered a possible source of disease, sex is presented as therapeutic for women, with the remedy for many conditions being intercourse followed by pregnancy. As *On Generation* puts it, “Another point about women: if they have intercourse with men their health is better than if they do not.” While sex keeps the womb open so that it can menstruate, and stimulates the bodily fluids in their movement around the body, the process of giving birth acts as a valuable purge. This contrasts with medical advice for men, who are more commonly advised to abstain from sex while recovering from a disease.

Another treatise, *Places in Man*, concentrates on the generic male body until its final section, where the female body is introduced with the statement that “The womb is the origin of all diseases in women.” This method of treating men as normal, but adding a special section on women, is replicated in treatises such as *Aphorisms*, which group together medical conditions surrounding the womb and menstruation towards the end of the text.

Contemporary with some of the later writers of the Hippocratic corpus, the philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE) put forward his own view of the female body in which women were unable to produce semen: defined by their coldness, women were unable to “concoct,” or cook, their blood into semen. In generation, it was only the man’s semen that could impose form on the shapeless mass of menstrual blood. Breast milk was seen as a fluid

intermediate between menstrual blood and semen. Aristotle's medical views should be read alongside his political ideas; for example, he regarded women as perpetual minors.

While Aristotle and the Hippocratics did not dissect humans, instead basing their beliefs about the interior of the body on what came out of it, in third-century BCE Alexandria Herophilos (330–260 BCE) and Erasistratos (c. 315–240 BCE) opened the body and made such discoveries as the uterine ligaments and the ovaries. However, these organs were not fully understood, and the idea that the womb could move survived because the ligaments holding it in place were thought to be particularly elastic, allowing movement around the body; this position was put forward by Aretaeus of Cappadocia in the first century CE.

Soranos of Ephesus, writing in the second century CE, followed the ancient Methodist medical sect, according to which all diseases in both sexes were caused by looseness or constriction. For him, both sexes could suffer from excessive emission of seed in the absence of sexual excitement, a condition of looseness that he called gonorrhoea: literally, discharge of seed. Satyriasis, too, can affect women as well as men, causing “an irresistible desire for sexual intercourse . . . with no sense of shame” (Temkin 1956, p. 148). Soranos considered that the womb was made of the same basic material as any other part of the body. He did not believe that intercourse had any obvious health benefits for either men or women, so that perpetual virginity could be seen as a healthy state, and pregnancy as carrying many dangers to the woman.

The extensive oeuvre of the most famous and influential of ancient physicians, Galen (d. c. 216 BCE), mentioned women many times but did not include any one text dedicated to the female body; writing only a generation later than Soranos, he regarded men and women as two versions of a single sex, with the same organs. While men's greater heat meant that their organs were pushed to the outside, women—now, following Aristotle, seen as the colder sex—retained theirs within their bodies. The penis was the analogue for the vagina. This meant that women, too, were thought to produce semen, although theirs was thinner than that of men. In addition to the health problems of retained menstrual blood, women were also thought to be in danger of seminal retention; this was the more dangerous of the two conditions, as retained semen was thought to become poisonous. In a famous passage from *On the Affected Parts*, Galen praised a midwife whose massage of a sick woman's thighs was enough to cause her to ejaculate her retained semen. This passage, which seemed to recommend therapeutic masturbation, was the subject of controversy in early modern medicine, and Catholic physicians such as Luis de Mercado (1525–1611), a convert from Judaism and per-

sonal physician to Philip II (r. 1556–1598) and Philip III (r. 1598–1621), condemned the practice. Other early modern medical texts instead followed Galen in recommending dietary control—in particular, restricting the consumption of meat and other blood-producing foods—in order to prevent the build-up of semen and blood in the first place.

Galen's work was simply too extensive and repetitive to be widely read. Instead, after his death what is known as “Galenism” developed; this is based on some of the more accessible works, and simplifies his theories. While the Latin West focused on those works of practical relevance, and the Greek East incorporated Galenic medicine into encyclopedic works, in the Muslim world many more texts by Galen survived, 129 being translated into from Greek into Arabic. Galen's ideas also passed into many Arabic encyclopedic works, where they were fused with those of Soranos. The belief that regular intercourse is essential to female health survived, Soranos's ideas here being eclipsed by those of the Hippocratic/Galenic tradition. Ibn al-Jazzâr's *Viaticum* added to Galen's account of rotted female seed or menstrual blood causing illness: the idea was that the putrefying matter gave off fumes that traveled up the body to cause symptoms such as suffocation. The idea that it was the womb itself that moved was not, however, defeated; as Monica Green (2002, p. 26) has shown, when these texts were translated from Arabic to Latin in the early Middle Ages, at least one writer in twelfth-century Salerno considered that these fumes carried the womb itself upwards, like a balloon.

“Uterine suffocation,” in Greek *hysterikê pnix*, was a condition in which the womb caused symptoms throughout the body, usually being thought to work by the transmission of the effects through “sympathy” between organ systems. This condition did not transform into “hysteria” until the nineteenth century; before that, it is important to note that the origin of the symptoms was seen as entirely physical, coming from the womb (Greek *hysterá*), and also that they varied according to the location to which the womb traveled. Sexual intercourse was a cure, because it would draw the womb back to its proper place. Another condition with complex roots was lovesickness, shown by Mary Wack to have originated from Constantine the African's Latin adaptation of al-Jazzâr (trans. 1124), in whose work “passionate love” was found as a disease category. However, the idea that love is a disease was also based on representations of desire in classical writers such as Sappho (c. 625–c. 570 BCE) and Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE).

The “one-sex” model of Galen coexisted with other models of the body through the Middle Ages. However, in the sixteenth century, when the Hippocratic corpus was translated into Latin, a revival of the *Diseases of Women* model—in which the female sex was entirely different from the male and required its own branch of

medicine—led to an increased interest in gynecology as a specialized field of male medical practice. Diseases associated with women who were not having sufficient sexual intercourse, such as greensickness or chlorosis, became increasingly important in medicine.

SEE ALSO *Manliness*.

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Helen King

MEDUSA

Medusa was one of the three Gorgons of Greek Mythology, daughter of Phorcys and Keto. Unlike her sisters Stheno and Euryale, Medusa—whose name means queen, or ruler—was mortal. In the most common versions of the myth, the originally beautiful Medusa was seduced or raped by the god Poseidon in the shape of a steed, in one of Athena's temples. As a result, she conceived two sons, but failed to deliver them. Athena punished the sacrilege by turning the Gorgon's hair into fearsome hissing snakes: Whoever would gaze at her would be petrified. Perseus, son of Jupiter and Danaë, fulfilling a promise he had made, and helped by Hermes (who gave him winged sandals), Athena (who provided a reflecting shield), and Pluto (who endowed him with a helmet that made him invisible), decapitated the Gorgon in her sleep, not looking at her directly, but through her reflected image on his shield. At that moment, her twin sons sprang



Medusa Statue. A seventeenth-century marble statue of the head of Medusa. © ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS.

forth from her neck: Chrysaor, who would later father the monster Geryon, and winged Pegasus, that would become the horse of the Muses. Perseus put the severed head in a wallet and flew away. He used the head as a dreadful device to (among his other deeds) turn the giant Atlas into a mountain, and Phineus (the uncle-pretender of his newlywed bride Andromeda) and his friends into statues. He then donated the trophy to his patroness Athena, who would put it at the center of her aegis.

Scholars like Jean-Pierre Vernant have pointed out that the myth evolved through history, and that some central elements were introduced as late as the fourth century BCE (for instance, the reflecting shield). However, the various versions and episodes of the story were consolidated in the narratives of authors like the Pseudo-Apollodorus and Ovid (c. 43 BCE–17 CE).

Some ancient mythographers and historians, such as Diodorus Siculus (first century BCE) or, more indirectly, Pausanias (second century CE), drew parallels between the Gorgons and the Amazons or Libyan (African) women warriors, and between their respective nemeses: Perseus, and Hercules (who could not tolerate a nation governed by women).

Some contemporary authors have interpreted the story of Medusa, and especially her decapitation, as one

“told from the point of view of the classical Olympian patriarchal system” (Campbell 1964, p. 25), but also as a tale that was nonetheless reminiscent of a pre-Patriarchal order and a gender construction in which a goddess could contain the principles of both life (or cure) and death (or poison). This would be implied in the double nature of Medusa’s blood. In Euripides’s *Ion*, and in the myth of Asclepius, scholars have insisted on the apotropaic power that Medusa’s severed head acquires, either on Athena’s aegis, or in its representation in ancient domestic sculptures, or on the armors of Renaissance military leaders (see Garber and Vickers 2003, pp. 2–4).

In the construction of Medusa as an icon in classical and post-classical times, the matter of her beauty played a considerable role either as an original virtue later disfigured by Athena’s punishing act, or as a key to interpret the myth in a different, rather skeptical or ironic fashion; for instance, Lucian (second century CE) suggested that it was the Gorgon’s wondrous beauty that petrified the gazers; for Pausanias, Perseus cut off her head in order to show her splendor to the Greeks. In the Middle Ages, Christine de Pisan (c. 1364–1430) also speaks on Medusa’s beauty as the real instrument of petrification in the *Book of the City of Ladies*, in a passage dependent on Giovanni Boccaccio’s *De Mulieribus Claris*. In another of his works, the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, Boccaccio (1313–1375), drawing, among others, on Fulgentius (late fifth–early sixth centuries CE), proposes an allegorical reading of Perseus’s myth: A wise man triumphs on vice, and attains virtue, scorning earthly pleasure in order to pursue heavenly goals; Dante (1265–1321) had also powerfully evoked the frightening image of Medusa in Canto IX of the *Inferno*. In the Late Renaissance, Cesare Ripa’s enormously influential *Iconologia* (1593) would popularize a similar allegorical interpretation into early modern iconography.

The myth of Medusa famously received attention from the fathers of psychoanalysis. Both Sigmund Freud and Sándor Ferenczi found in it a clear symbolization of castration. For Freud, the terror provoked by the image of Medusa’s head represents the fear that the sight of his mother’s genitals arouses in a boy, although the horror is paradoxically mitigated by the snakes, which serve as a replacement for the penis (Freud 1953–1974). Contemporary feminist theorists moved from this Freudian reading to propose counter-interpretations (see Hélène Cixous, Sarah Kofman, Patricia Klindienst Joplin). Joplin, who also insists on the centrality of rape and sacrifice in Medusa’s myth, maintains that Freud, in equating decapitation and castration, perpetuates “the mythological and sacrificial thinking inherent in misogyny” (Joplin 1984, p. 50).

Particularly favored by Romantic writers like Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) and Dante Gabriel Rossetti

(1828–1882), Medusa’s story has notably appealed to contemporary women authors, among them Louise Bogan (1897–1970), Sylvia Plath (1932–1963), May Sarton (1912–1995), Ann Stanford (1916–1987), and Amy Clampitt (1920–1994).

The subject of innumerable representations in Western arts of all times (the most universally known, and widely studied, are Benvenuto Cellini’s bronze sculpture *Perseus* [1545–1554] and Caravaggio’s *Medusa* [c. 1597], a canvas mounted on a shield-like panel), the fortune of Medusa’s icon in contemporary popular culture can be epitomized by its selection as the logo of the Versace fashion house.

In the history of music, Jean-Baptiste Lully’s opera *Persée* (1682, based on a libretto by Philippe Quinault) is particularly noteworthy for its political and cultural implications; the protagonist is a transparent allegory of king Louis XIV, and Medusa and her sisters represent the enemy forces that the French monarch was fighting at that time.

SEE ALSO *Goddess Worship; Greco-Roman Art; Legends and Myths.*

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Paolo Fasoli

MELANCHOLIA AND SEX

Melancholia, from the Greek for “black bile,” is the more modern medical term for melancholy, which has for centuries referred to symptoms of sadness, listlessness, despair, sullenness, and gloom. Black bile was one of the four humors, or fluids, that ancient Greek and Middle Eastern physicians once believed governed the body’s moods and dispositions. The others are blood, associated with courage and love; yellow bile, associated with anger and moral indignation; and phlegm, associated with calm detachment. In Elizabethan times melancholia was thought to indicate refinement, and Shakespeare’s noble Hamlet is to this day the most famous melancholic in English literature. Melancholia was understood to be more than passing sadness, and was understood, like the more contemporary clinical depression, to be a chronic condition that could completely define a person’s character, personality, physical constitution, and larger outlook on the world.

In 1917, Sigmund Freud published “Mourning and Melancholia,” an essay that distinguished a difference between mourning, where a lost object is the source of conscious grief, and melancholia, where the loss is unconscious or unknown. In melancholia the person experiencing unconscious grief cannot move beyond sadness, and exhibits symptoms such as loss of self-esteem, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, obsessive remorse, and obsessive self-rebuke. Freud theorized that this self-rebuke is a result of the melancholic person internalizing a lost love-object, and as a result, the sad and angry feelings that might have been directed at the lost love become directed at the internalized love, now part of the self. Thus the woman who seems to berate herself for being such a bad woman that her lover was forced to leave her is actually berating her lover for leaving her. The melancholic can no longer direct feelings at the lost person, so she instead becomes the person she has lost, and directs her feelings of anger, bitterness, and sadness against herself.

Freud thought the reason this melancholic internalization, or incorporation, happens is due to the ambivalence of love relationships in general. Since most people have mixed feelings about being in love, the loss of a lover can be blamed on the self for desiring the loss of the lover in the first place. Suicide, Freud argued, is the splitting off of the hateful and sadistic impulses directed at the lost love-object and the turning of that hate against the self. This process is aided by identification with the lost object, wherein the jilted lover becomes as much as possible like the person who has left her. Freud later argues in *The Ego and the Id* (1923) that the internalizing and sustaining of lost loves that happens in both mourn-

ing and melancholia is important for ego formation, and that identification with lost loves may be the only way one can eventually give them up.

For Freud, melancholia is not necessarily a part of gender formation, though gender and sexuality do develop around loss, specifically around the child’s response to the traumatic realization that the mother lacks a penis. The “normal” child is supposed to realize—if she is a girl—that she doesn’t have a penis, can’t desire her mother, and needs to love a man in order to get a baby with a penis; or—if the child is a boy—that he could lose his penis if he doesn’t identify with his father and desire a woman who is not his mother. In both cases, the mother is lost as an object of desire, though the boy doesn’t have to give up all women (as the little girl does). He cannot, however, desire his father, any more than the little girl can remain attached to her mother.

Judith Butler has taken up Freud’s notion of melancholy identification to argue that gender itself is a melancholic identification in which the same-sex parent one is not allowed to desire, and who is thus lost as a love object, is internalized or incorporated. Butler’s notion of gender as melancholy incorporation combines Freud’s theory of castration as the cause of childhood sex and gender development with the idea that melancholia can also cause sex and gender development.

Butler points out that boys and girls might identify with the mother they have lost, desire her, or both. Little girls might internalize the mother they are not supposed to desire, and keep that desire alive as a lesbian desire, whereas little boys might identify with the mother and desire their fathers, or incorporate the fathers they are not allowed to desire into themselves as love-objects. At this point gender and sexual object choice become murkily intertwined in Butler’s argument, much as they are in Freud’s explanation of castration and the Oedipal resolution; in Butler, homosexuality determines gender somehow, whereas Freud similarly conflates heterosexual object choice and having a “normal” femininity or masculinity. However, Butler’s theory of gender as melancholic—the reason she prefers we view gender this way—presents homosexuality as “natural” a psychic process of subject formation as heterosexuality (which takes shape in much the same way) and should not be viewed as a bad or inauthentic copy.

The problem with viewing gender as melancholy, of course, is that melancholia is associated with the sadness and listlessness of depression, and melancholic homosexual subject-formation thus seems sick and sad rather than healthy and active.

HIV/AIDS activist Douglas Crimp uses melancholia to think about responses to AIDS in the gay community, arguing that a deep sense of loss and mourning has led to melancholia in most gay men, which in turn has caused a

malaise surrounding AIDS activism. He sees this melancholia as the reason gays have rejected their sex-positive culture in favor of mainstream monogamy and political conservatism, and argues that moving beyond the stasis of melancholia will facilitate a return to activism, a return to self-affirming safe sexual practices of all varieties, and a rejection of self-hating conservative gay pundits like Andrew Sullivan.

Other contemporary discussions of melancholia and sex occur around the widespread use of antidepressants, along with the equally widespread side effects of sexual dysfunction and depressed libido that seem to accompany the use of many of these drugs. Rather than enabling sexual identification, in this context melancholia is seen as something that neutralizes sexuality altogether, leading some writers to blame lack of interest in sex not on drugs, or even depression itself, but on a culture where unhappiness is taboo. In this culture, they argue, the dark yearning for connection that causes us to seek intimacy with each other has been replaced with the sunny artificiality of selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors, or SSRIs, such as Prozac and Lexapro; these drugs take us out of ourselves just enough to work, but not enough to desire each other. In an argument that brings us back to Freud, they assert that restoring a healthy and productive notion of sadness to our happiness-obsessed culture will lead to a better balance that will allow us to escape melancholia, in large part, because we have stopped trying so hard to repress any sign of sadness in our lives.

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Jaime Hovey

MÉNAGE À TROIS

Translated literally as *household of three*, the French phrase *ménage à trois* refers to a romantic, sexual, or living arrangement involving three people. A *ménage à trois* relationship may be a temporary fling in which the partners of an ongoing relationship include an additional person in a sexual relationship (also known as a threesome), or it may be a more permanent relationship among three people, which has at some point involved a three-way sexual relationship. It may also be a relationship among three people that has involved a sexual rela-

tion between one party and both of the others, though the other two may never have had their own sexual relationship, nor might the three ever actually enjoyed a sexual encounter together. A *ménage à trois* may involve two people married or engaged to one another who invite another into their relationship, or it may involve three unmarried individuals. It might consist of a heterosexual couple who have decided to enlarge their relationship by adding elements of homosexuality, voyeurism, and group sex, or a gay male or lesbian couple who choose to add another member of either the same or the opposite sex. A *ménage à trois* is a version of polyamory, or the practice of loving multiple partners simultaneously, as well as an example of group sex.

The most common version of a *ménage à trois* in popular culture is one involving two men and one woman, especially insofar as the woman may serve as a point of mediation for a sexual relation between the two men. Threesomes involving two women and one man enable women to experience lesbian fantasies without risk, but also provide voyeuristic pleasure for the male. Gay couples who explore threesomes may do so to satisfy the romantic or heterosexual cravings of one of the couple, such as a gay male or lesbian who wishes to explore heterosexuality or a couple who wishes to liven up their own relationship with another male or female.

Ménage à trois encounters are often imaged in pornographic films not only because they enable multiple points of identification and multiple sources for viewer titillation, but also because they provide an alibi for the simultaneous enjoyment of heterosexuality, homosexuality, and licentious behaviors. They also provide a model of voyeurism, as one party watches the other two. The romantic and emotional entanglements of a *ménage à trois* provide material for films, especially because the intimacies of sexual relationships give rise to jealousies and the transgressive quality of group and homosexual adventures provide tensions. Films that have featured a *ménage à trois* include François Truffaut's (1932–1984) *Jules et Jim* (1962), Josh Logan's (1908–1988) *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), John Schlesinger's (1926–2003) *Sunday Bloody Sunday* (1971), and Bob Fosse's (1927–1987) *Cabaret* (1972.) All of these portray sexual situations involving two men and a woman.

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Judith Roof

MENARCHE, CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL MEANINGS

Menarche denotes a young woman's first menstruation; it signifies her transformation from childhood to adulthood. Most traditional cultures celebrated this transition with religious ceremonies of varying complexity, honoring not only the girl but womanhood itself. Those cultures that no longer have such a ritual are usually patriarchal and no longer consider women to have a special sacred nature. Contrary to the andocentric literature, menarche rituals are the only true puberty rituals, for males do not evidence so obvious a marker of physical maturity as menarche.

MENARCHE RITUALS IN EARLY SOCIETIES

The earliest cultures were gathering-hunting traditions, which were and remain egalitarian in all aspects including gender. In these cultures, women were equated with the Earth aspect of the female-male primary complementary divine couple, Sky-Earth, from whom all life came. Menstrual flowing was equated with springs and streams, the flowing of Earth, and the menstrual cycle was equated with the female aspect of the complementary divine couple of male Sun-female Moon, as the two cycles tend to be the same. Thus menarche brought the girl becoming woman not only to her physical reproductive power but to her spiritual power, making her equivalent to Earth and Moon.

In caves throughout the world, one finds images of the vulva engraved or painted on the walls from tens of thousands of years ago to the present. In Iowa there are vagina-shaped caves, by streams near old village sites, whose walls are inscribed over and over again with the symbol for the vulva, which in some contemporary Anshinaabe traditions in the Great Lakes region, is also the symbol for Earth. Less than a century ago, young women sequestered themselves in these caves during menarche, fasting to attain guardian spirits, and bonding themselves with Earth. As they sat on the earthen floor, their menstrual flow merged with Earth as they heard Her flowing water nearby. To commemorate their newly gained spiritual power, these young women inscribed the vagina/earth sign on the cave wall. More commonly, they sequestered themselves in a small wigwam or teepee for the same purpose.

MENARCHE AND WOMEN AS POWERFUL BEINGS

This separation from community tends to be completely misunderstood by misogynous cultures. Modern European

and North American scholars assume that other traditions have the same hatred for the female body as their own and usually interpret menstrual seclusion as a way to avoid the polluting nature of females, particularly during menstruation. This understanding has led to theories of pollution and purity. The actuality is the opposite.

Before the spread of Christian misogyny, women's bodies were thought to be spiritually powerful. This power increased during menstruation, when the life-force of the body, blood, flowed from the center of her reproductive/spiritual power. At this time women were so powerful that their power would overwhelm male power, which would be deleterious to both men and women. Thus women removed themselves from contact with males. As a practical consideration, if the pheromones produced by women during menstruation were to adhere to men or their hunting weapons, they could be smelled at a distance by animals and the hunt would be unsuccessful, thus reducing the available food for the entire community.

It is at menarche that this spiritual power is perceived as dangerous to the community, because the young woman has yet to learn how to control it. Thus during the menarche sequestering, young women receive instruction from older women and fast for spiritual power. Their return to the community is celebrated with a feast. In agricultural traditions, where hunting is replaced by farming, this sequestering tends to be more symbolic than actual, and the celebration may be put off for a year or more to enable the accumulation of all that is needed for a major ceremony and feast.

Menarche rituals can be found in traditional societies around the world, but perhaps the most outstanding is that of the Navajo and Apache. These cultures migrated from the northwestern part of Canada to the U.S. Southwest 500 years ago. In the north, the related cultures, such as the gathering-hunting Dené, consider women to be more spiritually powerful than men and a partial menarche seclusion lasts for a year. In the south, the cultures fused with the matrifocal, agricultural Pueblo traditions, creating a complex four-day menarche ritual which brings powerful spirits to heal the people of the community. During the ceremony, the young woman becomes temporarily divine; she is the Earth Mother herself and can heal those around her. The ceremony is the major ritual of these cultures, serving as a means for continuing tradition and for the community to reaffirm its solidarity in the presence of the sacred. For those women who undergo the arduous ritual, it remains the most important and empowering ritual of their lives.

EFFECTS OF RITUAL CELEBRATION OF MENARCHE

Celebrating menarche enhances social approbation by the community and engenders a strong sense of self-worth



Apache First Menstruation Ceremony. An Apache girl's face is painted white in preparation for her Sunrise Dance, the Apache first menstruation ceremony. © ANDERS RYMAN/CORBIS.

for the initiate. In addition the ritual also has positive effects on the body decades after the ceremony takes place. A 1999 study by Clo Mingo found that few Navajo women who had the puberty ceremony experienced menopausal problems, even if they did not continue traditional spiritual practices or had undergone hysterectomy. In contrast those Navajo women who did not have the ceremony had the same physiological problems with menopause as most women in the United States. Thus where menarche is celebrated, the effects of the ritual lasts a lifetime. The ceremony ensures a positive self-understanding—physically, spiritually, socially, and mentally—that is empowering and timeless.

SEE ALSO *Menstruation*.

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Jordan Paper

MENARCHE, PHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Menarche is a female's first menstruation that takes place in puberty, generally occurring sometime between the ages of ten and eighteen. Menarche indicates that a female's reproductive organs have become functionally active. During menstruation the uterus sheds its lining (endometrium) and discharges an unfertilized egg, along with blood, mucus, and tissue. Whereas puberty is more commonly celebrated, first menstruation may also be marked by specific rituals and or celebrations in particular cultures. Individual responses to menarche are often determined by how well a female understands the changes taking place in her body and by the social codes informing feminine power or women's roles.

The majority of females experience their first menstruation sometime between eleven and fifteen years of age, with the average age being thirteen. However, prolonged emotional stress, poor nutrition, or consistent intensive exercise may delay the onset of the menstrual cycle. Medical studies show, for instance, that female athletes may start menstruating two or three years later than expected due to their high-energy output and low body fat. Often the family history of menarche is the best indicator as to when a female may expect to begin menstruating. For example, if a mother and other matrilineal female relatives reached menarche early, between the ages of nine and eleven, chances are the daughter will also experience an early onset.

Increased body and pubic hair, the start of breasts, fuller hips and a growth spurt or weight gain signal that the body is preparing for menstruation. In addition, the body's increased production of sex hormones trigger body odor changes, sweat gland production, and increase the skin's oil production. These external indicators of the body's preparation for menstruation coincide with internal physical changes of pelvic development in which the

uterus and vagina grow and the tract from the uterus opens. The first menstruation may or may not occur simultaneously with ovulation. Typically it can take several months or even up to two years for the menstrual cycle to coincide with ovulation and to become more regular. Therefore, whereas menarche is often an indication that a female's body has reached reproductive maturity, the first few cycles can be anovulatory, or *infertile*.

How a young female feels about her first period is greatly determined by familial and sociocultural practices and discourses that inform her understanding of the female body and its reproductive functions. Psychological and sociological studies indicate that most females experience a mixture of embarrassment, apprehension, and excitement about menstruation. The anxieties associated with menarche may be lessened or alleviated by candid explanations of what a female might expect physically and by familial and cultural systems that promote menstruation as a positive experience worthy of celebration. It should be noted, however, as Janet Lee and Jennifer Sasser-Coen (1996) demonstrate in their study of menarchal experiences, females who have been sexually abused as children may feel an increased sense of anxiety, associating menarche with the material risks of pregnancy and as a further contamination or violation of their bodies.

Negative experiences with menarche are often linked to feelings such as a "body out of control," being positioned as "different," "potentially sexual" with "physical contact with their father or with boys being curtailed" and with a general "loss of power" related to becoming a woman in a patriarchal social structure (Ussher 2006, p. 22). In most European and North American cultures, such as the United States, menstruation is often understood according to the discourses of medicine or hygiene, compelling menarchal females to view menstruation as something *dirty* or something to be concealed from others. And whereas such societies tend to position the menstrual body "as an object to be disciplined and managed in privacy," many females state that their first menstruation was a positive experience that they embraced as a "sign of womanhood" and of being "normal" and "fertile" (Ussher 2006, p. 23).

In many cultures menarche signifies the maturation of a girl into a woman and is seen to solidify her sexual difference from males. The marking of this sexual difference may be ceremoniously performed with rituals that require the physical separation of the menarchal female from males or the community. For instance, in certain social groups of South Asia, such as the Hindu Brahmins, the female is separated from the community for twelve days at menarche as part of a ritual to bless her with a fertile life. Some cultures, such as the American Navaho Indians, also ritualize the menarchal

moment with the female's seclusion followed by a communal celebration called a *kinaalda*. It is more common, however, for social groups to hold ceremonies associated more broadly with puberty, such as the Jewish *bah mitsvah*, that commemorate the transition of a girl into a woman, rather than commemorating menarche in itself.

Most cultures either ritualistically or implicitly segregate the menarchal and/or menstruating female from communal activities. Studies of women and their personal accounts of menstruation indicate that feelings of isolation and separation are quite common across cultures. For instance, one woman conveyed feelings of "public shame" that kept her isolated from her childhood friends, particularly male friends, and from religious rituals in Greece: "Once you being menstruating, that's it, the rules change. . . . If you are going to church and you have a period you are not allowed to kiss the icons, you are considered dirty" (Koutroulis 2001, p. 197). Psychology and health scholar Jane M. Ussher (2006) states that a female's experience may be positive if menarche is adequately explained and/or celebrated by the family or society. If menstruation is not discussed or celebrated, females often have negative or anxious experiences with the onset of menstruation.

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Kristina Banister Quynn

MENOPAUSE

One of the stages in a woman's reproductive cycle, menopause is "the permanent cessation of menses resulting from reduced ovarian hormone secretion that occurs naturally or is induced by surgery, chemotherapy, or radiation" (Nelson 2005). In the United States, women reach menopause at the average age of fifty-one, and it can span several years. Menopause can occur naturally at

around that age in a woman's life or prematurely (before age forty); it can also be induced by surgery or medical procedures that remove or damage the ovaries. Although premenopausal women who undergo induced menopause experience many of the same symptoms, they do not experience the gradual adjustment time of perimenopause and often have a greater need for treatment of menopause-related symptoms. Premature menopause can be "genetic, the result of one or more poorly understood autoimmune processes, or it can be induced with a medical intervention"; women who experience premature menopause do progress through perimenopause, but like women who undergo induced menopause, they will suffer years without the benefits of estrogen (North American Menopause Society 2006).

Menopause encompasses a series of stages that mark the age range in which certain symptoms and physiological changes occur, particularly the cessation of the menstrual cycle (for at least one year). These stages include premenopause, perimenopause, and postmenopause. Premenopause is defined "as the time up to the beginning of the perimenopause, but is also used to define the time up to the last menstrual period" (Nelson 2005), and it typically ends after the age of seventy when there is a complete atrophy of estrogen-dependent tissues. Perimenopause is "the time around menopause during which menstrual cycle and endocrine changes are occurring but twelve months of amenorrhea has not yet occurred" (Nelson 2005), and the term *perimenopause* is often used interchangeably with *climacteric*. The climacteric, as noted by Barbara Kass-Annese (1999), is the physiological changes and symptoms associated with the transition from a reproductive to a nonreproductive status. With the onset of menopause, one of the key physiological changes is the decline in estrogen production. Finally, postmenopause is the period in which the last menstrual cycle occurs, often one to two years following menopause.

The physiological symptoms and changes that occur during menopause are wide in scope and will occur in every woman differently. These symptoms can include, but are not limited to, hot flashes, fatigue, and dizziness. Since the 1980s medical professionals have been increasingly addressing psychological symptoms, which can include depression, mood changes, and failing memory. Only since the late 1990s have researchers suggested that sociological as well as biological factors be considered when treating the psychological symptoms associated with menopause (Kass-Annese 1999). Treatments for menopausal symptoms have provoked debate within the medical community, particularly surrounding hormone replacement therapy (HRT). Professionals are increasingly recommending holistic solutions in addition to HRT to women experiencing menopause-related symptoms. Because each woman experiences menopause differently, treatment programs will also vary based upon individual need.

PHYSIOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS

Women experiencing menopause will encounter a range of physiological symptoms, and the intensity and frequency of these symptoms is unique to each woman. On average, approximately 80 percent of women experience these symptoms, and about 40 percent of these women find the severity such that they will seek treatment (Kass-Annese 1999). All women will experience a decrease in menstrual period duration and flow, and some women will notice subtle and dramatic shifts in their menstrual cycle because of changes (usually a decrease) in ovarian function. These changes in the menstrual period are typically the first sign of the onset of the climacteric, or the perimenopause.

Hot flashes are perhaps the most common symptom associated with menopause, and they can be experienced at different times and intensities during the perimenopause and postmenopause periods. Medically, hot flashes are known as a vasomotor instability, and approximately 10 to 20 percent of women during their forties experience hot flashes when their menstrual cycles are irregular; 40 to 58 percent of women within the two-year period around menopause experience them (Kass-Annese 1999). Hot flashes result from a decline in estrogen production and are the product of the excitation of heat release mechanisms. Blood vessels are brought to the surface of the skin, dilate and constrict irregularly, causing an increase of blood flow to the skin, vital organs, and brain. Typically, the heat on the skin's surface is first experienced in the face and neck then the rest of the body. Women can experience a range of feelings, from a simple warm sensation to a feeling of extreme heat, and some may perspire. A hot flash can last a few moments or as long as thirty minutes, and some may experience hot flashes during sleep (night sweats). Following a hot flash, women can then experience mild to severe chills.

If a woman suffers night sweats, she can experience sleep deprivation that can lead to fatigue. Sleep deprivation can also result from a disturbed sleep routine, alcohol, caffeine, nicotine, heavy meals, and lack of exercise; it can also lead to other symptoms in addition to fatigue such as inability to concentrate, irritability, loss of memory, and nocturnal voiding. In addition to these symptoms, women experiencing menopause can suffer from a broad range of symptoms including restlessness; poor concentration; poor memory; headaches; joint and muscle pain; cold hands and feet; feelings of suffocation; pressure or tightness in the head or body; dizziness; palpitations; insomnia; loss of appetite; tender or painful sensation in the breasts; increase or decrease in libido; constipation or diarrhea; dry skin; frequent bruising; formication (prickly sensation); and exacerbation of symptoms associated with other health problems (Kass-

Annese 1999). Estrogen decrease is a significant, but not the only, cause of many of these symptoms; poor nutrition, lack of physical activity, or other stress factors can trigger many of these symptoms as well. Other factors identified in studies include race and ethnicity; age at onset of the menopause transition; body mass index (BMI); surgical versus natural menopause; depression; and smoking (Nelson 2005).

During postmenopause, estrogen and testosterone levels diminish and can trigger a number of symptoms, including vaginal or vulvar itching; abnormal vaginal discharge; vulvar dryness; urethritis; thinning of pubic and other body hair; wrinkling and loss of skin tone; redistribution of body fat; diminished muscle mass; decrease in energy; and decline in libido (Kass-Annese 1999). An additional physiological symptom associated with estrogen decrease is tissue atrophy, specifically of estrogen-dependent tissues such as the vulva, vagina, uterus, cervix, ovaries, breasts, urethra, and bladder (Kass-Annese 1999). Estrogen decline is gradual; therefore, the changes in these tissues occur slowly. Also during this time, vaginal changes happen. In general, vaginal tissues lose moisture and grow thinner and paler. The labia majora and labia minora can become thinner, flatter, paler, and less elastic, and the oil-secreting glands of the labia majora produce less of their moisturizing oil, which results in a loss of moisture of the labia. All of these changes may result in dryness of the vulvar area. The vaginal canal becomes shorter and narrower; estrogen decrease also causes reduction in the size of the uterus, cervix, and ovaries. Atrophic changes in the bladder and urethra are similar to those in the vagina and vulva, insofar as the lining of the bladder and urethra become thinner. As a result, urinary incontinence can become a problem for postmenopausal women.

During the postmenopause years, women must also be aware of other health factors that are linked more to the aging process than directly to menopause. These health concerns include heart disease, osteoporosis, and cancer. Heart disease is the number one killer of women in North America, and after age fifty-five, more than half of all deaths in women are caused by cardiovascular disease (North American Menopause Society 2006). The risk for heart disease increases for women when they reach menopause and the risk can be greater for those women who experience premature menopause or menopause at an early age. Research has also identified several factors that can increase the risk of heart disease in women, including current cigarette smoking; diabetes; stress; physical inactivity; and high blood pressure, among other indicators (North American Menopause Society 2006).

Osteoporosis is another health concern for women experiencing menopause. "Postmenopausal osteoporosis

is a skeletal disorder in which bone strength has weakened to a point where the bone is fragile and at higher risk for fractures. Bone strength and thus fracture risk are dependent on both bone quality and bone mineral density" (North American Menopause Society 2006). Although inadequate bone development and growth during formative years and bone loss resulting from aging contribute to osteoporosis, there are other factors that contribute to the onset of this bone disease, including genetics; lack of exercise; certain medical conditions; and menopause. The reduction in estrogen levels that occurs during menopause is a major contributing factor to osteoporosis. Finally, postmenopausal women should be aware of the increase in certain cancer risks as they age. Though cancer risk is directly associated with menopause, certain cancer rates increase with age. "In North America, about two out of every five women diagnosed with cancer will be alive five years after diagnosis," which suggests awareness and treatments are proving effective (North American Menopause Society 2006). The most common types of cancer occurring in postmenopausal women are breast, cervical, endometrial, ovarian, lung, and colorectal.

Research has suggested that social factors, such as socioeconomic status, be considered when examining physiological and psychological symptoms associated with menopause. Kass-Annese (1999) suggests looking at the historical responses to menopause in American culture to contextualize the need for such a wide-ranging analysis. She observes that commonly held notions of menopause are rooted in centuries-old beliefs about women and their role within society. For example, it was once a widely held belief that menopause was an ailment that required a cure and women who were experiencing menopause were in fact ill, suffering from partial death. Because a woman's primary function was one of reproduction, the cessation of the menstrual cycle was considered an ending to her productive role in society. This perspective was held even through the early 1980s, until the impact of the women's movement and medical research was felt in mainstream culture. Now, menopause is viewed as a natural part of the reproductive cycle.

Given this contemporary perspective, other factors now enter into the discussion regarding what elements contribute to menopause symptoms in addition to the common physiological changes. Current research indicates that women of "low sociodemographic status, low family income, low educational level, and limited employment opportunities experience more symptoms and greater severity of symptoms than women with higher social status, greater income, better education, and more rewarding employment" (Kass-Annese 1999). Moreover, women in this particular socioeconomic category also experience more psychological symptoms than women in higher socioeconomic brackets. Also, studies suggest that menopause

symptoms can be exacerbated by negative attitudes toward menopause, poor social support, stressful life events, a recent death in the family, and poor marital relations (Kass-Annese 1999).

PSYCHOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS

A decline in ovarian function can cause neurochemical changes that may lead to an onset of certain psychological symptoms during menopause. These psychological changes can include mental confusion, failing memory, and mood alterations (Kass-Annese 1999). Moodiness, irritability, and depression also occur during menopause, but studies have indicated that there is not a dramatic rise in the incidence rate of depression during menopause (Kass-Annese 1999). “Depressed mood during perimenopause is often associated with a history of depressed mood (including PMS [premenstrual syndrome]) earlier in life, a longer menopause transition, or severe menopause-related symptoms such as hot flashes. Other causes of mood disturbances during perimenopause include thyroid disorders, medication side-effects, and life stresses” (North American Menopause Society 2006). Psychological symptoms that occur during menopause require the same attention in terms of treatment as the physiological symptoms.

TREATMENTS

Like the range of physiological and psychological symptoms and their intensity and duration, treatment programs and options vary greatly. First, women, regardless of age, must consider a comprehensive approach to their health, including fitness, diet, and stress-reduction. The most common medical response to menopause-related symptoms, particularly estrogen decline, is hormone therapy (HT). Estrogen therapy (ET) provides estrogen supplements to the body and assists in the treatment of menopause-related symptoms resulting from the decline in estrogen. Estrogen plus progestogen therapy (EPT) is used primarily to protect the uterus, which is the function of the added progestogen (estrogen is still the primary active hormone in this particular therapy). The current debate surrounding HT (which encompasses all forms of hormone therapy including ET and EPT) is the use of natural (or plant-based) hormones, such as estrogen and progestogen, versus the use of synthetic and conjugated equine hormones. Some of the benefits of ET and EPT include complete or partial relief of hot flashes for most women within one week to two months of initiating therapy; natural progestogen can also be used by women who cannot or do not want to use ET and for those who experience intolerable side effects from it (Kass-Annese 1999). ET is also an effective choice for the prevention and treatment of symptoms associated

with vaginal atrophy, including vaginal dryness, discharge, itching, burning, and bleeding (Kass-Annese 1999).

It should also be noted, however, that there are risks associated with HT. Too much estrogen or a sensitivity to the particular form in which it is taken can trigger certain symptoms including breast swelling and tenderness; dysmenorrhea; menorrhagia; elevated blood pressure; fluid retention and bloating; weight gain; migraine headaches; nausea and vomiting; chloasma; mood changes; decreased libido; loss of frontal and crown head hair; confusion; and intolerance of contact lenses (Kass-Annese 1999). Natural progestogen can cause drowsiness or fatigue, while synthetic testosterone can generate acne or mood swings (Kass-Annese 1999). Another risk that has received significant media attention has been the suggested link between HT and the increase in the risk of breast cancer. In April 2006 the National Institutes of Health (NIH) released findings from its Women’s Health Initiative (WHI) Estrogen-Alone Trial, noting, “estrogen-alone hormone therapy does not increase the risk of breast cancer in postmenopausal women” (National Institutes of Health 2006). The NIH further indicates that these findings contrast with the previously reported (in April 2004) WHI Estrogen plus Progestin Trial, “which found an increase in breast cancer over about 5 years among those taking combined hormone therapy” (National Institutes of Health 2006). Also in April 2006, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* published a complete report about the WHI Estrogen-Alone Trial, noting that the study “was stopped early based on available data representing an average of 6.8 years of follow-up because of increased stroke incidence and no reduction in risk of coronary heart disease” (Stefanick et al. 2006). However, the report also reveals that “preliminary analyses found fewer breast cancers in women” in the estrogen-alone group, which the authors suggest requires further analysis of breast cancer incidence. Researchers have also found that HT therapies seem to have a link to breast cancer, which is why many women have stopped taking ET.

ET and EPT is an option for women who are seeking relief from menopause-related symptoms and even for bone health. If, however, particular symptoms require treatment or this type of therapy is not an option, then women can pursue more concentrated types of treatment, including holistic. For those who find ET is the best available option, there are two dosage possibilities—systemic and local. Systemic therapy is used to circulate estrogen through the bloodstream to affect different tissues. This type of ET can be administered orally, through the skin (a patch or gel, for example), or through injection. “Almost all of the systemic forms have the potential to provide the full range of benefits and risks associated with ET. The one exception is the ultra-low-dose estradiol skin patch (Menostar); it is FDA [Food and Drug

Administration] approved only for osteoporosis prevention in postmenopausal women” (North American Menopause Society 2006). Local ET consists mostly of vaginal estrogen products that come in the form of a cream, ring, or tablet: this type of treatment targets a specific part of the body. Because these local treatments are given in a low dosage, they do not circulate enough estrogen through the body to relieve symptoms such as hot flashes.

Progestogen is another common hormone used along with estrogen in HT. It can be used alone during “perimenopause to treat symptoms such as hot flashes, to manage abnormal uterine bleeding, or to counter ‘estrogen dominance’ that can occur in some women as estrogen levels fluctuate to high levels during this transition” (North American Menopause Society 2006). But most often, progestogen is used along with estrogen to treat menopause-related symptoms. There are a variety of progestogen options, not all of which are used in EPT. These include “progesterone (bioidentical to the hormone produced by the ovaries) and several different progestins (compounds synthesized to act like progesterone)” (North American Menopause Society 2006). Women have a few EPT regimes available, which include taking estrogen and progestogen separately or taking combination EPT products. The most common EPT regimens are cyclic EPT, continuous-cyclic EPT, continuous-combined EPT, and intermittent-combined EPT.

Professionals and women experiencing menopause are combing technological advances in diagnostic and therapeutic measures with greater reliance on self-care practices, wellness programs, therapeutic nutritional and fitness regimens, and alternative or complementary health-care practices (Kass-Annese 1999). These alternative treatments typically come from outside of Western medicine, but there has been a dramatic increase in the integration of these options into traditional Western medical practices. Yoga, relaxation techniques, chiropractic therapy, lifestyle diets (i.e., macrobiotics), herbal medicine, megavitamin therapy, hypnosis, homeopathy, and acupuncture are just some of the nontraditional treatments for menopause-related symptoms that have become available to women (Kass-Annese 1999). These complementary practices can address many of the chronic problems afflicting patients. The approach to treatment within these non-Western practices is quite different from Western treatments, primarily because there is a focus on well-being as a whole rather than attention to one particular symptom or problem. The broader acceptance of these complementary therapies is evidenced in the increase in insurance companies covering their use, not only for menopause-related symptoms but for other ailments as well.

SEE ALSO *Menstruation*.

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Michelle Parke

MEN'S MOVEMENTS

Men's movements are a collection of social, political, and philosophical organizations that seek to redefine men's relationship to their prescribed gender roles. Although male-centered organizations have existed throughout history, the organizations usually referred to as men's movements begin in the 1970s. They generally formed after second-wave feminist movements and sought to reform (or reassert) men's position in a society with new values. The earliest men's movements (those of the 1970s and 1980s) were largely profeminist, followed by a period of backlash agendas aimed at reclaiming rights that were thought to have been lost to women. From the 1990s onward, men's movements became highly formalized and aimed at niche groups with various interests, which makes it difficult to claim that men's movements as a whole share any particular ideology other than their general focus on men in society. The early profeminist movement was fairly small and had more female than male supporters, but as the focus turned away from supporting women toward male-focused agendas, overall participation has grown. Women are active in some organizations, although usually in small numbers, but many organizations either do not allow women as members or only allow them limited access to activities and trainings.

MYTHOPOETIC MOVEMENT

The most famous of the men's movements is the Mythopoetic Movement. It is based on the ideas of the

U.S. poet Robert Bly (b. 1926), particularly those expressed in an interview he gave in 1982 published under the title "What Do Men Really Want? A New Age Interview with Robert Bly," and on Bly's 1990 publication *Iron John: A Book about Men*. In this book Bly relies heavily on mythology and religion scholar Joseph Campbell's (1904–1987) teachings about the archetypal nature of fairy tales, which he derived from Jungian analytical psychology. Bly used a fairy tale by the German linguists and folklorists brothers Jakob L.K. Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm K. Grimm (1786–1859) called "Iron John" as a model for contemporary men and as a way of guiding men on a spiritual journey to reconnect with *the deep masculine* parts of themselves that modern society has hidden from them. It strives to reassert a *primitive* masculinity to allow men to deal with the pain of their lives and is thus a combination of essentialist and relativist gender constructions. The movement's basis in psychology shaped the application of its teachings: It kept away from overtly political issues related to men (which other movements focused on), and was concerned with the emotional, spiritual, and psychological well-being of men. The Iron John movement has several organizations, some more formal than others, associated with it, each with their own objectives. The general subjects of interest to the movement, however, are those traditionally associated with men: war, violence, the ability (or inability) to live up to ideals of masculinity, and how to be fathers to sons. Although members of the movement claim to be at least somewhat profeminist, the concept of the feminine and issues relating to women are usually excised from discussion or consideration.

The Mythopoetic Movement has often been ridiculed by people who claim that it prioritizes the emotional over the physical, thereby overturning masculine gender stereotypes. The movement does emphasize the emotional, but a devotee of the movement might claim that it seeks to reshape masculine gender roles rather than to overturn them. In fact, the physical is sometimes emphasized as a means of access to the emotional. Workshops and retreats often take place outdoors, and the stereotypical images of men beating drums and passing talking sticks are derived from this movement. The Mankind Project is an organization founded in 1984 based on ideas found in the Mythopoetic Movement. One of its programs is the New Warrior Training Adventure, a weekend retreat where men take part in the mythical *hero's journey*, described by Campbell, which resembles a tribal initiation rite. The retreats take place in wooded areas, and participants are required to leave behind cell phones, radios, and any other items that connect them with the outside world or provide comfort. The specific activities of these weekends remain secret,

given that all participants are required to sign a confidentiality agreement, but sleep deprivation and physical exertion are highly rumored to be components. The financial structure of the organization, the secrecy of the weekend retreats, along with the setting, which critics claim is ideal for mind control activities, has caused many to label the organization a cult. Other activities of the Mankind Project include leadership training, mentoring of young men, veterans' assistance, and prison outreach. These programs stress the movement's ideas, but have come under much less scrutiny than the New Warrior Training Adventure.

PROMISE KEEPERS

The Promise Keepers is a Christian men's group founded by Bill McCartney (b. 1940) in 1990. Like the concept of Muscular Christianity promoted by the evangelist and one-time professional baseball player Billy Sunday (1862–1935) in response to first-wave feminism, Promise Keepers seeks to reassert the male as the head of the family, to whom women should willingly submit. In return for his wife's submission, the husband will lead the family in a gentle and loving way based on the model of Jesus Christ. They actively seek to overturn what they call the *sisified* status of men in the late twentieth century, including reimagining Jesus as a warrior figure. It is an antifeminist movement that seeks to reassert essentialist views of gender and to promote a conservative Christian agenda. As with most men's movements, it has a primarily white, middle-class membership. It has actively engaged in outreach to other racial groups, however, and attempts to overcome racial barriers between men as one of its goals. Promise Keepers functions through a series of events held in stadiums and sports arenas, at times attracting more than 100,000 men to a single event. The organization's membership peaked in October 1997 with a nationally televised event on the National Mall in Washington, DC, that attracted more than a million participants. Financial difficulties following the rally caused the organization to become volunteer run instead of having a paid staff, and admission costs to Promise Keepers events increased sharply in an effort to raise money. The change in organizational model and the increased expense are credited with the decline in popularity of the organization.

MILLION MAN MARCH

The Million Man March is unusual among men's movements in that it has a primarily nonwhite membership. The organization is devoted to a broad slate of social and economic justice goals centering on the African-American community. Since its inception the organization has been divided between those who wish to use the Million Man March events as a platform to demand

redress of past racial injustice, and those who look to the African-American man as a catalyst for future change within their community. The second formulation is the more popularly promoted one and the one that most members claim to be in favor of. As with many of the other movement groups, the Million Man March encourages members to look to themselves, and specifically their role as men, to promote change and prosperity in the African-American community. One particularly large focus has been on the issue of fatherhood, as the African-American community has a higher percentage of out-of-wedlock births and children raised by single mothers than the national average. The Million Man March tries to work through black men to help other black men be responsible members of their families and their communities. The movement began as an event, with the hope of drawing 1 million African-American men to the National Mall in Washington, DC, on October 16, 1995 in an act of dedication to their communities. More than 800,000 men did participate that day, making it one of the largest rallies of its kind in history. Because it was originally an event, not an organization, the Million Man March suffered from a lack of direction following the march itself and has also been subject to its internal factional tensions. Although no other march of the size of the original has been held, regional marches are held periodically across the United States.

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Brian D. Holcomb

MEN'S STUDIES

Early forays into the study of issues involving maleness and masculinity began in the 1970s. However, it was not until the 1980s that those issues were theorized consistently as parts of a coherent discipline called men's studies and courses in men's studies began to be offered at some academic institutions. As men's studies became more visible in theoretical writings and academic class-

rooms, writers focused on the relationship between men's studies and the larger field of gender studies. Two distinct branches of men's studies developed, both strongly influenced by the social and political consciousness-raising goals of gender studies and feminism.

DIVISION OF MEN'S STUDIES INTO TWO BRANCHES

One branch of men's studies emerged as a reaction against gender studies and feminism. Although theorists who react to feminism in this way acknowledge the historical oppression of women, those writers emphasize the idea that patriarchal systems are capable of oppressing men as well as women. In addition, those writers voice a concern that men are left out of the conversation in gender studies or are degraded, perpetuating a sense of guilt and inferiority.

The second branch of men's studies envisions a more peaceful coexistence with feminism and gender studies. According to its practitioners, the mission of men's studies is to continue the revolutionary project of gender studies. For theories of gender studies to succeed in consciousness-raising and political change across a society, the impact of those ideas on men as well as men's role in society must be examined in a more thorough and systematic way.

CRITICISMS OF MEN'S STUDIES

Despite an extensive theoretical discourse that categorizes the project of men's studies as interconnected with that of feminism, some academics in gender studies raise the concern that men's studies is a form of masculine appropriation. Through men's studies, those scholars contend, male academics have a vehicle that can be used to silence the feminine viewpoint in gender studies, demonstrating another example of patriarchal oppression. This perspective raises the question of why a specific mode of inquiry based on men is needed when in essence all of history has been dedicated to men's studies.

The field of men's studies has tried to defend itself from that charge in a variety of ways. Some practitioners have countercharged that feminist resistance to men's studies amounts to a forceful appropriation of gender studies and a repetition of the exclusionary practices of which men have been accused. In addition to efforts to turn the accusation around, scholars of men's studies have tried to demonstrate that although feminist scholarship is correct in its assertion that humankind has been equated with the masculine, that is not the same thing as an analysis of the masculine as a gender. Further, the attempts that have been made within gender studies to analyze the masculine gender have been conducted in the context of men's impact on women instead of examining

the masculine gender on its own terms. A more expansive vision of gender studies that includes men's studies, it is argued, will alleviate this shortcoming. An effort needs to be made to go beyond taking the historical norm of the masculine for granted and explore the specific details that make up that norm.

Some practitioners of men's studies assert that although they admire the ideals of gender studies, they see within the discourse of gender studies unfair negative stereotypes of men. Going beyond a critique of gender studies, that vision of men's studies suggests that the life and role of men in late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century society need only be looked at to demonstrate the crisis of modern masculinity. That crisis manifests itself first and foremost in terms of men's health. As a result of the significantly higher rate at which men are afflicted by drug and alcohol addiction, heart disease, death and injury in times of war, and suicide compared with women, health issues are read as indicators of the male plight. In a similar vein overwork and homelessness are indicators of the male crisis in a social context.

It has been hypothesized that this vision of a male crisis is a result of industrialized society. In that analysis men at one time were protectors of the family and the earth. Because they were forced to leave the family structure to achieve economic success, men became alienated from the family. Such evocations of masculinity characterize the masculine ideal as a mythic and primitive generative essence that has been lost but must be regained in a fashion similar to that propounded by Robert Bly in his best seller *Iron John* (1990). The social construction of the masculine crisis can be combated, ushering a political element into the practice of men's studies. The political action dynamic can be beneficial by encouraging a stronger bond with the family, protecting nature, and emphasizing the importance of male role models for children, or it can have aspects that are potentially antithetical to feminist political engagement through efforts to increase fathers' rights.

MEN'S STUDIES AS AN EXTENSION OF GENDER STUDIES

Harry Brod (1987) opposes such a conception for men's studies because for him and for theorists such as Michael S. Kimmel (1987), Jeff Hearn (Hearn and David 1990), and Bob Pease (2000), men's studies should be conceived of as an extension and not a corrective of gender studies. In "The New Men's Studies: From Feminist Theory to Gender Scholarship" (1987b), Brod criticizes the corrective force in men's studies. According to Brod, men's studies must be a "qualitative different study of men . . . not quantitatively more study of men" (Brod 1987b, p. 190).

Central to this extension of gender studies is the fact of patriarchy and the need to question the impact of patriarchal institutions on men and masculinity. In questioning the function of masculine power, it is important to recognize that masculinity is not a single unified entity but a shifting and changing plurality of masculinities. Labor functions as a significant determinant of the masculine role, but the different varieties of labor create significantly different social power dynamics. Race and sexuality also create different social dynamics and thus different visions of masculinity.

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Lance Norman

MENSTRUATION

Ancient cultures connected women's cycle of ovulation and menstruation to the phases of the moon, sometimes referring to women in menses as being "on their moon." The term *menses* comes from the Latin word for month, *mensis*, which is cognate with the Greek word for moon, *mene*. The menstrual cycle is thus perceived as a reflection of the cosmic cycles of nature in the female body, but this has not always been perceived as a positive connotation. For instance, the Greek philosopher Empedocles (c. 493–433 BCE) believed that women menstruated at the waning of the moon, in order to purify their wombs.

From ancient times, then, there seems to have been an ambivalence towards menstruation: on the one hand, the onset of menstruation is celebrated as marking the change from girl to woman, who is now physically able to bring new life into the world; on the other hand, menstrual blood may be considered to be dangerous or polluting, thus rendering the woman in menses ritually excluded or separated. Different religions explain such



Purification After Menstruation. Young Kalash women perform a purification dance after going through menstruation. © EAL & NAZIMA KOWALL/CORBIS.

strictures according to their own view of what is sacred and profane, what is pure and impure.

INDIGENOUS RELIGIONS

Indigenous or primal religions have historically tended to regard menstruation in a positive manner. Among Australian aboriginal, Polynesian, African, and Native American peoples, the first menstruation of a girl was often observed with seclusion in a separate dwelling, accompanied by female-only ritual practices and practical support from other women. This was followed by a ceremony, at which her new status as a woman was celebrated and recognized, and she was formally reintegrated into the group. Tlingit (Kolosh) custom was for the girl to remain in seclusion for a year, after which she would be given a ritual feast. Australian aboriginal groups still practice segregation at menarche, and prepare the girl for her return to the community by first immersing her in a ritual bath, then decorating her body with red ochre and white clay before the formal procession home.

The ritual segregation at menarche derives, in part, from the notion that anything excreted from the body—

spittle, milk, blood, urine, feces, even tears—has inherent danger and power. Mary Douglas notes that since the orifices of the body represent its margins, symbolizing its points of vulnerability, so any matter coming from those margins may be seen as particularly susceptible (Douglas 1984, p. 121). If the body is taken as a microcosmic representative of the society as a whole, then the individual must take particular care to make sure that the power of such matter is kept in check, so as not to disrupt the equilibrium of the group.

From such a perspective, although menstrual blood is regarded as powerful, it is not viewed as polluting, nor is menstruation itself considered shameful. The menstruating woman is not unclean, but in a state of power that can throw male power out of balance, thus disturbing social stability. Women in menstruation and childbirth are therefore separated from the ritual life of the community, in order to contain their power at these times. Such is the ritual potency of menstruation that among indigenous Australians, men may imitate the women's menstrual bleeding through either subincision or piercing the upper arm, in order to bleed together on ritual occasions (Gross 2001, p. 307).

MENSTRUAL TABOOS

Attitudes toward menstruation vary according to the cultural perspective on menstrual blood. In societies where it is regarded as a medium of transmission of power, the woman in menses may be circumscribed and marked by other forms of ritual exclusion involving taboos relating to dietary restriction, and the avoidance of sacred objects, places, male implements (such as hunting or fishing equipment), tending the fire, practicing medicine or shamanic activities. In Hawaii, for example, women lived in a one-roomed menstrual hut (*hale pe'a*) that was on a plot of land removed from, and off-limits to, the general population. Similar huts were used by the Tlingit (Kolosh) people of Alaska, the Zoroastrians in Iran, and the Dogon of Mali. Such practices have declined in recent times.

Some of these taboos may also pertain in other religious traditions, which treat menstrual blood as a polluting substance, and the woman in menses as unclean, at least in ritual terms. As a result, women's participation in the sphere of public ritual is proscribed because of their state of impurity. Such proscriptions have been found in reference to ensuring the temple and ritual purity of both Greek and non-Greek mystery cults from as early as the third century BCE. Orthodox (Hindu) Brahmins throughout India and Nepal retain the practice of excluding menstruating women from the kitchen and the shared dining table. Hindu and Jain *mandirs* and Parsi *agiaries* often have signs that women in menses are not to enter.

MYTHS OF MENSTRUATION

There are ancient myths from all cultures concerning the power inherent in menstrual blood. In Sumerian mythology, the great goddess Ninhursag, or Ki, heals the dying Enki by placing him next to her vulva, and generating eight healing deities to revive his eight ailing organs. The Norse *Edda* narrates how Thor, the god of thunder, was crossing a river when it started to rise, because the giantess Gjalp was standing with a foot on each side. Some interpret this to mean that her menstrual blood was flowing into the river. Thor hurls a rock, presumably at her vagina, to stem the stream.

One mythological motif common to many cultures connects the snake with the onset of menstruation. In tales such as those of the Wawalik people in northern Australia, women are chased, bitten, swallowed, or penetrated by snakes, and it is this experience that brings on menstruation. Biblical commentators throughout history have related the Levitical prohibitions on women in menses to the divine punishment of Eve after she has consorted with the serpent (Genesis 3.1–6). Through Eve, all women have thus been “cursed.”

Such myths of menstruation often relate to structural changes in group behavior. For instance, among the Dogon people of central Mali, the appearance of menstrual blood is the result of an act of incest between the Earth Mother and her firstborn. Here, again, the first menstruation represents the introduction of death and disorder in the world, and thus the need to circumscribe all subsequent menses through certain prohibitions.

Hindu textual tradition relates the origin of menstruation to a sinful act. A myth in the *Rig Veda* tells how the male divinity Indra kills the dragon Vritra (also known as Ahi—“snake”) and releases the waters: this becomes reconfigured through history, so that by the time the *Mahabharata* was composed (between fifth century BCE and fourth century CE), Indra's act involves him committing brahmanicide. Various texts describe how Indra calls upon different elements to take a portion of his sin in return for compensation. Women are always mentioned as one element, and are afflicted with menstruation as a result (*Taittiriya Samhita* 2.5:1–2; *Markandeya Purana* 46.1–65). Their compensation is to enjoy sexual activity until childbirth. Thus, a woman's periodic impurity becomes the punitive counterpart to her capacity for sexual pleasure.

A powerful illustration of the value Hindu tradition places upon purity and modesty with regard to containing the pollution of menstruation is found in the *Mahabharata*. There, Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandava brothers, is forceably dragged before the assembly of men—not the proper place for a virtuous woman, and certainly not for one who is menstruating, as Draupadi is at the time. She wears the “one garment” of the woman in menses, which her captor, seeking to humiliate and dishonor her even further, tries to pull off, but as he unravels her skirt, so more material appears, to cover her shame. Thus preserved from degradation, she is seen by all to be the ideal wife, who knows and follows *dharma*, and through whom husbands and kingdoms are saved.

MENSTRUAL BLOOD AS EMPOWERING OR POLLUTING

In contrast, Hindu Tantric texts speak of menstrual blood as “blood-food,” which contains powerful healing and magic. Vamachari Tantric initiation is said to involve drinking menstrual blood and semen, and the ideal sexual partner to be menstruating when uniting with her male consort, so that he may be blessed and share in the female cosmic energy of the Shakti, whom the female devotee represents.

Chinese sages called menstrual blood the essence or energy (*chi*) of Mother Earth, the *yin* principle that gives life to all things. From the Taoist perspective, a woman's menstrual blood is the essence, which can be harnessed to

extend her lifespan. A man's semen (*xing*) serves a similar function, holding all his *yang* energy. Together, these two bodily fluids are the sources for life—both natural and immortal: when they interact, *yin* and *yang* form the Tao, the Way. Women who have attained higher levels of Tao practice are said to be able, through inner alchemy, to stop the menstrual cycle, so that its energy flows up to the heart and brain. This process is called “Cutting the Red Dragon.”

In the early Shinto sacred texts, the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, which are the main sources of Shinto myths and legends, menstruation was welcomed as it meant that the woman was ready to assume the role of a spirit medium (*miko*). Certain sects of the Shinto tradition continue to teach that the complementary balance of the sexes is the foundation of the world. With the advent of Buddhism in Japan, however, attitudes toward menstruation shifted. In the Muromachi period (1333–1573), a Chinese apocryphal text, the *Ketsubonkyo* (“Blood-bowl”) *Sutra*, became popular; it teaches the way of salvation for women who have fallen into Hell because of the pollution entailed in the shedding of menstrual blood.

One of the ancient texts of the Zoroastrians, the *Vendidad* also considers menstrual blood to be extremely polluting (as is any substance leaving the body—including hair, saliva, and breath), and there are strict injunctions as to how a woman should be segregated “three paces” from the rest of the community and “fifteen paces” from other elements of creation, so that her glance does not contaminate them. One of the greatest sins is for a menstruating woman to have sexual intercourse (15.7, 13–16). The *Vendidad* refers to menstruation as an incursion of Angra Mainyu (the Destructive Spirit) into the world (16.18–19). A later text largely redacted in the ninth century, the *Bundahishn*, contains one of the few etiological myths concerning menstruation: the “whore demon” Jeh revives Angra Mainyu from a three-thousand-year stupor and he kisses her on the head, at which moment she becomes the first to be polluted by the blood of menstruation (4.4f.).

The injunctions as to how to combat such demonic onslaughts are elaborated in the later Zoroastrian texts, where the woman in menses is said to be like a corpse, in that her issue of blood represents dead matter that would have lived if inseminated. After menses, a woman was supposed to purify herself with a ritual scrub of bull's urine and water. Only at menopause was she considered to be perpetually clean.

Some religions have gone as far as to question whether a person can attain liberation while in a female body, which is prone to such infirmity as menstruation. This was the perspective taken by the Digambara (“sky-clad,” or nude) sect of the Jains at the time of the composition of the *Suttapahuda* around 150 CE. In this

text, the author Kundakunda maintains that a woman's menstrual flow contributes to her general inability to be pure-minded, and signifies that she is never totally free from harm (*himsa*). It was for this reason, rather than the inappropriateness of female nudity, that women could not achieve *moksha* (liberation), which was attainable only by those who were full mendicants. In the early twenty-first century, in both Digambara and Svetambara (“white-clad”) schools, all women are excluded from the main cella of the *manir* with its proximity to the revered images, and women in menses are barred from the main hall.

THE IMPACT OF GREEK AND ROMAN ATTITUDES

Much of the Western cultural approach to women and their bodily functions derives from the doctors and philosophers of classical Greece. In the sixth century BCE, the physician Hippocrates described the four sensible qualities of the human body as hot, cold, moist, and dry, which Empedocles later associated with the four elements of fire, earth, water, and air. Males consisted of the positive elements and qualities—fire and air, hot and dry; women of the negative—water and earth, moist and cold. This natural science influenced Aristotle's (384–322 BCE) conclusion that menstrual blood derived from the residue generated by women's cold, wet (passive) nature; because of her coldness, woman could not produce seed (semen), and was therefore just the matter from which the fetus was conceived after the sperm had acted to provide the form. The correlate of this notion was that the shedding of menstrual blood demarks an unsuccessful conception, wherein the blood is unformed dead matter, a failed life.

This negative concept persisted for many centuries, through the Greek and Roman eras, to the beginning of Christianity and on. By the time of the Roman writer Pliny (23–79 CE), a woman's monthly flow was thought to have a deleterious effect on virtually anything that it touched. In his *Natural History*, Pliny writes that menstrual blood is so harmful that contact with it causes crops to die, new wine to sour, iron and bronze to rust, and hives of bees to die! Centuries later, the Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) cited Aristotle in his *Summa Theologica*, adding that menstrual blood is naturally impure and infected with corruption (2.2189). The Christian approach toward menstruation was, then, directly influenced by the pseudo-scientific teachings of the Greeks, although it also maintained some of the practices of Judaism.

JEWISH PERSPECTIVES

In the Hebrew Bible, the Israelite woman is considered to be ritually “unclean” (*tuma* in Hebrew) while menstruating,

and for seven days afterwards (Lev. 15.19–24). So, also, male genital discharge causes “uncleanness” for seven days (Lev. 15.1–15) and a seminal emission renders the male “unclean” until the evening (Lev. 15.16). *Tuma* refers not to physical uncleanness, but to the spiritual status that results from contact with death: the unfertilized egg shed during menstruation, or the semen that is “wasted” becomes *tuma*, because it represents the loss of the soul of a human who could have existed.

Rabbinic injunctions in the section of the *Mishnah* (c. 200 CE) known as *Niddah* (“separated” or “removed”) refer to a separate house where the menstruating woman was isolated. This practice continued among Ethiopian Jews until the twentieth century, and many orthodox Jews in the twenty-first century continue to adhere to the sexual separation of husband and spouse for at least twelve days. When menstruating, a woman was not supposed to attend synagogue or public prayers. Some authorities say that she is not supposed to look at the open scroll of the Torah, or touch a holy book. Women may end this time of separation with immersion in the *mikvah*, a ritual bath that removes the *tuma* of menstruation. The *mikvah* is not an act of physical purification, since the woman must have showered beforehand, but rather a time of spiritual rebirth by immersion in the waters that represent the womb of creation.

CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES

By the third century CE, Christian church fathers were beginning to introduce a distinct menstrual taboo, wherein menstruation was perceived as a reprehensible stain that needed to be purified: It was God’s punishment for Eve’s sin in eating the fruit of knowledge offered by the serpent. (Some Western societies still refer to the woman’s monthly flow as “the Curse.”) St. Jerome (342–420 CE), addressing the issue of asceticism in letters to three noble Roman women, advocated a stringent regime that would have led to amenorrhea, effectively removing the curse of Eve. Jerome also adopted Aristotle’s view that conception during menstruation would produce abnormalities in the child.

The influential Church leader and writer Augustine of Hippo (354–430) believed that a woman’s biological functions—the “curse” of menstruation and the mess of childbirth—showed her to be a lower form of human than man, and that her worth lay only in her ability to procreate. He maintained that the Levitical prohibitions on contact with menstrual women should be upheld. In contrast, a letter purportedly written by Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604) to Augustine of Canterbury (d. 604 CE) states that a menstruating woman cannot be prohibited from receiving Communion (although it is praiseworthy if she chooses not to), nor is the menstrual flow sinful. But this was not the view of other church leaders from

the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, who discouraged menstruating women from entering a church or accepting the sacrament of Communion.

A popular Christian belief that menstrual blood produced or attracted demons continued through the Middle Ages until at least the sixteenth century. The implication of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, which developed during this time, is that just as she is conceived without the stain of original sin, so she is spared the punishment of menstruation.

ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES

Islam also has certain rules and exceptions for women in menses. Menstruation is addressed three times in the Qur’an, including Sura Al Baqarah verse 222, which may be paraphrased as: “They ask you concerning women’s menstruation [*mahid*], Say: ‘It is a hurt and impurity [*adha*, translated as having both meanings].’ So keep away from women during their menstruation and do not approach them until they have become clean [*tahara*]. But when they have purified themselves, then you may approach them, . . . as God has ordained for you.” This verse prohibits sexual intercourse during menses, although other physical expressions of love, such as hugging and kissing, are allowed.

The practical implications of the *adha* of menstruation is that women do not perform the five prescribed prayers, touch the Qur’an, make *tawaf* around the Ka’aba, or fast. These omissions do not have to be made up, except for the fast during Ramadan. In some Muslim communities, women do not go to the prayer hall or religious center at all during menses. In one hadith, Aisha reports that the Prophet asked her to bring a prayer carpet for him while she was menstruating. When informed of her state, the Prophet said: “Your menstruation is not in your hand.” This is interpreted to mean that women are not entirely ritually excluded. A woman in menses can offer personal prayers (*du’a*); recite the Qur’an in private, or hear its recitation; study other religious texts, including hadith; and participate in Eid celebrations. Purification takes the form of a ritual bath (*ghusl*) that involves washing the whole body, including the head.

HINDU AND BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVES

One example of the persistence and elaboration of ancient taboos relating to menstruation may be found in the Hindu tradition, where the polarity between that which is pure (*sauca*) and impure (*asauca*) developed to the extent that, by the late eighteenth century, the impurity of menstruation was believed to continue even after death. A woman who had been menstruating at the

moment of death could not, then, be cremated until four days later, after a ritual bath—the normal duration of ritual impurity for menses. An unusual corollary of this understanding of menses as polluting is the notion that a woman who suffers from amenorrhea must be even more inauspicious, since she is thought to elude the laws of nature evidenced by menstruation. A similar taboo is found in the Buddhist Theravada text for nuns, the *Vinaya Pitaka*, which declares that the initiation of a novice may not take place while she is menstruating, nor if she has amenorrhea.

MODERN ATTITUDES

While explicit reference to the purity laws surrounding menstruation may not be made in many religious contexts in the twenty-first century, women who choose to practice a degree of separation during menstruation for religious reasons claim to enjoy relief from their routine activities, such as cooking, attendance at congregational worship, or fulfilling their spouse's sexual needs. Although the Zoroastrian place of segregation (*Dashtanistan* or *punigan*] in Persian) is no longer used, women may still choose to isolate themselves somewhat during their monthly cycle; they may not visit the fire temple, attend festivals, marriages, initiations, or funeral ceremonies when fire will be present, or light a fire; they may not touch holy books or objects; and they may abstain from sexual intercourse.

Despite the advances of science and medicine concerning the physiology and psychology relating to the female menstrual cycle, the notion that women are physically vulnerable at this time and must therefore act with caution continues to impact upon societal superstitions about washing hair, participating in sports, bathing or swimming, and engaging in sexual intercourse during menses. Such taboos are not enforced, but are often imparted from woman to woman.

One contemporary gynecologist, Christiane Northrup, has revisited the ancient association between the cycle of the moon and a woman's monthly cycle. She suggests that a woman's hormonal changes during her cycle affect her energies and moods, so that it might benefit her to take the occasional break from the demands of everyday life, particularly during the luteal phase of the cycle when progesterone levels are high, and which represents the "dark of the moon" (Northrup 2002, pp.105–107, 134f.). This approach connects female biology to a creative psychological cycle that echoes the cycles of the natural world.

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Jennifer Rose

MERMAID

The English word *mermaid* corresponds to the Latin *sirena*, maintained in modern Romance languages (e.g., French *sirène*), but does not translate it exactly. Different etymologies have been proposed; for instance, sirens are those "who bind with a cord" or "those who wither" (Graves 1974, vol. 2, pp.154.3).

Since early Greek antiquity tales of sirens as enchantresses who bring seafarers to an untimely death have merged with an icon of temptation exercised by female wiles on powerless males. These images navigated into medieval bestiaries and eventually into the romantic and modern imagination. However, goddesses with fish bodies have been recorded as early as Egyptian and Sumerian times (Márquez-Huitzil 1991).

In several world folklores, the mermaid-siren is a form of the water lady, or water goddess, with strong death powers, as in the Germanic Nixes or Undines (Bulteau 1982), nineteenth-century Russian bird-sirens, and the Mexican pre-Conquest half-fish divine women among



Mermaid. Medieval depiction of a two-tailed mermaid on a column of the St. Pere de Galligante Church. © COURTESY OF MUSEUM OF ST. PERE DE GALLIGANTES; RAMON MANENT/CORBIS.

the Huichols of the Northern Sierra in Puebla and the Námatl goddess Chalchihuitlicue, who are both life- and death-giving (Márquez-Huitzil 1991).

THE ANCIENT WORLD

Originally, the classical mermaid was a winged bird creature entirely or completely covered with feathers except for the head. She was distinctly feminized through facial features or sexualized through the prominence of naked breasts, although later forms included male and childlike sirens. It was through the *carmen*, song and sorcery at once, that the mermaid lured navigators to their death. The Argonauts led by Jason, on their return to Greece with the golden fleece, passed the Islands of the Sirens safely because their singing was countered by the strains of Orpheus's lyre (Graves 1974). Sirens have also been linked to the story of the rape of Proserpine and would have been transformed into birds with female faces by Ceres as punishment for not having prevented her daughter's abduction or, on the contrary, as symbolic of

their frantic flight in search of her (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* V, 551). According to some, the term is metaphoric and they were actually Sicilian prostitutes who debauched and "wrecked" men (Lempriere 1984). They were also said to have lost their wings when bested in a musical contest by the Muses who then plucked their feathers (Lempriere 1984, Graves 1974).

In all these stories a recurrent gendered element is that the sirens, as the ancient, pre-Olympian untamed destructive feminine, are punished or vanquished by the male order in art (Orpheus, the Olympian-identified Muses) or are unable to prevent violent male assault (Proserpine).

THE MIDDLE AGES

Medieval allegory reinforced the mermaid's destructive charge, especially with her entrance into Christian texts through a mistranslation of a passage of Isaiah 13:22 in Jerome's Vulgate, from forms of "wild dogs" in Hebrew into "sirens" in Latin (de Donder 1992). The influence of Honorius of Autun in 1150 was decisive in having the

mermaid signify the temptations of the world, a sea of travails on which sinners float and to which they succumb (de Donder 1992). In medieval iconography wings, claws, and a fish tail vied and sometimes combined, but the fish tail became the dominant segment, especially unequivocally sexualized as female as a double and forked tail hinged at the front of the body by a sort of apron over the womb and vagina. This “apron” has been interpreted also as being linked to the building and prosperity function of mermaids, allowing the transport of stones (Bulteau 1982). Such images proliferated in architectural programs as well as in objects of daily use and manuscript illustration.

The mermaid’s comb and mirror, also gendered as feminine, were linked both to Christian moral and didactic messages (vanity as a mortal sin, a dangerous temptation for the soul) and to a broader mythical content (the mirror as soul-gazing instrument, the connection to death through looking behind). In Western European folklore the comb evoked the treatment of plant fibers to produce textiles and the Sebasteian cult of Saint Blasius, one of the major thaumaturgical saints of the Middle Ages (Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985).

In medieval France the mermaid also merged with the symbolism of motherhood, foundation myths, aristocratic genealogies, sexual transgression, and sexual prohibition in the fictional story of the fairy Melusina, whose demonic tail appears when she takes her secret bath, presumably to cleanse herself during menstruation (Gaignebet and Lajoux 1985) and is claimed as an ancestress by the powerful Lusignan family (Spiegel 1996).

THE MODERN ERA

In Victorian times the seductive mermaid evolved into a debased, grotesque form with the exhibition of monsters and morphological oddities in side shows, tavern backrooms, and curiosity museums that made the anthropomorphic mermaid into a hybrid with a zoomorphic misshapen and mismatched body exhibited in skeletal form, often wired together from parts of orangutans and salmon (Bondeson 1999, Ritvo 1997).

In the modern United States the mermaid’s origins are less classical, derived primarily from the highly personal world of Hans Christian Andersen’s “The Little Mermaid” (1837) and migrating into Disneyan normative codes with a 1989 full-length cartoon animation feature.

Feminist theory has addressed gender roles and models for girls implicit in Disney’s work (Ross 2004). For Laura Sells (1995) the Little Mermaid is a parable of bourgeois feminism destabilized by its own messages. She sees an opposition between “reformist demands for access” that leave existing gender identities intact and radical revisions that refigure gender as the symbolic change that is necessary for and preliminary to social

change. Others have pointed to the highly sexualized and erotic charge of the mermaid’s body since its earliest representations, posing an irresolvable task for the prudish gender conformist Disney and leading to cartoon interpretations of the figure, its garb, and lack thereof, all of which are, according to Elizabeth Bell (1995), a form of burlesque. Laurie Essig, in a study of the annual Coney Island, New York, Mermaid Parade, has suggested that the mermaid constitutes a riddle, centered around the existence and accessibility of the vagina “at the edge of the heterosexual imaginary as potential lover and potential monster” (Essig 2005, pp. 151–152).

Analyst Joyce McDougall (1995) interpreted the original myths of the siren in Freudian and Lacanian modes, as a siren-mother figure that threatens to envelop or “devour” the child, who is protected through verbal communication. The mother’s voice “rekindles fantasies of fusion, with the consequent loss of both subjective—and sexual—identity” (McDougall 1995, p. 82). Thus, the original voice is at once attraction and danger, the siren’s song that draws the child back into nonindividuation. The intervention of the father (the law), as the Lacanian *voix du pere*, becomes necessary to prevent reabsorption into the “voice” of the mother (Greenberg 1998, p. 50).

SEE ALSO *Animals, Sexual Symbolism of; Art; Folklore; Greco-Roman Art; Legends and Myths; Obscene.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

METROSEXUALS

Although it entered popular parlance in 2002, winning the "Word of the Year" award from the American Dialect Society in 2003, both the term *metrosexual* and the social phenomenon that it names have their origins in the mid 1990s. According to British journalist Mark Simpson who is widely credited with having coined the term in a 1994 article for the *Independent*, *metrosexual* denotes "the single young man with a high disposable income, living or working in the city (because that's where all the best shops are)." In short, the term *metrosexual* actually names an explicitly gendered yet ambiguously sexualized form of narcissistic male consumerism and style consciousness made possible by self-imposed abstention from the financial entanglements typically associated with being the *breadwinner* in the context of normative heterosexual family life.

In its original formulation the term was considered especially applicable to a supposedly new breed of heterosexual men whose self-consciousness about their bodies and sophisticated tastes seemed to link them to a form of fashion-conscious consumerism more typically associated with women and some members of one highly visible, highly affluent, city-dwelling segment of the gay male population in the United Kingdom and the United States. Subsequently, however, the term came to be used in a more general sense to describe any man whose claim to a particular sexual identity was rendered either suspect or altogether irrelevant by his utterly narcissistic obsession with his own sophistication and superior physical appearance.

As with many trends, especially those linked in some way to fashion and consumer culture, the idea of *metrosex-*

uality began to be dismissed as *passé* almost as soon as it entered mainstream consciousness. In 2004 Simpson himself bemoaned the general public's failure to recognize the double-edged critique of classism and heteronormativity implicit in his original explication of the phenomenon. By 2006 a number of a journalists and cultural commentators were declaring an end to the era of the *metrosexual* and heralding the welcomed return of a rougher, less refined ideal of upper-middle-class heterosexual masculinity.

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Colin R. Johnson

MICHELANGELO

1475–1564

The prodigious achievements in painting, sculpture, and architecture of Michelangelo Buonarroti made him legendary during his lifetime as a divinely-inspired creator, while his tempestuous, melancholy, and troubled personality epitomized an emerging conception of artistic genius, particularly the nexus between creative and homosexual temperament. While his supporters countered public presumption of his homosexuality with denial, his enemies used it against him. In modern times, homosexual communities have combined this suggestive biography with his oeuvre celebrating the male body to construct a subcultural icon. That status is reinforced by his poetry, a serious avocation that produced the first modern corpus of male-male love lyrics.

Trained in Florence, a city proverbial for sodomy, Michelangelo was exposed to homosexuality at all social levels. The sexual demimonde was ubiquitous, while the humanist circles around Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) embraced a Neoplatonic philosophy and art that idealized classical pederasty. The scholar Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), himself homosexual, taught the artist mythological subjects like that of his student carving, the *Battle of the Centaurs* (1492). This crowd of fighters first displayed the intertwined traits that characterize much of Michelangelo's work: an interest in subjects that offered pretexts for psychological self-projection and nude male bodies, and a tendency to diverge from textual or visual tradition to heighten their physicality.



Michelangelo. RISCHGITZ/GETTY IMAGES.

Beginning with his contemporaries, friend and foe alike have invoked the content or form of Michelangelo's major works as milestones in early modern representation of gender ambiguity and homoeroticism. He illustrated both classical and Christian subjects, the former offering greater scope for overt eroticism, such as Bacchus, the bisexual wine god (1496). The androgynous, tipsy divinity, accompanied by a lascivious boy satyr, presided over Roman parties featuring platonic dialogues on male love. Michelangelo's friend and biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) praised its fusion of male and female traits, but other critics were hostile to such transgressive fluidity: Ludovico Dolce (1508–1568) complained that the artist “does not know or will not observe these differences” between the sexes, since many of his females looked like men.

The colossal *David* (1501–1504), Michelangelo's best-known religious sculpture, was more conventionally masculine, but equally nude; it infused an antique body with Judeo-Christian spirit, perfecting the unstable Renaissance amalgam of two cultures. Though it was intended to arouse civic virtue, not desire, city authorities soon concealed its genitals with a bronze waistband,

indicating discomfort about its dual potential. What was implicit there was explicit, if ambivalent, in his painting of this period known as the Doni Tondo (Holy Family, c. 1503–1506). The background nudes, lounging intimately like Greeks at a gymnasium, may have symbolized a pagan sensuality that was officially superseded, but they still attest to his knowledge that the ancients both depicted and accepted male eros.

Although evidence of obsession with the male form abounds in his art, direct testimony about Michelangelo's sexual activity is lacking. His homosexuality was widely assumed: One man tempted the artist to accept his son as an apprentice by offering the boy's services in bed. He alludes to several such allegations in his poetry and letters, only to deny them, as does his worshipful biographer Ascanio Condivi (1525–1574). Then and later, moralists eager to exonerate him of sin claimed that the dearth of documented acts, coupled with his protestations of chaste spirituality, meant he was not homosexual. By less judgmental current definitions of sexuality, concerned as much with desire as with its physical expression, he was homosexual in orientation, whether or not he consummated such love. Subject equally to pagan passions and Christian guilt, Michelangelo ruefully confessed the irresolvable dilemma that “keeps me split in two halves” (Poem 168).

This internal struggle is most evident in drawings he gave to Tommaso de' Cavalieri, the unrequited love of his life (1533). Their imagery, mirrored in poems for the handsome youth, symbolizes Michelangelo's conflicting responses to infatuation through Greek myths: Jupiter's abduction of Ganymede represents love's uplifting spiritual rapture, other tales its resultant pain and fear. Cavalieri tried to prevent reproduction of the Ganymede, suggesting that the myth's philosophical gloss would not prevent the public from inferring that artist and recipient were also linked in its more earthy, potentially embarrassing sense of ecstasy.

Eros played a reduced role in later works, reflecting Michelangelo's sympathy with pious Catholic reformers, but his reputation persisted. In 1545, writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) attempted to extort a drawing, insinuating that a gift would disprove rumors that Michelangelo only bestowed them on men named Tommaso. At the same time, he enjoyed a profound spiritual friendship with the religious poet Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), whom he complimented by gender-reversal, writing of her talents in active, male terms while declaring himself her passive, feminized beneficiary.

The written evidence for an early modern homoerotic sensibility in Michelangelo's art was suppressed by his grand-nephew, who published the poems in bowdlerized versions. After the originals resurfaced in 1863, the nascent homosexual movement gradually adopted their author as a cultural

ancestor. This myth—crystallized by Victorian homosexual critic-historians Walter Horatio Pater (1839–1894) and John Addington Symonds (1840–1893)—spread to fledgling urban subcultures in Europe and North America, where homosexual men decorated their homes with copies of nudes by the Greeks and Michelangelo, fashioning a group pedigree. Mainstream society, however, continued intermittently to contest this claim to a legacy of visual pleasure and historical validation: Irving Stone's novel *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1961, filmed 1965) virtually omitted male loves and invented a female one, while translators elided the poetry's eroticism into the 1960s.

Michelangelo's starring role in the homosexual imagery has grown with the more open gay culture that emerged after 1969. Post-Stonewall, Robert Patrick's play *Michelangelo's Models* (1981) made camp humor from his assumed orientation, and the film *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987) depicted British playwright Joe Orton and his painter-lover, who papered their rooms with Michelangelo reproductions. The artist thus claims dual significance in the history of male-male desire. His work canonized an enduring "michelangelesque" ideal of male beauty, while his life offered an influential exemplar of one homosexual identity: androgynous, emotional, and sublimating conflicts with self and society into art.

SEE ALSO *Art; Homosexuality, Male, History of.*

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James M. Saslow

MICROPHILIA

SEE *Dwarves and Giants.*

MIDDLE AGES

Attitudes toward sex and gender in western Europe during the Middle Ages (between approximately 500 and 1400) were diverse and often contradictory. Men and

women were regarded as essentially different, with different roles and rights, although why this was and what it meant in practice varied widely. Behavioral codes and ideals differed with religion, culture, and geography. All of these values evolved over the Middle Ages, as societies developed and came into contact with one another. Despite these differences, Europe was increasingly united by a common religion—Roman Christianity—and by the common legal system and institutional infrastructure of that religion. While regional and status-based differences remained, western Europe developed a common culture and ideology, which strongly shaped ideas about sex and gender.

RELIGION

Western Europe in the Middle Ages was heavily Roman Christian; even the small number of non-Roman Christians, such as Jews, heretics, and the Greek Christian and Muslim peoples who dwelled along the eastern and Mediterranean edges of western Europe, lived in a culture dominated by Roman Christianity. Christianity therefore played a significant role in influencing western European attitudes toward sex and gender throughout the Middle Ages.

Medieval theologians provided two dichotomous examples of women's behavior from the Christian Bible: Eve and Mary. Eve, they said, caused the exile from the Garden of Eden through her foolishness and disobedience. Mary, by contrast, had helped to offer mankind salvation by obeying God and mothering the Christ child while preserving her chastity. Both men and women had to be wary of falling into Eve's evilness, while Mary's goodness was a model but not actually achievable. All people, however, had souls that were equal in the eyes of the Lord and in the church and could achieve sanctity, although medieval theologians believed that each gender faced different challenges.

Important early church fathers, highly influential throughout the Middle Ages, tended to see women as a direct challenge to a life of chastity and hence to the most pious existence. St. Augustine (354–430) wrestled with his own desire—at one point famously asking God to give him chastity but not yet—before finally giving up sex entirely to devote himself to religion. Nonetheless, the early church fathers believed that marriage itself was not evil. Numerous theologians recognized that marriage provided an appropriate Christian lifestyle for those not capable of sexual abstinence.

The church required both partners, once married, to "pay the marriage debt," or to willingly engage in sexual activity with their spouse in order to meet the spouse's sexual needs and prevent adultery. Even within marriage, however, sex acts that could not lead to children were

viewed as suspect. The church therefore prohibited anything that interfered with conception, including both non-procreative sex acts and contraceptive measures, either in or outside of marriage.

Even for those who did marry, chastity was still desirable. From Radegunda, a queen in sixth-century Gaul (modern France), to Margery Kempe, a fifteenth-century townswoman in England, devout individuals occasionally persuaded their spouses to let them live chastely and to pursue religious lives. Widows were encouraged to take vows of chastity, and although many did remarry, second marriages were held by some to be lustful. This is certainly implied in Geoffrey Chaucer's description of the five marriages of his fictional character, the Wife of Bath, in his *Canterbury Tales* (written in the late fourteenth century). On the Day of Judgment, the benefits of being a faithful wife were thirtyfold; of being a chaste widow, sixtyfold; and of being a lifelong virgin, one hundred-fold. Especially for women, the church clearly favored total chastity.

But while chastity was always mandatory for nuns and other female religious, churchmen were legally allowed to marry until the fourth century and the practice was generally condoned for several centuries more. By approximately 1180, however, the church had gained a secure enough religious and political position to enforce its regulations regarding sexuality fairly consistently. Individuals and communities became increasingly willing to bring sexual indiscretions to light. This included homosexual male activity, which the church prosecuted much more heavily after around 1200. Female homosexuality, however, rarely appears in court records. The heterosexual indiscretions of male clerics were always more likely to be tolerated by the community than those of the nuns or male homosexuality, although all were technically forbidden. Through the Middle Ages, chastity was, however, both the ideal and, for the clergy, the law.

MEDICINE

Scholars blended medical theory derived from ancient classical authors with the medieval Christian culture of their time. Most scholars were Christian men, and many of them were clerics, chaste in theory if not in practice. There are exceptions to this; Hildegard von Bingen was a twelfth-century German nun and scholar whose works often minimized the misogyny inherent in many of the male-authored works. In the later Middle Ages, Christian scholars also drew increasingly on the works of Jewish and Muslim physicians, which introduced a new frame of reference to the Christian scholarship.

In explaining sex differences, medieval scholars generally followed the ancient Greek thinker Aristotle, who explained that women's genitalia were an inversion of men's, with an internal uterus instead of an external

penis. People disagreed, however, on whether women were imperfect men or simply the opposite of men. Further, most medieval people believed that health and temperament were dictated by the balance of four different substances (humors): cholera (hot), phlegm (cold), blood (moist), and bile (dry). These humors occurred naturally in people, who might healthfully tend more toward one humor than another.

Hildegard von Bingen argued that differences in humors created women with different temperaments corresponding to different male types, but most scholars held that male characteristics were superior to female. Male warmth and dryness, according to both Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280), made men more active and sharp-witted. Cool, moist women were inclined to be melancholy and more physically and intellectually childlike, as demonstrated by the lack of facial hair, physical softness, high voices, and inability to produce semen that defined women, children, and eunuchs.

Despite this assumption of female inferiority, most medieval scholars followed Galen, the ancient Greek physician, who argued that the woman contributed vitally to conception through the internal release of a female sperm. This contrasted with the Aristotelian view in circulation that the woman provided only food and a protective place for the growing male seed. In either case, medieval people certainly recognized that a child could resemble the mother or the father in temperament or appearance, but the blame for failure to conceive was laid on the woman unless it was proven that the father was unable to get or maintain an erection.

In addition to procreation, sexual activity balanced people's health and temperament and prevented them from engaging in sinful sexual behavior. Marital sex took care of this for most of the population, but not all people were married. For men, prostitutes were an option. The London city government, for example, legalized and regulated brothels in suburban Southwark, a move not unusual for major cities. These establishments met men's sexual needs and protected the city's women from rape or seduction, which would endanger their souls and compromise the social position of the women and their families. It should not be surprising that women did not have the same sexual options as men.

LAWS AND LEGAL CODES

A number of law codes were in practice in western Europe in the early Middle Ages (500–1100), addressing gendered rights, including inheritance, marriage, and divorce, differently. The Roman Empire dominated most of Europe until approximately 500 CE, and the empire's legal system remained influential long after because it served as the basis for church law. In addition to the laws

of the Roman Empire, areas never fully dominated by Rome, such as Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany, had their own legal traditions that offered women different legal rights before the church's legal system became dominant. For example, women in early Christian Ireland (400–700) could obtain divorces from their husbands, but men too were allowed to divorce their wives or even to practice polygyny.

These regional codes made legal distinctions between women of different statuses. Many non-Roman societies, including Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia, employed *wergild*, a system of fines for murder according to the victim's social position, gender, age, and marital status. Although men's *wergilds* were higher overall than women's, high-ranking women could be valued more highly than lower-ranking men, especially if the women were of child-bearing age. Here, as in legal codes throughout medieval Europe, women were less valued than men, but they were valued.

The Roman church in this period had one of the strictest incest taboos of any known society, initially disallowing marriage within seven degrees of relation and, after 1215, disallowing those within four degrees. In reality, many marriages occurred within the prohibited degrees; King Louis VII of France, in 1152, requested that the pope annul his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine on these grounds, while numerous royals requested dispensations from the pope allowing them to make such marriages. Further, the church insisted that a valid marriage required consent from both partners after they had reached the legal age—twelve for girls and fourteen for boys. Marriages entered into before that age or without free consent could be annulled. In practice, choice could be very limited, particularly if noble parents refused to support children who married against their parents' wishes.

Beyond these constraints, there were few formalities in contracting a marriage. In church law, the exchange of vows in the present tense, followed by consummation, were all that was necessary to form a legal marriage. After 1215, the church worked to eliminate clandestine, or secret, marriages, but was still often forced to regard those as valid, especially if there were children. While marriages could be elaborate affairs, they did not require the blessing of the church until after the Middle Ages had ended.

A respectable marriage was usually accompanied by an exchange of goods: a dowry from the woman's family to the husband, a bride-gift from the husband to the wife, or a dower from the husband to the bride's family. Of these, the dowry was the most widespread. Depending on the social status of the couple, a dowry could be a few household items or include money or land. In some cases, a dowry was the only inheritance a woman received, but

women were never prohibited from inheriting land. In many areas during the early Middle Ages, all children would inherit. Around the year 1000, land became tied to military service among the nobility. Women consequently inherited less frequently. Simultaneously, younger sons also inherited less frequently as families tried to avoid dividing their land. Women without brothers, however, could inherit land, although their husbands might control it during their lifetime.

The dowry belonged to the wife, but the husband usually controlled it during the marriage. He could not alienate it, however, without her permission. After his death, the widow would receive the dowry back to support herself or to bring into her next marriage, and, after her death, to split among her children. A woman could even write a will, with her husband's permission, specifying how she would like her possessions divided and leaving gifts to friends and servants. If the wife died first, her husband could claim her dowry for their children.

Once a woman had living children in a valid marriage, she was entitled to support from her husband and his family. The law generally required that a widow be provided with one-third of her husband's estate to support her during her lifetime. Husbands would sometimes stipulate in their wills, however, that their widows would forfeit this if they remarried. Children received another third, which might be controlled by their mother until they came of age. These rules were fairly constant across western Europe, especially toward the end of the Middle Ages.

GENDER ROLES

Evidence for daily life in the early Middle Ages is relatively scarce compared to later periods, but existing sources make it clear that kinship was of overriding political and social importance. In many areas, the throne did not necessarily go to the eldest son of the late king, but rather to the most able man among the local nobility, usually close maternal or paternal relatives of the king. Men demonstrated their adult masculinity and suitability for rule through military leadership and victory.

Noblewomen in this period could play a prominent role in governing by connecting various lineages and also as powerful decision makers in their husbands' court. In particular, noblewomen often lent their support to Christian missionaries, as Bertha, the Christian wife of a local English ruler, did in 597 CE to the visiting St. Augustine the Lesser, the missionary sent by Pope Gregory I (c. 540–604). Widowed or unmarried religious women could also be powerful political actors as the heads of female or mixed-sex religious houses, because monasteries had a great deal of political as well as religious influence.

Beginning around the year 1000, kings depended less on their kinsmen and kinswomen for assistance and more on trained male bureaucrats. These bureaucrats attained their positions through education in the church. This is not to say that military prowess became unimportant; the ability to bear arms in combat, competitions, and hunting remained important for noble masculinity through the Middle Ages.

As male bureaucracy grew, the opportunities for noblewomen to govern declined. Noblewomen were increasingly simply consorts of men—producers of legitimate heirs. Their marriages still formed vital links between kingdoms, and they remained important religious and artistic patrons, but noblewomen's direct participation in affairs of the court waned. This was true also for nuns, as the church banned mixed houses and increasingly mandated that women be cloistered, limiting their ability to assert themselves politically. Nuns became dependent on charity and on men to administer their religious houses and provide the sacraments. Because of the dependence of women, male orders became reluctant to allow women to form religious houses under their protection, reducing the opportunity for women to participate in a religious lifestyle at all.

But opportunities did remain for noblewomen. Mediterranean cultures, in particular, allowed women to inherit kingdoms and administer them largely on their own. This region produced several female figures prominent in politics and art, including Ermengarde of Narbonne (c. 1129–c. 1196) and Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204). Further, the rise of mysticism, a form of spirituality promoting a direct, emotional tie between God and a holy individual, provided new avenues for religious women, such as the Englishwoman Julian of Norwich (1342–after 1416) and the Italian St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380). Although many mystics were from at least comfortable backgrounds, this form of spirituality did not require a large entrance fee to a nunnery, and therefore allowed for the participation of a broader social stratum.

Throughout the Middle Ages, most people were agricultural workers. Men tended to be responsible for most of the farming, while women would work the large kitchen garden, tend the animals, do the housework and care for the children, help in the fields during busy times, and also often engage in paid labor on the side, such as spinning, brewing, or sewing. Clearly, women of the lower classes could not be removed from the public eye and economic production in the way that noblewomen were later in the Middle Ages.

As cities grew rapidly after approximately 1100, more people made craft production their primary occupation rather than farming. Men became apprentices, and later journeymen and masters, within a guild. This

guild gave them a social identity and, once they became masters, offered them a form of political participation and an adult masculine identity. There is evidence of female guild members, and the family members of skilled craftsmen often became highly skilled assistants, but guildswomen were most often wives or widows of guildsmen, maintaining the family's business and position until children became old enough to take over.

Women were, however, important players in the local economy. In addition to whatever household chores they might have had, women often made additional money for the household by engaging in piecework such as spinning or by working occasionally. Younger or single women could work as domestic servants or at a more skilled labor such as textile work. Even more elite women would oversee the household accounts and the labor of servants, which might involve piecework for a profit. Most women, therefore, were active participants in the broader economy.

While men and women were regarded as fundamentally different in medieval Europe, scholars and the population at large would generally agree that both were necessary in the society. Both genders had characteristic faults, some tied to other aspects of social status and others not, but both could live valuable and even holy lives that benefited the society.

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Tovah Bender

MIDWIFE

The term *midwife* means *with woman*. Traditionally, midwifery describes the art of assisting a woman through childbirth. The International Definition of the Midwife (International Confederation of Midwives [ICM] 2005) is:

A midwife is a person who, having been regularly admitted to a midwifery educational programme, duly recognised in the country in which it is located, has successfully completed the prescribed course of studies in midwifery and has acquired the requisite qualifications to be registered and/or legally licensed to practise midwifery.

The midwife is recognised as a responsible and accountable professional who works in partnership with women to give the necessary support, care and advice during pregnancy, labour and the postpartum period, to conduct births on the midwife's own responsibility and to provide care for the newborn and the infant. This care includes preventative measures, the promotion of normal birth, the detection of complications in mother and child, the accessing of medical care or other appropriate assistance and the carrying out of emergency measures.

The midwife has an important task in health counselling and education, not only for the woman, but also within the family and the community. This work should involve antenatal education and preparation for parenthood and may extend to women's health, sexual or reproductive health and child care.

A midwife may practise in any setting including the home, community, hospitals, clinics or health units.

Exclusion of traditional midwives from this definition is controversial because sometimes they are the only people available to assist women in birth. The World Health Organisation (WHO) and other groups refer to traditional midwives as *traditional birth attendants* or *lay midwives* to distinguish them from registered/licensed midwives as defined above.

REGULATION OF PRACTICE

Prescribed courses of study leading to registration as a midwife, for those with nursing qualifications, include postgraduate degree programs conducted by universities, or twelve- to eighteen-month midwifery certificate courses conducted by a hospital. Another course is the two- or three-year direct-entry undergraduate program that allows midwives to be educated in the discipline of midwifery without prior nursing qualifications. In the United Kingdom, Australia, Europe, and Scandinavia, practicing midwives must be



Midwives Tend to Baby. A group of midwives tend to a newborn baby in this fifteenth-century illustration. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

licensed. Legislation in 1990 restored midwifery in New Zealand and legally established midwifery and nursing as separate and distinct professions. Between the late 1940s and the 1950s, Canada did not regulate midwifery. It was regulated again in the 1960s and became part of the health system in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut. Midwifery is not yet legally recognized in the Atlantic provinces of Canada. Cultural safety and appropriate care is gaining prominence across the world. There are very few indigenous midwives in Australia, but programs are beginning to emerge, and a program for First Nations midwifery students will open soon in Manitoba (Manitoba Health 2006).

Midwives are required to practice according to codes of ethics and professional conduct/practice and within the law. They should be capable, caring, and of good

character and have no criminal record, personal health problems, or disabilities that impede practice. Licenses are usually renewed annually on payment of a fee. Debate continues over how to ensure that midwives maintain current knowledge and competency of practice before renewing their registrations, and many registering authorities require a signed declaration to this effect.

PREVALENCE AND IMPORTANCE OF MIDWIVES

Midwives are predominantly female. They make a vital contribution to the health and well-being of women and infants and are a part of an integrated team of professionals providing maternity services. Having a child is an emotional and social event, and sexual health is a part of the woman's reproductive health; it is a state of physical, emotional, mental, and social well-being. The WHO has

highlighted that the presence of midwives during birthing lowers maternal mortality rates; unfortunately, only about 60 percent of the women in the world receive professional help during childbirth (European Midwives Association 2004).

In 1954 when the number of trained midwives in Sweden increased, maternal mortality rates during childbirth fell despite Sweden being one of the poorest European countries at that time, the European Midwives Association (2004) reported. In 1997 Angola had the world's highest maternal mortality rate, with only 492 midwives (0.04 per 1,000 population) as recorded in WHO statistics (2006); and Afghanistan had the second highest maternal mortality rate in the world according to the United Nations Save the Children (2006). To address their problem, Afghanistan established a nationwide, eighteen-month midwives' training program that gives skills to rural women to assist the community and improve prenatal healthcare.

Conversely, the United States, the Netherlands, and Australia, for example, with higher ratios of qualified midwives and medical staff, have low maternal mortality rates. There were 5,500 certified nurse-midwives practicing in the United States in 2006; more than 1,900 in the Netherlands in 2004 (Midwifery in the Netherlands, European Midwives Association); and 10,000 in Australia in 2001 (Commonwealth of Australia 2001). The prevalence of midwives and low maternal mortality rates in the United Kingdom and Europe are similar.

In Hong Kong SAR, China, nurse-midwives are not independent professional practitioners, and in China midwives no longer work in rural areas such as Tianjin Municipality, where 99 percent of pregnant local women give birth in hospitals. Thailand also has very medicalized childbirth system. There is a strong sense of midwifery in Japan, but as in many industrialized countries, the number of midwives is diminishing due to retirements and a shortage of obstetricians: When midwives are employed by health services/hospitals, there must be an obstetrician for aspects such as ordering scans and blood tests, prescribing necessary drugs, and even *diagnosing* that the woman is pregnant. Birthing is concentrated in large hospitals, so *midwife houses* (mini birth centres) throughout Japan are closing.

MIDWIFERY PRACTICE, CONTEMPORARY OBSTETRICS, AND BIRTHING

Midwives in industrialized countries are employed by regional health services; specialized clinics such as in vitro fertilization, diabetes, and fetal medicine; or, especially in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and New Zealand, independently as private practitioners. In the United States

nurse-midwives are advanced-practice nurses able to prescribe medications in forty-eight out of the fifty states and to provide care to women from puberty through menopause. In the rural and remote areas of New Guinea, Africa, India, and the Americas, midwives conduct childbirth preparation classes for indigenous women in their villages (Robertson 2003–2006).

Midwives specialize in normal childbearing according to the international definition. Obstetricians specialize in illness- and surgery-related childbearing. The two professions can be complementary but often are at odds, because obstetricians are taught to actively manage labour whereas midwives are taught not to intervene unless necessary.

The move away from home birth to hospital birth and the technological advances during the second half of the twentieth century have presented benefits and problems. They have improved the possibility of women and couples being able to plan their families and of having a healthy mother and baby. At the same time these changes have resulted in the *cascade of intervention* (where one intervention leads to, or requires, another intervention), the medicalization of childbirth, the risk of focusing on technology rather than women and infants, and the deskilling of midwives in the practice of midwifery.

Although midwives do not perform what industrialized countries consider harmful tribal and cultural practices, such as female genital mutilation and male circumcision, increasingly, with globalization, they are caring for women and infants who have undergone these procedures.

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Faye E. Thompson

MIGNONS

Though the word *mignon* originally had a nonsexual meaning (a "charming" or "dear" person or child), and came also to denote a heterosexual male or female lover (*mignonne*), the *mignons* best known to the history of sexuality were the group of male favorites and lovers surrounding the homosexual French monarch Henry III (r. 1574–1589). Indeed, the homosexual notoriety of Henry's court helped establish *mignon* (in England, *min-ion*) as a pejorative male homosexual term in the Renaissance, where it was routinely associated with the



Henry III. History's best known mignons were the male favorites and lovers surrounding French king Henry III, pictured here.

TIME LIFE PICTURES/MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

stereotypes of "effeminacy" and "passivity." Evidence of this phenomenon abounds in the diary and scrapbook of the contemporary court official Pierre de L'Estoile, the invaluable primary source for myriad aspects of French social and political life during the period.

L'Estoile's materials contain the Renaissance's most extensive, frank, and graphic depictions of homosexuality now known. In them he describes Henry as "usually dressed as a woman . . . at his jousts . . . and . . . masquerades" (Cady 1996, p. 133), but it is the *mignons* who are most often characterized in "other-sex" terms. An anonymous 1576 broadside poem calls them "effeminate, . . . vile effeminate," and an angry anonymous 1577 sonnet castigates them as "effeminate men" (p. 132). Furthermore, the sex between Henry and the *mignons* is sometimes portrayed in traditional "active"–"passive" terms, with the king as penetrator and the *mignons* as purely opportunistic receptive partners. A "court exposé" poem of December 1581 declares that "The King fucks his *mignons*," while an anonymous broadside entitled "The *Mignons* in 1577" describes Quélus, one of Henry's first favorites, as "advancing [at the court] totally through his ass" (p. 128).

Considerable skepticism, however, should be exercised about the factual accuracy of this portrait. Both the king and the *mignons* had significant records as warriors (Henry in the 1569 Battle of Jarnac early in the Wars of Religion, and the *mignons* in conflicts with rival court factions). In addition, the “effeminate” detail most mentioned by commentators about the *mignons* is their penchant for rouge, perfume, and ornate clothing, an actually unremarkable trait in an age in which elaborate dress and makeup were common among men of rank. Furthermore, other depictions of the *mignons* suggest a genuine homosexual orientation and a sexual interchangeability not limited by role. The 1576 broadside quoted above also asserts that “They practice among themselves the art / Of lewd Ganymede,” and a 1578 sonnet portrays them as “Comrades / In perverted spirit, *fucking each other*” (Cady 1996, pp. 140, 128; emphasis added). Relatedly, L’Estoile’s portrait of Henry’s behavior at the deaths of Quélus and another mignon, Maugiron, killed in a fight with followers of the rival Duke of Guise, conveys a mutual romantic vulnerability and would automatically be read as a love scene were the figures male and female (Quélus’s dying words are “Oh! my king, my king!”; the king “covered their dead bodies with kisses [and] clipped their blond locks” [p. 131]).

Groundbreaking research has shown how persistent the motifs of male homosexual “effeminacy” and “passivity” have been in homophobic discourse, where they have functioned largely to contain what heterocentricism actually fears more, self-acknowledgement and self-expression by non-polaristic homosexuals (those not conforming to the heterocentric, “opposites attract,” logic that because they desire their own sex they must therefore “really be,” and behave like, members of the other sex [Borris 2004]). Though Henry III’s *mignons* provided a new popular name for those stereotypes that would persist for at least 200 years more, that image of the favorites seems markedly at odds with historical fact.

SEE ALSO *Homosexuality, Defined.*

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Joseph Cady

MILITARY

Historically, homosexuals and women have fulfilled the role of combatant. However, their ability to carry out that role in postmodern society is a subject of much debate.

GENDER AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION

A question often raised about women serving in European and North American militaries is whether or not they are physically capable of performing in combat. Although most of the world’s warriors have been men, there is growing evidence that women have performed the role of warrior in every historical epoch. Historical legend and current archaeological studies reveal that women actually led troops into battle as far back as antiquity. According to the Bible, Judge Deborah, ruler of Israel from c. 1209–c. 1169, led men into battle against Sisera’s troops. Rock drawings in the Sahara reveal that women were among the first nomadic warriors. There are widely disseminated stories of fighting women of ancient Greece known as Amazons. It was believed that removal of their right breast would make it easier for them to draw a bow and to throw a spear. Legend has it that these women lived in gender-segregated communities, were trained in warfare from childhood, and were superb warriors on the battlefield.

History reveals that several warrior queens ruled in Egypt. For example, Queen Meryet-Nit reigned as early as 3000 BCE; and Queens Khentkaues, Nefrusobek, Ahhotep, and others, ruled in Egypt between the twenty-fifth and sixteenth centuries BCE. It is also reported that women fought in the Greek Trojan Wars, and that women of Sparta fought in battle alongside men. Women rulers and warriors are said to have been common among the ancient Celtic and Germanic tribes; wives went into battle with their husbands and fought fiercely.

Similar stories about women warriors have surfaced in Asia and Africa. Historians assert that the Assyrian Empire was led by a warrior queen named Sammuamat in the ninth century. During that period Sammuamat is said to have conquered Babylonia and had launched an unsuccessful attack on India. Candace of Meroe, queen of Nubia, fought against the Romans in the first century CE, and the women of Monomotapa (in southern Africa)

were renowned for their bravery. Ruling during the seventeenth century, Queen Nzinga of Matamba (in south-western Africa) raised an army and fought several wars against the Portuguese

Documented cases of women combatants are seemingly endless and continue to grow. In their 2002 archaeological study, Jeannine Davis Kimball and Mona Behan found that the nomadic Sarmatian women of western Scythia actually fought on horseback. Studies illustrate that peoples of diverse cultures have relied upon women fighters throughout the world. Women combatants were prevalent among the Scandinavians, Arabs, Berbers, Kurds, Rajputs, Chinese, Indonesians, Filipinos, Maori, Papuans, Australian aborigines, Micronesians, and Amerindians.

In nineteenth-century England a new Victorian role emerged for middle-class women, defining them as delicate exhibits of leisure, used to show off their husbands' economic and marital success. Women were considered to be the property of their husbands and were treated as second-class citizens. Subsequently, this Victorian gender role defined the role of women in other European nations and in the United States.

Homosexuals have always participated in European and North American militaries but usually under concealed identity. This differs from the militaries of antiquity where homosexuality among military men was often encouraged. In both Athens and Sparta sexual relations between adult men and adolescent boys (pederasty) were accepted. It was not uncommon for ancient Greek warriors to have same-sex love relationships. Organized around 378 BCE, the Sacred Band of Thebes was a Greek military unit reserved for homosexual lovers. The men of this unit were known for their military valor. It was believed that same-sex relationships between soldiers enhanced their fighting spirit and boosted their morale. Similarly, during the early Roman Empire, homosexual relationships were accepted. The emperor Nero was the first of many emperors of Rome to marry a male.

By contrast, in ancient Israel sexual intercourse between men was viewed as an abomination, punishable by death. Likewise, ancient Christianity condemned male homosexuality. During the Middle Ages (476–1350) in western Europe, the Catholic Church emerged as a political power forming a legal system that ultimately served as the foundation of modern systems. Homosexuality was a punishable crime during this era. B. R. Burg (2002) asserts that the Order of the Knights Templar, founded in Jerusalem in 1120, was the first military order of the European world. Members of the military were exclusively men, who in addition to their fighting role vowed to religious norms of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

Militaries of European and North American democracies have been male-dominated institutions based on a culture of masculinity. Traditionally, service in the mili-

tary was both a right and an obligation of citizens, and full citizenship with all of the accompanying rights was reserved exclusively for men. Stereotyped as being genetically inferior to men, women were recruited to serve in the military only when a crisis erupted. By the early twenty-first century many of the legal barriers excluding women and homosexuals from the military had been challenged and were in the process of being removed. Nowhere were these changes more apparent than in the United States, the Netherlands, and Israel.

THE UNITED STATES

Women have served in all of America's wars. During the nineteenth century they served mostly as nurses, cooks, and laundresses. A few disguised themselves as men and served as soldiers in male units, only to be removed from service after their sexual identities were revealed. None of these women were officially members of the armed forces, and regardless of how well they performed, they did not receive recognition. U.S. women had slightly more of an opportunity to serve during World War I (1914–1919), as the Navy and Marine Corps allowed them to enter as reservists to fill clerical occupations. Most of the women that served were nurses.

World War II (1939–1945) was a turning point in the representation and participation rates of women in the U.S. military as the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC)—later renamed the Women's Army Corps (WAC)—was established, giving women temporary but full military status. Women were also recruited to serve as reservists in the Navy, Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard. Most of these women were assigned to clerical and administrative jobs to free men for combat. A small percentage of them, however, served in nontraditional roles, such as parachute riggers, aircraft mechanics, and intelligence. Some 350,000 American women served in the military during World War II both in the United States and in combat theaters overseas. These women were patriotic and for the most part did not question their role as noncombatants.

Racial segregation was a contentious issue in the U.S. military during World War II and did not change until the postwar years. African-American women were accepted for service in the WAAC/WAC from its inception but were forced to live and work in racially segregated facilities. As revealed in Brenda Moore's *Sociohistorical Study*, Japanese-American women were not accepted for service in the WAC until 1943. Many of them were recruited from internment camps. Unlike African-American women, Japanese-American women served in a fully integrated setting.

Following World War II women were given permanent military status through the Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948. For the next two decades the representation of women in the U.S. armed services was

restricted to 2 percent of the total. In 1967 the 2 percent restriction was removed. When the military draft ended in 1973, women were encouraged to join the military to help meet personnel goals. By 1974 women made up 3 percent of the active-duty forces, and five years later the number of women in the military had increased three-fold.

Since the late 1970s changes in U.S. military laws and policies, largely influenced by a climate of equal employment opportunity for women in the broader society, has allowed women to fill a wider array of military occupations. Women were admitted to the three major service academies in 1976. Two years later Congress passed legislation abolishing the WAC as a separate unit. In more recent years Army women have been deployed in increasing numbers to combat zones. In 1991 more than 26,000 women soldiers were deployed to the Gulf region during Operations Desert Shield and Storm. Shortly thereafter Congress lifted the ban on women flying combat aircraft and serving on combat ships. By 2007 approximately 15 percent of the U.S. active forces were women, and an unprecedented number of them had been deployed to war zones. These women played major roles in the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Still, as of 2007, U.S. servicewomen are barred from serving on naval submarines and in such elite units as the Army's Special Forces, the Navy's SEAL unit, and the Air Force Special Operations Command. Perhaps the most controversial issue concerning women in the U.S. military in the early twenty-first century is whether or not they should serve in direct combat. Although women are assigned to combat units, they are assigned at the level of brigade headquarters or higher, and they do not serve in direct ground combat. Further, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006 requires notification to Congress at least thirty days prior to the implementation of any change to the Department of Defense's direct ground combat assignment rule.

Advocates against women serving in combat roles emphasize biological differences between men and women. They argue that women are physically weaker than men, are at risk of becoming pregnant, and have an overall negative effect on the fighting capabilities of the U.S. armed forces. Others maintain that it is simply more important for women to bear and raise children than to go off to war. By contrast, advocates for women serving in combat assert that women's capabilities to perform effectively in war are equal to and sometimes surpass those of men. Others make the case that the combat exclusion law cannot protect military women from danger during wartime but, rather, limits their chances for career advancement.

According to Laura Miller's Study U.S. military women are divided over the issue of whether or not they should serve in combat. Enlisted women and women of color are more likely to oppose assigning women to combat. There are



Israeli Female Soldier. An Israeli female soldier standing in front of a helicopter. © ELDAD RAFAELI/CORBIS.

greater advantages for women officers than for enlisted women to serve in combat, as the former are more likely to plan a career in the military, less likely to have children, and more likely to perceive their command opportunities to be limited without combat experience. Most of the Army women surveyed were in favor of women being able to volunteer for combat if and only if they can meet physical requirements.

Sexual orientation was not addressed in U.S. military law until World War I; the act of sodomy was treated by the military as assault. Prior to World War II homosexual men perceived to be effeminate were admitted into the military and assigned to jobs that did not require a lot of physical strength. During World War II homosexuality was considered to be a mental illness, and military policies were based on a treatment and retention model. In 1951 an article banning sodomy was introduced into the Uniform Code of Military Justice of 1950. By the late 1970s the U.S. military began to view homosexuality as being incompatible with military service and grounds for separation.

This policy became a very divisive issue in 1993 when then President Bill Clinton attempted to lift the ban on gays in the military. Congress and the Department of Defense both opposed opening the military to gays. In 1994 the *don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue* policy was implemented. This policy, which remained in force in the early twenty-first century, forbids the military from inquiring as to a service member's sexual orientation and forbids a service member from revealing his or her sexual orientation. Homosexuals who are not discrete and reveal their sexual orientation can be legally discharged. Since this policy has been implemented service members have been involuntarily separated as a result of their admission alone. Women soldiers have been more likely to be discharged than men. Many homosexuals have stated that the U.S. military has betrayed their trust. Some argue further that the military's intolerance toward homosexuals violates their civil rights and undermines the norms that the military seeks to uphold.

Sexual orientation remains a very controversial issue in the U.S. military in the early twenty-first century. The military's policy on homosexuals has been challenged even more since the *Lawrence v. Texas* case in 2003, which declared unconstitutional a Texas law that prohibited sexual acts between same sex couples. On February 28, 2007, Congressman Marty Meehan (b. 1956) reintroduced the Military Readiness Enhancement Act. If this bill passes, the current don't ask, don't tell policy will be repealed, allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the military without restrictions placed on their sexual orientation.

Controversies surrounding women serving in the military seem to be lessening over time. Evidence shows that the U.S. military has made more progress in integrating women than it has homosexuals.

THE NETHERLANDS

Women have served in the Royal Netherlands Armed Forces since 1944. The Women's Corps was created in the United Kingdom and comprised Dutch women who fled the Netherlands during World War II. Following World War II the Netherlands had three separate Women's Corps for each of the branches: army, navy, and air force. A 1979 sexual equality act led to the integration of women into the Dutch regular military, and by 1982 all Women's Corps had been disbanded.

In 1993 the Dutch military changed from a conscripted to a volunteer force. Unlike in the United States combat duty is open to women so long as they pass the physical entrance test. Nevertheless, women generally do not pass the physical entrance test and are usually assigned to traditional female occupational roles, such as clerical, medical, and administrative positions. Women are officially barred from serving in the marines and on submarines. One issue concerning women in the

Dutch military in the early twenty-first century is their low representation among the high-ranking and non-commissioned officers.

Among the militaries of the European and North American nations, the Dutch military is the most tolerant toward homosexuals. Prior to 1974 homosexuals were not allowed to join the Dutch military; their lifestyle was viewed as being immoral. In 1974 the Ministry of Defense removed the gay ban, and the Dutch military became the first in Europe and North America to allow gays to serve in its army. Since 1986 the Dutch military has actively worked toward integrating homosexuals into the armed services through an educational foundation funded by the Ministry of Defense. A 1992 survey administered to Dutch military personnel revealed that whereas most heterosexual service members agreed that homosexuals should have the same rights as heterosexuals, they preferred to keep their relationships with homosexuals at a psychological and social distance (RAND 1993). Many homosexuals in the Dutch military conceal their sexual orientation, as they feel they are not fully accepted. Still, the Dutch forces have made greater strides integrating homosexuals than they have women.

ISRAEL

Israel has the distinction of being the first European nation to conscript women into the military during peacetime as well as war. Jewish women eighteen years of age are liable for conscription and for the reserves following their duty. Women are assigned to a separate women's corps, *Chen* (Hebrew for charm). They receive less military training than do men and are drafted for shorter periods. Female soldiers are assigned to all units in the military, including combat units, but they do not serve in combat specialties and do not deploy with the unit when it goes to war. The majority of Israeli female soldiers serve in secretarial and clerical jobs.

Women are more likely than are men to be exempt from military service for marriage, having children, and religious reasons. In addition, the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) do not take all eligible eighteen-year-old women but, rather, select the number of women needed to meet personnel quotas each year. Therefore, the entrance score requirements for women are generally higher compared with those of men.

Homosexuals have always been allowed to serve in the IDF but in previous years were restricted to units where they could live at home. They were also prohibited from occupying intelligence and other sensitive positions. In 1993 the IDF implemented a new nondiscriminatory policy and lifted all restrictions on homosexuals in the military. Individuals are no longer asked about their sexual orientation as part of the military accession process. Homosexuals no longer face legal restrictions on their

careers, assignments, or promotions. Unlike in the Netherlands the IDF does not conduct training to dispel stereotypes or to address matters concerning sexual orientation. Because of the social stigma placed on homosexuals in the broader society, those serving in the IDF usually remain covert in their behavior. Whereas Israel has made considerable progress, the integration of women and homosexuals is far from ideal.

CONCLUSION

History is replete with examples of women and homosexuals who performed the role of warrior and performed it well. Clearly, the issue of gender and sexual orientation in the armed services is a cultural—not biological—one. When nations are at war and in need of personnel, cultural norms are temporarily suspended. This was quite evident in the twentieth century when North American and European women were recruited for military service in unprecedented numbers. Nearly 800,000 Soviet women served on the front lines as members of aircrews, tank crews, and gun detachments (Saywell 1985). The exigencies of war outweigh cultural mores.

Still, culture determines the extent to which nations will integrate women and minorities into their militaries. For example, whereas the militaries of Canada, Denmark, and the Netherlands have made noticeable progress in integrating both women and homosexuals, such is not the case in the United States. Integration of homosexuals in the U.S. armed services has not progressed rapidly because of the cultural opposition of a homophobic nation. Arguably, however, the United States has surpassed most other nations when it comes to integrating women.

In the early twenty-first century, European nations and North America are in a process of extending citizenship rights to societal members whose rights have been previously denied. Among the privileges of citizenship is the right to bear arms. Military service is often a pathway to social, political, and economic rights in the civilian sector. The degree of tolerance a military has for social differences is influenced by the cultural values of its broader society.

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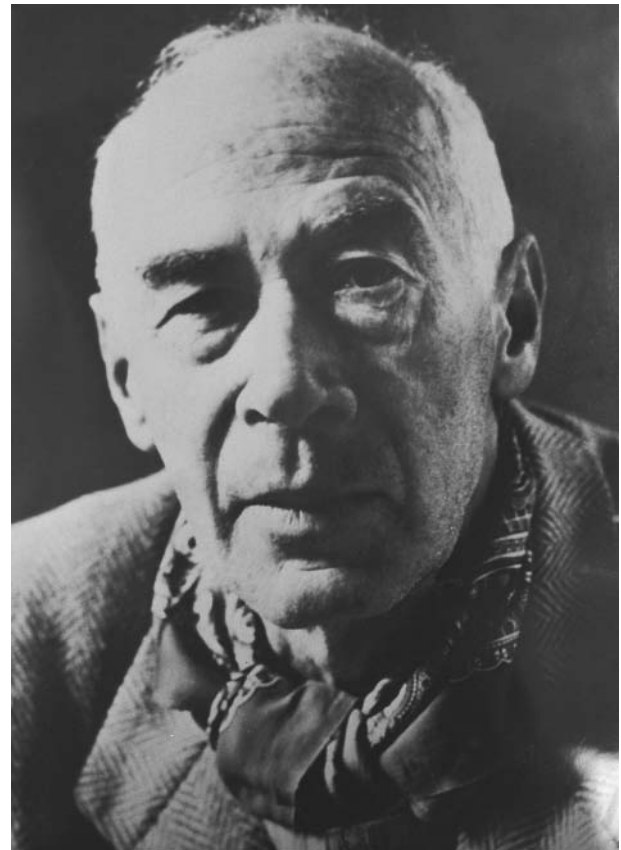
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Brenda L. Moore

MILLER, HENRY 1891–1980

Henry Valentine Miller was a prolific, daring American writer and painter. Publishing more than thirty-five works of fiction and criticism during his lifetime, Miller abandoned the mundane labor of an employee of Western Union to embark on a writing career that took him to Europe, Greece, and eventually to California. Notorious for the novels—*The Tropic of Cancer* and *The Tropic of Capricorn*—that were censored in the United States for thirty years, Miller believed that writing was an act of renewal and a celebration of life in all of its Rabelaisian aspects.

Born in New York City on December 26, 1891, Miller moved to Brooklyn when he was an infant, staying there until he quit City College of New York after only two months. Going to work at a cement company and then touring the western United States as a ranch hand, where he met the prominent anarchist Emma Goldman, Miller returned to New York and went to work in his father's tailor shop. Influenced by Goldman's ideas, Miller tried to give his father's employees control of the business. In 1917, he married the first of his five wives, Beatrice Sylvas Wickens, a pianist with whom he had a daughter. In 1920 he began



Henry Miller. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

work as a Western Union messenger and quickly became the employment manager of the messenger department. Taking a three-week leave from Western Union, Miller wrote a book about the experience, *Clipped Wings*, and having had a taste of writing, decided to become a writer.

In 1923, he met June Mansfield Smith, a taxi dancer, and in 1924 he divorced his first wife and married June. He began writing full time, trying to survive on June's tips from dancing and on the proceeds of a speakeasy they opened. Miller and June went to Europe for a year in 1928, and from that point on, Miller traveled back and forth to Europe, writing, meeting writers, and surviving as he could—begging, teaching high school English, and proofreading for the *Chicago Tribune*.

In Paris in the early 1930s, Miller met writer Anaïs Nin, who became his mistress, and with whom he began a correspondence about art. Nin was also fascinated with June, and the two had an affair. June divorced Henry in Mexico, and he continued working on his novel, *The Tropic of Cancer*, which was published in France in 1934.

During this period he began working with his friend Michael Fraenkel (1896–1957); their 1,000-page correspondence was published in three volumes as *Hamlet*, beginning in 1939. By 1940, he had also published eight other books, including *Black Spring* (1936) and *The Tropic of Capricorn* (1939).

Just before the outbreak of World War II, Miller left France and traveled to Greece at the invitation of his friend, writer Lawrence Durrell (1912–1990). There he wrote *The Colossus of Maroussi* (1941), a metaphysical travel book linking travel and history.

When war broke out, Miller returned to the United States and traveled through what he thought was a land in which the works of art were all “nature’s doing” (*The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, 1945–1947). He settled in California at Big Sur where he would live until 1962. At Big Sur, he established an artists’ colony and continued to write, producing critical works such as *The Plight of the Creative Artist in America* (1944) as well as a collection of reprinted watercolors, *Echolalia* (1945), *Sexus* (1949), *Plexus* (1953), *Nexus* (1960), and the essay collection *Stand Still Like the Hummingbird* (1962). He also painted watercolors that he exhibited all over the world.

During his period at Big Sur, Miller finally enjoyed life as an established writer with enough income to support his writing. Artists and acolytes visited Big Sur, and Miller enjoyed talking about writing, books he had read, and writers he knew. In 1944, Miller had married Janina Lepaska and their marriage produced two children. He separated from Janina in 1951 and in 1953 married Eve McClure. He continued to travel, going back to France, where he visited François Rabelais’s house, and Stratford-

on-Avon in Great Britain, where he visited Shakespeare’s home.

By the late 1950s, Miller was sufficiently renowned as a writer to be elected as a member of the National Institute of Arts and Sciences. He was asked to be a judge at the Cannes Film Festival in 1960, traveling from 1960 through 1962 throughout Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal, and Spain, as well as back and forth to Big Sur and the Pacific Palisades, where he would soon take up residence. In 1961, Grove Press at long last published his previously banned book, *The Tropic of Cancer*.

In 1962, Miller was divorced from his fourth wife, Eve, and continued to enjoy his writing success, making taped interviews in England and France. Mainstream presses such as Grove, John Calder, and Viking were republishing his books. In 1967, he married his fifth wife, Hoki Tokuda, and in 1970, *Tropic of Cancer* was made into a film. He continued to paint and exhibit his work around the world. He died in 1980.

Miller’s work was a jubilant exploration of all facets of life. Often narrating frankly and joyously everything from meals to sexual encounters, Miller’s novels were banned in the United States for being too sexually explicit. In 1950 and 1951, the United States government challenged the importation of Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* into the United States, claiming the books violated the Tariff Act’s prohibition against the importation of obscene material into the United States. In such cases, the determination of what constitutes obscenity was determined by the court itself: if in reading a book, it is deemed “obscene in its dominant effect” (*United States v. Two Obscene Books*, 92 F. Supp. 934). In 1950, the court found that “the dominant effect of the two respondent books is obscene. Both books are replete with long passages that are filthy and revolting and that tend to excite lustful thoughts and desires.” In 1951, the books did not fare any better, this time exciting the court to the following comment: “It is sufficient to say, however, that the many obscene passages in the books have such evil stench that to include them here in footnotes would make this opinion pornographic. For example, there are several passages where the female sexual organ and its function are described and referred to in such detailed vulgar language as to create nausea in the reader” (*United States v. Two Obscene Books*, 99 F. Supp. 760).

SEE ALSO *Nin, Anaïs*.

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Judith Roof

MISCEGENATION

Miscegenation is a term that is used to describe sexual relations, cohabitation, marriage, or procreation between people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds. At its core miscegenation is based on scientific racism and the belief that human blood and genetic material establish an individual's race. As a category of "difference," race has lost much of its currency, especially in light of scientific evidence showing that race is culturally and socially constructed. However, in the nineteenth century, with the rise of imperialism and colonization, physical attributes such as skin color, hair texture, and the shapes and sizes of body parts signaled a dramatic difference between white Europeans and the "other."

MISCEGENATION IN THE UNITED STATES

A preoccupation with racial difference and amalgamation began in the United States during the slave era (1600s–1865), and miscegenation resulted in social stigma and legal penalties for those who wished to "cross the color line." Almost every southern state had a set of codes or laws delineating standard procedures for slaveholders; included in those laws were harsh punishments for cohabitating with slaves, usually involving a substantial fine for the white perpetrator and corporal punishment for the slave.

The word miscegenation comes from the Latin *miscere* ("to mix") and *genus* (a class or group of species), and the term was coined in a post-Civil War pamphlet titled "Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the American White Man and Negro" written by David Goodman Croly in 1864. Although the pamphlet extols the virtues of interracial relationships and the potential for interracial couples to produce superior offspring, its main goal was to stir up an antimiscegenation fervor that would hurt Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party and tarnish the abolitionist movement.

The propaganda piece was distributed widely in the United States and spawned a national debate about social tolerance of interracial relationships. Anxiety over interracial intimacy and miscegenation led to the heightened

implementation of miscegenation laws, which forbade any official ceremony uniting people of different races in marriage. The first miscegenation law was established in 1661 in the colony of Maryland, and the slow adoption of the law would span hundreds of years and include every state except Vermont. Miscegenation laws also made it possible to convict individuals of adultery and fornication on a wide scale; because interracial couples could not legalize their unions, any sexual intimacy between whites and nonwhites was punishable by law. Eventually miscegenation laws were expanded to include other racial and ethnic groups in state legislation; for example, in the West, white citizens were not allowed to marry Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiians, or Filipinos.

Claiming that sex between whites and nonwhites was unnatural, against God's law, and immoral, lawmakers attempted to strengthen the severity of punishment, and by the mid-nineteenth-century individuals charged with miscegenation could face two to ten years in prison or fall prey to lynch mobs. Between 1882 and 1968 an estimated 3,446 lynchings took place in both southern and northern states, with approximately 19.2 percent of those lynchings stemming from supposed interracial rape and 6.1 percent from attempted interracial rape. These statistics reveal a pathological anxiety toward interracial sexual relationships and the violent attempt of a nation to maintain strict racial separation.

After the first implementation of miscegenation law, three hundred years would pass before the Supreme Court would rule that forbidding marriage on the grounds of race is unconstitutional. The case that changed interracial marriage laws in the United States was *Loving roman v. Virginia* in 1967. In the ruling Chief Justice Earl Warren stated,

Marriage is one of the "basic civil rights of man," fundamental to our very existence and survival. To deny this fundamental freedom on so unsupported a basis as the racial classifications embodied in these statutes, classifications so directly subversive of the principle of equality at the heart of the Fourteenth Amendment, is surely to deprive all the State's citizens of liberty without due process of law. The Fourteenth Amendment requires that the freedom of choice to marry not be restricted by invidious racial discriminations. Under our Constitution, the freedom to marry, or not marry, a person of another race resides with the individual and cannot be infringed by the State.

The legal ramifications of interracial sexual relationships permeated many social and cultural institutions. For instance, the Motion Picture Association's implementation of the Hays Code or Motion Picture Production Code after 1930 prohibited any depiction of interracial sexual relationships

in movies and set a standard in film production that would last until 1967. In addition, colleges and universities, mainly in the South, developed policies that prohibited interracial dating. The most widely recognized adversary of interracial dating was Bob Jones University, whose community relations coordinator wrote in a letter to a possible candidate that intermarriage “breaks down the barriers God has established. It mixes that which God separated and intends to keep separate.” During an interview on March 3, 2000, the university’s president, Bob Jones III, revealed that the long-held sanction on interracial dating at Bob Jones University had been abolished.

In one nation’s history the immense struggle to prohibit miscegenation in its myriad forms indicates a larger preoccupation with bloodlines, racial hierarchies, shifting power dynamics, and white supremacist ideologies.

MISCEGENATION IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Miscegenation in German history is bound inextricably to the study of eugenics and the belief in Aryan supremacy. In 1935 Germany established the Nuremberg Laws forbidding marriage or sexual relationships between Germans and Jews. Mirroring miscegenation laws in the United States and enthusiastically adopting scientific racism, Germany’s policies were an attempt to safeguard racial purity and prevent the “pollution” of pure Aryan blood.

In Portuguese history early colonizers believed that intermixing with native peoples would result in strong and virile offspring and help bolster diminishing populations. Unlike other European colonizers, the Portuguese would marry and grant citizenship to their biracial children in places such as Brazil, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Cape Verde. The presumed benefits of miscegenation for the Portuguese colonizers resulted in a society of diverse skin tones and created a social system in which color codifies class division.

South Africa’s system of apartheid is perhaps the best example of twentieth-century miscegenation law. In the 1949 Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act interracial marriage was outlawed until it was overturned in 1985. Stricter laws adopted in 1950 stipulated that any sexual contact between a white person and a nonwhite person was criminal under the Immorality Act.

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Melissa Fore

MISSIONARY POSITION

The much-maligned and joked-about *missionary position* is a sexual position in which two partners lie face to face, one on the other, with the penetrating partner on top. In heterosexual vaginal intercourse, the missionary position will find the woman lying on her back, with her legs either spread flat on the surface she is lying on or elevated onto or wrapped around the man’s body in some way. The man will be lying on his belly and on top of the woman with his legs between hers and his genitals at the same level as hers. The missionary position has been called an excellent position in which to conceive, although some sources suggest that if it is used for this purpose, elevation of the woman’s hips will facilitate that goal.

The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* traces the earliest use of the term to the British anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski’s *Sexual Life of Savages* (1929), but citation in the dictionary quotes the relevant term as *missionary fashion* (interestingly, Malinowski’s claim is that one of his informants considered that Christianity had introduced a number of *novel immoralities* to his community). The *OED* also cites Alfred C. Kinsey and colleagues (1953) referring to the Malinowski text; it is the Kinsey publication that uses the exact term missionary position in this context. In a 2001 article, Robert J. Priest untangles this relay of mistakes based on citations of half-remembered texts.

What is telling about this daisy chain of errata is how persuasive the common wisdom has found it. Almost everyone can cite the obvious reason this sexual position is called the missionary position: It is the only position used (not *enjoyed*) by joyless, sexually inhibited, upright, morally hidebound white people. (One must leave aside the decidedly unstraitlaced visual evoked when one tries to imagine how Malinowski’s informant and his cohort reached their conclusions.) Kinsey and colleagues’ landmark study of female sexuality noted that 91 percent of married female respondents reported using this position most frequently, and 9 percent used it exclusively; these data did nothing to enhance the missionary position’s reputation.

The position can, of course, be used in nonheterosexual and nonprocreative sexual practices (though, to be sure, Jude Schell, for one, does give the position the name *Vanilla* in her 2005 book, *Lesbian Sex 101*). It is

sometimes used figuratively as an embodiment of cultural, political, and gender inferiority, as in Stokely Carmichael's infamous 1964 remark that the "only position for women in SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] is prone."

It is possible to argue that the missionary position got a *bad rap* in the 1960s from which its reputation never fully recovered. After all, the position is characterized by face-to-face contact and leaves the hands and mouths of the participants reasonably free. Additionally, it does not rule out variations in leg and hip positioning, which can be arranged both with and without aids. Further, in heterosexual procreative sex, the placement of the woman under the man, while suggestive of her passivity and his superiority on a visual level, is belied by its enabling the woman's uterus to be maximally efficient and active in pulling semen into itself, via orgasmic contractions of the uterine wall.

Michel Foucault (1978) revealed that the long-held belief that the Victorian era was repressed about sex served to hide the fact that the Victorians were utterly and constantly preoccupied by sex and sexuality. Perhaps cultural disdain for the missionary position functions in a similar fashion—for both its practitioners and critics.

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Lynda Zwinger

MISTRESS

The word mistress usually indicates a female significant other (usually to a male) who is not related to the latter by marriage. A mistress is also traditionally described as a woman who cohabits with a man of stature. A twentieth-century example is Camilla Parker-Bowles, long-time mistress (and then wife) of Charles, the Prince of Wales. Other historical examples include Eva Braun, the infamous lover of Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler (1889–

1944), and Sally Hemming, the slave-turned-mistress of U.S. president Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). Regardless of whether the relationship is sexual or not, the presence of a mistress most often signifies love, or at least friendship, outside the bonds of marriage. A related term consort, a word that refers to a couple's shared fate or romantic friendship, correlates to the more contemporary term girlfriend, which may or may not signify a sexual relationship.

As recently as the eighteenth century, people generally thought romantic love to be incompatible with marriage, which was first and foremost an economic arrangement. A wife gave birth to and raised children, while a mistress, usually younger, single, and childless, provided emotional, sexual, and/or romantic companionship for the husband. As romantic love became more accepted as part of the marital relationship, the term mistress became associated with scandal and moral outrage. In 1998 President Bill Clinton's brief affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky resulted in the president's impeachment. In a review of Andrew Morton's *Monica's Story* (1999), in which she compared Lewinsky's affair with Clinton to other presidential affairs, political analyst Arianna Huffington argued the following:

Throughout history, mistresses have shared the lives of powerful men. According to Demosthenes, the men of Athens "had courtesans for the sake of pleasure, concubines for the daily health of our bodies, and wives to bear us lawful offspring and be the faithful guardians of our homes." By that definition, Monica was a concubine, taking care of the presidential plumbing, who tried to convince herself that she was really a courtesan, dispensing pleasures of body, soul, and mind.

(Huffington 1999, p. 51)

In the United States and Europe, it has become socially unacceptable for a man to have a wife as well as a mistress; thus such relationships have become less public in the early twenty-first century. Gender roles, as well as traditional definitions of relationships, have been and continue to be examined with greater perception and scrutiny. For example, since the mid-twentieth century, it has become more acceptable, even common, for men and women to live together and not be married. It has also become more acceptable for women and men to have relationships on nonsexual terms.

LITERARY MISTRESSES

Many examples of adulterous relationships exist in literary history, including Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857); Edith Wharton's *House of Mirth* (1905); D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928); Geoffrey

Chaucer's "The Wife of Bath," in *The Canterbury Tales* (1478) and Andrew Marvell's poem *To His Coy Mistress*. (1681). In her 1999 text *Adultery* Louise DeSalvo has closely examined the historical links between adultery and the term mistress. DeSalvo points out that adultery stories can have many different possible endings, and several of these are represented in literature. Perhaps the most common is the adulterous relationship that ends tragically. This ending entails "discovery, disgrace, the breakup of families, the end of presidencies, and possibly death—murder and/or suicide" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 23). Given the prevalence of secrecy in such relationships, this is the ending one often reads about in newspapers or sees represented on television and film.

In Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), which is set in early American Puritan society, protagonist Hester Prynne experiences passion and love outside the boundaries of her marriage. Her punishment is to sew a red letter *A* on the front of her dress, announcing her adulterous liaison and inviting the judgment of her peers. She becomes a cautionary tale for other women who might consider adultery. Hester is also a sympathetic character because she carries herself with strength and poise throughout the ordeal, never regretting the joy and love she experienced in her extramarital affair.

In the 1987 film *Fatal Attraction*, directed by Adrian Lyne and starring Michael Douglas and Glenn Close, the mistress Alex refuses to accept the terms on which married father Dan has established the affair. Alex becomes increasingly threatening and unstable: She tells Dan she is pregnant; kidnaps his daughter and kills her pet rabbit; stalks the family; and finally confronts Dan with a knife. At the end of the film, Dan's wife shoots and kills Alex in a bloody confrontation. Some have argued that *Fatal Attraction* reinforces the moral imperative of monogamy. Others believe that the film represents male fears about being found out or, worse, losing control over the situation when a lover changes the implicit agenda to keep things quiet. Alex is, in effect, punished for her sexual depravity as a single, childless, thirty-something woman in a culture that values monogamy and heterosexual marriage. The ultimate penalty for the other woman is death, while the wayward husband is forgiven for his infidelity by his wife and child.

According to DeSalvo, another possibility is that an adulterous relationship, "while it lasts, [it] seems not to damage the marriage of either party, [and] does not end either marriage, perhaps because the adulterous couple have been smart enough to keep their mouths shut. This adultery, though, has unpredictable, unfavorable future consequences" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 24). Fear of discovery characterizes the sexual tension of such a relationship. In discussing the "social morality of the gentleman," in his

study on "sugar daddies" and "mistresses," E. D. Nelson points out that secrecy was "simply part of the protocol of the affair which justified it as viable" (Nelson 1993, p. 61). Loyalty between the husband and the mistress is predicated on the notion that there is a fine line between the woman being considered a prostitute and retaining the more respectable title of mistress.

Other possible endings to adulterous relationships, as represented in literature, include "the adultery that ends unequivocally . . . [and] the adultery that ends happily enough" (DeSalvo 1999, p. 25). In Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, the reader remains uncertain, even at the end of the novel, as to whether the lovers, Lady Chatterley and Mellors, will reunite. The relationship seems to be over, but the reader sympathizes with the lovers, and wants them to reunite. Similarly in the 1995 film, *Bridges of Madison County*, directed by Clint Eastwood, the affair between a middle-aged farmer's wife and a kind drifter lasts a blissful four days, but must end when the woman's husband and children return from a county fair. The separation of the two lovers is painful and the relationship remains secret until the children find love letters after their mother's death. As part of her examination of the ending to an affair, DeSalvo describes her own experience as the mistress of a married man. She describes it as exciting and ultimately illuminating, an example of an affair that ends "happily enough"—a period in her life when she felt incredibly alive.

GENDERED DISCOURSE AND THE MONOGAMOUS IDEAL

Lewinsky's own account of her affair with Clinton focuses on an ideal of love: Specifically she sees the relationship as a thwarted love story. Her perception illustrates a key difference in male and female representations of adulterous kept relationships. Often the female is represented as one who discounts the "primacy of sex" as the focus of the relationship, while the male sees the relationship as primarily sexual (Nelson 1993, p. 45). Less common are tales of the empowering experiences of female mistresses. In the 1970s Melissa Sands founded the group Mistresses Anonymous, which was a "self-help group for women 'addicted' to already married men" (Nelson 1993, p. 46). The function of the group was to allow women to discuss their experiences of love and loneliness, as well as guilt for being the other woman. Women in the group reported feeling desired, attractive, and loved in these illicit relationships, despite that their lovers were unlikely to leave their wives.

The term *sugar daddy* describes a man, often wealthy and approaching or in middle age, who takes a mistress as a way of reclaiming sexual vitality. Such men often offer the excuse that "their wives had lost interest in sex since

experiencing the ‘change of life’” (Nelson 1993, p. 49). Indeed most mistresses are having relationships with older men, who in turn are often labeled as going through a midlife crisis. Society in general gives less attention to an older woman taking up with a younger male mistress. Men seem to have written the rules on such relationships; for example, “such practices as polygyny (the marriage of one man to more than one woman), and concubinage (wherein a man lives in an intimate relationship with a number of women), have served as corroboration of a man’s power and status” (Nelson, 1993, p. 51).

Prior to the twentieth century, people often linked the term mistress with the ideal of courtly love. The term was also used in connection with the high stature of a Lady, and to draw attention to her rank, as part of a respectful discourse. Later when people no longer equated a woman’s status with that of her lover, the term mistress came to describe a single woman who had acquired a skill, or had power over others. For example, in the early twenty-first century mistress can signify a dominant sexual partner in sadomasochistic practices. As long as men and women engage in adultery, mistresses will continue to function as signifiers of men’s sexual virility and desirability.

SEE ALSO *Adultery*.

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Amy Nolan

MITHRAISM

Mithraism was a religious movement in the Middle East and Europe during antiquity. As it developed, the worship of Mithras became a largely male cult.

Mitra or Mithra was an Indo-Iranian god of covenants and contracts who was believed to befriend, protect, and reward persons who fulfilled religious and social obligations. A myth that Mitra/Mithra traversed the sky each day led to his association with the sun. Roman troops stationed in Mesopotamia or Iraq during the first century BCE, along the border with the Parthian empire of Iran, learned about the worship of Mithra from Iranian troops and residents of the region. Those Roman soldiers thought of Mithra as the equivalent of their own sun god Helios or Sol. Romans regarded the sun as *invictus* or invincible. So Mithra, whose name was pronounced Mithras by people living west of the Euphrates river, came to be regarded as the sun god who was invictus or invincible. Mithras was an ideal divinity for Roman soldiers who began to believe that they too would be invincible if they worshipped that male god. Consequently, veneration of Mithras spread among Roman legions stationed in Mesopotamia and Syria. Those soldiers conveyed the worship of Mithras to the cities of Anatolia and the Black Sea coast. There it was adopted by scholars, astrologers, and Stoic philosophers who had been worshipping another deity, Perseus. Worship of Perseus involved astronomical and astrological speculation centered on the constellation named for that Greek demigod coupled with belief in ages or stages of world history. Those ideas were assimilated into the worship of Mithras.

The resulting faith was a mystery cult in which beliefs and practices were not proclaimed or practiced publicly. Its members would be initiated secretly through baptism and were sworn not to reveal the faith’s tenets and rites. After initial entry into the cult of Mithras, additional secret initiations took place periodically as some members were admitted to higher levels and taught more doctrines. The seven ranks through which a male member could rise within the cult’s hierarchy were, in ascending order: Corax or raven, Nymphus or bride (of Mithras), Miles or soldier, Leo or lion, Perses or Persian, Heliodromus or courier of the sun, and Pater or father.

Practitioners believed that Mithras was born not from a female being but, after having hidden underground for millennia, emerged from a rock in the form of a young man. He accepted the worship of men and then, together with his hunting dogs, tracked down and sacrificed a primordial bull to produce animals and plants. So this deity established blood sacrifice, rather than sex, as the primary source of creation, fertility, and reproduction. Through the sacrifice of a bull (*taurobolium*). Mithras was thought to have become the supreme god who initiated a new bountiful age for all men. It was claimed that Mithras would

return at the end of time to grant salvation to his followers. The bull-slaying scene or tauroctony was identified, symbolically, with the constellation of Perseus located at the time above that of Taurus. Mithraists met in underground chamber-like temples, known as Mithraeums, to duplicate their male deity's subterranean abode. The sacrificial altar was positioned against a wall bearing a sculpture or painting of the tauroctony. The vaulted ceiling of each Mithraeum was painted with the night sky highlighting the constellations of Perseus and Taurus.

Worship of Mithras was taken, by Roman soldiers and commanders, from Mesopotamia, Syria, the Black Sea coastline, and Anatolia, to Italy and thereafter throughout Europe and North Africa on their conquests. By the third century CE, it was practiced by Romans in the Roman province of Gaul (now France) and Britannia (now England). Hundreds of Mithraeums and statues of Mithras have been discovered among the ruins of Roman settlements. Classical authors such as Strabo (lived ca. 64 BCE–23 CE), Plutarch (lived 46–ca. 119 CE), and Ptolemy (lived ca. 100–170 CE) wrote about the cult's widespread success.

However, Mithraism seems to have been for the most part a very gender-specific faith. Its membership was mainly male, drawn from Roman soldiers, freemen, scholars, and a few nobles and slaves. In many ways, it resembled a secret fraternity with a system of male bonding that ensured loyalty to military and social hierarchies. Because Mithras himself was born of a rock rather than of a woman, women often were regarded as unessential to the divinity. Moreover, women were viewed as distracting the male devotees of Mithras from their devotional and fraternal duties—essentially not permitting the men to fulfill their covenants, contracts, and other obligations to gods and fellow men. Consequently, some Mithraists scorned women by calling them *hyainai* or hyenas according to the Neo-Platonist author Porphyry (lived ca. 234–305 CE) in his *De abstinencia* or On Abstinence (4.16). Nonetheless, as the early Christian Church father Tertullian (in Latin, Tertullianus, who lived ca. 155–230 CE) noted in his *De praescriptione haereticorum* or Prescription against Heretics (40.5), some women did dedicate themselves as virgins to Mithras even though they were excluded from the cult's official ranks.

A few sculptures from Mithraeums in Rome (in present-day Italy), Dieburg (in what is now Bavaria, in southern Germany), and Carrawburgh (in present-day northern England) suggest that women occasionally may have served as donors and patrons for Mithraeums. Rare inscriptions from Rome and tomb iconography from Oea (now Tripoli in Libya) indicate that a few women may have belonged officially to local congregations of the Mithraic faith and held ranks, such as lioness and mother, paralleling those of men. Most available data, however, indicate the complete dominance of men

in the mysteries of Mithras. Male Mithraists could marry, although some abstained from sex with their wives (Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 40.5).

At most restricting and at least discouraging women from joining the cult, and thereby rejecting a large and influential segment of ancient societies, proved to be an important reason for Mithraism's failure to withstand the advent of Christianity. The early Christians welcomed women into authoritative positions during initial proselytizing within the Roman empire. The birth of Helios/Sol and Mithras was celebrated on December 25th of each year. Mithras' birth was associated with special signs in the sky such as the shinning of a bright star. Mithraic rites in the underground Mithraeums involved a religious service of bread and wine representing the flesh and blood of the sacrificed primordial bull. Those Mithraic practices were assimilated into nascent Christianity as Mithraists and other Romans—both men and women—converted their faith. Tertullian (*De praescriptione haereticorum*, 40.4–5) denounced Mithraists for holding black Masses or other evil rites and for restricting women's activities, even as the Christian Church began moving women out of leadership positions.

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Jamsheed K. Choksy

MONASTICISM

Originating in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine near the end of the third century, Christian monasticism subsequently developed into a well-organized and well-defined feature of Christianity. Martyrdom virtually ended with the Peace of the Church in 312 CE, as Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Emulating the sacrifices of the martyrs, men and women withdrew to

the desert to live solitary and ascetic lives by renouncing all worldly comforts. Monasticism from its inception was intended as a means to loving God by removing all worldly obstacles, distractions, or temptations. Christian asceticism was based on scripture, recalling the words and actions of its founder, Jesus, who went into the desert for meditation and spiritual cleansing, and advised a rich man to give all his possessions to the poor and to follow him. The Greek root of *monk* or *monastery* is *monos*, meaning “alone.” Within a few years, two forms of monasticism emerged: eremitic (from *eremos*, “desert”), signifying the lone ascetic in the wilderness; and cenobitic (from *koinos*, “common”), referring to monastic communities of men or women. Both forms demanded withdrawal from the world along with vows of celibacy, obedience, and poverty. Both men and women equated asceticism with devotion to the world to come.

EARLY MONKS AND MONKHOOD

Anthony of Egypt (251–356) represented the eremitic form of monasticism and is regarded as the first Christian monk. The *Life of St. Anthony*, written by Athanasius, would suggest that he was not the first of the desert ascetics. Near the end of his life there were several hundred solitaries dedicated to separation from the world and committed to the struggle toward spiritual perfection. Eremitic monks lived in their own huts or caves and provided for their own needs, normally coming together on Sunday for common prayer under the direction of an elder. From the beginning celibacy was demanded along with vows of poverty and obedience.

Pachomius (292–346) characterized cenobitic monasticism, founding the first monastic community in Tabennisi, near Thebes in Egypt. It was established as a double monastery, with two separate communities—one for monks under his leadership as abbot, and the other for nuns, with his sister Mary as the abbess. By 340 there were several women’s monasteries all organized around collective worship, manual labor, and obedience to the abbess. Not long after, Basil (330–379) formed the community at Annesos in Pontus, and created a program of rules for the monks. As each community developed, a collection of monastic rules was created. All of the various monastic Rules developed in the history of Christian monasticism include a structure of daily life with prescriptions pertaining to food and drink, work and prayer schedules, and a community hierarchy. Once cenobitic monasticism became the norm, the Rule of St. Basil was adopted throughout Eastern monasteries. Cenobitic monasticism was so popular in early Christianity that the population of some monasteries equaled that of small cities.

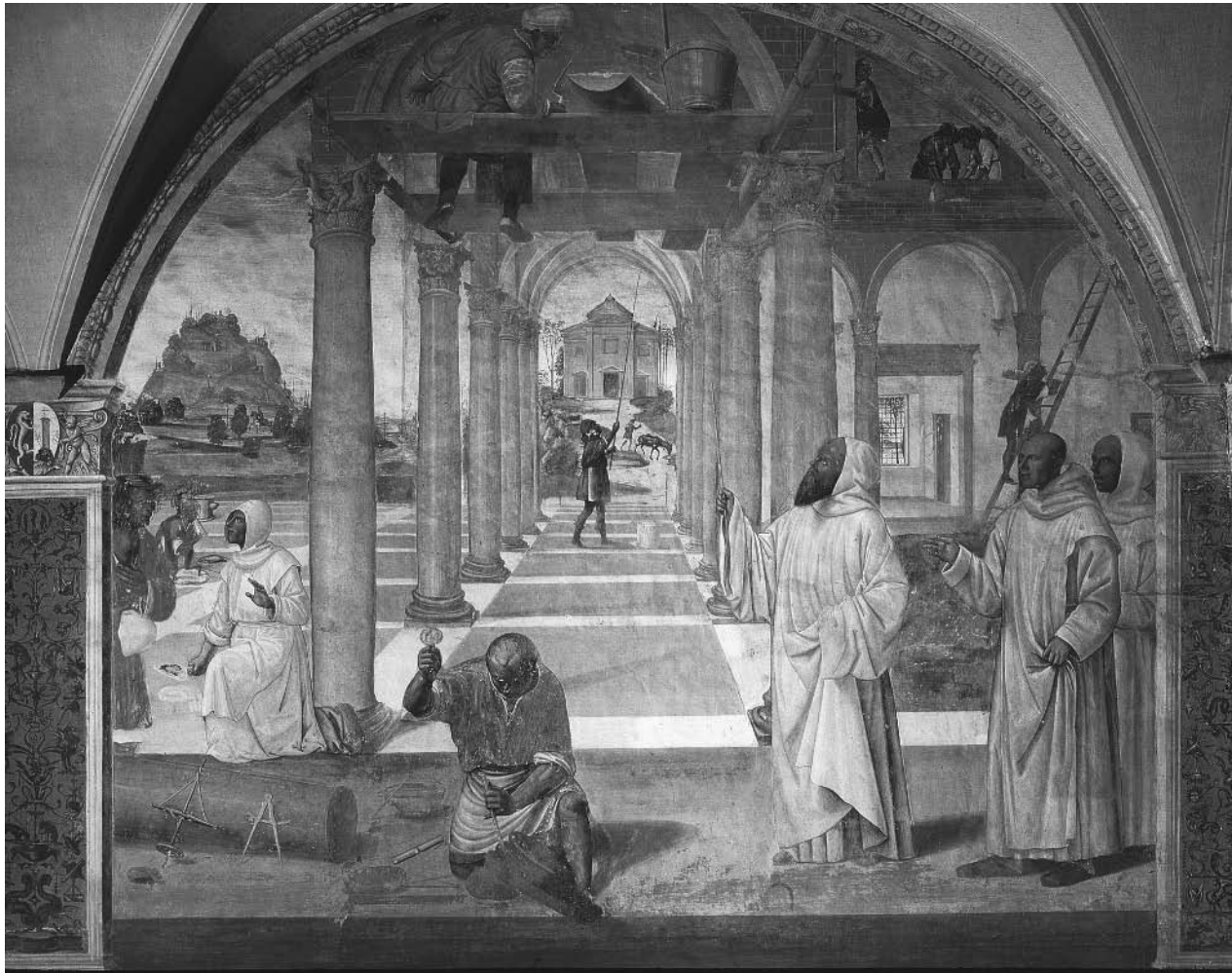
Women were also attracted to the ascetic life, especially in light of St. Jerome’s widely known axiom that virgins

had the greatest hope of attaining heaven, widows the second, and married women the least. Paula (374–404), a member of the patrician class, was born in Rome and died at Bethlehem after founding a monastery for women. Melania the Elder (342–410), a wealthy Roman widow, made a pilgrimage to Egypt and the Holy Land and established a monastery for fifty women in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives. While on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Egeria, a fourth-century nun from the region of Galicia in Spain, wrote a diary detailing how liturgical rituals were celebrated in Jerusalem. During this flowering of ascetic monasticism, Caesarius of Arles (470–543) wrote the first Rule created exclusively for women, which, like other monastic rules, was a collection of precepts and provided the order of psalms for recitation, demanding a high degree of literacy.

Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–543), commonly known as the father of Western monasticism, withdrew to live as a hermit in a cave where, because of his extraordinary asceticism and spiritual renown, a community developed around him. Later he founded a monastery at Monte Cassino and wrote a monastic rule that supplanted a profusion of other rules. Composed of seventy-three chapters providing practical regulation of the lives of the monks and nuns, the Rule of St. Benedict became the guiding document for monasticism in the West and is still in use in the twenty-first century. It provided for the election of an abbot or abbess who would have full authority in the community and included the *Opus Dei* (Divine Office), laying out the fixed hours of the day for public prayer: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline. Benedict’s sister, Scholastica (480–543), consecrated her life to Christ at an early age and later founded a monastery for women at Plombariola, five miles from Monte Cassino, and adopted her brother’s Rule for the community. In the ninth century, Charlemagne (r. 768–814) imposed the Rule of St. Benedict on all monasteries, and as monasticism spread through the Holy Roman Empire it became the sole norm of monastic life. The Benedictine Order dominated the High Middle Ages with significant impact in all realms of society.

MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM

A number of monastic orders emerged in the Middle Ages, among them the Carthusians in the eleventh century; the Cistercians in the twelfth; and the Carmelites, reorganized in the fifteenth century. Typically these new orders emerged when groups of monks or nuns felt that Benedict’s Rule was interpreted in too lax a manner. Disregard for the celibacy vows and a concern about the selling of religious office (simony) were at the heart of medieval monastic reforms. With the continued desire to pursue a solitary life in isolation from the world, monastic orders such as the Carthusians sought to establish communities in remote areas, in the forests far from the cities.



Benedict of Nursia. *Benedict of Nursia overseeing the construction of monasteries.* THE ART ARCHIVE/ABBEY OF MONTEOIVETO MAGGIORE SIENA/DAGLI ORTI.

In 1098 the Cistercian Order was founded on the ideal of a strict interpretation of the Benedictine model as applied to dress, furniture, buildings, and food. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), foremost among the early Cistercians, personified the monastic ideal. He mentored popes, was counselor to kings, preached the Second Crusade, and composed eighty-six sermons on the first four verses of the Song of Songs. Based largely on the social constructions of the female as especially dangerous and susceptible to sin, Cistercians had a particular revulsion toward women and avoided all contact with them.

Throughout the Middle Ages, as the figure of Christ was increasingly humanized, the status of cloistered women changed significantly. Women, able to fully embody Mary's relationship to the divine as mother and spouse, narrated their religious experiences and gained a high degree of importance in medieval spirituality. Significant among them are Hildegard of Bingen

(1098–1179), Mechtild of Magdeburg (c. 1207–c. 1285), Gertrude of Helfta (1256–1301 or 1302), Clare of Assisi (1194–1253), Catherine of Siena (1347–1380), Julian of Norwich (1342–c. 1416), and Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373).

Flourishing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Beguine movement is especially important for the history of women in monasticism. Beguines were communities of devout and celibate women living together with no irrevocable vows, following no prescribed Rule, and supporting themselves with manual labor—lace-making, for example. This created a dilemma for the Church and for society, in view of the fact that there were only two acceptable roles for adult women at this time—as cloistered women under a monastic Rule or as married women. The papal answer was the *cura monialium*, a technical term for the pastoral care of the cloistered women. This duty was laid upon the mendicant

Dominicans, the Order of Preachers, by Pope Clement IV (r. 1265–1268) in 1267; it required Dominican preachers, such as Meister Eckhart (1260–1328), Heinrich Seuse (1295–1366), and Johannes Tauler (1300–1361), to assume the spiritual care of these communities of women. As a consequence, within a short period of time, the communities were officially proclaimed to be either Dominican or Cistercian women's monasteries.

The emergence of the mendicant orders (from the Latin *mendicare*, "to beg"), or friars—Dominicans and the Franciscans—in the thirteenth century had a profound effect on male monasticism. To this day, both orders practice the principles of monastic life, taking vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, but devote themselves to the service of humanity in the secular world. Although friars were monastic in the broadest sense, they were not attached to specific communities. Mendicant women, on the other hand, were cloistered, as women were not permitted to beg or wander from town to town.

IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION

The Protestant reformations of the sixteenth century generated a profound assault on monasticism. Arguing that it implied a degradation of marriage, the Protestant reformers opposed monasticism's demands for celibacy. Martin Luther (1483–1546), a former monk himself, wrote viciously against his former profession. Henry VIII of England (r. 1509–1547) demolished eight hundred monasteries within a four-year span of time. Central to the Protestant reforms was the conviction that every profession is a religious "calling," not just the priesthood and monasticism. In those areas of Europe that accepted the Protestant reforms, there was a demand that women and men leave the monasteries to marry. In the reformed communities, the high valence of virginity was eradicated and replaced with the Protestant ideal of motherhood or fatherhood. Reformers railed against monasticism, rejecting the distinction between the superior life of a monk or nun and the inferior life of a householder.

Monasticism continued to develop in the Eastern Orthodox context, with most monasteries abiding by St. Basil's Rule with the additions, expansions, and modifications made by later emperors, patriarchs, and synods; only the great monastery at Mt. Sinai follows what is regarded as the old rule of St. Anthony. While all of the sixteen independent Churches that comprise the Eastern Orthodox Church have monasteries, few of them are open to women.

By feminist standards, a great many nuns were and are strong, independent women, highly skilled in nursing and education, managing large charitable organizations, working for the civil rights movement, and as mission-

aries. Having survived a steep decline in numbers, the monastic ideal is still present throughout the world. However, its societal impact is less profound than in the Middle Ages and is mainly regarded as a viable option for women in societies offering them few alternatives. Monasteries in remote locations still exist throughout the world and offer monks and nuns the opportunity for a purely contemplative life.

SEE ALSO *Catholicism; Celibacy.*

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Rosemary Drage Hale

MONOGAMY

Monogamy is one of several ways in which human beings, and other living things, structure their social and sexual lives. It implies a one-to-one association between the two partners (typically, but not necessarily, one male and one female). Although monogamy is considered to be the ideal in current European and North American tradition, it is not the biological norm for human beings, nor has it been for much of human history. Evidence to this effect comes from several independent sources.

Prior to the homogenization of cultures associated with European colonialism, approximately 85 percent of human societies were preferentially polygynous—a man mated to more than one woman—rather than monogamous. In addition human beings show a pattern of *sexual dimorphism* (consistent male-female differences) that, in every other species, is consistent with polygyny: Males are, on average, larger than females, as well as more inclined toward aggression and violence. Dimorphism of this sort is associated with polygyny since individuals of the harem-holding sex (that is, the ones maintaining and defending multiple mates) are favored by natural selection insofar as they are likely to succeed in competition with others for access to their mates. And finally human beings experience sexual bimaturism (differential age at sexual maturation), with females becoming sexually mature younger than males. This is also characteristic of polygyny in other species, since individuals of the harem-holding sex are selected to delay maturation until they are older, larger, stronger, and more experienced, and therefore more likely to succeed in sociosexual competition. Combined, these considerations make it quite

clear that human beings are not biologically disposed toward monogamy.

However the above does not mean that human beings are not capable of monogamy, or that it is not desirable. Even among societies in which polygyny is permitted and indeed striven for, the great majority of men fail at being polygynists and are, of necessity, either monogamists or bachelors. By contrast the majority of women in such societies end up being mated either polygynously or monogamously. It is also clear that human beings are capable of monogamy, although for the vast majority this does not imply exclusive, lifelong affiliation with only one sexual partner: Most people do not wind up marrying, and then remaining exclusively faithful to, their first and only intimate partner. Rather, even in situations of bona fide, faithful monogamy, a one-to-one exclusive affiliation is typically preceded by a number of social and sexual partnerings, and even if a monogamous union is eventually established, it is far more likely to be serial monogamy than exclusive and lifelong. In serial monogamy individuals form a monogamous relationship so long as it lasts, after which (following divorce, or death of either partner) another monogamous relationship may well ensue.

Exclusive monogamy has proven to be exceedingly rare in the animal world as well. By applying DNA fingerprinting techniques, biologists have found that even most bird species—long thought to be monogamous—engage in extra-pair copulations, as evidenced by the fact that the social partner of an adult female is frequently not the genetic father of all of the young associated with the breeding pair. This pattern also seems common among human beings, although reliable data are not as yet widely available. In any event it seems important to distinguish between social monogamy (in which two individuals establish a pair-bond, which typically includes shared effort in rearing offspring) and sexual monogamy (which implies exclusivity in mating).

Regardless of whether monogamy—however defined—is natural, it is clearly something within the human behavioral repertoire. Historians and anthropologists remain undecided, however, as to how and why it became the expected norm in European and North American societies. One widely accepted theory is that monogamy represented a kind of trade-off, whereby socially and economically powerful men essentially agreed to give up their monopoly on women in return for those men who obtained mates (and would otherwise have been unsuccessful bachelors) becoming committed to the success of their shared society.

There is also considerable debate as to the role of love in underpinning monogamy. Some scholars maintain that romantic love is essentially a social construct, and a product of the late Middle Ages, whereas others argue that intense interpersonal bonding is characteristic

of humanity's biological make-up. In any event social monogamy offers certain advantages, including legal and psychological equality, biparental care in rearing of offspring, and the opportunity to unite disparate family lineages, thereby establishing political and economic alliances. Nonetheless monogamy may parallel Winston Churchill's famous observation about democracy: the worst possible system . . . except when one considers the alternatives.

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David P. Barash

MONROE, MARILYN 1926–1962

Norma Jeane Mortensen (or Baker), born on June 1 in Los Angeles, California, was best known by her adopted name Marilyn Monroe, which she used in thirty films over the course of her career. Marilyn Monroe was a superstar and a cinema sex symbol as well as an icon to her gay audience. Her film characters were often sexually naïve or unintentionally desirable, yet she also appeared to be in control of herself sexually, thus embodying both innocence and experience and seeming simultaneously unattainable and accessible. Her personal life was often tumultuous, leading to a popular conception of her as emotionally damaged. Monroe's fans seemed equally divided between those who desired her and those (often gay men) who recognized her unwilling position as a sexual outlaw and found strength in her. Her fame and influence increased after her early death, which was seen as both tragic and an appropriate ending to her status as a sexual commodity. She died in Brentwood, California, on August 5.

Norma Jeane was discovered by a photographer during World War II, and by 1946 she had become established as a model and had appeared in many magazines. In that year she divorced her first husband and changed her name to Marilyn Monroe when she signed a contract with Twentieth Century-Fox Studios. Monroe played a series of uncredited roles until she began to gain attention for small parts in *The Asphalt Jungle* and *All About Eve*, both released in 1950. Her first starring role was in *Niagara* (1953). In 1949 she had posed nude for a calendar; one of the images from that shoot would appear as the centerfold in the first issue of *Playboy* in 1953, making Monroe the image of midcentury American sexuality.

With *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) Monroe's rise to superstardom and gay icon status began. Her performance of "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend" became an instant classic, and its sleek, glamorous staging has been often imitated, most notably by Madonna in her "Material Girl" music video. The camp quality of the film, in which Monroe and co-star Jane Russell are dressed almost as drag queens, as well as its homoerotic subtext, brought Monroe to the attention of gay men. They became and remain a large part of her fan base. In 1954 Monroe married the baseball superstar Joe DiMaggio, a relationship by all accounts sincere but also seemed made for tabloid publicity. During their honeymoon in Tokyo, Monroe made a visit to American troops in Korea; afterward she often said that the outpouring of affection from the soldiers was one of the highlights of her life. The intense public interest in their nine-month marriage is often blamed for bringing it to an end, although the couple remained on good terms, apparently speaking on the phone the day before her death.

The most iconic image of Monroe is from *The Seven-Year Itch* (1955). The script capitalized on the public's relationship with Monroe, making her character both taboo and accessible, and the film became a box office hit. The slim plot involves a married man whose wife and children have left New York to escape the heat of summer, leaving him alone in an apartment building with his beautiful blond scantily clad neighbor. The film is a series of moments of temptation, including the famous skirt-blowing scene in which Marilyn stands atop a subway grate to feel the breeze.

In 1959 Monroe starred in Billy Wilder's *Some Like It Hot* with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon. The film kept its two male leads in drag and involved gender-bending relationships, cementing the bond that gay men felt with Monroe. It also won her a Golden Globe, one of the few acting awards Monroe would receive in her career. Gay men in particular felt a personal connection to Monroe as a result of her tumultuous personal life. She exemplified many qualities stereotypically associated with gay men: glamour, campiness, and



Some Like It Hot. Marilyn Monroe appeared in the 1959 film along with Tony Curtis and Jack Lemon. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

difficulty in forming lasting monogamous relationships. Her multiple marriages and numerous boyfriends seemed to mirror the trajectories of the lives of many homosexuals, and her seeming resilience offered hope to her gay fans that they might also create a kind of success out of personal chaos. Her choice of partners also appealed to gay men, many of whom no doubt would also have liked relationships with a famous sports figure (Joe DiMaggio), a literary giant (Arthur Miller), or a handsome, powerful, and married man (President John F. Kennedy).

Monroe's last husband was the playwright Arthur Miller, who wrote her final screen role in *The Misfits* (1961). Their marriage ended in the same year, and eighteen months later Monroe was found dead in her Brentwood, California, home. Her death by an overdose of barbiturates was surrounded by controversy. Although it officially was ruled a suicide, many people believed that she was murdered, whereas others contended that it was an accidental overdose. Her last films were plagued with production problems that often were ascribed to her absences from the set, and it has been noted by many people that her death coincided almost exactly with the moment when studios began to feel that her profitability was waning; her life ended when her value as a star began to diminish. Marilyn Monroe is remembered as an actress and a sex

symbol, and her name has become synonymous with glamour, beauty, and sensuality as well as lost potential.

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Brian D. Holcomb

MORNING AFTER PILL

SEE *Contraception: III. Methods.*

MOTHERHOOD

Motherhood is the product of particular historical circumstances, social processes, and ideologies, and its social definition and meaning vary by culture, race, ethnicity, religion, and historical time period. Despite these variations motherhood is a major role for women in many societies. Lois Wladis Hoffman and Martin Hoffman (1973) report that in the United States until the 1970s, any role for women other than motherhood was considered deviant. In Confucian societies such as China, Korea, and Japan, motherhood has also been the central role for and status of women. By the early twenty-first century the number of choices for women in many societies had increased and diversified to include motherhood as one of the options rather than a requirement.

Contemporary mothering can be defined in flexible terms as the social practice of nurturing and caring for people. It is also important to recognize that *mothering* activity is not exclusive to women. Some scholars, such as Terry Arendell (2000), argue that it is possible for men to physically and psychologically take care of children, and thus the term mothering should not be exclusively reserved for women's experiences. In most societies, however, women not only bear children but also are assigned the primary caretaking role for infants and children. Therefore, motherhood is still an important experience in many women's lives. The description that follows focuses only on women's motherhood practices and experiences.

HISTORY OF MOTHERHOOD

Although the vast majority of the world's women do become mothers, historical investigations of motherhood were relatively rare until it became an important topic in

women's studies in the 1980s. The lack of historical studies of motherhood is perhaps due to an emphasis on new roles for women rather than traditional ones and on the benefits of change. Studies on motherhood emerged partly, however, in response to criticism by those who considered the new scholarship antagonistic to women's maternal role. Within the United States context alone, Alice Walker (1983) showed the importance that maternal legacies played in African-American culture in encouraging much positive attention to practices of mothering.

In many European, North American, and Asian societies, the dominant cultural ideals of motherhood changed dramatically over the last 300 years. In the United States, women's primary role shifted from being a good wife for the domestic patriarchal husband in the colonial period to a full-time homemaker for the bread-winning husband and his children in the mid-twentieth century, and then to a balance between paid work and family life in the late twentieth century. Prior to the Meiji period (1868–1912), Japanese women were expected to bear children, but the task of caring for them fell to others, often members of the extended family network or, in the case of middle-class mothers, nannies and maids. This situation changed in the Meiji period, as the government and scholars alike, partly in response to the increasing influence of European and North American ideologies, actively promoted a new conception of mothers as nurturers and educators.

In many societies the modern construction of motherhood that emphasizes women's devotion to their children owes a great deal to modernization, which created the husband-as-breadwinner and wife-as-homemaker roles in families. In the early twenty-first century, although motherhood is still an important experience for many women, it is viewed from a much broader perspective, with options for women to be full-time working mothers, part-time working mothers, or full-time homemaker mothers.

EXPECTATIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF MODERN MOTHERHOOD

In many societies a mother is often expected to be a perfect and loving parent who is dedicated to the caretaking role of the child. Sharon Hays (1996) defines the ideology of intensive motherhood as the normative model of the emotionally absorbing, expert-driven, child-centered care that a mother gives her fragile children. This intensive motherhood is largely a myth, however, especially given changing workforce demographics in the industrialized world, such as increases in both female labor-force participation and dual-earner and single-parent households. Consequently, many mothers in different societies are attempting to balance work and parenting responsibilities while trying to meet societal norms and expectations for ideal motherhood. Many moth-

ers report pressures to conform to the image of ideal motherhood and, as a result, the gap between ideal motherhood and real mothering experiences is reported to cause a high level of maternal anxiety and stress, as in the case of Japanese mothers, to the extent that some mothers emotionally and physically abuse their own children. Scholars, workers, and employers in many industrialized societies in the early twenty-first century are concerned with mothers' struggles to balance paid work and family responsibilities and obligations.

The various functions of motherhood include the physical and emotional caretaking, educating, and disciplining of children. In contemporary societies most of these functions can be shared with children's fathers. In reality, however, fathers' participation in child care is extremely limited compared with that of mothers. Another important function of motherhood is that of being an economic provider for their children and families. This maternal role is particularly vital for single mothers who frequently report the difficulties of balancing the roles of motherhood and economic provider given limited financial and personal resources.

It is also important to understand that expectations and functions of modern motherhood vary greatly by economic and political conditions. In contemporary African societies, although mothers are held in high regard, they often find it difficult to fulfill mothering responsibilities because of political unrest (including civil wars), women's lack of education, and poverty. According to Save the Children's *State of the World's Mothers 2006* report, for example, uneducated mothers are at a severe disadvantage, as are their babies. Uneducated mothers are more likely to be poor, to get pregnant younger, to have higher rates of newborn and maternal mortality, to be less knowledgeable about family planning, and to be less prepared to take care of their babies. Angola provides one example of an African nation reporting high newborn and maternal mortality rates. These problems are primarily attributable to a long-lasting civil war, which has limited access to health care for the majority of mothers. In addition, approximately 70 percent of Angolan women give birth to their first child while they are still teenagers (Save the Children 2006), and they have little knowledge about prenatal and maternal care of infants.

A similar case can be found in Peru where adolescents make up 16.4 percent of first-time mothers, a rate that continues to increase (Koroleff and Pierina 2006). Most of these women come from the nation's poorest areas. In a 2006 study focusing on Peruvian adolescent mothers, Traverso Koroleff and Mariella Pierina found that these mothers tend to have more unstable and conflictive relationships with their partners, whereas older mothers tend to live with their partners in more or less



A Working Mother Drops Her Son Off At Daycare. © ARIEL SKELLEY/CORBIS.

stable relations. It is predictable that these unstable relationships would have a negative impact of these women's parenting abilities. Indeed, Koroleff and Pierina reported that children of adolescent mothers are less lively in their interaction compared with those of older mothers.

Societal and political factors have also influenced maternal functions in Iraq, where many years of conflict and international sanctions have damaged the health system and taken a serious toll on the well-being of mothers and babies. Additionally, Iraqi women are more likely to be uneducated than their male counterparts and thus are often deprived from gaining knowledge about family planning and maternal and child care.

MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT

Because of the rapid increase in mothers' labor-force participation since the early 1980s and the subsequent changes in child-care arrangements and parent-child relationships, many studies in the United States have examined the impact of maternal employment on children. For the most part these studies have yielded inconsistent results. Some studies found that maternal employment has a negative effect on children's cognitive and social development,

whereas others found enhanced cognitive outcomes for children as a function of early maternal employment (Vandell and Ramanan 1992). A 1999 study by Elizabeth Harvey found that neither early maternal employment status nor the timing and continuity of maternal employment were consistently related to a child's developmental outcome. Among the study's significant results, Harvey reported that mothers' working longer hours in their children's first three years was associated with slightly lower vocabulary scores up through age nine. Low-income adolescent mothers' employment was also associated with their children's lower verbal development (Luster et al. 2000). It was also found, however, that maternal employment during the first year of the child's life was slightly more beneficial for the children of single mothers, and early parental employment was related to more positive child outcomes for low-income families (Harvey 1999).

Many researchers have focused on the effect of maternal employment on cognitive outcomes of young children, paying much less attention to its possible effects on school-age children. In a 2004 study on adolescents' risky behavior, Alison Aughinbaugh and Maury Gittleman found little support for the view that what happens in the first

three years of a child's life can have long-lasting effects on the child's development, at least with respect to whether maternal employment influences the likelihood of adolescent children engaging in risky behaviors. Aughinbaugh and Gittleman also report that maternal employment does not greatly reduce the time that parents spend with their children. According to Suzanne M. Bianchi (2000) there are several reasons why the increase in maternal labor-force participation has little effect on the amount of time mothers spend with their children. First, nonworking mothers may spend longer hours on housework, such as cleaning and cooking, than might working mothers, who may be more likely to hire professionals for housecleaning and other household work and thus free up time to spend with their children. Second, given flexible work arrangements, working mothers may be able to ensure that their paid work does not significantly reduce the time spent with their children. Third, reductions in family size and preschool-age children spending more time in school-like settings have reduced the time demands on mothers, regardless of their work status.

Except for drinking alcohol, Aughinbaugh and Gittleman report that maternal employment is largely uncorrelated with adolescents' risky activities. They argue that the positive effects of maternal employment, such as providing a positive role model or allowing teens more independence, may serve to offset any potentially harmful effects. There are also many other factors affecting adolescents' risky behavior. Therefore, within the family, the amount of time a mother works is only one of the factors affecting her adolescent children.

Balancing work and motherhood is often a challenge for women in many societies. According to the International Social Survey Programme's 1994 report titled "Family and Changing Gender Roles II," which was conducted in countries such as the United States, Sweden, Italy, and Japan, more positive attitudes toward maternal employment were reported in the United States and Sweden, where many more mothers are employed, compared with Japan and Italy, where not only are fewer mothers employed but more traditional views toward gender roles also remain. It should also be noted that the availability of nonfamily child care is generally greater for mothers in the United States and Sweden than in Japan and Italy.

MOTHERHOOD AND MARITAL RELATIONSHIPS

The qualities of the relationship between a husband and wife influence their children's cognitive and social competence. The marital relationship provides the primary psychological and physical support for mothers' parenting behaviors, which in turn affects the adjustment of the children. For example, studies have shown that a harmonious marital relationship promotes competence and

maturity in the couple's children and encourages their autonomy (Cummings and Davies 1992). In contrast, marital conflict may result in the children experiencing cognitive delays or school difficulties or exhibiting anti-social or withdrawn behavior.

Mothers who are satisfied in the marital relationship are more likely to have realistic expectations for their children than are mothers who report having an unhappy marital relationship. In addition, mothers who provide a positive relationship model contribute to their children's attitudes toward intimate relationships and long-term relationship stability. There is also evidence that various characteristics of the marriage, such as marital satisfaction, are related to the strength of the parenting alliance. Moreover, low marital power has been associated with depression, particularly in women, and depression has been related to poorer parenting behaviors.

The degree of marital quality and satisfaction varies greatly from one society to another. For example, Yoshinori Kamo (1993) found that Japanese mothers' marital satisfaction tends to be lower than that of their counterparts in the United States. One possible reason for this is that in Japan marriage is seen as an institution to ensure family continuity, whereas marriage in the United States focuses more on individual and intimate relationships. Despite this variation mothers' marital quality seems to have an important effect on their children's social and emotional development as well as psychological well-being in many societies.

MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

Whereas mother-child relationships in European and North American societies are based on the assumption that children will eventually become financially and emotionally independent from their parents, mothering in Asian societies emphasizes long-lasting codependency between parents and their children. This strong child-parent, and mother-child in particular, bonding in Asian societies is evident when children's perceptions of their mothers are examined. According to an international study "Family and Changing Gender Roles II" (International Social Survey Programme 1994), 80 to 85 percent of children in Japan, China, and Korea reported that their mothers understood their psychological needs and problems, whereas the comparable figures were less than 50 percent among children in the United States and England.

These differences may come from cultural and historical roots in Asian and European and North American societies. In China, Korea, and Japan, where Confucian thoughts such as respect for the elderly still strongly remain, children are expected to take care of their own parents when they age. Parents, therefore, devote their time and energy to educate their children in order for them to have successful careers and the economic means

to support the parents in old age. Mothers, in particular, play a major role in emphasizing the importance of education to their children. In Japan these mothers are known as *education mamas*, and they devote their lives to providing their children with the best educational opportunities.

CULTURAL VARIATIONS OF MOTHERHOOD

Viewing motherhood as a social construction allows one to consider its cultural, societal, and religious variations. Motherhood is a significant experience for women in many traditional societies because women's reproductive capacity is something that women consider their source of power and as defining their identity and status. At the same time, however, women in many societies experience difficulties because of the stereotypical expectations of motherhood. For example, women in Vietnam are severely burdened by the pervasiveness of culturally ascribed gender stereotypes. The strong association of women with home and family has reinforced their identities to be critically intertwined with their status as wife, mother, and daughter (-in-law). Further, with respect to motherhood, deeply entrenched values and stereotypes have subjected Vietnamese women to many harsh practices and policies.

In India, which is mostly a patriarchal society, motherhood has connotations of respect and power. However, the view of motherhood as a source of power also varies from one culture to another. For example, in Korea, where the continuity of family lineage is extremely important, the status of women depends largely on the ability to produce sons. This role continues to be a major burden for most Korean women. In the United States, where the centrality of work and providing in people's lives are emphasized, motherhood is frequently viewed with respect to the women's ability to find a balance between paid work and family. In Japan, where the birthrate has dropped dramatically since 1997, fertility and motherhood are seen not only as individual experiences but also as important events with strong political and policy implications. In Brazil, one of the most developed countries in South America, mothers are in charge of the household, including child care. Brazilian fathers love their children, but they usually maintain a distance from the children's actual upbringing. Religion may have played an important role in defining women's maternal roles in Brazil, where 70 percent of the population is Catholic. Even if a significant number of contemporary Brazilians do not practice strict Catholic traditions, many parents still continue to celebrate religious holidays and practice the traditions for which mothers play an integral role.

These differences regarding motherhood come from variations stemming from the cultural, religious, historical, demographic, and economic backgrounds of each

society. Regardless of these societal and cultural variations, however, motherhood remains a strong institution in many societies, and it is also surrounded with various myths and controversies.

SEE ALSO *Birth; Fatherhood.*

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Masako Ishii-Kuntz

MOTORCYCLES AND MOTORCYCLE CULTURES

Motorcycle culture exists on the margins of mainstream culture as both a social community and a mode of transportation, and the cultural stereotype imagines all bikers to be rebels, socially as well as sexually. The degree of freedom, individuality, and adventure found in motorcycle riding and culture distinguishes it as nontraditional in contrast with most car cultures, and the strong social community formed by motorcycle riders reinforces the idea that their culture exists according to its own rules.

Motorcycles have a distinct sex appeal that comes largely from the act of riding itself. Riders straddle large, often loud, vibrating machines between their legs, expose themselves to the elements of fair or foul weather, and feel the rush of wind, the thrill of fast speeds, and the sense of danger that comes from riding with so little between oneself and the road. Motorcycles are also distinctly masculine. The motorcycle can be seen as a phallic object (evidenced by its nickname, *crotch rocket*) that represents the rider's sexuality and potency, a real and metaphorical power that attracts both men and women to bike as well as rider. In addition, the leather clothing worn as a protective necessity has sexual connotations because of its natural connection to animal primacy and its cultural association with sadomasochistic sexual practices. Within gay male culture, leather outfits such as those worn by motorcyclists are worn by some men to emphasize their masculinity and sexuality. Leather also distinguishes its wearers as adhering to a set of social and/or sexual codes outside the norm.

While the community of motorcycle riders and passengers is diverse, the stereotypical motorcycle rider is white, male, heterosexual, and working class. Women have increasingly become involved as riders and members of biker communities, but they are more likely to be passengers than riders on their own bikes. Historically,



Women's Motorcycling Group. *The motorcycling group, "Dykes on Bikes," ride down Broadway during Seattle's annual Gay Pride Parade.* © PAUL A. SOUDERS/CORBIS.

women's roles in motorcycle culture have been subordinate to those of men, especially from the 1940s to the 1980s when men were the dominant riders.

Motorcycle clubs have existed since the early twentieth century to provide social community, and new groups continue to form as more people from increasingly diverse backgrounds become riders. A number of motorcycle groups and clubs are based on similarities among riders in terms of race, ethnicity, sexual preference, gender, political activism, occupation, and riding style (such as motocross or long-distance). Many clubs exist for gay men, lesbian, and women riders to support these individuals who constitute a relative minority within the largely heterosexual and male demographic.

HISTORY OF MOTORCYCLE CULTURE

Motorcycles were first invented in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The first American motorcycle producer, Indian Motorcycle Company, began in 1901, and Harley-Davidson Motor Company produced its first motorcycle in 1903. In the 1920s the new prevalence and

popularity of automobiles reduced the purchase and use of motorcycles, and in the late 1950s and 1960s Japanese motorcycles competed with American and British models. In the 1980s Harley-Davidson manufactured new types of bikes that featured smaller frames for women riders and new engines that ran more smoothly and efficiently. These changes greatly increased the number of people, especially women, who could and did ride their own bikes.

Although motorcycles are generally considered masculine vehicles, women have ridden motorcycles as both drivers and passengers since the beginning. Until the late 1940s, women, like men, were depicted in advertisements as smiling, competent riders instead of passengers, and women rode bikes in organizations such as the Harley-sponsored Motor Maids (founded in 1940) and the U.S. military unit, Women's Army Corps (WAC). In Britain, motorcycle groups formed in the early twentieth century were open to both sexes, and some groups, such as the London Ladies Motor Club from the 1920s, catered specifically to women riders. In the 1950s British motorcycle culture became associated with rebellious youth culture and groups, such as the café racers, mods, and rockers,

which were comprised mostly of men riders and women passengers. In the United States, motorcycle culture changed after World War II to reflect a masculine aesthetic that featured men as riders and women, if involved at all, as attractive and passive passengers. This change in advertising strategy and cultural practice mirrored the larger cultural attempts to provide returning soldiers with masculine tasks and to return women, who had competently filled many traditionally male roles in factories and other businesses, to the stereotypical role of housewife. Not until the 1980s did women visibly return as riders both in advertising and in practice. As of 2004, women owned almost 10 percent of all motorcycles in the United States, while many more women happily remained passengers on motorcycles belonging to men.

GENDER RELATIONS, STEREOTYPES, AND SEXUAL PRACTICES IN MOTORCYCLE CULTURE

Within stereotypes of motorcycle culture, men and women occupy different roles, largely based on their position as either rider or passenger. Men are always riders, driving their own bikes. Most men form social groups based on age, style of riding, number of years riding, and socioeconomic class. Some large categories of men riders are the *old bikers*, *new bikers*, *ten percenters*, and *one percenters*. Both old bikers and ten percenters have been riding their entire lives; the former are part of the larger motorcycle community, whereas the latter do not join groups. New bikers ride intermittently and may be less passionate about motorcycle riding and culture. One percenters belong to outlaw clubs, estimated to be less than 1 percent of the population of motorcyclists in the United States. The term *outlaw clubs* was used originally to designate motorcycle clubs not registered with the American Motorcycle Association (now the American Motorcyclist Association) but it also describes groups whose members intentionally live according to their own rules instead of following the law. Most of the stereotypes about motorcycle culture as rebellious, illegal, and destructive originate from representations of this small group. The 1953 movie *The Wild One*, starring Marlon Brando and based on a 1947 motorcycle rally in Hollister, California, was the first film to represent and romanticize the image of motorcycle gang culture in rebellion against mainstream society. Brando was a handsome and sexy gang leader, and his outfit of blue jeans and black leather jacket, which contrasted with the suits then typically worn by men, started a trend in youth fashion. The sexuality of this character appealed to heterosexual men and women as well as gay men, because he was sexy as both a role model and a potential partner.

This image of the dangerous and sexy motorcycle outlaw remains the ultimate stereotype of the motorcycle man.

Women both ride their own motorcycles and ride as passengers. Women riders challenge the stereotype by driving their own bikes, often outside the presence of men, and such riders have been castigated as “gender traitors.” Nevertheless, the majority of women in motorcycle culture fit the stereotype of being passengers rather than riders, often riding with male partners and being seen as accessories to the bike and the man driving it. This rider-passenger dynamic has clear negative connotations, evident in expressions such as riding “bitch.” Advertisements for motorcycles often feature women in bikinis or other revealing outfits standing seductively beside the bike or seated behind a male driver; rarely are women shown as drivers. While some women passengers do in fact enjoy motorcycle riding as an exhibitionistic and sexually stimulating activity, these representations do not account for the majority of women who ride as passengers because of genuine enjoyment of the motorcycle or the companionship found in the culture. Generally, women passengers ride either to be with their husbands or partners or because they are passionately attached to riding with any willing driver. Still others are less involved in motorcycling as a social culture, and these women, who are usually young, irregularly join up with motorcyclists or groups for adventure and the boisterous parties that occur in some clubs. This latter group of women often includes those who are sexually attracted to both bikes and the men who ride them, and they are more likely to have casual sex with one or more men in a motorcycle group or club. While these women are a small percentage of motorcyclists, stereotypical representations of women in motorcycle culture emphasize this sexual attraction.

As with men, the stereotype of women in motorcycle culture as sexual deviants comes from representations of outlaw clubs. A study of outlaw clubs in the southern United States (Hopper and Moore 1990) found that women play one of two roles in relation to the rest of the group. The first is designated by the term *old lady*, meaning the woman is faithful to and sexually active with only one man in a relationship similar to marriage, whether or not they are actually husband and wife. The second is designated by the term *mama*, meaning the woman belongs to the group as a whole and is sexually active with many of the men. Occasionally, women have sex with each other, but they usually do so as an act, to entertain the watching men. Women may be required to perform group sex, generally as a punishment for not following the scripted social codes held by the gang or club. Women in outlaw clubs are treated largely as companions to the core male membership instead of active, riding members who can make decisions about and for the group. Although such roles may seem sexist, these

women have chosen to be part of this culture based on the appeal of a community that exaggerates masculinity and femininity and produces a distinct sex appeal based on its refusal to conform to cultural norms.

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Michelle Veenstra

MUCOUS MEMBRANES

Mucous membranes play a key role in sexual activities. These membranes line body canals that open to the outside environment, including the mouth, lips, nose, the inside of the eyelids, the lungs and windpipe, the digestive tract, the vagina, the inside of the vulva, the glans and foreskin of the penis, the urethra, and the rectum. Mucous membranes are comprised of epithelial tissue, or the cells that layer to form a protective covering. Skin has several layers of epithelial cells. Mucous membranes are made up of three layers of tissue: a layer of epithelial cells, which also contains blood vessels, lymph vessels, and goblet cells that secrete mucus; a layer of lamina, or connective tissue; and a layer of muscle cells. The presence of blood vessels makes mucous membranes pink in color. Some mucous membranes also contain pigments that hide the blood vessels.

Mucous membranes protect the surfaces of the canals and organs they cover. The mucus secreted by the goblet cells is a thick fluid that shields surfaces and organs, lubricates passages, traps foreign particles, and absorbs water-soluble substances such as salts. Not all mucous membranes secrete mucus—the name of the membrane refers to where the membranes are located rather than to their secretion of mucus.

The color of mucous membranes, especially in the eyelid, reflects the number of red blood cells flowing through membrane blood vessels. For this reason, the mucous membranes of the eyelid provide some indica-

tion of relative health. If the mucous membranes are pale, this indicates a decreased number of red blood cells, which may indicate a number of problems such as shock, bleeding, or poisoning. Yellow membranes indicate jaundice, which may be caused by liver diseases such as hepatitis.

Not only are mucous membranes sensitive to the touch, they respond to touch and other stimuli by producing mucus. In addition, sexual stimulation in other regions such as the lips and nipples increases the flow of mucus in areas such as the genitals, which are lined with mucous membranes. Increased mucus makes touching more pleasurable by providing a layer of protection against irritation and making passage over surfaces easier. Males who have been circumcised have had a portion of this mucous membrane removed and may experience more irritation in the less protected glans. Increased mucus in the vulva and vagina not only indicates sexual arousal, but also facilitates penetration and the movement of sperm. Postmenopausal women often experience a decrease in mucus secretions, which makes sexual intercourse more difficult and uncomfortable. Commercial lubricants can be used to substitute for the decrease in mucus. Because the mucous membranes are sensitive and absorb water-soluble chemicals with which they come into contact, it is necessary to choose such lubricants with care to avoid damaging the membranes.

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Judith Roof

MUSIC

In the most generalized sense, music is the organization of sound and silence; any definition less broad than that would risk exclusion of a diverse variety of musical practices. Across the range of types of music making, no matter the genre or type, music is a cultural practice that defines and is defined by the people who participate in it. By studying music, people can learn about cultures present and past and investigate how music intersects with issues of individual and cultural identity. Throughout its history and into the twenty-first century, what is usually called Western classical music—instrumental music, opera, and dance—coupled

with Western music studies have formed and informed cultural conceptions of and representations of gender and sexuality by means of composition, performance, scholarship and listenership.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL TIMES

Properly speaking, a history of gender and sexuality in Western music would start in ancient times, for musicians and historians throughout history have traced Western musical roots to ancient Greece and Rome. Whereas very little written music remains from this period, philosophies of music address music's correspondence to the harmony of the natural world, its value in education, and its ability to engage with emotion, whereas theoretical studies explain its foundation in the physical sciences. At the very core of Western music there exists a tension between science and expression—between objective and subjective approaches to music making—that makes Western music a fascinating entry into considerations of gender and sexuality. Whereas Western music is founded upon scientific principles of physics and harmonics, its dealings with emotional expressivity and subjectivity have been thought by some to *corrupt* its objectivity and *feminize* its stature among the other arts. Critiques of this *feminization* have, moreover, extended to those who create and practice music. Beginning with Plato (427 BCE–347 BCE) and Aristotle (384 BCE–322 BCE), philosophers and critics have debated this tension within the foundations of Western music but offered no clear resolution, such that the debate resurfaces generation after generation.

The first substantial body of written music dates from the medieval period and consists of monophonic chants with liturgical and nonliturgical religious texts by anonymous composers. Given the conservatism of the church and the limitations of education for women, men typically dominated music education and performance. For medieval women, however, a life devoted to religion, though lived primarily in seclusion, afforded educational and artistic opportunities unavailable to laypeople. Hildegard von Bingen, a twelfth-century Benedictine abbess, church reformer, mystic, author, and composer, wrote a number of chants and a morality play set to music, *Ordo Virtutum* (Ceremony of the virtues), that prove to be exceptions to the gender norms of the era as well as exceptional works within the body of medieval chant. Her intensely spiritual music centers on the female voice and a personal communion with God and the Virgin in a style that several historians have identified as possessing erotic (or homoerotic) overtones in its depiction of ecstasy. Representations of love, albeit worldly and not divine, also concerned composers of secular songs in the later Middle Ages, including Philippe de Vitry (1291–1361), Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377), and Guillaume Dufay

(c. 1397–1474). These composers likewise pondered boundaries of sexuality and spirituality in polyphonic and polytextual genres that combined love songs, dance tunes, popular refrains, and even sacred hymns within single compositions in a manner that represented the contemporary fluidity between sacred and secular, aristocratic and popular, and courtly love and sex. Refrains and love songs also permeated sacred works as composers developed masses and motets around single melodic lines extracted from popular tunes.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the Renaissance (1350–1600) groups of amateur performers from among the aristocrats across Europe filled their leisure time with musical performance. The madrigal, the most popular of polyphonic genres, owed much of its attractiveness to texts that abound in double entendres and metaphoric treatment of sexual encounters. Many refer to death at the hand of a cruel lover, with *death* serving as a well-known and accepted metaphor for orgasm. Composers from Jacques Arcadelt (c. 1507–1568) to Orlando di Lasso (c. 1532–1594) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) wrote music that enacted these sexual encounters through modal allegory, word painting, chromaticism, and symbolic interaction between polyphonic voices. More difficult madrigal repertoire, however, fell to professional or semiprofessional singing groups, the most famous of which was the all-female *concerto della donna*, or the Three Ladies of Ferrara. The texture of three high female voices intricately intertwined held an erotic appeal that titillated audiences and inspired the foundation of similar ensembles across Italy. Secular music, however, was not the only genre to employ eroticism, for madrigal composers also wrote sacred works in which they often called upon similar poetic and musical imagery to depict mystical experiences of divine love.

The popularity of vocal music in the late Renaissance and an interest in the perceived union of music and theater in ancient times helped to foster the rise of opera in Italy and across Europe over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The castrato—a male singer castrated before his voice changes so as to preserve its soprano range—effectively dominated opera up through the early eighteenth century. These men led operatic casts in the roles of heroic mythic and historical characters ranging from Orpheus to Julius Caesar. Their powerful soprano voices literally projected sound and figuratively projected a commanding masculinity for period audiences. Farinelli (Carlo Broschi; 1705–1782), the most famous castrato of the period, was not only a famous musician but also a highly sought-after sexual partner. Castrati's soprano voices also ideally suited them to the narratives involving gender confusion that were quite popular in seventeenth-century

Venetian opera. Castrato masculinity, however, did not go unquestioned: French audiences, for example, shunned the castrato, deeming the voice (and perhaps the men who possessed it) to be unnatural.

Castrati were not the only ones to profit from the new popularity of opera, for these men shared the stage with many female singers (except in Rome where Catholic moral codes usually prohibited this interaction of the sexes). Throughout the seventeenth and well into the nineteenth century, dynastic musical families helped to further the careers of female performers and composers, many of whom entered into the business under the guidance of their fathers or family elders. Francesca Caccini (1587–c. 1640), daughter of the composer Giulio Caccini, performed as a vocalist in a family ensemble modeled on the *concerto della donna* and composed ballets and other works, serving as the highest paid musician in the service of the Florentine court at the start of the seventeenth century. Barbara Strozzi (1619–1677), an important female composer of the era, lived from childhood with the poet and librettist Giulio Strozzi (who may have been her father) and studied under such composers as Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676), eventually composing a number of important solo cantatas and other vocal works.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Opera continued to find favor with eighteenth-century audiences, though over the course of the century comic opera and its women usurped the popularity of serious opera and the castrato. Memorable female roles from the comic stage include the servant Serpina in Giovanni Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* (The servant mistress) (1733), who uses her musical abilities to seduce her master, pretend to a class above her own, and achieve it. An archetypical *soubrette* (coquettish maid), the servant Serpina is, despite her station, the cleverest character in the opera. Other notable soubrettes include Susanna of *The Marriage of Figaro* (1786) and Despina of *Così fan tutte* (1790), from operas by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791). The former presents another convention of eighteenth-century comic opera—cross-dressing—in the character of Cherubino, the lovesick young man who lusts after his mistress (and every other woman in the opera). Played by women, *pants roles* such as Cherubino offered opera spectators a tantalizing hint of lesbian sexuality that modern audiences still find engaging.

The fact that instrumental music has not made an appearance in this entry until now should not imply that it did not exist, but only that opera typically usurped its popularity and that it primarily remained the purview of professionals and a select group of amateurs. This situation changed, however, over the course of the eighteenth century, as composers, performers, critics, and audiences began to pay more attention to and invest greater status

in instrumental music—including sonatas, chamber works, and symphonies. Theoretical works addressed the new system of tonality and the imitative capabilities of instrumental music as scholars sought to award music a higher standing among the arts. Subscription concerts featuring (usually male) virtuoso composer-performers playing their own concerti and conducting their own large-scale symphonies gained a broad popularity that served to define these public genres along gender lines. Whereas certain women performers—Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre (c. 1664–1729), also a composer), and Therese Jansen (c. 1770–1843), for example—appeared in semi-public concerts, female performers were limited to harp, keyboard, or other instruments considered suitable for young ladies. Female keyboardists created a large demand for amateur works and helped to foster a lucrative market for the publication of compositions for women, from C. P. E. Bach's (1714–1788) *Damensonaten* (Sonatas for ladies) (1770) to accompanied keyboard sonatas in which (male) violinists or flautists played simple accompaniments for female keyboard soloists.

Composers modeled many popular amateur works on social dances of the period, for dance was a crucial component of eighteenth-century culture as well as an increasingly influential art form in its theatrical manifestations. Though music and dance have always been connected, developments in social and theatrical dance in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries set the foundations for ballet as it is now known. In the late seventeenth century, professional and amateur dancers alike took part in spectacular productions of French theatrical dance composed of nonnarrative, virtuoso renditions of popular courtly dance. In social and theatrical dance of this period, men and women typically performed nearly equivalent choreographies such that on several occasions Louis XIV, the king of France (r. 1643–1715) famously performed female roles in drag. Over the course of the eighteenth century, however, choreographic reform introduced the narrative *ballet d'action* in which dancers employed gesture to tell stories. This new style of ballet, the near relative of the nineteenth-century grand ballet, employed many of the steps and positions of its seventeenth-century predecessor. However, because narrative ballet called for more obvious gender differentiation in choreography, the repertoire for male and female dancers diverged to privilege gendered stereotypes of comportment and capability.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

The great ballets of the nineteenth century—*Giselle* (1841), *Coppélia* (1870), and *Swan Lake* (1877)—employ such stereotypes, as choreographers and composers call for women dancers to be light, even languorous, and delicate, whereas male dancers execute high leaps and

lifts that convey their masculinity. These gestures belong to a rigorous choreographic vocabulary that characterizes classical ballet, a vocabulary that is ultimately a symbol of control—of the dancer over his or her body, and of the dance over the dancer's body. Moreover, whereas early ballet was usually participatory—with many *opéra-ballets* ending in a general dance for audience and performers—ballet in the nineteenth century became an inherently visual genre, the male gaze intently focused on the female performing body.

Gender stereotypes also divided instrumental music in the nineteenth century, as critics widened the gap between public and private, professional and amateur, and hence male and female, music making. Once liberated from the patronage system, composition became a valued enterprise of genius, expression, and subjectivity typically dominated by male artists. As musicology developed over the course of the century, historians and critics privileged these *genius* composers and crafted narratives of musical development and evolution that resulted in the formation of a canon of male composers that, even in the early twenty-first century, continues to dominate concert repertoire. The nineteenth century was also an era for instrumental virtuosos, including Franz Liszt (1811–1886) and Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840), who inspired female adulation that at times approached sexual frenzy. Few women pursued professional performance careers, and those who did, including Clara Schumann (1819–1896), benefited from the support of family members who were likewise involved in music instruction or composition. (Fanny Mendelssohn's [1805–1847] family, by contrast, prohibited her from performing in public.) In general, music making by young bourgeois women grew to fill an ever-larger role in the domestic sphere. The publication for amateur musicians of genres such as the lied and character piece was a lucrative business, though it could bring critical condemnation and accusations of *effeminacy* to composers, as was the case for Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849), whose nocturnes appealed to the female market. A handful of important female composers and performers, including Schumann and Amy Beach (1867–1944), however, did challenge gender norms by pursuing careers as performers and composers.

In what seems a contradiction of nineteenth-century gender norms, a host of powerful women appeared characterized on nineteenth-century operatic stages; however, they most often met their demise by the opera's end. Nineteenth-century dramatic opera brought a number of heroines to the stage and garnered fame for the female singers who executed these virtuoso roles. The title character of Georges Bizet's (1838–1875) *Carmen* (1875) is perhaps the most famous role in nineteenth-century opera—a highly sexualized femme fatale. *Carmen* is an

Orientalist opera, casting anxieties about European (specifically French) gender and sexuality to a distant locale (Spain) and embodying them in the character of a gypsy woman. With arias including the famous habanera “L'amour est un oiseau rebelle” (Love is a rebellious bird), Bizet portrays Carmen as a powerful, seductive, lusty, and *bodily* woman who is a threat to morality and idealistic true love. Carmen thus represents the inverse of what was perceived acceptable for nineteenth-century women, and as such, dies at the opera's end. Death was the fate of many powerful opera heroines—Aïda, Tosca, Salome, Lulu—a fact that bears evidence to mounting anxieties with regard to women's place in society (recall the contrary domesticity of women's instrumental music in this same period). The canonical works to which these heroines belong have remained the staples of opera repertoires into the early twenty-first century.

TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Music of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is perhaps less easy to define by sweeping trends. In the late-nineteenth century, composers explored more liberated representations of sex and sexuality in such works as the love duet from Richard Wagner's (1813–1883) *Tristan und Isolde* (1859) and Claude Debussy's (1862–1918) *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (Prelude to the afternoon of a faun) (1895). When these composers broke with the tonal language and *excess* of late-nineteenth-century Romanticism, a multitude of styles and schools arose. Serialism and twelve-tone music applied rigorous new systems of rational organization to music that intellectualized and perhaps *masculinized* the art. (It has been argued that Aaron Copland (1900–1990) turned to an academic atonal style when threatened by accusations regarding his homosexuality and perceived communist politics.) In the mid-1950s aleatory, or chance music, as pioneered by John Cage (1912–1992), challenged conceptions of what constituted music by incorporating *non-musical* sounds and determining composition and/or performance by operations of chance, processes that critics have identified as coded markers of Cage's homosexuality.

Just as gay and lesbian composers and performers gained greater visibility in the latter half of the twentieth century forming composer collectives and other associations, women, too, grew to have an increasingly important role in the contemporary music scene. Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979) trained many famous composers, including Copland; Yoko Ono (b. 1933) explored the divide between art and popular music in the mid-1960s; and Pauline Oliveros (b. 1932) structured improvisational works around a collective of women's voices. Women performers (on all instruments, not just those

deemed *suitable* for women) also became an important part of modern concert life, though a gender imbalance still exists in major orchestras and the appointment of a female conductor is enough to make news headlines.

Whereas classical ballet remains popular, choreographic trends in modern dance of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries may be seen to free dancers from the strictures of classical ballet (not the least of which are pointe shoes), as it explores new vocabularies of choreography. Many of the early pioneers of modern dance were women—Martha Graham (1894–1991), Agnes de Mille (1905–1993), and Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), among others. The diverse currents of modern dance are as multiple as those of contemporary music, but among the notable developments are all-female or all-male dance troupes. The virtuoso Les Ballets Trockadero de Monte Carlo is an all-male troupe that performs parodies of classical ballets in drag. Matthew Bourne's (b. 1960) enormously successful *Swan Lake* features an all-male ballet corps in its retelling of the tale, in which a male swan represents deliverance for the tormented prince struggling with his desire for love.

The popularity of Bourne and other homosexual choreographers has called attention to the degree to which gay and lesbian performers and audience members are deeply involved in contemporary dance scenes. The same is true of opera, for music theater has historically been a location around which homosexual communities evolve. For example, *opera queens*—a particular contingent attracted to the diva and the opera in general—display ardent devotion to sopranos such as Maria Callas (1923–1977) and Joan Sutherland (b. 1926) and are among the most knowledgeable and passionate of opera audiences. Ballet and modern dance likewise maintain dedicated audiences made up of a number of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender devotees.

In the late twentieth century, gender studies, queer studies, and feminist criticism each greatly influenced musicology and music theory, particularly with regard to issues of recuperation, representation, and queerness in music and music history. As a result many modern scholars make a practice of interrogating the canon and encouraging scholarship that considers music in its social context. The recuperation of female composers and performers typically involves a more general study of music making by women and the social constructs that surround music—educational opportunities, social factors, and institutional limitations. The influence of feminist theory has also led to the examination of musical portrayals of women in opera, ballet, and music theater, and even in *pure* instrumental music, by such scholars as Susan McClary, Suzanne G. Cusick, and Ruth A. Solie. Texted or choreographed representations of women offer images that enable critics to consider historical concep-

tions of gender—both male and female—by means of its musical manifestations. Gender characterizations also emerge in instrumental music, for example, in nineteenth-century terminology that referred to the musical themes in a sonata-allegro form as *masculine* and *feminine* and in the division of musical genres according to gender binaries.

Since the 1990s work in queer musicological studies has involved both recuperative and analytical strategies for examining the musical canon through the lens of alternative sexualities. Perhaps because of the perceived effeminacy of music, attitudes toward homosexuality in regard to the art have tended to oppress or erase its presence. Though music has throughout its history been very much influenced by gay and lesbian performers and composers, not to mention listeners, much of that history has until recently been closeted, as were many of the individuals who lived it. Among these men and women are such figures as Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), Franz Schubert (1797–1828), Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893), Wanda Landowska (1879–1959), and the aforementioned Copland, Cage, and Oliveros. Revisiting the biographies of such composers can fruitfully shed new light on their compositions. The queer musicologist Philip Brett has identified a complex of cryptography—including camp, Orientalism, and eroticism—by which composers and performers resisted the effacement of their own sexuality. Such studies may enable new interpretations of a range of canonical and noncanonical compositions. Other approaches to scholarship that have evolved out of queer studies involve the study of listener reception from a gay, lesbian, bisexual, or even transgender perspective, in what amounts to a *queer reading* of music.

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SARA GROSS
SARA WALSER

MUSIC, WOMEN IN MUSLIM AFRICA

This entry focuses on music as women's cultural output in three distinct genres and countries of Muslim Africa. It highlights how the genres, the performance contexts, and the music and words themselves reflect contradictory aspects of the status of women and influence the popular discourse around sex and gender. These music genres are the Algerian Rai, represented by Cheikha Remitti; the work of Mauritanian women artists, embodied by Ooleya mint Amartichitt, Dimi mint Abba, and Malouma; and Tarab, symbolized by Siti bint Saad and Kidude Baraka in Zanzibar.

REMITTI

Cheikha Remitti is the undisputed queen of Rai in the Maghreb. Born May 8, 1923, in Tessala, in Sidi Bel-Abbès region, Remitti single-handedly expanded the arena of Rai songs, which not only represent the collective consciousness of Algeria but also draw on the daily lives of Algerians and the turbulent history of her homeland. Her nickname, Remitti, stems from her generosity of ordering drinks for some European admirers at a café, as she called on the waitress to refill their drinks: "Remettez," hence, the nickname Remitti (Daoudi and Miliani 1996, p. 184).

In contrast to the silenced voices of women in Algeria, Remitti—with her battle cry “*ya rayi*”—became a source of inspiration to women and men singers in the Maghreb. She sings: “*Ana kbart itiima*” (I grew up orphaned) in her song, *Charakt Rarabt*. Through her songs, some of which have been reprised by many Chebs (young), such as the famed Cheb Khaled, Remitti recovers what has been lost, mends what has been torn, and pieces souls together. Her hoarse and ringing voice exhorts women to be independent and defend their rights: “*Debri, debri*,” manage on your own. Through sheer ingenuity and courage, she deemed herself a healer of tormented souls, the dispossessed and the heartbroken.

In her song *Hiya bghat al-Sahra*, Remitti weaves her tunes through an array of themes that interlace the secular and the sacred, the *halaal* (the allowed) and the *haraam* (the forbidden), and blur distinctions between men and women and gender norms, as well as between geographical borders in the Maghreb. Contrary to the view that Cheikhats (women singers in traditional groups) tend to be effortlessly seduced by men, in her song “*Sidi Abed*” Remitti vigorously counters this perception: “*manish ‘ashaqa wa na’shaq man jaa*” (I am not a lover and do not love whomever comes my way). In her song “*Shab El Goum*,” Remitti questions the past and the ancestors, speaks for immigrants, being one herself. Her songs on exile and loneliness are fraught with nationalistic overtones: “*Awlaad al-Jazaa’ir ya sha’b Al-munaaDil*” (Oh, natives of Algeria, fighting people). Remitti even refers to the famous Algerian leader and warrior Abdolkader (1808–1883). Her songs have provoked the wrath of the fundamentalists who have attacked her and other artists. Remitti held herself on a par with Umm Khultum (1904–1975), the Egyptian star singer (Daoudi and Miliani 1996).

A few months before her death in Paris on May 15, 2006, at the age of eighty-three, Remitti continued her musical journey, releasing her last album, *N’ta Goudami*.

MAURITANIAN MUSICAL EXPERIENCE

Ooleya Mint Amartichitt, Dimi Mint Abba, and Malouma Mint Maideh, among other women artists, represent the Mauritanian musical tradition, whose genius lies in its power to blend the traditional and the modern and embrace various musical cultures (Arab, Bambara, Berber, Sudanese, Tuareg, and Wolof, among others) to create a music characterized by warm, emotional, and complex rhythms.

Amartichitt sings in Hassaniya, the Arabic dialect in Mauritania. In “*Zahratou El Ekewany*” (the flower of brothers), on her album *Praise Songs*, Amartichitt eulogizes the Prophet Muhammad, and the notables in her tribes. She also sings about the “*Mema*,” the mother.

Dimi Mint Abba is considered a pillar among women and men singers in Mauritania. Like Amartichitt, she grew up in a musical family that encouraged her to break boundaries set by men and take the lead in telling stories as an *iggawin*, a griot, a term which denotes more than being a musician. Dimi has been eulogizer, chronicler, social and political commentator, historian, and storyteller, a human encyclopedia who imparts wisdom and safeguards the memories of her people. She partnered with Khalifa Ould Eide, her second and late husband, and formed a musical band. Her lyrics gravitate more toward classical Arabic than Hassaniya. In *Moorish Music from Mauritania*, her album of 1989, Dimi Mint Abba transcends the traditional themes of love and urges the daughters and sons of South Africa and the entire world community to help stem apartheid.

Malouma Mint Maideh grew up unburdened with any patriarchal tension; her father was her inspiration. In her *Desert of Eden* (1998), Malouma uses modern instruments, a key feature of recent Mauritanian music, which relies on European sounds (Racy 2003). Nevertheless, Malouma’s songs remain rooted in the Arab poetic tradition. Her album moves from personal songs and idyllic tunes to more worldly themes, such as inequalities and AIDS.

Malouma’s songs also embrace the past, as she longs for the old days in “*Ayam Zaman*,” yet ushers in a promising future, as in her song “*Soura*” (photo), where the artist appeals to the world to preserve human rights and not deprive the people of a picture of unity and peace. She ends her album praising Mohamed Cheikh Mbacke, a senior, highly respected and charitable Senegalese man known for soothing the pain of the distressed and the poor.

TARAB

Tarab is a musical form played at wedding events and closely associated with the cultural life of Zanzibar. The Arabic *jadr*, root of Tarab, means “delight, pleasure” (Al Faruqi 1981, p. 350). Tarab encompasses aspects of Indian music, blending elements from Egypt and Africa. Through Tarab, women have reshaped their image and crossed critical gender boundaries, assuming the role of lead singer.

Despite her humble background (she was a descendant of slaves), Siti binti Saad (1880–1950) embodied Tarab in Muslim Africa; she was the first East African artist to be recorded on discs, in 1928 (Suleiman 1969). She brought this music genre down to the less fortunate outside the palace and formed an emotional, almost mystical union between herself and the audience. Thanks to binti Saad, Kiswahili gradually supplanted Arabic and became the language of pride among Zanzibaris (Topp 1994). Binti

Saad's songs captured and disseminated the collective memory of colonialism and injustices perpetrated on Zanzibaris. When she composed "Wala Hapana Hasara" (There Is No Loss), about the punishment of a usurping lord at the hands of the British, the song became like a document in local people's memory. Tarab was also an art form deployed among adversaries for settling scores and inflicting psychological wounds through metaphors and backbiting. When a woman wrote a song to damage binti Saad's status, stripping her of any qualities save her voice, binti Saad retorted by painting the woman as inferior to a disgraced street girl who cannot survive (Suleiman 1969). The protégé of binti Saad, Bi Kidude Baraka, who won the prestigious WOMEX award at age *ninety-three* in 2005, has developed this subgenre among Zanzibari women.

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Hamid Babri

MUSIC VIDEOS

The term *music video* generally refers to a short film (usually three to five minutes in length) made for television play whose soundtrack consists entirely or primarily of a rock, pop, or country song. The content of music videos varies from straightforward performances recorded in a studio or concert hall to conceptual images or quasinarative plots, and a music video usually is intended to be a companion to the song featured in it. Videos have formed a major aspect of promotion in the music industry since the early 1980s.

As marketing tools and artistic products, music videos are a fertile site for depicting and contesting popular images of gender and sexuality. Throughout the history of the medium the presentations of gender (including constructions of masculine and feminine roles, depictions of women, and gendered interactions) and sexuality (most notably images of homosexual and other nonnormative sexual identities) in several videos have provoked anxiety from both conservative and progressive cultural perspectives. The intensity of that anxiety and the debates that have followed point to the relevance of music videos in discussions of sex and gender in contemporary American society.

HISTORY

The pairing of music with moving images dates back to the beginning of cinematic history; however, the development of the music video as a recognizable medium with significant cultural impact largely resulted from the 1981 launching of MTV (Music Television), a twenty-four-hour cable channel devoted to showing videos of mostly English and American popular music. Although many early music videos were essentially live performance clips, directors and recording artists began to experiment by adding narrative and visual elements. By the time of Michael Jackson's 1984 "Thriller" (still considered a notable achievement in the genre) audiences looked to videos for additional interpretive information about pop songs. The place of video in popular music culture solidified during the mid-1980s. MTV produced an awards show for music videos beginning in 1984, and collections of music videos were available for sale as early as 1986.

Although shifting aesthetic standards and advances in filming technology have changed the expectations and style of music videos since the beginning of MTV, depictions of gender and sexuality have remained central to their imagery. To investigate the changing sex and gender issues and conflicts in popular music, the history of music video can be divided into three main phases, each with its own set of foregrounded gender concerns. These concerns do not constitute the whole of gender and sexuality matters within those time periods; rather, they represent the new or major topics.

Early MTV (1980–1988) During the first explorations of the modern music video—the promotional clips made for early MTV—the novelty of the medium and the lack of expectations for video content made for a wide range of gendered images. In England the youth subcultures of postpunk, New Wave, and New Romantic entailed a certain amount of transgression of gender norms, especially among males; it was not uncommon for men in London dance clubs to wear jewelry, lipstick, and pieces of feminine clothing (bright and/or pastel colors, fishnet stockings and mesh, shirts with ruffles). Musicians coming out of that club scene often exaggerated those fashions to mark themselves as members of a subculture and distinguish themselves from other bands.

This aesthetic was widespread among British dance-music acts of the 1980s, and its spectacle was well suited to the nascent medium of music video; notable artists include Adam Ant, Duran Duran, and Culture Club. Perhaps the most iconic “gender-bending” artist was Culture Club’s lead singer, Boy George. In “Do You Really Want to Hurt Me” (1982) Boy George is dressed in a long T-shirt, tight stretch pants, bangles, and a Hasidic Jewish hat. His hair is long and teased in the then-current female fashion, and he wears very heavy make-up. Despite the abundance of feminine signifiers, Boy George does not appear to be trying to look like a woman. Rather, his gender presentation often provokes confusion, a state usually referred to as “gender-blending” or “gender-fuck.”

Those alternative expressions of masculinity did not necessarily correspond with homosexuality, although many British dance-music artists were associated with the queer community. Homosexuality itself, especially among men, was a major source of anxiety during that period as the first wave of the AIDS pandemic hit gay males in Europe and the United States. As a result few gay male artists of the 1980s were open about their sexuality. However, that silence did not translate into a lack of gay content in music videos. George Michael, for instance, appeared in the video “Faith” (1987) dressed in the “clone” style (closely trimmed facial hair, tight jeans, mirrored sunglasses) then coded as distinctly gay. However, to mainstream audiences Michael’s presentation did read as heterosexual, since he was marketed as a teen idol throughout the 1980s.

Female artists in this first era of music video generally had different options and faced different challenges in regard to sexual and gender presentation. The complicated relationship of rock and pop music to women—alternately idealizing, contemptuous, exploitative, empowering, and nonexistent—transferred to music video. When women appeared in male artists’ videos, they often were presented as antagonists or objects of desire. In their own videos women negotiated their identity in a variety of ways. Some artists experimented with masculine gender presentation

and sexual difference. Annie Lennox of The Eurythmics appeared in “Sweet Dreams (Are Made of This)” (1983) in a dyed-orange crew cut and business suit, brandishing a riding crop. Like Boy George, Lennox made certain that she would not be read as male, but whereas Boy George provoked simple confusion and anxiety, the sadomasochistic overtones of Lennox’s image added a palpable layer of menace to her androgyny.

Other female artists approached the issue of female gender presentation differently. In “She Bop” (1985) Cyndi Lauper’s thinly veiled references to masturbation are made explicit in the video, which shows Lauper with dark glasses and a white cane (blindness being a folkloric consequence of masturbation) and later with hairy palms (another supposed result of autoeroticism). Madonna, whose career was just beginning in the mid-1980s, claimed the conventional female role of “boy toy” as an empowering one, quoting Marilyn Monroe’s performance in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* in the video “Material Girl” (1985).

Alternative Expressions (1989–1999) As the 1980s ended, mixed gender signifiers fell out of mainstream fashion for all but a few artists. The success of “alternative rock” in the early 1990s (led by Nirvana and Pearl Jam) set a harder tone for male artists, but male alternative rock artists were able to display sexual difference and abjection more easily. The lead singer of Nine Inch Nails, Trent Reznor, for instance, appears in “Closer” (1994) bound and blindfolded, depicting an unusual sadomasochistic sexuality and sexual availability.

Madonna’s career was at its peak in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and her more transgressive videos appeared during that time. Madonna’s 1990s videos addressed almost every aspect of anxiety involving female sexuality: “Like A Prayer” (1989) dealt with interracial relationships, “Justify My Love” (1990) was banned by MTV for its polymorphous perversity, and virtually all her videos included religious imagery. By the mid-1990s Madonna’s name was a watchword for sexual titillation and obscenity.

Merging and Blending (Twenty-First Century) The early years of the twenty-first century were marked by several major mergers of record labels. Some writers assert that this unification of the industry led to more homogenized music, whereas others question the standards by which homogeneity is determined. It is certain, however, that music videos of the early 2000s featured a great deal of hybridism across genres. Women’s sexual desire was portrayed as more aggressive than it had been in the past, and artists such as the Spice Girls and Britney Spears enacted the third-wave feminist belief in empowerment through sexuality. Set in an atmosphere of near

panic over teenage sexuality, the image of Spears, who loudly proclaimed her virginity and Christianity in her early career, as openly sexual was deeply controversial because her audience consisted largely of preteenage girls. Madonna, now past forty, moved away from the explicit sexuality of her 1990s work and began experimenting with the trope of mystical goddess/mother, using imagery from the Buddhist, Sufi, and Jewish traditions.

MUSIC VIDEO OUTSIDE THE POP MUSIC MAINSTREAM

The comments made above could be applied to music videos across the spectrum of genres grouped under the rubric of popular music, but three musical styles in particular merit special mention here: country, heavy metal, and rap. Until Viacom Communications purchased MTV in 1986, programmers had a narrow view of what music was appropriate to a youth-oriented music channel. Country-western music generally was ignored, as was most African-American music. As a result music video in those genres developed somewhat differently.

Heavy metal music did find a place on MTV, although it usually was confined to special programming blocks late at night. Gender norms for that genre differed remarkably from those for mainstream pop: Male singers were expected to have long, teased hair and wear elaborate makeup and bright, tight-fitting clothing. Although the perceived stylistic excesses of the “hair bands” later provoked derision, the masculinity of groups such as Mötley Crüe (“Girls, Girls, Girls” [1991]) and Poison (“Every Rose Has Its Thorn” [1989]) was virtually unquestioned during the height of their popularity in the late 1980s. Despite the “feminine” appearance of male singers, women in heavy metal videos generally were depicted as objects of desire or accessories for homosocial bonding between band members. Notable exceptions include videos by female artists such as Lita Ford and the all-women group Vixen. Both artists appeared in videos using the same signifiers of heavy metal machismo and virility as their male peers, although those signifiers (long hair, heavy makeup and jewelry, spandex, and the like) appeared less gender-transgressive and therefore less powerful on female bodies.

The country-western music industry was slower to adopt music videos as a promotional tool. Most country videos favor live performance footage, occasionally with intercuts depicting the narrative of the song. Gender presentations of country artists are usually more conventional than are those in other genres, although there are exceptions. In “Better Things to Do” (1994) Terri Clark dresses and behaves in the same manner as the singers in male “hat acts,” although this parallel may not be evident until the two are compared directly. On the fringes, k.d. lang’s extremely butch persona in videos such as “Pulling

Back the Reins” (1990) led to her marginalization in the Nashville-based industry.

Much has been written about the depiction of women in hip-hop videos, with many feminist critics condemning hip-hop as intrinsically misogynist. Although there are many examples of female objectification and violence against women in videos in that genre, the relationship between women and hip-hop is undoubtedly more complicated than it first appears.

Female rappers have been part of the hip-hop scene since its inception, although their contributions often are downplayed by a largely white hip-hop audience seeking racialized ideals of black masculinity and violence. Videos by artists such as Queen Latifah and Missy Elliot contain little exploitative content (focusing instead on artist performances or narrative depiction), and some all-female groups objectify men in their videos. Additionally, some objectifying rap videos have a multivalent relationship to the women who appear in them. Sir Mix-A-Lot’s “Baby Got Back” (1994), for instance, may appear to be entirely about “big butts,” but it is also a celebration of African-American bodies, affirming the desirability of a distinctly African-American female body type. Although it has not always been acknowledged by scholars of music video, this complex play between exploitation and empowerment is common to hip-hop as well as to music videos in general, making the medium a lens through which to examine the everyday negotiations people make with gendered bodies, both others’ and their own.

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Robert Walser
Marcus Desmond Harmon

MUTILATION

SEE *Castration; Female Genital Mutilation.*

MYSTICISM

The etymology of the word *mysticism* traces back to the Greek verb *myein* (to close), employed by the ancient mystery cults when prohibiting initiates from disclosing the contents of the secret rites. In this context the verb suggested silence and secrecy. Later, the second- and third-century Greek Christian fathers used the adjective *mystikos* to describe arcane cognition such as the allegorical interpretation of scripture in contrast to the literal, or spiritual knowledge in contrast to carnal knowledge. The fifth- or sixth-century Syrian monk who wrote under the pseudonym Dionysius the Areopagite adapted the adjective and gave it a use that brings it considerably closer to the modern concept of the mystical. In “The Mystical Theology” Dionysius pursues the consequences of a negative theology, a theology that denies the adequacy of any proposed predication of God. Elsewhere, in his “The Divine Names,” pseudo-Dionysius distinguishes the predicates pertaining to the trinity from other predicates used to describe God. Whereas the multiplicity of the other predicates (e.g., light, life, good) does not reflect differentiation within the unity of God, the predicates pertaining to the father, son, and spirit do refer to a differentiation within the unity of God. Even these gendered predicates must, nevertheless, be negated as inadequate to describe God’s ineffable transcendence. God, pseudo-Dionysius insists in “The Mystical Theology,” is not light, life, or goodness, but neither is God sonship or fatherhood. Dionysius’s negative theology ultimately leads to paradoxical results. He asserts, however, that one can attain extraordinary cognition of truths about God that defy rational articulation. “Mystical theology” is, for Dionysius, a form of cognition that paradoxically knows about God “by knowing nothing.”

For Dionysius mystical theology refers to a kind of extraordinary knowing, an extraordinary kind of cognition. After around 1200 CE, however, the mystical became more affective, less elite, and more experiential. Prior to this period mystical writing was largely speculative or theoretical. After, it became more devotional, confessional, and biographical. Previously, mystical theology concerned extraordinary cognition; now it increasingly concerned extraordinary consciousness. Although the substantive term *mysticism* did not appear until the seventeenth century, Bernard McGinn (1998) has labeled this development “the new mysticism.” The modern concept of mysticism is the descendent of the new mysticism. Mysticism has come to denote a peculiar and

ineffable state of mind that purportedly conveys private, intuitive, higher knowledge of the divine or ultimate. Experiential awareness of an ultimate unity is frequently ascribed to mystical consciousness. Mysticism is viewed, furthermore, as a source of insight that stands in uncertain relationship to institutional and dogmatic authority. In the nineteenth century, apologetic attempts to render religion intellectually respectable seized on mysticism. In many quarters mysticism was viewed as the universal, primordial basis for religion. The notion that various religions are expressive responses to ineffable mystical experience insulated religion against criticism aimed at doctrines.

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM

The “new mysticism” of Western Christendom arose in the context of profound changes to the structures of authority in the church. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries the salience of the priestly office changed considerably. The authority of the (now celibate) priesthood as religious teachers and mediators of salvation grew. At this time whatever limited institutional authority to preach or participate in pastoral affairs that women had previously enjoyed was strictly curtailed. The orders of friars, founded as preaching orders, likewise excluded women. Caroline Walker Bynum (1982) argues that the thirteenth-century mystical visions of the nuns of Helfta (Mechtild of Magdeburg, Gertrude of Helfta, and Mechtild of Hackeborn) served to authorize these women mystics as teachers and pastoral counselors. The nuns’ mystical communion with Christ granted them an authority—explicitly bestowed by Christ in the visions themselves—that was not based on their office within the church hierarchy. In medieval Europe mysticism provided women with a path to power and authority, but women mystics needed male approval or sponsorship to succeed. That Christ would appear to women, perceived as weaker and less rational than men, seemed congruous with Christ’s ministry in the Gospels to the humble and meek. This supposition counteracted somewhat the suspicion that these experiences were delusory because women were more susceptible to natural infirmity and the devil’s wiles.

Bynum contends that the exclusion of women from clerical and pastoral authority accounts for the prominence of women mystics at this time, and that their spirituality extensively influenced high medieval piety. They contributed to a heightened attention to the interior life and to paranormal experience. They emphasized the humanity of Christ and the devotional significance of incorporating the body of Christ during the Eucharist. Women mystics also made a tropological interpretation of the biblical Song of Songs central to medieval Christianity. They interpreted the nuptial imagery of

the biblical poem as an encounter between the soul and Christ. Christ, the bridegroom, unites the soul, the bride, to him in spiritual marriage, a union of love. Significantly, this gender imagery did not imply equality between the soul and God. Rather, the imagery conveys that the loving soul conforms its will to God's will for it, as the bride submits her will to her husband's will.

MEDIEVAL JEWISH CABALA

Medieval Christian mysticism is not alone in reinscribing gender hierarchy in symbolism that seems to collapse gender dualisms. Elliot R. Wolfson (1995) has argued, for instance, that medieval Jewish Cabala employs masculine and feminine symbols to convey the idea of a primordial diremption (division into two) of the Godhead. Through symbolic gender transformations in which the masculine becomes feminine and vice versa, human ritual activity aims to restore the unity that transcends gender dichotomies. That ultimate unity, nevertheless, has masculine associations. Wolfson claims that in cabalistic thought God can be mythically described as a "male androgyne." This notion is symbolically captured by the image of the "androgynous phallus." The feminine aspect of God is represented as the corona of the penis. These gender relationships are recapitulated in the cabalistic interpretation of human sexual intercourse, an act that, properly undertaken, contributes to the restoration of the male androgyne. In the reproductive act, the male and female are united, but in such a way that the male's ability to procreate is made complete and the female is transformed into masculine potency. In Cabala, redemption consists of the subsumption of the female in the male rather than the transcending of gender altogether.

TANTRIC BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM

In a controversial 1994 book, Miranda Shaw arrives at conclusions about sex and gender in Tantric Buddhism that invert the sex and gender relationships found in medieval Christian mysticism and medieval Jewish Cabala. Like other forms of Mahayana Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism (eighth through twelfth centuries) prescribes rituals, teachings, and meditation exercises in order to achieve an enlightened, nondual state of awareness. Unlike other forms of Mahayana Buddhism, which view the passions and desires solely as dangerous fetters tying one to conventional, dualistic consciousness, Tantra exploits passion and desire as techniques of enlightenment. In this context human sexuality takes on special ritual and symbolic importance. Shaw claims that despite the emphasis on nondualism and gender equality in Mahayana Buddhism, Tantric cosmology, Tantric theory, and Tantric practice

privilege women and femaleness. Cosmologically, the powers of the universe flow through female deities. Ritually, the female is the foundation and generating source of spiritual progress. As the font of enlightenment, women Tantric practitioners did not need the patronage or approval of men. Rather, the male practitioner courted the favor of the woman and worshipped her. At its most esoteric, this worship consists of ritual coitus. By offering his sexual fluid, which mingles with hers to produce bliss, the man in effect makes the woman an offering of sexual pleasure. The woman uses this pleasure as the basis for a meditation on the emptiness of all things, and comes to experience her desire as mere illusory dualistic consciousness. If the cabalistic ritual sex act was essentially androcentric, Shaw claims that the Tantric ritual sex act was gynocentric.

Arising in the same historical context, Hindu Tantra bears great similarity to Buddhist Tantra. In contemporary India a small proportion of female Hindu ascetics are Tantric ascetics. There is no uniform or universal set of activities among Tantric ascetics, but yoga is common. Their yogic practices aim to elicit a vision of a deity or to attain *samadhi*, a trancelike consciousness that transcends material existence and the individual ego. In classical yoga theory, *samadhi* is the blissful awareness of one's *purusha* (literally, "male"), or non-individuated inner spiritual essence, transcending *prakriti*, the feminine gendered material process. Tantric ascetics may also engage in notorious "left-hand" practices. These ritual activities consciously flout purity rules, moral codes, and social conventions. Female Tantric ascetics renounce women's traditional religious duties (*stridharma*), may use intoxicants, and may meditate at polluting cremation grounds. Ritual sexual relations with a male fellow ascetic is the "left-hand" practice most prominent in the popular mind. The ascetics' wantonness and freedom with respect to social norms, which they believe evidences their spiritual power and freedom, causes them to be viewed with suspicion by others.

In many contexts mysticism has suggested the possibility of freedom from gender. Women have celebrated this possibility, but men reflecting on women mystics have noted it too. Rabi'ah al-'Adawiyah, the eighth-century Sufi from Basra, is a well-known example. Rabi'ah is often credited with introducing the notion of selfless love to Sufism. True love of God, she insisted, must not have its basis in hope of paradise or fear of hell. Her love for God was all consuming. Indeed her love was ecstatic, annihilating the self in perpetual union with the beloved. Farid od-Din 'Attar, the great thirteenth-century Sufi, wrote apropos of Rabi'ah that united in love to God, the mystic transcends gender identity altogether.

SEE ALSO *Celibacy*.

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Matthew C. Bagger

N

NARCISSISM

The term *narcissism*, which is derived from the Greek myth of Narcissus, refers to self-love. It was used first by Paul Nacke in 1899 to describe a case of male autoerotic perversion in which an individual treated his own body as one might treat the body of a sexual partner.

DEFINITIONS BY FREUD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Freud first used the term in correspondence with Wilhelm Fleiss, also in 1899. In the course of his career Freud used the word to describe four different but related phenomena: narcissism as sexual perversion; narcissism as a stage of development between the autoerotic stage and the stage of object love; narcissism as a libidinal cathexis (or love of self) of the ego or, as Freud described it in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905, p. 218), “the great reservoir from which object-cathexis are sent out and into which they are withdrawn once more”; and narcissism as object choice, either anaclitic object choice in which the person loves someone like herself or himself, or attachment object choice, in which the person loves a strong and comforting person. In *On Narcissism* (1914) Freud also distinguished primary narcissism, the libidinal cathexis of the ego, from secondary narcissism, the cathexis of lost objects.

Freud’s contemporaries further elaborated the meanings and understanding of narcissism. Sandor Ferenczi (1909) described a child’s desire to rid itself of unpleasant affects by excluding objects from its perceptions as a form of narcissism. Karl Abraham (1924) wrote about the

symptomatology of melancholia as being either positive narcissism, a self-love, or negative narcissism, a self-hate.

LATER DEFINITIONS

Later work on narcissism was done by Rosenfeld (1965), who drew attention to destructive narcissism related to the death instinct in contrast to the libidinal aspect of narcissism. In *The Analysis of the Self*, Heinz Kohut (1971) described narcissism as the cathexis of self-representations, not of the ego. He defined narcissism as agency of the personality responsible for factors in relationships. Kohut described three forms of narcissistic transferences, or relating: a need to experience mirroring and acceptance (a mirroring transference), the need to experience merger with greatness and strength (an idealized transference), and the need to experience an likeness with another person (a twinship transference). The self-psychology he developed from his understanding of narcissism reflected an evolution of psychoanalytic theory from an ego psychology to a psychology of the self. Thus, in psychoanalytic literature, narcissism came to be applied to many things: sexual perversion, a developmental stage in a line of development, a type of libido or its object, a type or mode of object choice, a mode of relating to the environment, an attitude, self-esteem, and a personality type.

In current literature narcissism typically is used to describe the vicissitudes of self-esteem. Otto Kernberg described narcissistic patients as individuals with “an unusual degree of self-reference in their interactions with other people, a great need to be loved and admired by others, and a curious apparent contradiction between a very inflated concept of themselves, and an inordinate

need for tribute from others” (Kernberg 1967, p. 655). These patients exhibit a sense of entitlement and fantasies of omniscience, omnipotence, and perfection. Affects range from elation to disappointment, anger, and narcissistic rage. Kernberg (1975) distinguished normal narcissism from pathological narcissism; the former depends on the structural integrity of the self, a balance between libidinal and aggressive drives, a harmony between the ego and superego, and a capacity to receive gratification from external objects. Normal narcissism leads to a balanced self-regard, realistic goals, and the capacity for deep and involved relationships. Pathological narcissism is seen in primitive demands on the self (such as extreme grandiosity in dress and behavior), inordinate dependence on others, and poor object relations. It also manifests itself in a sense of entitlement, a need for constant pursuit of perfection, and an impaired capacity for concern for and love of others.

GENDER IDENTITY, SHAME, AND MELANCHOLIA

Richard Green and John Money (1965) first used the term *gender identity* to describe a person’s relative sense of his or her masculine or feminine identity. Precursors to that term were *body ego*, *body image*, and *sexual identity*. Robert Stoller (1974), a psychoanalyst, distinguished between the psychological and biological dimensions of sex. He used the term *gender identity* to describe socially constructed experiences of masculinity and femininity from sex, the biologically determined traits of maleness and femaleness. Stoller also made a distinction between gender identity, a person’s sense of masculinity or femininity, and core gender identity, a mostly stable sense of maleness or femaleness that typically is consolidated by the second year of life. In contrast to Freud’s belief that primary identification is masculine, Stoller believed that both boys and girls begin with a female core gender identity and that it is learned nonconflictually, that is by identifying, or being like the mother, through identification. He believed that a failure to interrupt the maternal symbiosis with preoedipal boys results in gender identity disorders.

John O’Leary and Fred Wright (1986) suggested that shame is the principal affect in narcissistic behavior, narcissism is a defense against shame, and the way shame is manifested is different in men and women. They described narcissistic men using grandiosity to bypass shame (a scared man may act fearless), whereas narcissistic women are more conscious and sensitive to shame experiences.

Other studies suggest women are more likely to experience shame, whereas men are more likely to exhibit hostility. Arthur Heiserman and Harold Cook (1998)

also found gender differences in shame propensity, with women being more shame-prone than men. They also suggested that their findings were consistent with other literature in stating that women’s narcissistic pathology is linked to idealization needs (the idealized transference, being like someone who is greatly admired), whereas men’s narcissistic pathology is linked to mirroring needs (the mirror transference, needing love and acceptance). Narcissistic men appear to be more prone to hostility, and narcissistic women to be more prone to depression.

Judith Butler (1995) suggested that in melancholia there is incorporation of the lost object, as Freud described, but went on to establish a relationship between that incorporation and the formation of a bodily ego, or identity. Butler argued that under the societal demands of compulsory heterosexuality, individuals have to give up attachments to same-sexed objects and that this results in melancholia and gendered identifications to the bodily ego. These are losses attributable to the societal pressures against of homosexual love, resulting in melancholic identifications.

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Michael R. Bieber

NATIONALISM

Nationalism comes into being with the independence movement that generates a nation. Typically the rhetoric of such movements proposes a vision of the future as a narrative based on history and custom. This vision is the cornerstone of the emerging nation. As histories and customs are not universal, a nationalism is specific to its nation. It is a story of community that a people accepts as a definition of itself. Its function is to unify. Thus, nationalism generally ignores the diversity of its presumed community.

The new nations formed in the devolution of the great European empires have sought community in a variety of sites—in tribal compatibility, a common culture, a language, a religion, a constitution. Peoples held together by an imperial power have sometimes found differences of custom, religion, and ethnicity too great to tolerate when that power has withdrawn; for example, after World War II, the secession of India from the British Empire in 1947 was quickly followed by the Partition, entailing the movement of large populations to establish in Pakistan.

As long as emergent nations are in the process of separation, either from a waning empire or from each other, they have little enthusiasm for establishing programs to meet women's needs and rights, even if they recognize them. Survival maintenance—the provision of food, shelter, and protection from acts of war—is all that can be attempted.

After independence is achieved, the government is the official promoter of the national story. Governments, heirs as they are to emperors, monarchs, and tribal chieftains, tend to think in terms of hegemony, of the power to acquire and regulate resources. This focus reinforces traditional ways of regarding women as the property of men, useful for reproduction, labor, and establishing relations with other men. It encourages a camaraderie based on gender issues—that is, policies affecting men as a group.

There are myriad ways a legislature might oblige such a group of comrades, from failing to pass laws criminalizing violence against women to declining to intervene in privatization contracts that deprive women of their traditional rights to water and land. Governments move only when a particularly noxious scandal hits the headlines, or when grassroots activists vociferously demand change. Even when a law is passed, it may not be enforced, on the excuse of insufficient resources. Overall, the government does not represent the nation, which also comprises women, children, persons of uncertain gender, lesbians, and gays.

Discussion of two elections, both riven with gender issues, will provide examples of the place of women in

relation to the importance of political power. In the summer of 2006, women in Kuwait, one of the smallest and richest of the new nations, and in the Congo, one of the largest and poorest, both voted in a parliamentary election for the first time.

Kuwait, a constitutional hereditary monarchy, became an independent nation in 1961 when the British dissolved their protectorate arrangement with the al-Sabah dynasty. The emir is the chief of state, the crown prince was the prime minister (this changed in 2003), the deputy prime ministers are men of the royal family. The elected Constituent Assembly has constitutional rights to demand electoral reform and to reject ministers the royal family appoints.

In this parliamentary democracy, Kuwaiti women suffragists worked for twenty years for legislation that would give them the vote. In most other Arabian Gulf nations, the ruling family initiated female suffrage. In Kuwait, traditionalist members of the Assembly voted down such measures. When the Emir Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmad al-Sabah in 1999 issued a royal decree empowering women to vote, Islamist members of parliament argued that it was anti-Islam, and tribal members of parliament that it was against traditional Kuwaiti society. Critics of this position have suspected a class issue as well as a gender issue. Women of the merchant class for decades had good private educations and ample career choices. They became lawyers, physicians, university professors. Men of the middle class—in which the women were the most unlikely to seek employment outside the home—have availed themselves of public education, and resented the high employment rate of privately educated women. Voting against female suffrage, the argument goes, is a result of this resentment. Nonetheless, in May 2005 the national assembly responded to increasing public pressure and granted women full political rights.

In June 2006, women voted for Assembly members for the first time. That female candidates might not be elected did not distress them: as 57 percent of registered voters were women, a politician could no longer be seated by the votes of men alone, nor would the Assembly be able to ignore the needs and rights of these newly enfranchised citizens.

The Belgian colony of Congo gained independence in June 1960. The Republic was immediately plagued by political and social unrest. On July 4, the Congolese Army mutinied, ousting Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). In January 1961, Lumumba was assassinated with the connivance of Western powers. Colonel Joseph Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko, 1930–1997) declared himself president in 1965, a position he maintained for thirty-two years, holding elections with himself as sole candidate. In May 1997, the Mobutu regime fell to

a rebellion led by Laurent Kabila (1939–2001), who renamed the nation the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The following year, insurgents from Rwanda and Uganda attacked Kabila's regime. Troops from other neighbors—Angola, Chad, Namibia, Sudan, Zimbabwe—weighed in on the side of Kabila. In July 1999, the warring parties signed a ceasefire agreement, but Kabila was assassinated nonetheless. His son, Joseph Kabila (b. 1971), who became head of state, negotiated the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from eastern Congo. The first multiparty elections for the presidency since independence were held on July 30, 2006.

The United Nations provided 1,700 peacekeepers and the European Union an additional 1,000 troops to keep the peace during the election. The European Union and other donors contributed \$400 million to provide electoral materials and training to poll workers. Interested organizations like the Southern Africa Development Community sent observer teams to watch the electoral process, which turned out to have been “peaceful, credible, well-managed, and transparent.”

In Kivu Province, women went to the polls hoping the government would be able to reduce the violence perpetrated by the militants and the military on displaced women. In South Kivu, 4,000 women had been raped in the four months preceding the election. Many of them were consequently infected with HIV/AIDS.

Antoinette Kayiba of Kinshasa, the capital, said that she was “too close to death to see the fruits of these elections.” Voting of her own free will was a pleasure after her forty years of compulsory suffrage. She was “more confident for the future” and hoped that the new head of state would be able to inspire the Congolese to end the war and to rebuild the country. She hoped women would no longer be raped and children would get a good education. None of the women who spoke eloquently of their intention to vote revealed who they would vote for. Their reticence came from the violence fostered by the election itself. President Kabila was re-elected in the run-off election of October 29, 2006. As of February 25, 2007, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is slowly coming to order (UNNews 2006).

TRAFFICKING

No country with transportation reaching beyond its borders is immune from trafficking in persons. Women, children, and men are tricked into or abducted for forced labor or prostitution. Trafficking is almost universally illegal. However, new nations are often unable to prosecute because of insufficient funds. Some turn a blind eye because slavery, forced marriage, and bonded labor are embedded in tradition. The varieties of labor are contingent on local conditions: In the Congo, militias have

forced boys as young as nine to fight as soldiers. In the Côte d'Ivoire, trafficked men toil on coconut plantations. In Kuwait, Filipinos are imported for domestic work and enslaved. Worldwide, child prostitution has increased, in large part because it is thought that young girls are less likely to carry the HIV virus. The sexual exploitation of children is greatly under-acknowledged, even in countries like Vietnam and Myanmar—reported destinations for sex tourism.

FORCED MARRIAGE

Forced marriage is common in many of the new nations; it may entail abduction, rape, and murder. India and Iran have a high rate of forced marriage. In Bangladesh and Pakistan (where men comprise 15% of forced spouses), marriage is subject to personal law, which is specific to each religious community. Islamic law holds that a marriage is void if the two parties, both of the age of majority and of sound mind, have not both given their consent. Child marriage is allowed if consent is given by parents or guardians, but may be annulled if at puberty a child objects and the marriage has not been consummated. If the consummation was forced, the marriage may likewise be annulled. In rural areas of Pakistan, forced marriage has been used to settle disputes: the family of a murderer or debtor has been able to discharge the incurred obligation by offering young daughters to the wronged. These children, ostensibly brides, become indentured servants and, in many cases, sex slaves. In Ethiopia, 92 percent of all brides are abducted, often with parental consent. Poverty is thought to be a major cause, and education the best way to solve the problem. There has been little effort to provide such education.

FEMALE CIRCUMCISION/GENITAL CUTTING/MUTILATION

Female genital cutting, common in parts of Africa and Arabia, entails cutting off the prepuce of the clitoris; excising the clitoris altogether; or excising the clitoris, scraping out the labia minora, sewing up the raw flesh, and binding together the girl's legs until scar tissue covers the genital area. The most extreme type of excision is called infibulation. In childbirth, its medical consequences can be disastrous for both mother and child. Many new nations have passed legislation against it, but prosecutions are rare because it is a ritual hallowed by long custom and considered vital to community life.

It is generally agreed that persuasion is more effective than legislation to eradicate excision. In Iraqi Kurdistan, one activist group of women has made documentaries and shown them in villages beyond the reach of television. In Sierra Leone, imams have preached against genital female cutting, informing their congregations that

the Qur'an does not require it. These activities are modifying custom without legislation. In Senegal, excision was outlawed in 1999. Tostan, a nonprofit organization which supports basic education and empowerment for women, maintains that this legislation has made their work more difficult by promoting defensiveness where excision is practiced (U.S. Department of State, Office of the Senior Coordinator for International Women's Issues 2001). Nonetheless, as of July 2006, Tostan had encouraged more than 1,600 Senegalese villages to abandon the custom.

FORCED LABOR

In South Asia, entire families have provided bonded labor, a condition resembling the slavery of trafficked women and children. In Pakistan, and in every state in India, there remain indigenous tribes who, driven from their native forests and arable lands by deforestation and large-scale agriculture, endure a meager existence as day-laborers and gleaners, made worse by debts accumulated through disaster and desperation. If a man becomes unable to repay his debts (swollen by huge finance charges), those who own the bond seize his children to become carpet weavers, beggars, and prostitutes, or take his wife for domestic or brothel service. Debts may be passed on through several generations. Should daughters and wives live to bear children in slavery, they are seldom ransomed.

The Indian Constitution guarantees the right to liberty. The Supreme Court of India has interpreted this right to include choice of employment and the protection of employment legislation. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act of 1976 made all debt bondage illegal. However, as of March 2005, enforcement was sparse (*The South Asian* 2005). In Pakistan, an estimated one million bonded laborers have been denied their rights by a coalition of feudal landlords, President Pervez Musharraf's military regime, and other political interests.

RAPE

The governments of some of the new nations have been in denial about rape, a state of affairs to which the president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, referred in her inauguration speech of January 16, 2006, pledging to use the new rape legislation coming into force the following day.

Pakistan promises a spectacular change in rape law provoked largely by one woman's refusal to be shamed into silence and her persistence in bringing her case not only to local and national authorities but to the world at large. In June 2000, Mukhtar Mai, a Tatla woman, was raped by three men of the Mastoi (a clan of higher caste) in revenge for a suspected rape of one of their women by

Mai's adolescent brother. In his next sermon, the village imam condemned the rape. He introduced a local journalist to Mai's father and persuaded the family to bring criminal charges against the rapists. The media picked up her story, which was broadcast on the BBC and appeared as an article in *Time* magazine. As her case advanced through the courts, Mai became an international icon for courage and women's rights.

Under Islamic law, raped women who cannot provide four Muslim male eyewitnesses to the rape have traditionally been convicted of adultery, a capital crime punishable by stoning to death. In June 2006, President Musharraf signed an amendment to current law allowing 1,300 women convicted of adultery to be freed on bail. This amendment covered only women in jail awaiting trial. In December 2006, he signed the Protection of Women Bill, passed by both houses of Parliament, which allows charges of rape to be tried in criminal court. Protesters have complained that the new legislation is anti-Islamic. This is a case where the nation has responded to the needs of women.

SEXUAL ORIENTATIONS

Half of the new African nations and three-quarters of the new Asian nations have criminalized gay and lesbian activity; another one-sixth of African nations have laws against male same-sex acts only, as do one-twentieth of Asian. Penalties range from death to a small fine. In sharia areas of Niger and Somalia, any sex act outside marriage incurs the death penalty, as it does in Islamic nations in Africa and Asia.

However, Namibia has passed a Labor Code including laws against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The South African Constitution explicitly protects against it; the Supreme Court ruled in favor of same-sex marriage to take effect in 2006. Israel has enacted gay rights legislation; the armed forces allow service for both gays and lesbians. The policy established by the Anti-Corruption Committee of Sierra Leone forbids all kinds of discrimination against homosexuals.

In July 2005, Iran hanged two teenage boys for having sex together. In November 2005, United Arab Emirates police raided a remote hotel on the Dubai–Abu Dhabi highway to find a dozen men in bridal dresses and another dozen in male attire preparing for a wedding. Even though none were found in a sexual act, they were arrested and underwent psychological evaluation. They were to undergo all appropriate therapies, including testosterone injections if they were found deficient in the hormone. In Iran, male-to-female sex-change operations have been given official support as a means of curing alleged gender-identity disease. These nations are struggling to deal what they see as the problem of deviant sexual behavior. Their efforts are directed toward community

apprehensions rather than to the needs of these men already marginalized by society.

Outside of the national territory, allegiance to national customs continued to shape the destiny of women and girls. At the end of empire, no one could have foreseen the numbers of the ex-colonized who found their way to the imperial homeland. Some went as displaced persons; others fled from the tyranny of military-backed regimes. Many of them expected eventually to return to their birth nation. Physicians, nurses, social workers, and teachers from Asia and Africa abound in Britain. Unlike these professionals, unskilled laborers often had little knowledge of the host country's language, law, or culture. As their work does not require it and they generally live in enclaves of like immigrants, they had little incentive to learn. Many such immigrants from rural areas of Pakistan brought their feudalism and their loyalty to their clan, tribe, or extended family with them. Some of them have imported boys and girls from their clan to marry their own sons and daughters; some have arranged to send daughters back to marry males of the clan. These journeys, involving large expenditures of time and money, suggest a strong attachment to the homeland; Algerians in the banlieue of French cities have a like relationship with their natal country. Surrounded in their daily lives by nationals like themselves, they have maintained their nationalism as a nostalgic recuperation of an imaginary past, and live in the shadow of their birth nation.

SEE ALSO *Communism and Marxism; Gender Roles: III. Contemporary Understanding; War.*

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Jean Pickering

NECKING

SEE *Making Out*.

NECROPHILIA

Necrophilia, a sexual attraction to corpses, is an example of the extreme diversity in human sexuality and sexual preference that is evident across different cultures and different historical periods. The word is derived from a combination of *necro*, meaning corpse, and *philia*, meaning attachment. In the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (APA 2000), necrophilia is classified as a "paraphilia not otherwise specified." The essential features of a paraphilia are recurrent, intense, sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors that typically involve inhuman objects, children or other nonconsenting persons, or suffering or humiliating of oneself or one's partner, and that occur over a period of at least six months. Necrophilic acts are assumed to be nonconsensual; that is, the belief is that the person would not have consented to the act while alive. Of approximately thirty paraphilias that have been identified, necrophilia is considered to be one of the most unusual and also one of the most repugnant. It is also generally regarded as

being very rare, although some authors (e.g., Burg 1982) have questioned this assumption.

Necrophilia has been reported since ancient times, although virtually all societies have condemned the practice. In the writings of the fifth century BCE Greek historian Herodotus, the ancient Egyptians did not permit the corpses of wives of men of rank to be given to the embalmers until a few days after death, lest the embalmers violate the corpses. There is also a legend about Herod, the king of Judea (r. 37–4 BCE), who apparently had sex with his wife for seven years after her death.

While not explicitly necrophilic, romantic connections between love and death have been a common theme in Western artistic expression. For example, scholars have highlighted frequent necrophilic themes in nineteenth-century French literature. In popular culture, references to necrophilia have been made in films and rock music, particularly in the punk and heavy metal genres of the latter.

It is difficult to quantify the incidence of necrophilia in pornography. A 2001 study of randomly selected Internet sites that carried pornographic images reported that necrophilic images were extremely rare. There are, however, web sites devoted to necrophilic pornography.

The psychiatric literature on necrophilia consists largely of individual case studies. In 1989 Jonathan P. Rosman and Phillip J. Resnick described 122 cases of individuals who had a history of either necrophilic acts or fantasies, and differentiated two types: the genuine or “true” necrophilic, characterized by persistent sexual attraction to corpses, and the “pseudo-necrophilic,” who has only a transient attraction to corpses, rather than a fixed erotic preference for them. These authors also distinguished three types of “genuine” necrophilia: necrophilic homicide (involving murder to obtain a corpse), “regular” necrophilia (use of already dead bodies for sexual purposes), and necrophilic fantasies (in which the individual fantasizes about necrophilic acts but does not act on the fantasies).

Most cases in the literature have been males, aged between twenty and fifty years old and heterosexual, although homosexual cases exist. A consistent observation has been that necrophilic individuals often choose an occupation that provides them ready access to corpses (e.g., cemetery or mortuary attendants, hospital orderlies). The necrophilic behaviors engaged in range from kissing and caressing to actual vaginal or anal intercourse; in rare cases, mutilation of the corpse, vampirism (drinking the corpse’s blood), and cannibalism occurs.

Regarding the psychology of necrophilia, numerous explanations (mainly psychoanalytic) have been put forward, but, given the low incidence of the phenomenon, these are very difficult to evaluate. Although necrophilic

individuals have often been characterized as psychotic or sadistic, the limited empirical data suggests that sadism, psychosis, and subnormal intelligence are not essential features of necrophilia. Nevertheless, associated paraphilias, such as zoophilia (sexual attraction by a human to nonhuman animals) or voyeurism (observing sexual activity), have been reported in necrophilic individuals. Similarly, to overcome inhibitions and be able to carry out necrophilic acts, individuals may use alcohol or drugs, but this is not always the case. Apart from advocating treatment of the associated psychopathology, there has been very little published literature on the treatment of necrophilia.

In the aforementioned Rosman and Resnick study, some necrophiles provided motives for their behavior. The most common stated motive was to possess a partner who was both unresisting and “unrejecting.” Other motives that were described included reuniting with a romantic partner, gaining comfort or overcoming feelings of isolation, and increasing self-esteem. A common observation in the clinical case reports has been that necrophiles have very low self-esteem. Necrophilia has also been a motive for some serial killers (e.g., Jeffrey Dahmer, who ate his victims after killing them).

SEE ALSO *Cannibalism*.

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Cynthia A. Graham

NEFANDUM

Nefandum is the nominal form of *nefandus* (also *infandus*), which is derived from the Latin *ne* (“not”) and *fari* (“to speak”). It is understood in the literal sense as “not to be mentioned” or “unmentionable,” hence the phrase *vitium nefandum*, “the unmentionable vice.” In classical usage *nefandus* has the more figurative meaning

of impious, lawless, or abominable. Jerome follows this usage in the Vulgate when he describes the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah as *nefandi*, that is, acting against God's precepts (2 Peter 2.7).

MEDIEVAL AND EARLY-MODERN USAGE

The association of *nefandus* with what would come to be known as sodomy gained currency as later Christian authors moved toward decidedly sexual readings of the "sin of Sodom." The sixth-century emperor Justinian imposed the death penalty not only on adulterers, as per earlier Roman legislation, but also on those who "carry out their abominable desire (*infandam libidinem*) with [other] men" (*Institutiones* 4.18.4), alleging that such sins, if left unchecked, gave God cause to visit humankind with pestilence and natural disasters. The Venerable Bede's eighth-century commentary on Genesis speaks in broad strokes of the Sodomites' sinfulness, reserving the term *infandus* for the sin of theirs that was specifically sexual (Frantzen 1998). By the eleventh century *nefandus* had become an almost inevitable catchword in discussions of the *crimen contra naturam* (crime against nature), which was understood to be any sexual act that circumvented God's procreative plan (hence *per vas nefandum* [by means of the improper vessel], that is, anal penetration). Peter Damian makes use of the term in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* to decry rampant sodomitic practice among the clergy, calling it a *nefandum vitium* (abominable vice) (Boyd 1994). Albert the Great echoes this formula two centuries later when he digresses from his commentary on the Gospel of Luke to preach against sodomy (Jordan 1997).

Despite its seemingly reductive usage in texts such as these, the *vitium* or *crimen nefandum* functioned for much of the premodern period as sodomy at its most discursively flexible or, rather, as the category within which sodomy was conflated most readily with a host of other infractions, including concubinage, heresy, and lèse-majesté (Chiffolleau 1990). Late medieval sources apply the term *nefandus* equally to sodomy and host profanation, both of which were considered sins so egregious that their mere mention was believed to call down vengeance from heaven. Recourse to the term *nefandus* (understood in its root sense as "not to be mentioned") effectively excused the speaker from naming the sin, just as it legislated silence as the only acceptable response. The impulse to silence persisted well into the modern period, reaching extremes in the eighteenth-century Netherlands, where punishment for the *crimen nefandum*—invariably the "Catholic vice" of sodomy—was meted out in secret to safeguard the public well-being (Van der Meer 1997).

MODERN USAGE

In its turn as "the unmentionable vice," the *vitium nefandum* almost surely gave rise to Lord Alfred Douglas's felicitous turn of phrase formulation "the love that dares not speak its name." So too has *nefandum* (*nefandus* in its nominal form) come to be used as a synonym for sodomy in contemporary discussions of the history of (homo)sexuality. *Crimen nefandum* nonetheless retains in Catholic theology the broader meaning of any egregious act against God, including abortion and infanticide (condemned as *crimina nefanda* in the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes*, issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1965). In both historical and contemporary contexts, *crimen nefandum* is probably best understood in its generic sense, as an expansive category of egregious crime or sin within which sodomy invariably finds a place; only exceptionally does it assume the reductive meaning of sodomy. Neither is *nefandus* the inevitable Latin term for invoking sodomy's unmentionability—no less an authority than Thomas Aquinas prefers on occasion the term *innominabilis* "unnameable."

SEE ALSO *Sodomy*.

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Gregory S. Hutcheson

NEFERTITI 1390 BCE–1360 BCE

Neferneferuaten-Nefertiti was queen-consort to Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) of Egypt (r. c. 1353–1335 BCE). She supported her husband in his rejection of the traditional Egyptian pantheon in favor of the worship of one god, a solar deity known as the Aten, and occupied a prominent role in the new state religion. Nefertiti bore her husband six daughters. She vanished from the royal



Nefertiti, Queen of Egypt. Famous polychromed bust of Nefertiti, Queen of Egypt, fourteenth century BCE. ARCHIVE PHOTOS/HIRZ/GETTY IMAGES

family some time after Akhenaten's twelfth year of rule. No record of her death survives, and her body has never been found.

Egyptological interest in Nefertiti has centered on her political and religious status. A series of images recovered from Thebes (modern Luxor) and from Akhenaten's new capital city, Akhetaten (modern Amarna), show Nefertiti assuming unprecedented privileges. She makes offerings to the Aten, smites the female enemies of Egypt, and adopts a unique flat-topped blue crown similar to the headdress worn by the goddess Tefnut. It is clear that she is a person of immense importance, and some Egyptologists have suggested that she might have been a coregent rather than a queen-consort. Others believe that she was a living goddess: the feminine element in the divine triad of the Aten, Akhenaten, and Nefertiti. Her fecundity and sexuality, constantly emphasized by her

exaggeratedly feminine body shape and tightly fitting garments, suggest that she became a living fertility symbol.

The general public is interested primarily in Nefertiti's beauty, as evidenced by the world-famous Berlin bust, which was recovered from the ruins of the Amarna workshop of the sculptor Tuthmosis in 1912.

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Joyce A. Tyldesley

NEUTER

Neuter refers to two different phenomena. It constitutes one class of a grammatical category of nouns called gender. It also is the term used for male animals who have had their testicles removed. The term is rarely applied to human beings except in the context of some works of science fiction that expand gender systems beyond the natural two we assume exist.

In many languages, especially Indo-European and Semitic languages, nouns are classified according to the natural sex of their referents. Thus, the word for "woman" would be classed as a feminine noun and the word for "man" would be classed as a masculine noun. Almost all languages acknowledge this natural gendering and often append a system of gender agreement to these nouns. Gender agreement means that all words associated with the gendered noun—adjectives and pronouns—take their own version of a matching gendered form. For example, in English the pronoun *she* matches with the noun *woman*. In French, adjectives and articles take a different form depending on whether they modify a male or female noun.

In many languages grammatical gender does not always correlate with any natural notion of sex. All nouns have a gender even if they refer to inanimate objects. For example, the word for "table" is grammatically gendered differently in different languages: in French, *la table* is feminine, while in German, *Tisch* is masculine, and in Norwegian, *bord* is neuter. Sometimes feminine nouns are used to refer to males (as in the Spanish noun *persona* [person]) or masculine nouns can refer to females (as in the Spanish *miembro* [member]).

The neuter grammatical gender occurs in Latin, German, Old English, and other languages and usually refers either to people who are too young to have developed a natural gender, such as babies and unmarried females, or to sexless objects. In German, all words with the diminutive endings *-chen* or *-lein* (endings which

signal youth or smallness) are neuter even though they refer to females—as in the words *Mädchen* and *Fraulein*, which refer to young women. In English, the system surrounding grammatical gender has collapsed so that the language no longer has neuter nouns. The only vestige of the system that remains is the fact that the gender of pronouns matches to the gender of nouns.

The term *neuter* is also both a noun and a verb that refers to the process of removing an animal's testicles. Called an "orchietomy," the process renders the animal sterile. The name for the process by which female animals are sterilized is *to spay*. The process by which human males are neutered is called *castration*, while in females the process is called a *hysterectomy*. We generally still refer to neutered animals or humans as their original gender.

Science fiction works, such as Samuel Delaney's "Aye, and Gomorrah . . ." or Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* present characters who are neuter in the sense that they have no specific masculine or feminine gender. These stories imagine worlds in which the compulsive binaries of our own system no longer hold sway, usually because children do not accede to a gender until puberty, or as in the case of *The Left Hand of Darkness*, individuals have a mobile gender depending on sexual circumstances.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny*.

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Judith Roof

NEW RELIGIONS, WOMEN'S ROLES IN

The term *new religious movements*, or *NRMs*, refers both to radically new systems of religious belief and practice and to groups that make significant innovations in existing religions. Moreover, the use of the term *new* is often relative, as many religions that bear this label have been in existence for decades, and scholarship on NRMs takes eighteenth- and nineteenth-century movements into account as well. Because NRMs commonly offer their members new perspectives on powerful concepts such as the sacred and the human, and because they often experiment with social structures, they are particularly important to the study of sex and gender in religion. Though

NRMs exist around the world and share many of the same general traits, scholarship on women's roles in NRMs has generally focused on U.S. movements.

New religious movements often begin their lives in tension with the surrounding society. They are new and unfamiliar and most cultures expect religion to be old and familiar. Moreover, NRMs often consider their own teachings to be improvements over those of existing religions. Whereas such tensions can lead to the persecution of NRMs, they also disconnect such groups from prevailing social norms, allowing them to experiment with aspects of social organization such as gender roles.

NRMs that withstand the challenges of transition from new religion to established group often leave their experimental nature behind in a process called the *routinization of charisma*. Some groups emerge from this process still in tension with the surrounding society and may consider this state of being central to their identity. Others, such as Seventh-day Adventists and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS church, or Mormons), gradually come into closer conformity with the surrounding culture as they become institutionalized.

Women's roles are not automatically included in the social experimentation of NRMs. Alternative gender roles may be available only for women with a special status, most notably the founders of NRMs, and gender roles that are more liberal than those favored in the broader society are often among the first aspects of a new movement to change as the movement becomes institutionalized. Alternative gender roles in new religious movements also range from those far stricter and more conservative than in the surrounding society to those far more permissive and diverse. Because of the latter possibility, women in U.S. history have repeatedly made names for themselves as the founders and leaders of new religions—even though some of the organizations that grew from those new movements no longer offer women the same prominence.

GODDESSES AND DIVINE MOTHERS

In addition to providing alternative roles for human women, some NRMs also consider the divine to be entirely or partially female. Though female deities and female humans cannot in any way be conflated, when an NRM that encompasses female deities is located in a society where the divine is generally considered to be male, the female divine can sometimes serve as both inspiration and justification for human women's roles in the religion. Among the new religions that have gained some prominence in the United States, one of the earliest women to speak of a female aspect to the divine was Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), who founded the Shakers

in 1770. A Christian sect known for their celibacy and for the ecstatic dance that gave them their name, the Shakers believed that God had both feminine and masculine aspects. Furthermore, they believed that only when both of these aspects had been represented on Earth would the Kingdom of God be at hand. The life of Jesus (6 BCE–30 CE) represented the deity's male aspect; Shakers thus expected the Second Coming of the messiah to be in female form. After Lee's death, some of her followers came to believe that she herself had been the incarnation of God's female aspect.

Other Christian NRMs of the nineteenth-century United States also held that God was both feminine and masculine. As did the Shakers they interpreted this ambiguity in parental terms, understanding the female aspect of God as mother to be paired with the more traditional Christian image of God as father. Among these were the early LDS church (founded in the 1820s) and Christian Science (founded in the 1860s). Both of these movements retain a concept of the maternal divine, although it has been muted somewhat in the LDS church.

In the latter twentieth century the most prominent purveyors of female divine imagery in the United States were the NRMs that fall under the general rubric of *neopaganism*. These include Wicca, or witchcraft (founded in the 1950s), which claims to be a reemergence of pre-Christian European religions. Though most Wiccans describe the divine as encompassing a goddess and a god, feminist witches and other feminist groups inspired by neopaganism have tended to stress goddess imagery over the male divine, finding in goddess images a direct and powerful route to the affirmation, celebration, and empowerment of human women. This emphasis on the female divine led in the 1980s and 1990s to the rise of the Goddess movement, a loose conglomeration of beliefs, practices, and commodities celebrating (and sometimes appropriating) female divine figures from around the globe and across history.

FOUNDERS AND LEADERS

Perhaps because of prevalent assumptions at the time about the inherent religiosity of women (at least those who were white and middle class), the nineteenth-century United States saw the rise of numerous NRMs founded wholly or in part by women. Lee was a forerunner here; she was followed by Ellen White (1827–1915), whose visions in the mid-1840s confirmed the reinterpretation of William Miller's (1782–1849) millenarian prophecies and thus paved the way for the founding of Seventh-day Adventism. White continued to have visions for many years, and these were central to shaping the Adventist faith. In the late 1860s Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), a contemporary of White's, combined the mental healing practices of the day with



Mary Baker Eddy, Founder of the Christian Science Church. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Christianity in the new religion she named Christian Science, and female as well as male students of Eddy's went on to found non-Christian variations on her teachings that make up the family of metaphysical churches. Other nineteenth-century NRMs also featured women prominently. Beginning in 1848, sisters Maggie (1833–1893) and Kate Fox (1839–1892) hosted séances that became the foundation for Spiritualism, whereas Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891) and Colonel Henry Steele Olcott (1832–1907) blended Spiritualism with rather vague understandings of Hinduism and Buddhism to develop the Theosophical Society in 1875.

The twentieth century saw yet more women founders of NRMs. One of the most famous was the young and dramatic revivalist Aimee Semple McPherson (1890–1944), founder in the early 1920s of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (which, interestingly, does not ordain women despite having been founded by one). More egalitarian was the Peace Mission movement founded by Father Divine (1877–1965) in the second decade of the twentieth century; this religion drew a largely African-American following. After Divine's death in 1965, leadership of his movement was taken over by his wife, a white woman known to her followers as Mother Divine. In the latter part of the twentieth century, following the 1960s

resurgence of both feminism and NRMs, several more women came to prominence as founders and leaders. Among them are Gurumayi Chidvilasananda (b. 1955), who took on the leadership of the Hinduism-based Siddha Yoga movement in 1982, and Zsuzsanna Budapest (b. 1940) and Starhawk (b. 1951), founders, respectively, of the Dianic (established in 1971) and Reclaiming (established in 1979) branches of Wicca.

CONSORTS

With the cult scare of the 1970s came increased suspicion that NRMs were the sites of gross sexual improprieties. Though this suspicion was largely unfounded, the social experimentation in NRMs has certainly led to a variety of experiments with sexual norms. At one end of this spectrum are celibate groups, such as the Shakers; at the other are groups such as the nineteenth-century Oneida Perfectionists (in existence from 1840 until 1879), who believed that those whom God had prepared to enter into the sacred kingdom no longer needed earthly institutions such as marriage. The Oneida Perfectionists treated sexual intercourse as any other kind of social activity between a woman and a man; though initiated generally by the male, it was engaged in after an elaborate process of formal invitation and formal acceptance and was expected not to form exclusive bonds between the participants. The twentieth century saw a similar range of heterosexual roles for women, from their status as wives and mothers in the conservative social structure of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON, also known as the Hare Krishnas, founded in 1965) to the widespread sexual permissiveness of Rajneeshpuram (in existence from 1981 until 1985) in central Oregon. Some neopagan groups incorporate symbolic sexuality (usually heterosexual) into their rituals, especially between the high priest and high priestess.

LAY WOMEN

Whereas many NRMs offer greater opportunities for women than do institutionalized religions, NRMs vary immensely and thus are hardly a reliable source of gender equality. Some NRMs, for example, experiment with social structures by making them stricter. This is certainly true of Pentecostal churches, which, despite the prominence of women in their leadership in the early years after the 1906 Azusa Street Revival, have generally not ordained women since at least the mid-twentieth century. The LDS church followed a similar pattern, and both groups became increasingly strict in their gender roles during the wider social changes of the 1930s and 1940s. In Pentecostal groups as well as in the LDS church, gender roles follow a strict binary, with women expected to maintain the home and raise children while their

husbands provide financial support. By the late twentieth century, however, some leeway had developed in these roles, allowing women to work even while continuing to place primary value on their roles in the home. Similar norms hold in ISKCON, with the added expectation that once his children are old enough, a man will take ascetic vows and devote himself fully to his religion. Likewise, the Nation of Islam (founded in the 1930s), radical as it is in its understanding of race, offers women strictly conservative roles within the movement. Such gender role strictness has served as a source of stability for some women, such as young women who find in ultra-Orthodox Judaism a clarity of rules and guidelines in stark contrast to the casual autonomy of sexual ethics in mainstream U.S. culture.

NRMs also offer egalitarian roles for women. The Oneida Perfectionists, for example, were among the first to popularize bloomers, and their founder, believing pregnancy to be both burdensome and risky for women, advocated birth control on the part of men. Theosophy and Spiritualism also offered nineteenth-century U.S. women significant freedom, and women's public work as mediums prepared many Spiritualist women for suffragist activism. In the latter half of the twentieth century, a plethora of NRMs offered egalitarian roles for laywomen, ranging from the feminist focus of the Goddess movement and some branches of Wicca to an insistence on the irrelevance of gender in movements such as Siddha Yoga.

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Melissa M. Wilcox

NIN, ANAÏS

1903–1977

A prolific author, eroticist, and arts advocate and commentator, Anaïs Nin is known for her sensitive explorations and portrayals of female sensuality. Nin used ideas from psychoanalysis, surrealism, and the visual arts and dance as ways to express experiences of feminine sexuality. Nin published more than twenty-five novels and collections of work, but she is best known for her *Diary*, which she began writing as a child and which she started publishing in abridged versions in the 1960s.

Nin was born in Neuilly, France, on February 21, 1903. Both of her parents were musicians. Her father, Joaquín Nin, was a Catalan pianist and composer who performed internationally, and her Danish mother, Rosa, a singer. When she was eight, Nin moved to New York



Anaïs Nin. COURTESY OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

City with her mother after her parents had separated. On this first trip to New York, Nin began keeping what was to become her famous diary as a letter to her absent father.

Nin and her mother struggled in New York, running a boardinghouse. Nin attended school and learned English, had a brief career as a model, and finally went to Cuba to stay with a wealthy relative and find a rich husband. Hugh Guiler, whom she had first met in New York, came to Cuba in 1923, and married Nin. The two moved to Paris in 1924 where Hugh had a job in a bank. France was both a fascinating and frightening place for Nin. She wished to help her brother's career as a pianist, yet she was afraid to face her father again. She began to write and befriend artists.

After the stock market crash of 1929 forced Guiler and Nin to move to the small village of Louveciennes, Nin took her writing more seriously. While continuing to write in her diary, she had by 1931 produced her first book, *D. H. Lawrence: An Unprofessional Study*, which was published the following year. During this time as well, Nin began seeing the Austrian analyst Otto Rank, worked as a lay analyst herself, and became Rank's lover. She also became a part of the Villa Seurat group of artists that included Henry Miller. She was fascinated with Miller, and helped him survive as an impoverished writer. She began a romantic relationship with both Miller and his wife, June. Nin continued writing, publishing her prose poem *House of Incest* (1936); which treated her relationship with the Millers; *Winter of Artifice* (1939), in which she tried to work through her feelings about her father; and a collection of stories, *Under a Glass Bell* (1944). She became friends with the British author Lawrence Durrell, and went back and forth from Paris to New York, keeping her husband and lovers separate.

The beginning of World War II forced Americans, including Nin, back to New York, where she continued writing both her diary and a new series of novels focused on female sensuality. Enjoying the influx of artistic excitement from surrealism, admiring Miller's poetic and joyous realism, and working in tandem with her husband who had become a film maker and illustrator, Nin wrote a series of novels she titled *Cities of the Interior*, which included *Ladders to Fire* (1946), *Children of the Albatross* (1947), *The Four-Chambered Heart* (1950), *A Spy in the House of Love* (1954), and *Solar Barque* (1958). These novels focused on different types of women engaged in art and love. She also published a collection of essays on writing itself, *On Writing* (1947). Frustrated by difficulties she encountered trying to publish her work, Nin bought her own printing press and began to make hand-crafted books. During this time as well, she wrote erotica for a dollar per page, which was collected and published posthumously as *The Delta of Venus* (1977).

Continuing her relation to literary culture in New York, Nin became friends with a younger generation of writers, including Gore Vidal and Robert Duncan. She appeared in a film directed by the experimental filmmaker Maya Deren. She also continued writing novels, including *Seduction of the Minotaur* (1961) and *Collages* (1964). In 1966 she published the first volume of her *Diary*, a volume focusing on her early experiences in Paris with the Millers. Nin's *Diary* volumes are not simply published versions of her day-to-day thoughts, but are crafted around themes and carefully omit mention of her husband, Hugh. Containing dialogue and rendering memories as dramatic scenes, the *Diary* combines the forms of confession, description, and a novelistic sensibility. Nin published seven volumes of her *Diary*.

The publication of the *Diary* spurred interest in Nin's other works, many of which were reissued in the 1960s and 1970s. In the late 1960s and early 1970s as well, Nin became a spokeswoman for the possibilities of women as artists. She conducted a lecture tour through college campuses in the United States, speaking to women's groups and raising the question of how women can also be artists given the way women have been culturally defined. She also exhorted women to participate in what she saw as the passion of art as a way to express a much needed perspective. Her lectures were collected and published in 1975.

Nin died in Los Angeles on January 14, 1977. Soon after her death, her literary estate published the erotica she had written anonymously during her life and began publishing unexpurgated versions of her diaries. A special collection of correspondence between her and Henry Miller was published as *A Literary Passion* (1987). Nin envisioned her role as an artist to have been a courageous one. As she said, "And the day came when the risk to remain tight in a bud was more painful than the risk it took to blossom." She also saw art as a passionate necessity: "If you do not breathe through writing, if you do not cry out in writing, or sing in writing, then don't write, because our culture has no use for it."

SEE ALSO *Miller, Henry*.

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Judith Roof

NIPPLE CLIPS

SEE *Sex Aids*.

NOCTURNAL EMISSIONS

SEE *Wet Dreams*.

NOMADISM

Nomads in the Middle East, Eurasia, and Africa share some notions about gender and also demonstrate variations. These similarities and differences stem from factors relating to the specific histories, geographies, ecologies, economics, politics, and cultures of nomads and their contacts with settled agricultural societies and with urban and state institutions. Along with occupation, age, and familial status, gender is a significant organizing principle for many nomads. Studies of nomadic societies often detail men's activities but neglect women's, especially their roles beyond domestic domains.

Nomadic societies depend on mobility and animal husbandry, and their principal livestock include one or more species (camels, sheep, goats, cattle, horses, yaks, reindeer). (Gatherers and hunters as well as itinerant occupational specialists such as craft-makers and musicians are not included here.) Despite the policies of most states to settle the nomads living within their borders, mobile pastoralism is often the most efficient and sustainable way of utilizing arid, semiarid, and high-altitude lands, even in the twenty-first century. Some scholars employ the phrase *mobile pastoralists* instead of *nomads* to reflect the decreasing number of people who are nomadic year-round and to avoid the romantic connotations associated with the term *nomads*. Pastoralists use mobility to respond to changes in the physical and social environment, to meet their animals' nutritional needs, to exploit different kinds of markets, and to express cultural values relating to identity and autonomy. By being mobile, they can also distance themselves from state institutions and other exogenous forces.

Experiencing rapid changes in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, many nomads have adopted new patterns of livelihood, mobility, residence, and social organization. Continuing mobility can be compatible with technologically advanced and profit-oriented economic activities. Some nomads maintain town as well as rural residences, and family members move between them in order to receive formal education and diversify their economies.



Afghan Nomad Family Roaming the Desert. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS.

People having nomadic pastoral backgrounds may still consider themselves nomads after they adopt more permanent residences and new livelihoods that decrease their mobility. Being a nomad remains a vital cultural construct for them, regardless of economic changes. Such an identity also overlaps with tribal, ethnic, linguistic, and regional affiliations.

Nomads in widely dispersed locations demonstrate similar gender patterns because of their common pastoral livelihoods, migrations, heavy workloads, independent households, and small, often-isolated camps of extended families. Men and women may share ownership and control of the livestock and other possessions. All family members, including young children, perform multiple tasks requiring competency. Men's and women's roles in pastoral production tend to be complementary, not hierarchical, and men and women exercise some autonomy in the different facets of their lives. They each acquire status if they produce and especially control valued commodities, including the profits from bartering

or selling them. Women who weave items for the commercial market, for example, tend to hold higher status than women who do not produce externally valued goods. Women usually control the domestic domain, especially by preparing and distributing food, and exercise influence there. Men rely on women to feed and care for them, raise children, and manage the home. If women also exert authority in domains beyond the household and close family, their overall status in the larger community may rise. In any nomadic society, the structure and function of marriage, families, households, and groups based on kinship, tribal ties, co-residence, and cooperative tasks and rituals help to determine gender roles there.

Nomads often belong to tribal groups, whose structure and leadership assist people in asserting autonomy when confronted by states and other exogenous forces. Men, not women, serve as the formal leaders in most nomadic societies, although women may influence local-level politics by linking their natal and marital families

(most brides leave their parents' household and join their husband's). Men mediate with outside powers on behalf of their tribes. Women do not ordinarily play such a role, because their personal mobility is more restricted than men's, and they perform their essential tasks at home. Many nomadic societies value men's physical strength and courage, and they instill in boys the qualities necessary for becoming effective warriors and herders.

The cultural systems of nomads across this vast area differ more widely than most other dimensions of their lives. Many mobile pastoralists in east Africa, for example, practice elaborate rituals of male and female initiation, while those in the Middle East are less likely to do so. Representations of women, as in song, poetry, and dance, also vary. Codes of male honor and female modesty may or may not be essential values that influence the conduct of interpersonal relationships. All nomads find solace and strength in religion and ritual, but many participate less often in the beliefs and practices of universal religions (such as Islam and Buddhism) than the settled people in nearby societies. Nomadic women often play a more active role in local religious and ritual expressions than do men, such as by making pilgrimages to local shrines to increase their chances for successful pregnancies.

Wider regional, national, and global forces cause changes in the lives of nomads everywhere, some of which bring modernization and improve the physical quality of life, while others threaten customary lifestyles. Although nomadic pastoralists use marginal territories efficiently and sustainably, many of the states in which they reside pressure them to settle but rarely provide adequate services to ease the transition. These and other political, economic, social, and cultural changes often affect men more directly than women, at least initially. When nomads adopt modern technology, such as motorized transport, men usually control the new devices and techniques, while women continue to rely on traditional practices. Expanding market economies may affect men more directly than women, because men are more likely to sell the family's products in markets and to accept employment in the wider society. Increased access to modern education often affects boys more than girls. Formal education may lead to new kinds of jobs, and males are better positioned than females to respond to the opportunities. Men seek legal, economic, veterinary, and infrastructural services from the state; women stress the importance for their families of clean water, improved healthcare, better nutrition, and accessible schools. Because men (and society in general) view women as the primary caregivers and may regard them as needing protection, women tend to restrict their activities to the home and the local community. By contrast, men often participate in the processes of national inte-

gration and assimilation more than women and thereby receive more directly the benefits and detriments (such as being conscripted by national armies and sent to war). Despite dramatic changes in their economic and political lives, nomads often retain a strong sense of tribal, ethnic, linguistic, and regional identity.

Qashqa'i nomadic pastoralists in southwestern Iran say that their distinctive society and culture offer them freedoms that the Islamic Republic and its ruling Muslim clergy deny to most other citizens. As an ethnolinguistic minority in the Persian-dominated nation-state of Iran, the Qashqa'i stress the resiliency of their own tribal society and strive to maintain their unique culture. Since the 1978–1979 revolution that overthrew a secular, modernizing regime and installed a repressive Islamic Republic, Qashqa'i men and women have retained their distinctive ceremonies and clothing despite the new government's policy of forbidding comparable expressions throughout Iran. Qashqa'i women still wear their customary attire (including a translucent headscarf) in most public places, even when they visit cities, while other women in Iran must cover their heads and bodies in state-mandated fashion.

Some scholars note the relatively high status of nomadic pastoral women, compared to women living in nearby settled societies, including those who share their religion. They attribute this trait to the often-egalitarian sharing of tasks by men and women in their independent households, and they focus on women's ownership of property, local-level personal freedoms, and influence in wider kinship and tribal groups. As nomadic women increase their contact with sedentary, state-integrated societies characterized by strong religious institutions, they may lose some autonomy and influence and become more similar to women living there. Because of widespread economic and social changes, including new livelihoods for men, some women may become more dependent on, and subordinate to, men than they had been in the past. Other women may be able to exploit these new circumstances, such as by selling their products in local markets, and may create a more comfortable lifestyle for themselves and their families. Expanding educational opportunities for both males and females may also enhance their chances for new kinds of jobs, some of which allow them to continue their nomadic practices.

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*Lois Beck
Julia Huang*

NOSE

The nose has signified sexuality, sexual appetite, and sexual character in many cultures throughout history. The Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–c. 18 CE) associated a large nose with a large penis, and Renaissance playwright and poet Philip Massinger (1583–1640) used nose length in a woman as a measure of feminine ardor. Certainly, nose length has played a part in sexual selection and beauty standards; the philosopher Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) famously remarked that if Egyptian queen Cleopatra's (69 BCE–30 BCE) nose had been a little larger—and thus, one supposes, a little less beautiful—the history of the world may have been quite different. Early sex researchers such as Havelock Ellis noted a pronounced interest in smell among many peoples of the earth, which led him to speculate that kissing may have developed in cultures that particularly prized body odor in the sexual selection of partners.

Science has debunked any direct correlation between nose size and the size of one's penis or clitoris, but the belief persists that one can judge a man's endowments by other, more visible, body parts, such as his nose or feet, and this belief is enshrined in literature and popular culture. Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (2003 [1794]), one of the great eighteenth-century English novels, is an extended dirty joke about a man with a large nose and the women attracted to him because of it. An extension of this logic of body-part size to genital endowment is reflected in a Miller Genuine Draft beer advertisement from 2000 that uses the tag line "Never Miss a Genuine Opportunity" to show how a man upset about having to take size 19 shoes at a bowling alley when all the other sizes run out comes to realize that the sight of his feet in the shoes also causes disinterested

women to suddenly and drastically revise their opinion of him.

While they receive less overt attention than a woman's breasts, noses are becoming ever more important as beauty and sexual signifiers. Scientific interest in pheromones as chemical communicators of human desire and sexual receptivity has grown in recent years, making the nose increasingly important as a sexual organ in its own right. Nose bobs, or *nose jobs*, are becoming more and more common among adolescent girls in the United States, in large part because almost every Hollywood actress these days has had her nose surgically altered to make her face appear smaller, younger, and more child-like. The extent to which *bobbing* the nose replicates and reinforces white and European and North American beauty ideals at the expense of Semitic, African, or Asian noses makes such surgery the subject of hot debate, but it remains a cliché in the United States that many a Jewish girl of means will get her nose done before college. Nose piercing, first recorded in the Middle East approximately 4,000 years ago, has grown more popular around the world, as has body piercing more generally. Entertainers such as Madonna (b. 1958) and Lenny Kravitz (b. 1964) have pierced noses, and nose jewelry is becoming more and more socially acceptable and mainstream, perhaps because the nose itself is becoming more and more socially and aesthetically important.

SEE ALSO *Mucous Membranes*.

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Jaime Hovey

NUDE IN VISUAL ARTS

Etymologically, the English word *nude* comes from the Latin *nudus* meaning "naked" or "bare," as in a state of undress or primordial nakedness. The phrase *in the nude* or *the nude*, however, has come to signify works of art, cultural conventions, and socioreligious attitudes in the West. Thereby, the category of the nude connotes a Western cultural ideology, while nudity is a universal

human condition of being without clothes or cover. As sex is biological, art works representing sex depend upon the reality of physical characteristics from broad shoulders to genitalia. Gender, however, is a social and cultural classification of masculinity and femininity historically defined; thereby, artistic depictions of gender are a result of the cultural processes of defining sexual and social identity. Present throughout the history of Western art, the decision to portray the nude and the affixed characteristics of gender are more than an artistic conviction to present an object of art, beauty, or anatomy; rather it is a decision premised on a moral issue simply stated as: What is the character and meaning of nudity?

CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS OF THE NUDE

While earlier critics, historians, and cultural commentators discussed the artistic or religious values reflected by works of art, whether literary or visual, in which the figures were described as naked, it was the British artist Walter Sickert who wrote (in 1910) the first formal critical discussion of the nude as a convention of academic art. However, it was the presentation of the 1953 Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts by the art historian Kenneth Clark (1903–1983) that defined the categories of analyses for both the meaning and motif of the nude in Western art and cultural history. Both Clark's lectures, and his 1956 book, were subtitled "A Study in Ideal Form," thereby signifying that this motif was not simply an iconographic or visual theme but rather an idea supported or negated by particular cultural, philosophic, religious, and societal attitudes toward the human body and sexuality. To be nude was more than a state of undress but rather the embodiment of the classical Greek philosophic, religious, and social understandings of the human person, human dignity, human anatomy, and artistic creativity. To be naked was to be deprived of one's clothes, signifying that state of human finitude and guilt premised on what was characterized by Clark as the Christian attitude toward the human person, the human body, and thereby sexuality.

Since the 1956 publication of Clark's now-classic *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*, a variety of responses have come to shape discussions and interests in the nude. The most obvious have been his initiation of critical analyses of the distinctions between the naked and the nude, and the role of the nude as an artistic category, and the academic debate as to the positives and negatives of Clark's well-honed thesis ranging from the architect and social historian Bernard Rudofsky's *The Unfashionable Human Body* (1971) to the art historian Margaret Walters's *The Nude Male* (1978). Perhaps the most provocative and far-reaching "contra Clark" presentation

was the Marxist analysis offered by John Berger in both his BBC television series and the companion book *Ways of Seeing* (1972), which focused on the relationship between the viewer and the nude. An early attempt at what was later identified as "response theory," Berger's study called attention to the erotic and the materialist responses situated in the spectator of representations of male and female bodies in various media—paintings, sculptures, photographs, cinema, television, and advertising. Thereby, Berger opened the door for the emerging feminist arguments about woman as subject, object, or creator of works of art as he emphasized in his discussions the female nude and the (sexual) response of male viewers.

The 1960s movements of the marginalized—that is, groups previously unstudied or neglected, including women, racial and ethnic groups, and regional and class identities—brought new questions and new attention to Clark's discussion of the nude. Feminist scholarship expanded the boundaries of the questions raised against the idea of the nude, especially those related to images of the female versus the male nude—the former denoting passive sex object and male voyeurism and the latter expressing male power and societal authority. Art images, particularly those of women as subjects or objects, were no longer perceived as being benign or neutral expressions of aesthetic values or artistic creativity. For feminist artists, critics, and scholars, the nude was a social and political minefield created by male artists for a male audience as signified by *le regard*, or the gaze, and by male art historians voicing admiration for the figuration of male beauty and cultural power. As the feminist movement gave birth to a multiplicity of academic and critical modes of analyses premised on sex and gender, including gay studies, men's studies, and eventually gender studies, new questions were raised related to the object, subject, creator, patronage, and spectator of the nude. Further, as the twentieth century gave way to the twenty-first, the growing presence and confidence of what were previously identified as "alternate lifestyles"—from homosexuality, both gay men and lesbian women, to interracial heterosexuality to transvestites, bisexuality, and androgyny—furthered the categories of sex and gender as well as the questions and interpretations of the nude. As gender stereotypes were challenged, the psychology of response voiced, and the social dominance of white men criticized, the boundaries and categories for the nude, as defined initially by Clark, were expanded.

Finally, the academic and wider cultural investigations centering on "the body" evolved in the late 1980s into additional new ways of seeing and interpreting the nude. Not necessarily limited by cultural or societal definitions of gender or sexuality, these investigative analyses sought venues through the ever-increasing attitudes

shaped by modern medicine and medical advances, the growing recognition of multicultural perceptions of the human body as a category of ethnic and racial as well as individual identity, and the insights offered by careful analyses of particular aspects of the body proper, such as Marilyn Yalom's *A History of the Breast* (1997), or of bodily effluvia, such as Tom Lutz's *Crying: The Natural and Cultural History of Tears* (1999). Combined with this recognition of the reality of multiculturalism and globalization, the interest in the body has brought new challenges to the artistic presentations and critical discussions of the nude.

SURVEY OF THE NUDE IN WESTERN ART FROM THE MIDDLE AGES INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Found in every civilization in human history, artistic representations of the male or female figure as nude are premised on a visual legacy bequeathed from ancient Egypt, India, Persia, and Cyprus to classical Greece and Rome to Renaissance Florence and Baroque Rome to nineteenth-century Paris and twentieth-century New York. The reality, however, is that there are vast differences in cultural, philosophic, religious, and societal attitudes toward these artistic images. Without doubt, Western art is premised on the classical Greek legacy but tempered from the early Christian period by two distinctive attitudes toward the nude as the ideal perfection of humanity and as the physical witness of human finitude and guilt. From the formal beginnings of Christian art in the fourth century, contemporary to the theological treatises of Augustine and Jerome, the human body was rarely rendered artistically in a naturalistic manner. Presentations of nude, or naked, figures were either reserved for biblical personalities or rendered as "secular art" (read pornography). The biblical narrative of Adam and Eve was interpreted as that of the "primordial nudes," and as Christian history evolved they became the sign and symbol of what should and should not be exposed. Sadly, from an artistic perspective, the first biblical presentation of the nude was within the context of the "forbidden fruit."

As the early Christian and Byzantine worlds evolved into the Middle Ages, the artistic presentations of the nude—whether male or female—were transferred into biblical figures such as Bathsheba (at the bath). Although perhaps the most numerous in medieval art, the figure of the Virgin Mary while depicted as the role model and ideal for Christian women was characterized as disembodied in terms of female sexuality or feminine sensuality. The visual and thereby the cultural emphasis

was on the spiritual values she represented, from motherhood to piety and salvation. To characterize, then, the medieval attitude toward sex and gender in the visualization of the nude, attention must be given to the majority of images that can be identified under the umbrella of Christian art. Fundamentally, whether male or female in biological identity, these figures are appropriate to the narratives of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures; therefore, Adam and Eve, Bathsheba, David, Susannah, Salome, and Jesus of Nazareth are presented in states of total or partial undress totally dependent upon the narrative episode. The fundamental interpretation of nudity as a sign of shame was highlighted by the postures and gestures of these individual figures. Regardless of biological sex, these figures did not stand erect with their heads held high or their shoulders relaxed in the posture of the classical Greek nudes. Instead, these "Christian nudes" were identifiable by their stooped stances, forward bent heads, hunched shoulders, and attempted coverings wrought by bent arms and open palms. Alternatively, demons and devils are identified, if not characterized, by artistic presentations of their almost celebratory nudity, which connotes wanton sexuality and unbridled sensuality—two traits deemed inappropriate for Christians. Further moralistic lessons related to sex and gender in the nude in the visual arts can be read into the late medieval development of *Weibermacht*, or power of woman, by which naked women physically or sexually maltreat men; *Weibermacht* illustrates the uncontrollable sexual lust of women to which many medieval Christian theologians, following Augustine and Jerome, credit the fall of humanity through Adam and Eve.

Renaissance artists (and writers) voiced an interest in gender issues, especially the changing societal role of the feminine, in light of the humanist discussions of the nature of woman and the position of the female in the larger culture. This new perspective was hampered by the emergence, or actually the reemergence, of the Aristotelian interpretation of women as imperfect and inferior to men. Whereas the depictions, particularly the portraits, of women connote the archetypal definitions of beauty and social propriety, those of men are identified through the emblems of their professional or social status. Feminist commentators on Renaissance art identify the lesser presence of female figures—in postures and positions of dominance—as a continuation of the traditional Christian perspective of woman as either virgin (ideal) or whore (misogyny), but there are other criteria to be considered especially with regard to the artistic depiction of the nude.

For example, the recognizable "nakedness" of both Adam and Eve in Masaccio's (1401–1428) famed *Expulsion from Paradise* can be described fairly as being within Clark's characterization of the Christian depiction



“Birth of Venus.” A tempera painting on canvas by Sandro Botticelli, c. 1485 with *Chloris Zephyrus Spring*. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI.

of the otherwise naked form as sign and symbol of finitude and guilt. However, the expanding borders of cultural, philosophic, and religious attitudes in light of the advance of humanism, even unto Christian humanism, supports the visual innovation of a classical nude goddess in the recognizable pose of the *Venus pudica* in the mythological landscape of Sandro Botticelli’s (1445–1510) *Birth of Venus* was a metaphor for the new cultural and philosophic order represented by the Renaissance. Alternatively, the classical nude was reaffirmed in its dialectic of masculine activity and power versus feminine passivity and inertia when Giorgione (c. 1477–1511) introduced his new motif of the reclining female nude in *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510). This Renaissance topos was characterized by the frontal presentation of the figure who was asleep or in reverie, the absence of pubic hair, and the presence of jewelry in contrast to the absence of clothing. This new way of seeing the female nude in relation to both the male artist and the viewer was taken to the next level of artistic and erotic engagement by Titian (1488 or 1490–1576) in his many presentations of a reclining or sleeping Venus, most famously in his *Venus of Urbino* (1538–1539).

A visual survey of Western images identified as “erotic”—and, thereby, the key focus of late-twentieth-century interpretations of gender in art—is dependent upon the crucial identifying elements of nudity and female sexuality. Artists of both the Renaissance and the Baroque period continued to validate, and expand, these two descriptors in light of the medieval category of demonology transformed into female sorcery and witchcraft. Popular in the works of northern European artists such as Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553) and Hans Baldung (called Hans Grien; c. 1484–1545) as the Renaissance turned into the Baroque, witches were a cultural move fostered by the evolution of the Reformation and reformist culture, especially in its attitude toward women. Given the Aristotelian stance that women were imperfect men, and the Christian tenet of uncontrollable lust as basic to female nature, women were identified as more susceptible to witchcraft, and the earlier cultural idea of female sorcery evolved into witchcraft. The eventual publication of the *Malleus maleficarum* (1486; *Hammer of Witches*) was prompted by the growing fear of women, especially of the power of woman, and resulted in the witch-hunts and trials that

destroyed the lives of more than a million women. Such gender-related activities influenced the arts as paintings, and the less expensive and more accessible prints and engravings featured profane nudity as unsightly, naked witches “turned the world upside” as they rode their broomsticks, physically tortured or raped men, and swallowed infants and children.

Alternatively, the northern European Baroque painters Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Rembrandt (1609–1669) created extraordinarily intimate portrayals of female nudity in the former’s *Hélène Fourment with Fur Cloak* (*The Furlet*; c. 1638–1640) and the latter’s *Bathsheba at Her Bath* (1654). In these works, and others like them, the female figure is rendered with a realistic naturalism, so that the classical idealization of the female form and Christian misogyny were eliminated from the frame. The fundamental categories of femininity—bodily softness, physical warmth, and emotional power—evidenced herein witness the development of an alternate approach to both gender and nudity, and the relationship between artist and model enlarged the traditional dichotomous approach to woman as either virgin or whore by the consideration of woman as wife, companion, and lover.

The modern convention of the nude is premised on the duality of the political, social, and cultural revolutions of the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, and the eventual revolutions wrought by the marginalized in the mid- to late twentieth century. Perhaps the greatest artistic exponent of the modern nude was the French realist painter Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), who freed the nude from the conventions of mythology and religion in works as enigmatic as *The Painter’s Studio* (1855) and as rebellious as *The Origin of the World* (1866). Courbet’s innovations led to later nineteenth-century artists such as Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and his paintings of defiant prostitutes and Edgar Degas (1834–1917) and his paintings of bathers; in both of these artists’ portrayals the nude, and the female nude in particular, garnered new interpretive meanings and status. As Clark would attest, the reference to the nude in the classical world was to the male figure, but by the mid-nineteenth century this reference had shifted in both gender identity and cultural attitude to the female figure. This transformation was accompanied by the formal admission of women into art academies and eventually into life drawing classes (with male nude models), an act that raised the question of whether the so-called male gaze was clearly related to sex or gender, could be emulated by women artists, or perhaps more dramatically could be challenged by a “female gaze.”

An alternate but perhaps equally significant artistic perspective on the nude in the nineteenth century arose with the emergence and maturation of Orientalism in the

arts. Initially a Romantic expression of the allure and mystique of the *exotique* in the paintings of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), Orientalism and Orientalist nudes in the later works of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) and especially Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) are visual examples of the continuation of sexism and patriarchalism merged with racism and voyeurism. Gérôme’s images of the female nude, as in *The Slave Market* (c. 1867), are a paramount example of woman as sex object on display for the voyeuristic pleasure and power of a male audience—both inside and outside of the frame. Similarly, the depiction of the snake encircling the nude male youth in Gérôme’s *The Snake Charmer* (c. 1870) denotes the erotic and sexual fantasies otherwise sublimated in the Western “high art” tradition that are somehow acceptable when placed in a location outside the West. The eroticism of gender identities expands beyond the boundaries of appropriate social mores and behavior through a depiction of desire in “the other.”

Meanwhile, other artists vacillated between the asexuality and eroticism of the nude in Western art. Academic painters such as Adolphe-William Bouguereau (1825–1905) continued to paint their idealized and curiously asexual nudes into the early twentieth century, while the Symbolists such as Gustave Moreau (1826–1898), Art Nouveau artists such as Aubrey Vincent Beardsley (1872–1898), and fin-de-siècle painters such as Gustav Klimt (1862–1918) infused blatant sexuality and eroticism in depictions of the nude, especially of the female nude. Throughout the twentieth century, artists continued to grapple through a variety of artistic styles and media ranging from the cubist fragmentations of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) to the surrealism of Salvador Dalí (1904–1989) and Paul Delvaux (1893–1994) to the abstract expressionism of Willem de Kooning (1904–1997) to the photography of Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989) to image the nude as object and subject, as a carrier of cultural meaning and social mores, and as a significant venue for societal discussions of sex and gender.

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Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

NUDIST CAMPS

Individuals of all genders have chosen to go naked and have been fascinated by the naked human body for centuries. The history of nudism is neither brief nor linear, but the idea of organized nudity, as in the case of nudist camps, emerged at about the time humanity began to form civilizations. Closely related to nudism, the practice of naturism focuses on the ethical aspects of going without clothing. Although a nudist is more apt to seek out social settings such as a membership-based club, a naturist tends to seek out a more pointedly outdoor setting such as a beach, the mountains, or the woods. Naturists argue that nudity is the most basic and pure form of existence, whereas nudists treat that state as temporary and give it a special place within a largely traditional lifestyle.

Social nudity, along with the inception of the nudist camp, was not accepted in mainstream culture until the twentieth century, when public nudity was becoming a feature of everyday life in Europe. For example, in the 1920s naturism and nude bathing were common in Germany and set the stage for further exploration of nudity in other cultures.

SOCIAL NUDISM AS A RESPONSE TO MODERNITY

In the middle to late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, as a response to the progress-driven,

alienating effects of modern life, some individuals defined social nudity as a return to a more “Edenic” life. For example, Henry David Thoreau, the author of *Walden*, chose to live in the woods to retreat from a civilization that did not embody the optimism it claimed. In her essay on early nudism as a movement that critiques modernity, Ruth Barcan points out that “[a]lienation from nature and from the authentic self, the loss of the sacred, the destruction of traditional ways of life, and the drabness of life in industrial cities are all key modern themes” (Barcan 2004b, p. 64). Early twentieth century discourse struggled with the rejection and embrace of the positive and negative aspects of modernity. In early nudist writing the Christian metaphor of the fall often is expressed as both a critique of modernity and a “nostalgic attempt to imagine a return to Edenic perfection and a utopian projection forward to an imagined era of healthful egalitarianism” (Barcan 2004b, p. 64).

In their utopian critique of the alienating effects of modern civilization, social nudists, many of whom were Christians, argued for a reexamination of the biblical analysis of the origin of bodily shame. Instead of reading the Bible with “naïve literalism,” modern Christians attempted to “repudiate dualism” and see the body in its purest state: “an original, sinless form” (Barcan 2004b, p. 66). Nudists pointed out that the body was much more erotically charged when clothed than when completely nude. Further, they viewed clothing as an emblem of materialism and vanity. Most important, perhaps, they argued that the modesty and shame surrounding nudity, experienced primarily by women, were “socially induced rather than inherent, and that the forms and standards of modesty were culturally relative” (Barcan 2004b, p. 66).

In 1933 a well-known proponent of nudism, the Reverend C. E. Norwood, pointed out that nudism cannot be possible without the participation of both males and females. Although most nudist writers were male during that time, they acknowledged and supported women’s rights (Norwood 1933, p. 67). Female writers also were beginning to speak out about the health benefits of nudity. For example, the German physician Bess Mensendieck “advocated nudity as a means of enhancing women’s body esteem, strength and beauty” (Barcan 2004b, p. 67). As a precursor to nudist camps, the “gymnosophy” movement in Germany played an important role in encouraging women to embrace the healthful effects of nudity, which was thought to bring men and women together because it rendered “visible natural [anatomical] differences, thus ending deception about bodies; destroying the idea that sex—especially women’s sex—is mysterious and inexplicable . . . and encouraging comradeship between the sexes” (Barcan 2004b, p. 68). The gymnosophy movement, which, according to Matthew Jefferies, was “based on the

classical Greek ideal of harmony between mind, body, and soul,” conflated athleticism with nudism (Jefferies 2006, p. 73).

The modern notion that modesty is a source of women’s oppression and is “forced” upon women fueled the quest of the nudist movement for egalitarianism between the sexes. As it evolved into the naturism movement, the nudist movement placed great emphasis on women’s bodies as being “essentially” connected to nature. The “naturalness” of the nude body still is considered a central tenet of nudism (and naturism, which is the more popularized form of nudism).

In Germany nudist camps focused primarily on the importance of exercising naked in the outdoors. That created a conflict for supporters of the Third Reich because although they extolled the values of athleticism and bodily perfection, they condemned the profanity of the naked body. As a result many nudists were cautious about presenting themselves as socialist “cranks” who loved vegetarianism and the “primitive” back-to-nature movement. Instead, those nudists, including Norwood, “self-consciously . . . combined . . . love of nature with a love of progress” in order to present an image of integrity (Barcan 2004b, p. 69).

HELIO THERAPY AND “SUN WORSHIP”

Germany was one of the first countries to call wide attention to nudism, following the Greeks. The rich and complicated (and often conflicted) history of nudism embodies the ambivalence that many people still experience in regard to the naked body. The emergence of “body culture” in the early twentieth century brought a deeper awareness to this cultural ambivalence, especially during the Third Reich. Proponents of nudism, including Norwood and Dr. Maurice Parmelee (1929), visited Germany in the 1920s and were struck by the presence of nudist colonies, along with the interest in athleticism and sun-related health. Accompanying nudism was a fairly unrestrictive lifestyle, especially in and around Berlin: “[t]he apparent popularity of naturism and nude bathing in 1920s Germany is usually portrayed as an example of [a] liberated and cosmopolitan climate” (Jefferies 2006, p. 63).

German naturism, which included nudist camps, clubs, and colonies, centered on the forested areas of the country and was “a product of the Empire rather than the Republic, and was already established as part of the wider lifestyle reform movement before 1914” (Jefferies 2006, p. 63). Under the Third Reich, although naturism reflected divisions between “racist-reactionary” and “emancipatory-progressive strands” of the culture, it did not come to an end. Instead, it generated greater

interest in the history of sexuality and the cult of beauty and health (Jefferies 2006, p. 64).

Heliotherapy, or sun cure, overlapped in popularity with naturalism in Germany as well as other parts of Europe, including France and England. The sun cure helped establish the “rational” purposes of nudism in the early twentieth century, particularly in sun-deprived areas, where white skin signified illness. Barcan points out that “[h]eliotherapists advocated nude sun-bathing to counteract diseases such as tuberculosis (TB), rickets, anemia, rheumatism, and pulmonary infections” (Barcan 2004b, p. 71). Those therapists also encouraged people living in urban settings to escape often to sunny, “natural” settings where the air was not choked with coal smoke.

Heliotherapy also was associated with racial health; in particular, the concern over the health and beauty of the white race overlapped with sun worship. Hitler was opposed to naturism and the presence of nudist camps but supported the notion of a healthy and beautiful race of people, further emphasizing the ambivalence of attitudes during that time. Barcan states that “[n]udism was in no simple way aligned with either eugenics or German fascism,” but the Third Reich strongly emphasized the neoclassical images of male nudes as emblems of perfection and health (Barcan 2004b, p. 75). In the 1930s the humanitarian aims of nudism often ran up against the presence of nationalism and progress worship as part of the body culture that emerged before and during the Third Reich.

As nudists claimed that clothing creates and marks class and gender distinctions, they also claimed that the absence of clothing could be a way to renounce mass production and materialism in capitalist societies. As Barcan claims, “many nudist leaders were socialists” (Barcan 2004b, p. 77). The nudist and naturist movements have had a consistently utopian bent, arguing for gender, race, and class equality since their inception. During the Third Reich the naturism movement intensified and transformed into subcultures (both heterosexual and homosexual), and there emerged several publications and organizations, including the League for Body Cultivation.

CONTEMPORARY NUDISM

After the end of World War II social nudity became more widely accepted in American culture. In the United States nudism more commonly has been associated with overt sexuality than has been the case in Europe. As was discussed above, nudism more often has been associated with social and political movements such as socialism. After 1970 nudist camps became more common in the United States, whereas Europe had experienced such an increase in the 1920s. According to a

qualitative study by H.W. Smith (1980), nudist camp “ideology” consists of the following precepts:

1) nudity and sexuality are unrelated; 2) there is nothing shameful about exposing the human body; 3) the abandonment of clothes leads to a feeling of freedom and natural pleasure; and 4) nude activities lead to feelings of physical, mental, and spiritual well-being. Furthermore . . . a system of interpersonal norms [undergirds] this nudist camp ideology: 1) no staring; 2) no sex talk; 3) no body contact; 4) no alcoholic beverages in camps; 5) no photography; 6) no accentuation of the body; and 7) no unnatural attempts to cover the body.

(Smith 1980, p. 226)

The emphasis on the noneroticism of the body was and continues to be important to social nudists of all genders. In non-American cultures, where social nudity has been accepted for a longer period of time, nudist camps continue to engender a greater level of body acceptance and a healthier body image among their participants.

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Amy Nolan

NYPHOMANIA

Nymphomania has been defined as excessive or out-of-control female sexual desire or behavior. In nineteenth century Western Europe and the United States, it was diagnosed as an organic disease and in the twentieth century as a mental disorder. Similar to other diseases located in the body, early treatments included bleeding, bed rest, restricted diets, but also confinement in a mental institution, and in rare cases, clitoridectomy or hysterectomy to remove the cause of sexual

excitement. Twentieth century medical authorities also recommended psychoanalysis, hormone treatment, and tranquilizers. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the term could no longer be found in medical texts or in reference books, such as the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of the American Psychiatric Association*, but was still broadly used in the popular culture.

Based on their belief that women were more carnal than men, the ancient Greeks described a similar condition, uterine fury, which they believed occurred particularly among young widows whose lack of sexual fulfillment could drive them mad. However, it was seventeenth- and eighteenth-century changes in the conception of female sexuality that set the stage for more widespread diagnoses of nymphomania. An extraordinary transformation occurred over several centuries in Western attitudes toward sexuality: women’s bodies were no longer understood to be similar, although inferior, to men’s bodies, as they had been during the Renaissance. Science and medicine—as well as philosophy and theology—declared women to be inherently different and innately *less* carnal than men. By the nineteenth century, women’s formerly lustful character had been recreated as modest and submissive. According to this new construction, women were thought to be less passionate than men, and also less rational. They were particularly vulnerable to being overwhelmed by their sexual desires, especially during puberty, menstruation, childbirth, and menopause—that is, for most of their adult lives. Thus, those women who stepped outside strict societal norms might be diagnosed and treated as nymphomaniacs. Reflecting a double standard about male and female sexuality, medical as well as popular beliefs considered lustfulness—although needing to be controlled—a natural state for men as it presumably no longer was for women. Consequently, the male equivalent of nymphomania, satyriasis, was diagnosed far less frequently.

Similar attitudes about female sexuality extended into the courtroom: nymphomania was used as a defense in rape cases. Before the advent of DNA evidence, accused rapists could call expert witnesses to claim that the “prosecutrix,” as she was uniquely called in rape cases, was a nymphomaniac, that is, her disturbed condition drove her to say yes and then to lie about it. In cases of incest, where consent by an underaged girl would not exonerate the accused, defendants effectively presented the argument that the accuser was a nymphomaniac, which meant that she had fantasized the sexual act. At the time, nymphomania was understood to be a real, diagnosable disease or disorder that had consequences in the law.

Contemporary scholars consider nymphomania a metaphor for the sexual fears and fantasies of the time: Its ill-defined symptoms reflect changing societal norms. What was diagnosed as nymphomania in 1900 would not be out of the ordinary sexual behavior in 2000. Nymphomania

provides clear evidence that sexuality is not universal, innate, and biologically determined, but shaped by many forces—including what is thought to be “natural” or “normal” at the time. Capturing the relative nature of the term, the well-known twentieth-century American sex researcher Alfred Kinsey, when asked “who is a nymphomaniac?” replied “someone who has more sex than you do.”

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Carol Groneman

O

OBESITY

SEE *Body Image*.

OBSCENE

In contemporary English the word *obscene* has connotations of strong disapproval, even disgust. For some, any depiction of sexual activity or the sex organs is by definition pornographic, for others it is a legitimate, morally neutral branch of art, “erotic” art. In this entry the term is construed to refer to all sexual acts, gestures, and exposures that for most of European medieval and post-medieval history have been perceived or received as offensive (scatological obscenity is beyond the purview of this entry). However, the notion of obscenity is culturally relative, and chronologically relative even within the same culture: *autres temps, autres mœurs*.

DEFINITION AND PURPOSE OF OBSCENITY

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, when the traveler John Fryer visited a Hindu temple in Madras in the 1670s, his reaction to the erotic figures carved there was predictable: “On the Walls of good Sculpture were obscene Images, where Aretine might have furnished his Fancy for his Bawdy Postures.” This may have been the era of Rochester and the bawdy excesses of the court of Charles II, but Fryer knew obscenity when he saw it. The “Bawdy Postures” of the carved temple figures he interpreted as obscene images similar to the

frankly pornographic and notorious *modi* (positions for intercourse, known in contemporary English as the *Postures*) engraved by Raimondi to illustrate Aretino’s sonnets, a work that was publicly burned in Venice in 1527 and became synonymous with sexual obscenity for the early modern English.

In Adam de la Halle’s thirteenth-century play, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, searching for some means of entertaining themselves, one of the adult actors asks, “*Faisons un pet pour nous esbatre?*” (Shall we fart to amuse ourselves?) a suggestion accepted with, we may think, surprising alacrity. Obscenity cannot be accidental but must be intentional—by which definition, neither of these instances qualifies as obscene: the offense taken by Fryer was certainly accidental—contemporary Indians would not have been offended—and the medieval French farters entered into their game without giving it a second thought.

However, it is in this very propensity to offend that the power of the obscene lies. When obscenity is not accidental but ostentatious, what is its function? One obvious function is to promote sexual arousal regardless of whether such art or writing is labeled pornographic or erotic. Such deliberate incitement began in postclassical times with the Aretino/Raimondi *I Modi* (Lawner 1988) and continues in the present era via “girlie” magazines and Internet porn sites.

PORNOGRAPHY IN THE RENAISSANCE AND THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the Restoration period English travelers abroad were expected to bring back Continental pornography.

“A Stranger [who] discourseth with a Roman Book seller” in Torriano’s Italian-English phrase book of 1666, eager to buy a copy of Aretino, is told that “they are forbidden, both the Postures [*I Modi*] and the Discourses [*Ragionamenti*], that imbracing of men and women together in unusual manners.” In Vanbrugh’s *The Country Wife* (1675), having just returned from France, Horner significantly protests, “I have brought over not so much as a Bawdy Picture, new Postures nor the second part of the *Escholle des Filles*.” In the same year a group of Oxford undergraduates was discovered trying to run off copies of these same Postures on the Clarendon Press clandestinely at night.

Horner’s *Escholle des Filles* was first published in Paris in 1655 (and unillustrated); a generation later it was translated into English and published anonymously as *The School of Venus* (1680). Opposite the title page of the only extant copy is an etched frontispiece that depicts a modestly dressed woman standing behind a booth selling dildos. Images of dildo sellers are also to be found on a German fifteenth-century biscuit mold, and a sixteenth-century Flemish game sheet, and one such salesman features significantly in a twelfth-century Latin comedy, the *Alda*.

In *Histriomastix* (1633) two of the many evils William Prynne inveighed against were “the obscene jests of Stage-players and obscene pictures.” Puritans such as Prynne had time and censorship on their side. Material of this nature is peculiarly prone to censorship, especially censorship by destruction: *L’Escholle des Filles*, for example, was read in the original language by Samuel Pepys in 1668 but then burned so “that it might not be among my books to my shame.”

One has to be suspicious of the popularity of images of Lucretia’s suicide in the inventory of King Henry VIII, as that subject allowed the artist to display the naked female bosom under the guise of exemplary chastity. One cannot help suspecting that there is some sadoerotic frisson here, as well as in some of the many images of Phyllis riding Aristotle. Similarly, the ostensibly biblical subject of Bathsheba bathing afforded male viewers the same voyeuristic pleasure in spying on the naked female body that King David was unable to resist; so too the subject of Susanna and the Elders. All these female nudes were sanctioned by biblical or classical history: although they may look like early modern women, their historicity protected the contemporary owner of such images from the suspicion owning pornography.

Similarly, Italian Renaissance engravers produced erotic prints thinly disguised as illustrations of classical mythology, including the loves of the gods, nymphs and satyrs, and the like. However, the success of these print series led to copying in the Netherlands and Germany,

particularly by the “Little Masters.” The Nuremberg engraver Hans Guldenmund came to the attention of the city council in 1535 for possessing “a most shameful and sinful little book in which are many unchaste pictures of unconventional lovemaking.” This sounds like a copy of Aretino’s *Postures*.

In Ben Jonson’s play *The Alchemist* (1610), trying to account for the visits of so many people to the alchemist’s house, Lovewit opines, “Sure he has got/ Some bawdy pictures to call all this ging [crowd]/ The Friar and the Nun.” Protestant image makers could not resist the spectacle of monks and nuns engaged in mutual sexual activity. Among titles that appear to belong in this category, the print seller Peter Sten’s 1662 advertisement included a “Friar whipping a nun.” The corporal chastisement of naked or seminaked female penitents by friar confessors afforded Protestant controversialists particular satisfaction (especially in connexion with the scandal of Brother Cornelius of Dort), and provided a convenient excuse for the Protestant amateur of pornography, who could claim to possess such voyeuristic scenes of flagellation and female nudity merely as proof of the debauchery of the Roman church and its practices.

In the same “incidental” way explicit sexuality was used as a device to smear other religious denominations or factions in the seventeenth-century Civil War era in England, but such sexual “cartoons” have always been employed to denigrate one’s opponents, whether religious or political, as in the many scurrilous drawings and prints attacking Marie Antoinette during the era of the French Revolution. This satirical function has always been one of the most important uses of obscenity in European culture.

OBSCENE NAMES

The use of obscene names for places, people, and things in the medieval and early modern eras is another area of the obscene that is at odds with modern sensibilities. In 1658, for instance, while discussing the earwig, an entomologist noted that the “Northern English by an obscene name call it Twitch-ballock” (*Oxford English Dictionary*), though it was more commonly plants that were given such sexual names. Ophelia noted that to the wild orchids known as “long purples . . . liberal shepherds give a grosser name,” for just as the generic name derives from the Greek *orchis* (“testicle”), the same visual resemblance was noted in the vernacular, and one such name Elizabethan shepherds might have used was *fooles ballockes*.

Highly obscene personal nicknames were in routine use in late medieval Europe and provide invaluable—often the earliest—evidence for the vernacular sexual lexicon. Interpreting such names is fraught with danger, but the perennial male concern with penis size would appear to be

reflected in the English *Langgeters* (i.e., “long tarse” [“penis”]) and the precisely cognate late medieval German *Langzers*. Tax rolls from the decades around 1300 record names such as Jehan Fout-en-Paille, Roger Gildynballokes, John Swetpintel, Richard Twyhecunt, Bele Wydecunthe, and Jehan Con-doré.

PHALLIC AND PUBIC IMAGES

Such names may be either admiring or insulting but certainly are comic, for obscenity can also be humorous; indeed, the capacity of the obscene to raise a laugh, to “divert,” is intimately related to what may arguably be its most important function: defense against harm, an *apotropaion* (charm) that will divert the anonymous malignity of the Evil Eye.

Recent decades have seen the publication of hundreds of bizarre small lead badges of late medieval date in the form of ambulant and often winged phalluses, similarly animated vulvas, couples copulating, and so on. The strongly represented phallic presence in this corpus seems to confirm suggestions that these badges are rooted in the tradition of late Roman iconography, embodying precisely that combination of *bizarre* and visceral shock that Plutarch declared was the perfect antidote to the Evil Eye. The exposure of the sexual organs functions as a protective shock tactic, whether on the public monumental scale of the numerous female exhibitionist *sheelagh-nagig* sculptures set into the exteriors of churches and over municipal gateways, or on the private miniature scale of these badges. Such artifactual literal dismemberment is paralleled in literary works such as Claude Chappuy’s *Blason du Con*, Dafydd ap Gwilym’s *Cywydd y Gâl*, and Gwerful Mechain’s answering *cywydd* in praise of the vagina.

In earlier eras it was male fashion that would be considered obscene by modern commentators, especially the increasingly obvious—and increasingly stuffed—codpiece (derided by Rabelais as *hypocritiques braguettes*). Long before Sigmund Freud identified thrusting weapons as phallic symbols, the *ballok-hefied* (“testicle-handled”) dagger appeared in the late middle ages; worn at the girdle, such weapons present a blatantly phallic appearance when sported by the young courtiers who surround the Duc de Berry in his *Très Riches Heures*, for instance.

However, images of the phallus might also be part of interior and exterior decoration in the late middle ages. When in 1551 Rabelais describes Lent daydreaming about penises flying and creeping up walls, this is not mere fantasy. Recalling the same period, Brantôme attests to the existence of such wall paintings in Spain. Recently a thirteenth-century mural of a phallus tree resurfaced in Massa Marittima, joining one in the Tirolean Schloss Lichtenberg. The phallus tree was also visible at carnival:

at Nördlingen in 1510 a branch bearing phallus fruit was carried around the town, and a late fifteenth-century German drawing of such a tree survives in Istanbul.

Fashions in obscenity come and go. A British court ruling of 1969 that pubic hair was not obscene led directly to a crop of self-styled “beaver movies,” yet a depiction of the trimming of female pubic hair appeared as the subject of a statue situated over the Porta Tosa in twelfth-century Milan; there could hardly be a more public venue. An early sixteenth-century woodcut print by Floetner depicts a woman performing this intimate form of grooming, and a thirteenth-century Parisian street was named the *Rue de Poile-Con* (Cunt-Trimming Street) now euphemised as the *Rue de Pélican* (Pelican Street). There are similarly several minor Middle English place names that appear to recall this same aspect of feminine toilet: a spring named Shavecuntewelle is attested in Kent, and a Swylcontdich (Swill-cunt-ditch) in Cheshire in 1396.

The ability *raser et tondre maujoint* (to shave and clip the cunt) is one of the numerous talents of the eponymous *Varlet à Louer* (servant for hire), as it is of the related *Chambrière à tout faire* (maid-of-all-work), who is also required *raser et tondre le cas*, and the practice is frequently referred to in other French comic literature around 1500. Brantôme similarly devotes considerable space to fashions in female pubic hair in the French court around the middle of the sixteenth century.

SEE ALSO *Codpiece; Erotic Art; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folklore; Genitalia, as Apotropaic; Marie Antoinette; Pornography; Susanna at Her Bath; Voyeurism.*

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Malcolm Jones

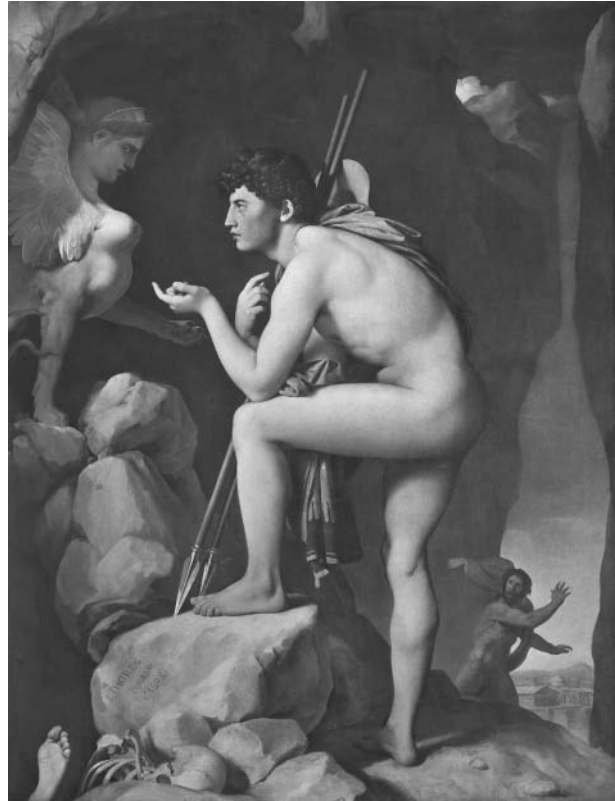
OEDIPUS, MYTH OF

The myth of Oedipus concerns the Theban king who unwittingly murdered his father and married his mother. The story is best known from Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus* (c. 429–425 BCE, also called *Oedipus Rex*), regarded by Aristotle as a masterpiece of Athenian drama because Oedipus's discovery of his identity coincides with his reversal of fortune. Sophocles's tragedy influenced subsequent dramas, including Seneca's *Oedipus* (mid-first century CE) and Jean Cocteau's *The Infernal Machine* (1934). Basing his theories on *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the myth outside the play, Sigmund Freud universalized Oedipus's story into a familial conflict waged within a child's psyche. To mature, we must resolve our "Oedipus complex," our unconscious antagonism toward the parent of our own sex and attraction to the parent of the opposite sex.

Oedipus dominates *Oedipus Tyrannus* from the beginning, when a plague at Thebes inspires him to seek its cause. After his brother-in-law Creon returns from Delphi with Apollo's command that the *murderers* of the former king Laius be found, Oedipus condemns the *murderer*—a Freudian slip perhaps?—to exile and a wretched life. Since no one confesses, Oedipus consults the blind seer Tiresias, to no avail. Oedipus accuses Tiresias of conspiring in Laius's murder and in Creon's plot against Oedipus. When Tiresias calls Oedipus the murderer, Oedipus mocks the prophet's gifts, since he alone solved the sphinx's riddle years before. Tiresias then sets Oedipus another riddle: "Who are your parents?"

Jocasta, Oedipus's wife and Creon's sister, advises Oedipus to disregard the Delphic oracle: Laius, predicted to die at his son's hand, was murdered by robbers, while her infant son by Laius was exposed, feet pierced, on Mount Cithaeron lest he eventually kill his father. However, Jocasta mentions that Laius died at the crossroads between Thebes and Delphi—a crucial detail. Before coming to Thebes, Oedipus had been raised by Polybus and Merope, the king and queen of Corinth. But after being called a bastard by a drunk, Oedipus left Corinth for Delphi, where Apollo prophesied that Oedipus would bed his mother, spawn a brood unbearable to see, and murder his father. Oedipus fled Delphi toward Thebes, only to be attacked at that fatal crossroad by an old man and his retinue. Oedipus retaliated, killing them all. If that man was Laius, Oedipus must be the murderer.

Jocasta insists that an eyewitness, the lone survivor of that attack, still lives. Meanwhile, a man from Corinth announces the death of Polybus by natural causes and invites Oedipus "home" to claim the throne. When Oedipus nevertheless fears Merope, Jocasta famously responds: "As for this marriage with your mother—have



Oedipus Consulting the Sphinx. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

no fear. Many a man before you, in his dreams, has shared his mother's bed" (Sophocles, 1073–1075, Fagles's translation). The Corinthian declares that Polybus and Merope had *adopted* Oedipus, that he himself had obtained the baby from a Theban shepherd, and that Oedipus's name, "swollen-footed," derives from his pierced ankles. Realizing the truth, Jocasta begs Oedipus not to interview the shepherd, whom the Chorus also identifies as the witness to Laius's killing. She disappears as Oedipus learns from the aged shepherd the last detail of the riddle: He, the baby saved so long before, is Laius and Jocasta's son. Oedipus storms into the palace, discovers Jocasta hanging from a noose, and blinds himself with the brooches fastening her dress—a symbolic castration and iteration of their incest. Rejecting the superficiality of sight, Oedipus acquires Tiresias's deeper knowledge of the relationship between past and present (as suggested by his name's resemblance to the verb (*oida*: "I know")). Though horrified, the Chorus offers sympathy. Creon allows Oedipus to embrace his young daughters and promises them protection. By the end, Oedipus has so regained his authority that Creon must remind Oedipus that he no longer rules Thebes.

Sophocles's *Oedipus at Colonus* (c. 405 BCE) continues with Oedipus's final day. Exiled from Thebes,

Oedipus has wandered for years accompanied only by his daughter Antigone and kept informed by his other daughter Ismene. Near Athens, he unknowingly violates another taboo when trespassing on the grove of the Furies, chthonic goddesses of fertility and vengeance. Recognizing his true “home,” he offers Theseus, the virtuous Athenian king, the benefit that Oedipus’s burial will bring against Theban attack. Theseus welcomes and defends him against both Polyneices (Oedipus’s elder son and commander of a force against Thebes), and Creon (representative of Oedipus’s younger son, Eteocles, who recently usurped the Theban throne from Polyneices). Oedipus’s male relatives hope to enlist Oedipus in their civil strife, though Creon and Eteocles won’t allow him back into Thebes, and Polyneices wants his help in assailing the very city for which he sacrificed so much. When Oedipus refuses, Creon attempts to kidnap Antigone and Ismene, thus earning Oedipus’s curse. Later, after Oedipus curses his sons to kill one another, Polyneices rejects Antigone’s plea not to attack Thebes, and makes her promise to bury him—the fulfillment of which leads to Antigone’s own death in Sophocles’s *Antigone* (c. 441 BCE). *Oedipus at Colonus* ends with Oedipus guiding Theseus to his burial site, known only to the Athenian king and his heirs, and the gods calling Oedipus to them. (Oedipus’s only counterpart in Greek myth is Zeus, who hurls his father, Cronus, to Tartarus in Hesiod’s *Theogony*, and, according to Orphic literature, mates with his mother, Rhea, to produce Demeter.)

Earlier versions of the Oedipus myth, though fragmentary and difficult to assess, suggest that discovery of the murder and incest occurred almost immediately (Homer, *Odyssey* 11.271–280); that Oedipus continued ruling Thebes and died there (Homer, *Iliad* 23.679–680); that another wife bore Oedipus’s children after Jocasta’s suicide (*Oedipodeia*); that Laius raped the son of his host Pelops, thus dooming his own family (Aeschylus, *Laius*); or that Oedipus’s curse caused his own sons’ strife (*Thebais*). Influenced by Seneca, later works emphasize Oedipus’s nobility in enduring malevolent fate, his role as sacrificial scapegoat, his guilt as personified by Laius’s ghost. Post-Freudian versions eroticize the incest.

The brilliance of Sophocles’s interpretation cannot be overstated. In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Oedipus’s explosive reaction towards three father figures—Tiresias, Creon, and the Shepherd—echoes his earlier violence against Laius. Yet, to save Thebes, Oedipus perseveres publicly and heroically in identifying himself as Laius’s murderer(s). The confusion between singular and plural emphasizes Oedipus’s multiple identities as Theban native and stranger, Jocasta’s son and husband, his children’s father and eldest brother. Having saved Thebes from the sphinx, Oedipus won Jocasta and the throne; neverthe-

less, his own sons continue to treat him as Thebes’ pollution in *Oedipus at Colonus* and quarrel over his throne rather than tend him, thus prompting his furious rejection of them as patricides (1540–1550). Athenian law punished sons severely for such neglect, and Oedipus states that only barbarians loiter within while their women toil outside the home. Before being transformed into a cult hero resembling the Furies, Oedipus finds in Theseus the ideal son and, in Athens, a city meriting his eternal protection. But “adopting” Theseus reduces Antigone and Ismene from caregiving “sons” to daughters dependent upon surrogate fathers (Theseus, Creon). Sophocles’s *Antigone* witnesses the demise without issue of Oedipus’s line, as Creon compels Antigone to choose between two duties traditional to women: marrying (his son Haemon) to produce children, or burying her kin (the traitor Polyneices). However unintentional, Oedipus’s transgressions against father and mother ultimately doom every family member, no matter how exemplary.

SEE ALSO *Ancient Greece; Freud, Sigmund; Legends and Myths.*

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Adele J. Haft

ONANISM

Onanism is an archaic term for masturbation. While masturbation can refer to the manual stimulation of one’s own genitals or those of another, onanism is exclusively masturbation of oneself. Additionally, onanism must be accompanied by orgasm, as the term specifically refers to ejaculation without procreative purpose. The term was coined in the eighteenth century when the anti-masturbation tract *Onania* was published in England, citing biblical authority to condemn the practice, which the author equated to sodomy (also a non-procreative sexual activity). Later in the century, Swiss physician Simon-Auguste-André-David Tissot published *L’Onanisme*, which used medical rather than religious arguments to

reject masturbation. This text, which was widely read and translated, is thought to be responsible for many of the erroneous prejudices against masturbation that still exist (for instance, the idea that ejaculation in some way weakens the body by depleting it of blood). One of the few ways in which the document could be considered progressive, however, is that Tissot wrote about both male and female masturbation, and that both were a result of a desire for pleasure. Thus, while condemning it, Tissot did actually acknowledge a concept of female sexuality and desire.

The term *onanism* is derived from the biblical story of Onan (Genesis 38), who was required by tradition to marry his brother's widow and to father a child with her as an heir for his deceased brother. Onan was unhappy that his child would not be recognized as his own, that literally "the seed should not be his." Rather than having intercourse with his new wife after their wedding, Onan masturbated, refusing to impregnate her. In response, God slew Onan; medieval scholars interpreted his sin as masturbation, while later theologians interpreted it as hatred for his brother. While the nature of Onan's sin may be debatable, his name has become connected with masturbation, specifically when thought of as a waste of semen. Also, because Onan was the son of Judah, he was part of the line that ultimately led to King David and Jesus. While Onan could not know his family's destiny, historians saw Onan's refusal to procreate as a potential for interruption in the most important lineage in Jewish, and ultimately Christian, history.

Beginning primarily with the work of Sigmund Freud in the early twentieth century, masturbation began to be understood as causing no particular physical harm. While reversing many myths, this also served to position the practice as a psychological problem, rather than removing stigma altogether. In the later twentieth century, particularly in response of the spread of AIDS, masturbation was recognized as one of the safest sexual activities possible. As a form of safer sex, it has even become eroticized, figuring prominently in gay pornographic movies well before actors began to use condoms on screen. In 1995, President Bill Clinton fired Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for tentatively agreeing with a suggestion that children should be taught about masturbation in health education classes, proving that the medical safety of onanism has yet to overcome its social stigma.

SEE ALSO *Masturbation*.

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Brian D. Holcomb

ONE-CHILD ONE-FAMILY POLICY

The one-child one-family policy originated at a national Chinese birth-planning conference in February 1978. That October the Communist Party State Council established birth-planning bureaus in all counties to promote the new policy of allowing one child per family, tolerating two children per family, and preventing families from having additional children. Those policies were instituted because the Party Central Committee wanted to ensure that the national population would not exceed 1.2 billion by the year 2000. In September 1980 the Party Central Committee established a stricter one-child policy, with some special permits for a second child granted. That policy was relaxed after the issuance of Document No. 7/1984, which allowed for more rural second-child permits and more local flexibility.

After the Tian'anmen crisis of June 1989, however, and with new projections of the 2000 population at 1.27 billion to 1.323 billion, the party again limited second-child permits and increased sanctions for disobeying birth quotas. Those restrictions, especially in rural areas, led to imbalances in sex ratios as high as 114 male infants born per 100 females, well above biologically normal levels, in 1992 and 1993. As traditional desires for a son have remained culturally intact alongside strict policies of birth limitation, these statistics suggest that prenatal sex determination led to more abortions of female fetuses and that infanticide was practiced on female infants. However, as a result of increasing mobility, divorces, second marriages, and informal unions, among other factors, an increasing number of Chinese people are able to evade party controls on their fertility.

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Donna J. Drucker

ONE-SEX THEORY

The term *one-sex theory* refers to the belief that there was only one sex and it was male. The theory originated in the writings of Aristotle and Galen; they had postulated a structural homology between the sexual organs of men and women whereby they were basically the same, except that those of men lay outside the body while those of women lay inside it and were, naturally, reversed: a vagina was a penis turned inside, the ovaries were the testicles, and so on. Similarly, bodily fluids (semen, blood, milk) were basically the same, being composed of the same fungible matter. The difference between men and women was not, therefore, one of kind (two different types of beings), but of degree (various types of the same being).

The theory postulated that, in the final stages of gestation immediately preceding birth, heat drove the sexual organs out of the fetus's body and created a man; should there not be enough heat, an incompletely formed male (that is, a female) would be born. According to this model, females were thus imperfectly formed males, with all the social and cultural consequences that followed, including exclusion from the highest ecclesiastical, political, or intellectual positions in their society, subservience and obedience to male kins, severe restrictions in legal and economic matters, and so forth.

An important corollary proposed that if, at puberty, sufficient heat were applied, a "girl" could force her sexual organs out of her body and become a "boy." In the sixteenth century, anecdotal accounts attesting to such transformations abound. One of the most famous is the case of Marie, a French shepherdess from Vitry-le-François who, at age fifteen, while chasing some pigs in the heat of the summer, jumped over a small creek and, landing heavily on the other side, so ruptured her ligaments that her sexual organs fell out and she instantly became a man, Germain, who then lived as a male for the rest of his life. The story is recounted by, among others, the physicians Jacques Ferrand and Amboise Paré, and the philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). Other stories, such as the one told by a certain Antoine Loqueneux to Amatus Lusitanus (1511–1568), attribute the change to the "heat of passion"—a girl in bed with a chambermaid is so sexually aroused that she suddenly ejects a male member from her body and carries on life (and, one assumes, sexual activity) as a male.

In his groundbreaking volume *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (1990), Thomas Laqueur highlights this theory and suggests that it was the fundamental operative model for understanding sex and sexuality not only in the Renaissance but even as far as the eighteenth century. A chorus of scholars (Katherine Park, Robert Nye, Michael Stolberg, and Donald Beecher, among others) have argued strongly against it, however,

pointing out that already by 1600 the Aristotelian-Galenic one-sex model had been completely debunked and abandoned not only by European thinkers but, more importantly, by the medical profession itself. Its reaffirmation by Laqueur and others in the late twentieth century is, according to some, more grounded in contemporary theoretical battles than in the realities of Renaissance culture or science.

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Konrad Eisenbichler

OPERA

From its inception around 1600 in Florence, Italy, where it evolved as an experimental genre that was intended to revive the reputed affective power of ancient Greek music, opera has deployed an array of performative elements that engage, reinforce, subvert, and redefine Western European notions of gender and sexuality. As a site of cultural discourse, opera not only creates a privileged space for that discourse but recognizes and capitalizes on the theatrical existence of the audience in a sociological context that extends beyond the opera house, influencing and absorbing life off the stage.

THE VOICE AND ROLE OF THE CASTRATO

Among the defining characteristics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian opera is the employment of the castrato, a male soprano or contralto whose vocal range was preserved by castration before puberty. Prized for its brilliance, flexibility, and power, the castrato voice also was recognized for its otherness. In the theater the castrato was endowed with a fluid gender identity that was inscribed on the singer's body through performative enactment. In the operatic tradition the highest voices are the most valued, and in male roles they are used for heroes, emperors, and warriors. In *opera seria* those noble characters preferably were played by castrati. The modern polarization associating high voices with femininity and low voices with masculinity does not apply to this repertoire,

and the deepest voices, which modern binary gender construction codes as the most masculine, frequently were reserved for old, often foolish men and are more typical of comic than of serious opera.

The castrato voice often was preferred for leading female roles (it was required in Rome, where women were barred from the stage), and in Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607) the roles of both Orfeo and Euridice were first performed by castrati. When castrati were not available, women could be employed to sing male and female roles. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *opera seria* signals aspects of early modern gender fluidity in which the biological body and the voice were not necessarily gender signifiers. In Manelli's *Andromeda* (1637) the role of Venus was sung by a castrato, and in Cavalli's *Eliogabalo* (1668) the three male roles were cast for sopranos (male or female) whereas the female role was assigned to a tenor.

The castrati not only signal the fluidity of gender in early opera but suggest that that period was not bound by the binary gender models imposed during the nineteenth century and that sexuality was not linked closely to gender performance. Although critics of Italian opera derided the gelded soprano for his artificiality and inability to claim a gender fully, his excessive, almost supernatural vocal abilities might be interpreted as a sort of hypermasculinity, and the most renowned eighteenth-century castrati, including Farinelli, were acclaimed not only for their international vocal successes but frequently for their heterosexual amorous prowess.

CASTRATI AND TRAVESTI

Castrati roles, even female ones, are not real travesti (cross-dress) roles because they typically do not engage the biological sex of the singer but instead construct gender through performance. In the seventeenth century travesti roles were almost exclusively for men performing as, typically, ugly or old women, including Arnalta in Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642). In the Italian tradition these roles are frequently comic, whereas in the French tradition of the *tragédie en musique*, which did not employ castrati, travesti roles for men could be serious (La Terre in Lully's *Phaëton*, 1683) or tragic (Méduse in Lully's *Persée*, 1682). In the eighteenth century travesti roles tended to be "pants roles" (women performing as males), a tradition that continued throughout the nineteenth century, long after male travesti roles had all but disappeared. Pants roles usually portray young or adolescent boys such as Cherubino in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786). Ostensibly, this resolves the problem of a lack of very young males with the required technical or artistic maturity, but it also creates an uneasy sex/gender performance because a woman, unlike a castrato, is not "neutral" and portrays an immature or

undeveloped man. This reflects early modern medical theory, in which women were considered physically inverted or incomplete men. Thus, cross-dressed women rarely portrayed heroes or warriors.

The fluidity of gender and its performance in early opera are encapsulated in the alterations made to Gluck's *Orfeo*. The original 1762 version casts the heroic role for a castrato, but when the work was performed in France in 1773, the role was transposed for a tenor. This had no effect on the gender performance of that opera because the heroic male castrato simply was recast as a physically complete male. In 1859 Berlioz restored the contralto range for Pauline Viardot, inverting the original gender dynamics and subverting the traditional association of the travesti female with the incomplete male unable to achieve heroic, "masculine" glory.

WOMEN SINGERS AND TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLES

Although the development of opera and the rise of the female singer promoted and indeed demanded women of exceptional vocal and dramatic ability, it also forced them into a performative environment that repeated, reenacted, and reinforced the female gender norms of European society, almost all of which are emblemized in Monteverdi's operas: Euridice, the passive lover (*Orfeo*); Penelope, the docile mother and wife (*Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*); Ottavia, the Rejected Wife (*L'incoronazione di Poppea*); Poppea, the whore (*L'incoronazione di Poppea*); Arnalta, the old woman (*L'incoronazione di Poppea*); and Arianna, the abandoned woman and tragic heroine (*Arianna*). The sorceress is the remaining stereotyped woman in opera. The extroverted performative roles of woman as whore, tragic heroine, and sorceress, combined with the technical possibilities of high voices, established the tradition of the virtuoso woman singer that has been a fundamental element of opera, developing alongside the castrato tradition in Italian *opera seria* and superseding it by the end of the eighteenth century. Women such as Jommelli's Armida (*Armida abbandonata*, 1770) and Mozart's Königin der Nacht (*Die Zauberflöte*, 1791) not only dazzle with spectacular vocal virtuosity but do so in an excessive manner, most superbly in rage arias in which unbridled fury breaks all vocal restraint, bursting into uncontrollable passion.

The essential reduction of women in serious opera to emblems of tragic passion reinforced traditional associations of women with the unreasonable, the uncontrollable, and the dangerous. This is demonstrated clearly in Mozart's Masonic opera *Die Zauberflöte*, which is constructed around the masculine-feminine binary. Prince Tamino defeats the unruly "feminine" powers of darkness represented by the Königin der Nacht, wedding the queen's daughter, Pamina, under the auspices of her

father, Sarastro, the high priest of Osiris and Isis, who represents “masculine” order and enlightenment.

Alongside the tragic tradition, *opera buffa* (comic opera) frequently presents women who lead the plot and the male characters, unmasking hypocrisy, shaming wrongdoers, and generally wreaking havoc with the established male order. However, these works, which include Pergolesi’s *La serva padrona* (1733), Piccinni’s *La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola* (1760), and Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro*, do not enact a meaningful recuperation of women’s agency. Instead, that agency, although it ridicules the established masculine order, itself is ridiculed in that the women engaging it are essentially viragos: meddling, needling, scheming, and scolding.

In the operatic tradition the “glorification” of women operates primarily through their ultimate victimization, which often results from transgressing societal norms, and publicly reinforces performative aspects of gender. To this end, leading women’s roles are almost always for sopranos, ensuring that the virtuosic enactment of women’s victimization will be musically spectacular dazzling performances of constructed gender norms, a procedure that was cemented through mad scenes in the nineteenth-century. Typical mad scenes involve irrational behavior by the soprano heroine. She may sleepwalk, hallucinate, or otherwise lose control, affording the opportunity for histrionics and excessive coloratura. Bellini’s Anne Boleyn (*Anna Bolena*, 1830) loses her grip on reality just before her execution, his Amina (*La sonnambula*, 1831) and Verdi’s Lady Macbeth (*Macbeth*, 1847) are sleepwalkers, and Donizetti’s Lucia (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, 1829) loses her mind, appearing at her wedding feast holding a bloody knife and confessing that she has murdered her husband.

Although excessive emotion stereotypically was associated with women, the nineteenth century solidified this scientifically through the development of clinical psychology in which hysteria was identified as a gendered disorder suffered by women (the term originally designated a condition of the womb). Like the eighteenth-century rage aria, the hysterical mad scene reiterated gender performances that conformed to extraoperatic sociological constructs. Ironically, the hysteria of Sigmund Freud’s Dora is indicated not by excessive vocal performance but by aphonia (loss of voice), and in some respects even the most vocal hysterical women in opera suffer from a symbolic aphonia through their entrapment in the performance of stereotyped gender.

THE DIVA AND SUBVERSIONS OF GENDER NORMS

Traditionally, the most revered women in opera are those who portray the doomed, transgressive/punished, or vic-

timized tragic heroine most effectively, transcending representation and approaching the artistically divine. The cult of the diva, in which Maria Callas is among the principal deities, worships the hyperfeminine, that which in its excess approaches drag. In this context diva worship is associated most notably with stereotypical notions of the opera-obsessed homosexual, the “opera queen,” and supports the extension of the operatic stage into daily life. The diva not only takes up the elements of gendered performativity on stage but fully embraces them, employing those traits to construct her public persona and thus becoming a realization of theatrical gender codes in a rarefied sacred representation.

Such fetishized gender performance lends itself to subversive interpretations that may be achieved through parody and the deflation of monolithic operatic stagings of gender. Drag impersonations of the diva or tragic heroine, for example, call into question the nature of theatrical gender construction because cross-dressed men may take up the tools of operatically coded femininity, extending the boundaries of desire and appropriation inherent in gendered operatic performance; this in turn may be reflected in the performance of opera.

New productions of operas frequently question and subvert established gender and sex norms, reflecting current explorations of sex and gender performativity outside the theater. In this context modern performances of works such as Monteverdi’s *L’incoronazione di Poppea* frequently replace the absent castrato voice, in this case the role of Nerone, with a woman; however, rather than attempt to “butch” the role in an effort to minimize a perceived lack of masculinity, they instead may emphasize the possible homoerotic implications of the casting, destabilizing traditional theatrical gender performance. This is only one example of the incorporation of contemporary issues of gender and sexuality into the performative universe of opera. Works such as Berg’s *Lulu* (1937), [and] Britten’s *Death in Venice* (1973), and Wallace’s *Harvey Milk* (1995) engage lesbian and gay identities, and Eötvös’s *Angels in America* (2004) focuses on AIDS in the 1980s, bringing sex and gender issues of contemporary immediacy into the opera house.

As opera continues to evolve, its traditional performances of gender and sexuality norms serve as foundations not only for the reiteration of those norms but as armatures for an ever-expanding exploration of gender performance in a locus of privileged discourse.

SEE ALSO *Music*.

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Desmond Hosford

ORACLES

An oracle is a pronouncement from the divine or the human medium through which the divine pronouncement is made. Oracles are used as a means of learning the will or opinion of the divine. But unlike other types of divination that rely on signs and symbols to interpret divine will, oracles take the form of oral or written messages from the divine, which are conveyed through a male or, more often, a female human medium. In oracular divination, the divine being inhabits and speaks through a particular person.

RANGE OF INFLUENCE

In the ancient Mediterranean world, oracles were routinely consulted regarding a variety of topics. At one end of the spectrum, the oracles fielded questions about matters of public policy and affairs of state. Rulers sent envoys to the oracles to request divine advice about governmental issues or receive divine sanction for their decisions. At the other end of the spectrum, common people came to the oracles with concerns about everyday life. Inquiries about children, how to run a business,

where to build a home, when to travel or plant crops were all put to the oracles.

Oracles were common throughout the entire ancient Mediterranean world and beyond. There were oracles in Egypt, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome. In addition to these ancient Mediterranean locations, oracles are also found in China and other parts of Southeast Asia. The gods that speak through the oracles are equally diverse. Apollo, Zeus, Isis, Asklepios, various deified Egyptian pharaohs and queens, as well as the god of Judaism and Christianity are all recorded as having inspired oracles.

THE ORACLES AT DELPHI AND THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS

Among the many oracles of classical antiquity, the temple of Apollo at Delphi housed the most well known. The oracles at Delphi were young women, priestesses of Apollo, who had taken vows of celibacy. As celibate priestesses the women were given the special role of serving as spokeswomen for Apollo. When people came to the temple seeking Apollo's guidance, these women provided the answers.

Consultations with the Delphic oracles took place on the seventh day of each of the nine months of the year that Apollo was believed to be in residence at the temple. After a goat was sacrificed to ensure the presence of Apollo, one of the priestesses, also called the Pythia, donned a crown of laurel leaves, sat upon a sacred tripod (Apollo's throne) in the inner-sanctum of the temple, and assumed a trance like state in preparation for making pronouncements. From an outer room male priests would call out the petitioners' questions to the Pythia, who responded to them on behalf of Apollo.

Debate remains about the degree of agency the Delphic oracles had over the answers they gave. The mythological view held that the women were possessed by Apollo and that it was the god not the woman who was speaking. Divinity rather than the human feminine prevailed. Commentators from antiquity believed that vapors coming from cracks in the ground in the inner-sanctum caused the Pythia to fall into a state of altered consciousness. Modern day investigation at the site of the Delphic temple has disproved the existence of mind altering vapors but there is evidence to suggest the Pythia ritually drank water from the local Kassotis spring and chewed laurel leaves during consultations, actions which may or may not have had a transforming effect.

Similarly the Pythia was traditionally thought to be frantic and incomprehensible when she gave pronouncements. The ancient priests contended that the answers came in the form of vague uttering and garbled bits of poetry that had to be translated by the male priests before

they assumed any useful meaning. Thus the masculine made sense of the feminine by giving meaning to the incomprehensible. Some scholars disagree with this view and point to images and writings from antiquity that depict the Pythia as calm and in control, dictating coherent prophecies that did not need external clarification. The implication that the Pythia exerted some agency over her responses is interesting because it raises the possibility that the priestesses of Apollo, in their capacity as the Delphic oracles, contributed to the political process in Athens in a way that was normally closed to women.

Another well known example of oracles in classical antiquity is the Sibylline Books of Rome. The Sibylline Books were a collection of written oracles purported to have originated with the Sibyl of Cumae. Sibyls were women inspired with the ability to prophesize. The Sibyl of Cumae was thought to be especially gifted in the art of divination. According to legend, a mysterious elderly woman approached King Tarquin (one of the early founders of Rome) and offered him nine books of oracles. Tarquin declined the offer so the old woman destroyed three of the books and returned to offer him the remaining six. Tarquin dismissed her again so the woman destroyed three more books. At this point various ominous signs indicated to Tarquin that he had failed to accept a gift from the gods. A remorseful Tarquin immediately purchased the remaining three books from the woman for the price she had initially quoted for all nine.

After they passed into Roman hands, the Sibylline Books were cared for by the *quindecimviri*, the Roman priestly college responsible for foreign religion. At the request of the senators, members of the college consulted the oracles after the appearance of prodigies (signs that indicated the relationship between humans and the gods was misaligned). The books recommended rituals that could counteract prodigies. During the third century BCE, the Sibylline Books were often cited as the source for the introduction of new or foreign religions to Rome. The Sibylline Books were destroyed in the fifth century CE, but by that time additions to the books included oracles that combined pagan, Jewish, and Christian ideas.

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ORAL SEX

The term *oral sex* refers to any kind of sexual stimulation involving the lips, mouth, and throat in contact with the genitals or anus. Oral sex practices include oral stimulation of the penis, called *fellatio* (from the Latin verb *fellare* meaning to suck), oral stimulation of the vulva and clitoris, called *cunnilingus*, (from the Latin words *cunnus* or vulva and *lingere* meaning to lick) and oral stimulation of the anus, called *anilingus* (from the Latin *anus* and *lingere*). Oral sex practices have been a part of human sexual behavior throughout recorded history and around the world. Ancient Greek art, the walls of Roman Pompeii, and Japanese erotic art all reveal images of cunnilingus and fellatio; the Indian *Kama Sutra* offers instructions in both. Oral sex is practiced in heterosexual, male homosexual, and lesbian sexual activities. It can be either a form of foreplay to prepare partners for intercourse or may constitute a practice pleasurable in itself, as oral sex stimulation can easily produce orgasm in both males and females. Occasionally, individuals are flexible enough to perform oral sex on themselves, called *autofellatio* or *autocunnilingus*. When two partners practice oral stimulation on one another simultaneously, the practice is called *69*. Because oral sexual practices are not in themselves reproductive, they have been considered to be both gratuitous and contraceptive by those for whom sexuality is only a means to a reproductive end. After the rise of the Christian era, the church condemned sexual practices that did not lead to reproduction, making oral sex a sin. As church dogma became the model for criminal laws throughout the world, oral sex became illegal. Before the 2003 Supreme Court decision in *Lawrence v. Texas* (539 U.S. 558; 123 S. Ct. 2472), which declared that Texas's sodomy laws were unconstitutional, many states in the United States had criminal statutes that outlawed oral sex practices as *crimes against nature, gross indecency, unnatural and lascivious acts*, or as a subcategory of sodomy itself. Although some of these statutes covered only sexual acts involving male sexual organs, others outlawed contact between the mouth and both male and female genitals.

Fellatio involves the lips, tongue, mouth, and possibly the throat. The person engaged in fellatio may hold the penis and testicles in his or her hands, lick, caress, and use suction on the penis glans and shaft, or take the entire penis into the throat. This latter practice is called *deep throating*, from the 1973 film *Deep Throat* that focused on that activity. Fellatio may be a part of foreplay or may result in orgasm and ejaculation into the mouth. It may also involve the ingestion of semen. Recipients of fellatio may actively insert themselves into the fellator's mouth, an activity that is often associated with dominance. Common slang for fellatio includes *blow job, giving head, going down on, and sucking off*.

Jennifer Hart

Cunnilingus, or oral stimulation of the vulva, labia, or clitoris of the female, involves primarily the tongue and lips. The person engaged in cunnilingus may focus primarily on the clitoris or provide various kinds of indirect, pulsating, or rhythmic stimulation of the clitoris and surrounding tissue with lips and tongue. Direct stimulation of the clitoris may be painful, as the clitoris is highly sensitive. Cunnilingus may also be accompanied by vaginal penetration with fingers or dildos. Females may enjoy the practice on their backs or by positioning themselves on the face of their partner, a practice called *face-sitting*. For many women cunnilingus is the most reliable way to reach orgasm. Common slang for cunnilingus includes *eating out*, *muff diving*, *going down on*, and *lip service*.

Anilingus, or oral stimulation of the anal region, involves primarily the tongue and lips. Called *rimming*, anilingus is most often a form of foreplay. Taboos about uncleanness make anilingus the least often practiced form of oral sex.

HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) may also be transmitted through oral sex, although the risk of contagion is lower than it is with vaginal or anal penetration. The person who is most at risk is the person who is using his or her mouth in direct contact with the genital secretions of his or her partner. Such STDs as chlamydia, human papillomavirus (HPV), gonorrhea, herpes, HIV, and multiple strains of hepatitis generally pass to the one who is stimulating orally through small cuts or sores in the mouth or through the ingestion of fluids. To prevent STDs oral sex should be avoided after dental work or when one has sores or cuts in the mouth or on the lips or tongue.

As with other forms of sex, oral sex is safest when participants use protection. STDs may be effectively prevented by using condoms or dental dams or even by covered the genitals with plastic wrap. Because pregnancy is not an issue, any impermeable material will serve to prevent the passage of disease pathogens.

SEE ALSO *Tongue*.

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Judith Roof

ORGASM

An orgasm is the pleasurable release of the neuromuscular tension generated and exacerbated by sexual activity. It is usually spoken of as the climax of a sexual encounter, although the existence of multiple female orgasms tends to undercut the progressive linear model implied by the word *climax*. It has been suggested that males are also capable of multiple orgasm, a proposition that requires that full ejaculation not be considered the definitive element in the male orgasm.

Linguistically, sexual activities leading up to and including orgasm have inspired an extremely disparate collection of slang terms, euphemisms, and poetic metaphors, including *to die*, *to know*, *le petit mort* (the little death), *nothing*, *coming*, *going*, *pleasuring*, *joying*, *boffing*, *porking*, *banging*, *getting off*, *making love*, *getting it on*, *jumping bones*, *jerking off*, *the big O*, *slapping the monkey*, *lifting belly*, *having a boner* or *a stiffie* or *a hard-on*, *having a cow*, *feeling the earth move*, and *getting the money shot*. From William Shakespeare to stand-up comedy to popular music, an enormous amount of energy has been expended in attempts to name the essentially indescribable experience of achieving, reaching, or arriving at orgasm. Shakespeare's Sonnet 129 is as modern as any rap song in its complex ambivalence about the pursuit of orgasm:

The expense of spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action; and till action, lust
Is perjur'd, murderous, bloody, full of blame,
Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust;
Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight;
Past reason hunted; and no sooner had,
Past reason hated, as a swallow'd bait,
On purpose laid to make the taker mad:
Mad in pursuit, and in possession so;
Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme;
A bliss in proof,—and prov'd, a very woe;
Before, a joy propos'd; behind, a dream.
All this the world well knows; yet none knows well
To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell

The twisted braids of contradictory emotions and reactions anatomized by this famous poem are as illuminating and as obfuscatory as any of the contemporary scientific, cultural, and moral theories about the definition, nature, and proper role of orgasm in human sexual behavior.

Orgasm is achieved via a complex amalgam of neurophysiological, psychological, and emotional pathways and circuitries, at any point in which obstacles to climax may be interposed. Visual, aural, olfactory, imaginative, and emotional stimulation are paramount, albeit difficult to measure and quantify. Body contact of various

kinds—kissing, stroking, sucking, biting, rubbing, and licking are some possibilities—creates increasing blood flow, and simultaneous vein constriction results in the filling of erectile tissue (breasts, penis, clitoris, testes, labia) with blood, as well as increased muscle tension. As sexual activity continues, vaginal lubrication occurs, the outer portions of the vagina are vasoconstricted, the inner portions expand, and the uterus elevates. In men, penile erection is produced by blood flow to the erectile penis tissue, while parasympathetic nerves provide vasodilator input and also stimulate secretion from seminal vesicles and the prostate and Cowper's glands. Breathing and pulse rates increase progressively as a result of stimulation from the autonomic nervous system. Orgasm, when reached in the male, occurs in two stages: emission (when semen enters the urethra) and ejaculation (when semen is propelled outward). Men typically have one orgasm per sexual session, though some men are multiply orgasmic. Studies have shown that during women's orgasms, some of the vaginal and perineal muscle fibers undergo contraction; stimulation of the clitoris plays a major role in both the excitement and the orgasm stages.

Orgasmic disorders, defined as sexual dysfunctions consisting of absence of or inhibited or delayed orgasm, can befall both women and men. A glance at the criteria outlined in the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (2000) indicates that for both sexes, the diagnosis must be made in the context of the subject's age and degree of distress—where a normal phase of sexual excitement is not followed by a proportionately timed and experienced orgasm, an orgasmic disorder is suspected.

William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, in their landmark 1966 study, *Human Sexual Response*, proposed that there are four stages in human sexual activity: excitement, plateau, orgasm, and resolution, with orgasm being both the shortest and most intense stage. Both psychogenic and direct physical stimulation contribute to orgasmic resolution. The male physiological response involves an increase in blood flow that results in penile erection. Further stimulation results in the emission and expulsion of semen. Women experience rhythmic contractions of the uterus and vaginal muscles; some may also experience a more or less forceful female ejaculation.

The popular culture sex-advice industry has been far more prolific on the subject of the female than the male orgasm. Unimaginable amounts of earnest ink have been spilled in “vaginal versus clitoral” debates. Women have been lectured about their orgasms for decades, if not centuries. Concomitantly, men are culturally conditioned to value their sexuality only if it is expressed via penile erection followed by semen expulsion.

Unsurprisingly, a visit to the U.S. National Library of Medicine's Medical Encyclopedia Web site (part of MedlinePlus) yields a discussion of orgasmic dysfunction written on the assumption that it is strictly a female problem. “Orgasmic dysfunction” is there described as “inhibited sexual excitement,” and the pronouns deployed for the presumptive sufferer thereof are all feminine, despite a cursory acknowledgment that certain drugs “are a very common cause of lack of orgasm, delayed orgasm, or unsatisfying orgasm in both women and men.” The “prevention” section speaks to the “vital” importance of “taking responsibility for one's own sexual pleasure”—an admonition directed both explicitly and implicitly at the partner who by definition cannot provide the reassuringly visible “money shot” even when she is not anorgasmic. The anorgasmic male partner in a heterosexual engagement is, by contrast, taking responsibility but experiencing an “erectile problem,” the MedlinePlus entry for which is addressed to “you.” While psychogenic factors are mentioned here among the many physiological causes, “you” will find nowhere in this entry an admonition to take personal responsibility for “your” own pleasure.

Popular knowledge, as attested in numerous Web sites turned up by a Google search, posits that about a third of women arrive at orgasm via vaginal intercourse, a third with the addition to intercourse of “extra stimulation,” and the final third coming to climax only via manual and/or oral stimulation of the clitoris. Here again, admonitions to take responsibility for one's own sexual pleasure abound. Interestingly, the equation of sexual pleasure and orgasm is rarely acknowledged, much less questioned.

It is certainly worth asking oneself why a set of physiological responses has acquired such an enormous tonnage of cultural baggage. Why does the concept of sexual climax lend itself so readily to seemingly endless cultural and theoretical troping? Why does a search on Amazon.com yield dozens of books with the word *orgasm* in their titles? From “more bang for the buck” to “the money shot,” orgasm is troped into ordinary discourse on a daily basis—why are so many peculiar and degraded slang terms needed for what is after all a fairly basic physical activity?

Just *where* a female orgasm should properly occur is still a bone of much contention in the “vaginal versus clitoral” orgasm wars. The Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) has been vilified as the author of the theory he perhaps too thoughtlessly relied on—that only vaginal orgasms can be truly womanly. (It must be admitted that he is guilty of referring to the clitoris, at least in English translations, as a “real little penis.”) Is there such a thing as a vaginal orgasm? Is it sexist or feminist to insist there is one? Is it sexist or feminist to

advocate for the role of the clitoris in female sexual satisfaction? What would advocacy mean in that context? Virtually every position in these debates derives from a single problem: No one but the woman knows whether she has had an orgasm, and even she is not necessarily sure why or how it happened (or did not).

Freud famously remarked that three things in life are uncertain—death, the afterlife, and paternity. The genuineness, or lack thereof, of a woman's orgasm is, in an important way, a kind of cultural homonym to the problem of paternity (“mama’s baby, papa’s maybe”). In this sense, female orgasm must to some extent be taken on trust, and it would seem that this necessity provokes much cultural anxiety. In 2005, research at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands found significant differences in brain activity during the female and male orgasm. Deploying PET scans (and socks—giving the test subjects a pair of socks to wear increased the number who achieved orgasm under the test conditions from 50 percent to 80 percent), the study showed that while areas in the brain associated with anxiety and fear (the amygdala) shut down during orgasm for both sexes, the male orgasm depended more on sensory input from the genitals than did the female orgasm. These are fairly weighty observations with significant implications for further neurological research, yet what caught the attention of the popular media was that the researchers had also been able to distinguish between a genuine and a faked female orgasm with the aid of PET scan technology. Until a home PET scan device is marketed, however, the ordinary sexual partner must take it on trust that he or she is party to or witnessing an experience and not a performance—provoking much cultural anxiety and potent grist for all kinds of comedic mills.

In the 1989 film *When Harry Met Sally*, for instance, Sally Albright (Meg Ryan) and Harry Burns (Billy Crystal) put their cards on the table, as it were. Sitting across the table from Sally, Harry declares no woman has ever faked an orgasm with *him*; Sally replies that “all men are sure it never happened to them and all women at one time or other have done it so you do the math.” One thing leads to another, and the scene culminates with Sally’s tour de force fake orgasm. Her final pants are punctuated by a nearby customer declaring to the waitress: “I’ll have what *she’s* having.”

Cultural theory has impressed the orgasm into complex and arguably productive use. The French word *jouissance*, in Jacques Lacan’s rereading of Freud, for example, came to denote the human struggle against the very symbolic order that makes being human possible. Feminist theoretical use of *jouissance* points to the kind of nonlinear ways of knowing typically ascribed to specifically feminine ways of engaging the body, the

physical world, and language. The so-called French feminist reading of feminine *jouissance* (performed by thinkers as disparate as Luce Irigaray, Hélène Cixous, and Julia Kristeva—for each of whom some part of the phrase *French feminism* is a self-described misnomer) is a reclamation project that aims to rescue such devalued forms of knowledge and acknowledge their inherent superiority to what Virginia Woolf described as the basic patriarchal grammar of human language and epistemologies (or, as Catharine A. MacKinnon famously put it: “Man fucks woman: subject, verb, object.”). Similarly, Irigaray (1985) argues that the phallogocentric economy through which people come to subjectivity privilege sight over other ways of knowing, having, and being because it is based on the binary of something versus nothing and modeled by the very visible male sexual organ versus the nonvisible mysterious reaches of feminine sexuality.

In his twentieth seminar (1975), Lacan takes up the issue of feminine *jouissance* (and whenever this word is used, it means both “literal” orgasm and a unrealizable state of plenitude that can be troped but not spoken, felt but not seen), asserting that it is of necessity supplementary, not phallic, but elsewhere and other. Insofar then as women have on a literal level the kind of orgasm (not phallic, not visible) that the term *jouissance* embodies on an epistemological one, perhaps it is no wonder that women’s actual orgasms have provoked so much controversy, contention, and prescription masquerading as analysis.

For it remains an intractable fact that however many scientific words it becomes entangled in—neurophysical, vasoconstriction, parasympathetic, vaginal, clitoral, and all other such verbal prestidigitation—we certainly remain unable in our current paradigms, to account for, to take account of, female orgasm. This might raise suspicions about our apparently thorough understanding of the male one as well. If, that is, a man really can have a multiple orgasm, how can that ability be explained in the context of a linear, driven, progressive concatenation of physical tensions leading to an ultimate and final release? And if that standard, against which female orgasms are measured and found wanting or not found at all, can be that fluid, might it not be the case that the study of and theorizing about *jouissance* will be found to be more informative about (because it informs *against*) our definitions of, standards for, and proscriptions relating to that ultimate of physical bodily expressions, the orgasm—in all its glory, violence, discovery, secrecy, shame, and just plain fun?

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Lynda Zwinger

ORGY

Originally *orgy*, from the Greek *orgias*, referred to secret rites and festivals held in honor of the god Dionysus (Bacchus), Greek culture. Dionysus was the god of wine. Festivals in his honor were held throughout the year and included theatrical performances and wine drinking. Other Dionysian festivals were more secret and involved the maenads or bacchantes, groups of women who were devotees of Dionysus. These women would climb Mount Parnassus and, in a drunken stupor, engage in sexual activities with the god. They were reputed to be so voraciously hungry that they tore up and consumed live animals. In ancient Greece these activities were dedicated to the god; as illustrated in Euripides' play *The Bacchae* (405 BCE), they did not always have a happy ending.

Worship of Dionysus spread to Rome as the festival called "Bacchanalia." In his *History of Rome* the historian Livy (c. 59 BCE–17 CE) described these rites as "debaucheries of every kind," from the "pleasures of wine and feasting" to "the promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and women, . . . false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries" and even murder (Book 39). In 186 BCE the Roman senate outlawed the Bacchanalia, replacing it with the festival of Liber Pater, held in March, celebrating boys' passage through puberty. Liber Pater, like Bacchus, was a god of wine and fertility, but his female acolytes were older, more staid, and less likely to be overtaken with orgiastic frenzy.

Despite the Roman Senate's desire to limit debauchery, Roman festivals offered opportunities for ribaldry, drinking, sacrifices, gambling, and at the December feast, Saturnalia, the reversal of positions of master and slave. Roman emperors also became more libertine, hosting elaborate dinners with drinking, performing women, and courses of delicacies. Participants at such feasts stuffed themselves, then vomited in order to make room for more. An orgiastic Roman feast might include such dishes as dormice coated in honey and poppy seeds, a dish containing peacock brains and flamingo tongues, or the ever-popular udders from fig-fattened sows.

The activities of the maenads and reputation of the Bacchanalia are the basis for the modern conception of both Greek and Roman orgies as events in which all inhibitions are tossed aside in favor of uncontrolled sexuality, drinking, and eating. Films such as Federico Fellini's *Satyricon* (1969) and historical novels such as Robert Graves's *I, Claudius* (1934) have perpetrated the idea of the Roman orgy as a debauched event that included gluttony, drinking, and sex. Although such emperors as Caligula (12–41 CE) may well have indulged in such excesses, orgies did not commonly take place in Roman culture except among the very wealthy.

The rise of Christianity, the fall of the Roman Empire, and the general loss of leisure and wealth during the Middle Ages eliminated orgies as they had been celebrated in Greek and Roman religious festivals. Only manifestations of the carnivalesque reversal of social status remained in the religious festivals celebrated in Europe. Sexual misbehaviors were recounted in poetry and story primarily as versions of adultery, as in the Arthurian tales or the songs of the troubadours, or more ribald tales of cuckoldry that appear in the fabliaux (thirteenth-century France), Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1349–1352), and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1380s–1390s).

Stories about sexual orgies reappeared in the work of the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814). The rise of pornography from the late eighteenth century on presented stories and images of sexual license, though such stories rarely rose to the populated levels of the orgy, generally focusing on groups of three or fewer. Graphic artists such as the English painter William Hogarth (1697–1764), who produced a painting titled *The Orgy* (c. 1735) as part of the Rake's Progress series, and the Polish-born painter Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902), who painted *Roman Orgy in the Times of Caesars*, mythologized the excesses imagined to have occurred in Roman culture. Although Siemiradzki's painting depicts figures attired as Romans, Hogarth's painting translates the orgy into eighteenth-century terms.

In the twentieth century the concept of the orgy changed from a religious festival marked by drinking, eating, and sexual excess to a concept of the orgy as group sex involving three or more participants. Sexual liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the relaxation of mores and laws about public sexuality, the availability of birth control, and the emergence of sex (or swingers) clubs, gay bathhouses, and sex parties have made space for the multiple-partner sexual encounters we now imagine to be orgies.

Sex orgies may consist of heterosexual participants who only engage in heterosexual activities, heterosexual couples who engage in both heterosexual and homosexual activities, gay male participants, or lesbian participants. Participants may have sex with multiple partners or may have sex only with their own partner in the company of

other couples who are also having sex. Orgies typically involve participants who have all agreed to the same kind of practice; those interested in bondage and discipline may practice bondage and discipline. Those who are interested in fetish items or sex toys may focus on those.

Sex or swingers clubs are nightclubs, often private and limited to members, that provide the accommodations and atmosphere for couples to “swing” or have sex with other couples. Those who frequent such clubs know the accepted guidelines in group sex and assent to the experience. Gay bathhouses, which emerged during the 1960s, also provided a context for meeting partners and engaging in group sex. Occasionally social friends will agree to multiple-partner group sex parties held at someone’s home. The Internet has become a place where those interested in sex parties may find other participants.

Across the United States and Canada, group sex has also become a part of retirement living. The Canadian Supreme Court declared swingers clubs to be legal in 2005, and older Americans participate to a greater degree than might be imagined in “The Lifestyle,” which refers to a life of swinging engaged in by middle-class retired couples. They belong to Lifestyles sex clubs that operate in every state except North Dakota and boast more than 3 million adherents. Members host group sex parties and barbecues, which come close to the eating and copulating orgies imagined to have captivated Rome.

Orgies, however, also pose dangers for their participants. Increasing the number of partners increases the chances of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, or of catalyzing emotional and social difficulties premised on jealousy.

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Judith Roof

OTHER, CONSTRUCTING THE

The distinction of self from other is a crucial way in which human beings try to make sense of the world, constructing self-identity by contrast to, and often at the expense of,

those who are perceived to be different. Such processes of othering operate both within/between communities and within the individual psyche. The ego as described by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) depends complexly on the desire for, loss of, and identification with others whose qualities come to define—both through difference and similarity—the self. At the group level, othering operates in two main registers. On the one hand, groups construct as other to themselves entities thought to exist entirely outside their own social worlds. Thus, ancient Greeks defined themselves against all other peoples, naming these “barbarians” based on their speaking unintelligible—that is, non-Greek—languages. Medieval and early modern Europe constructed an Orient essentially different from itself, and such West-East constructions have been remarkably resilient (as Edward Said’s *Orientalism* [1978] demonstrates). Yet, constructions of otherness occur not only across clearly defined social boundaries but also within more intimate spaces. Ancient Greek societies distinguished between and among different classes of people within their own social ambit—citizens (defined as male), women, slaves; thus, the identity of the male citizen was secured by the othering of both women and slaves. Medieval European Christendom, while distinguishing itself against other religions like paganism, Judaism, and Islam, also distinguished others within itself, “heretics” thought to depart from orthodoxy.

Constructing an other wholly outside one’s own social world operates to create group cohesion—Greek not barbarian, Christian not Muslim—while constructing others internal to one’s social space tends to produce hierarchies: citizens holding power over slaves, men controlling women, orthodox Christians persecuting heretics. These two kinds of social othering tend often to buttress each other. Thus, the other within one’s society is understood as similar to the other outside, and vice versa: slaves are “barbaric,” barbarians are “womanish.” No single act of othering is ever fully separate from other such acts, and one of the challenges for understanding the construction of others is the problem of analyzing the intersections and superimpositions of various kinds of otherness—race, ethnicity, religion, class, gender, sexuality—in any given social circumstance.

The construction of otherness operates especially persistently in relation to gender, with most societies organizing themselves around a dissymmetry of male and female. Such gender binarisms claim to base themselves on real differences of biological sex, which do, of course, exist (though, as the existence of intersexed people makes clear, not as any kind of absolute dichotomy). But such biological differences never operate outside of cultural understandings: One reads biological sex through established notions of what it means to be a man or woman. As feminists have argued, while sex may be biological,

gender—how sexed human beings live in the world; masculinity and femininity—is always a social construction. (For one deeply influential treatment of the “sex/gender system,” see Gayle Rubin’s “The Traffic in Women.” For the argument that not just gender but also “biological sex” is constructed, see Judith Butler’s work.) In the history of the West, the social construction of gender consistently involves processes of othering, where the privileged position of selfhood is attached to maleness and masculinity. In classical Greece and Rome, as also in medieval and early modern Europe, women generally had little political power, despite the occasional prominence of a woman like Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) of England, and women’s social roles were quite regularly subsumed to men’s. In Western societies, women are generally understood to be weaker than men, less rational and more emotional, and hence less reliable. As early as ancient Greek philosophers like Plato (427–347 BCE) and Aristotle (384–322 BCE), we can see the male/female binarism resting on a distinction between mind and body, reason and emotion, wholeness and fragmentation—with the first term in the binary consistently associated with maleness and masculinity. (A brilliant analysis of this tradition is the French feminist Luce Irigaray’s *Speculum of the Other Woman*.) Such constructions operate, of course, not only to denigrate women, but, by contrast, to elevate men, to give men the sense of an identity that transcends weakness, irrationality, and the vicissitudes of the body, that is in control of itself and of its social world. Attaching the social distinction between men and women to a difference like that between mind and body—understood to be essential in all human beings—serves to *naturalize* the social distinction, to suggest that women (like the body) are meant, biologically and not just socially, to be subordinate to men (who become, in such constructions, like the mind, the controlling and defining feature of the rational human being).

The construction of otherness understood to rest on differences of sexuality has a less consistent history in the West than does that of gender otherness. The Bible does, in a few places, mention and outlaw sexual acts that one would understand as homosexual, but it does not make central to its social understandings anything like the distinction between homo- and heterosexuality that, as Eve Sedgwick (*Epistemology of the Closet*, 1990) and others have shown, becomes a central way of defining human subjects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In ancient Greece and Rome, homosexual acts were not necessarily seen as unacceptable: Instead, for men at least, they were understood to be part of one’s development, with boys acting as passive partners for older men and moving into the active role as they aged. The distinction of active/passive was more important than any distinction of homosexual and heterosexual, with the

othered category being a grown man who persisted in taking the passive role in sex. Women’s sexuality received less attention than men’s—as witnessed at least by the surviving texts—though one can see certain intense female-female relationships celebrated, notably in the Greek poetry of Sappho. In medieval and early modern Europe, sexual otherness is less salient than gender difference, and in fact what might be understood to be the construction of othered sexualities often is conflated with, and subsumed into, gender difference. Thus, women who dressed and acted as men were perceived as a real threat to the social order. Judith C. Brown’s *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (1986), while it describes a woman whom the author names a lesbian, also makes clear that it is as much that woman’s taking on of behaviors understood to be masculine that makes necessary her containment as an unacceptable other. When, earlier, in the *Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400) works to question his fictional Pardoner’s sexual “normality,” he does so through a conflation of sexualized and gendered terms, describing the Pardoner as either a “gelding” (a castrated horse) or “mare” (a female horse). Such a combination of gender and sexual otherness remains characteristic of the newly emergent sexualities of modernity: One primary way in which homosexuality has been and continues to be defined is through the trope of gender inversion. In both the medieval and early modern moments, one can also glimpse constructions of sexual otherness quite similar to one’s own distinctions of heterosexual and homosexual identities. Thus may be seen “sodomites” or “tribades” or “mollies” emerging as identities understood to be radically other to normative sexualities.

The analysis of constructions of otherness—the recognition of the ways in which such constructions operate, the social and psychological formations they facilitate, the violences they do—is relatively recent in the Western tradition. Philosophy, from the Greeks on, reproduces in many ways the distinctions of self and other that are dominant in Western societies, valorizing mind over body, male over female, Western or European over Oriental or African. But, beginning at least with Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), philosophy has also provided important tools for understanding and critiquing the construction of otherness: In his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel analyzed how, for the emergence of a consciousness of self, there is a necessary dialectic between self and other, which is also a struggle for power between “master” and “slave.” Crucial later treatments, influenced by Hegel, include:

1. Freudian psychoanalysis, especially as developed by Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), who makes the self’s negotiations of otherness crucial to psychic process;

2. Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytic reflections on "abjection";
3. deconstruction, as developed by Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), which analyzes the hierarchies produced by othering in order to emphasize the ways in which the denigrated term of a binarism like man/woman, understood to be secondary to and derivative of the dominant term, may in fact be seen as primary, in that the dominant term is defined by its denigrated other;
4. feminism, especially Simone de Beauvoir's understanding, in *The Second Sex* (1949), of the male oppression of women as one in which women are consistently othered.

Beauvoir's understanding has been widely influential on later feminist thinking, which continues to analyze the significance of othering for gender inequality. Such feminist articulations, along with Lacanian psychoanalysis and Derridean deconstruction, have in turn shaped an emergent queer theory (for instance, in Butler's important work). Here, queerness is an other that is understood to be both abjected by a normative sexuality and necessary for the norm's very existence.

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Steven F. Kruger

OVID

43 BCE–17 CE

Publius Ovidius Naso was born in Sulmona (now in the Abruzzo region of Italy) on March 20, 43 BCE, and died in Tomis (now Constanta, Romania) on the Black Sea in 17 CE. His wealthy equestrian-rank family sent him to Rome, where he studied Rhetoric, and then, as was customary, to Greece, where he spent a formative year in Athens. Upon his return to the capital, he started the *cursus honorum* in order to fulfill his family's ambitions, but dropped out at an early stage, after holding only junior-level offices. Then, Ovid devoted himself entirely to his literary career under the protection of Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a patron of literature whose poetic tastes were less aligned with Augustan cultural politics than with those of the more powerful and influential Gaius Maecenas (the protector of Horace and Propertius, with whom Ovid entertained friendly relationships; and of Virgil, whom he did not know personally, but whose works he read intensively). Ovid married three times and had a daughter and a stepdaughter. In 8 CE, he was exiled to the town of Tomis, then at the outer edge of the Roman colonial territory. Ovid was not stripped of his citizenship, neither was he deprived of his possessions. On the cause of the banishment, he laconically mentioned "*carmen et error*." While *carmen* ("poem") is widely believed to refer to the *Ars amatoria* (which was recalled from all Roman libraries), the real nature of the "error" is still unknown. It is likely, however, that Ovid was somehow implicated in the adultery scandals of Augustus' daughter and granddaughter (the latter was banished the same year as Ovid).

The chronology of Ovid's *corpus* is still debated, but his first published work was, around 15 BCE, the five books of *Amores* (*The Loves*: poems in elegiac couplets), which years later were trimmed down to three books. Between 10 and 3 BCE he composed the first fifteen elegies of the *Heroides* (*Heroines*; the last six poems, whose authorship is still questioned, were added later). These early works were as successful as Ovid's only tragedy, *Medea*, now lost. The first two books of *Ars amatoria* (*The Art of Love*) were published in 1 BCE, and the *Medicamina faciei femineae* (*Women's Facial Cosmetics*) appeared before 1 CE. They were followed, in 1 CE, by the third book of the *Ars*, and by the *Remedia amoris* (*The Cure for Love*). Around 3 CE Ovid began his most ambitious project, the only one composed in hexameters and not in elegiac meter (hexameter and pentameter): the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*, a veritable encyclopedia of transformation-related mythical stories, from the primeval chaos to the metamorphosis of Caesar and the glory of Augustus. In the same years Ovid composed the six books of *Fasti* (*Festivals*), a series of aetiological poems



Ovid. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

on festivities and celebrations in the Roman calendar. Twelve books were planned, but the project was interrupted by the poet's exile. In Tomis, Ovid composed numerous elegies and poetic epistles in which he lamented his unhappy life at the periphery of the empire, and tried to win back Augustus' favor directly or by enlisting the intercession of the powerful addressees of some of the poems. These were collected in the five books of *Tristia* (*Sorrows*, 8-12 CE) and in the four books of *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Letters from the Black Sea*, begun in 12 CE and published posthumously). At the beginning of his exile, Ovid also composed *Ibis*, an invective against an anonymous defamer. Other works written during his late years have not survived: they included a poem written for the death of Augustus in 14 CE, and a poem, supposedly written in the local language of Dacia, or Getic, on the divinization of the dead emperor and in praise of his successor Tiberius (who, however, did not revoke the

relegatio [the exile]). The attribution of a fragment of a poem on fishing and fauna at the Black Sea has been widely challenged by scholars.

As a poet who principally wrote in the elegiac tradition, and as "the poet-par excellence of the fluidity of identity" (Sharrock 2002, p. 95), Ovid has been the subject of many studies focused on his representation of gender and sexuality. The very choice of the genre (the "gendering of genre, Sharrock 2002, p. 104) has important implications in this respect. It has been noted (Harrison 2002, p. 79) that "'supergenre' might be a better term" to discuss Ovid's re-use and diversification of the elegiac form, as it had been codified mainly by Propertius and Tibullus: going far beyond his predecessors, Ovid expands the roster of themes that can be put to verse in that particular meter. Whereas the Augustan rule, and its related masculine order, found its proper expressions in political (Horace) or epic (Virgil) poetry, Ovid's choice of the elegy signals an intention to distance the poetic practice from the dominant ideology, but in so doing he also subverts some precepts of the genre. The fictionally submissive male (or the "elegiac fiction of sexual role inversion, Greene 1998, p. xv) of the Propertian tradition is abandoned in favor of a demystified, unromanticized, or even militarized (the male lover as "militant") depiction of gender dominance.

In the *Ars*, (its first two books are addressed to men, and the third to the *betaerae*), all pretensions of sentimentality and fidelity are shed in favor of an idea of love as an erotic, physical *lusus*, or game, in which everything is admissible. Eroticism is the subject of both a positive (*Ars*) and negative (*Remedia*) instructional technique, which also extends to accessories like cosmetics (in blatant derision of the sumptuary and aesthetic modesty of Augustan morality, and of the elegiac tradition itself). If feminist critics like Sharrock, Greene, and Desmond have pointed out how Ovid, exposing the violence inherent in imperial Rome, repeatedly portrays women as subject to abduction and rape (as in *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*), or as commodity (as in *Amores* and in the *Ars*), it is also very crucial to reflect on the poet's adoption, in the *Heroides*, of female voices and "feminine" features (see Rosati 1992, who points to Roland Barthes' notion of "absence" as "feminine"). The letters of the abandoned heroines to their absent lovers, while depicting a void in women's lives filled only by surrogate objects of desire (see Rosati 1992) and vain hopes (thus lending Ovid the opportunity to exercise in multiple variations of *suasoriae*, or persuasive discourse), also provide the Roman public with a none less literary, but far less fictional, account of the *servitium amoris*: not the pseudo-servitude of the male lover of the elegiac code, but a real subservience mandated by traditional gender normativity.

Ovid's fortune in Western culture has been immense. Recently, many scholars have focused on the dynamics of Ovid's (mis-)interpretations in the Middle Ages, in texts like the *Romance of the Rose* and the *Ovide moralisé*, and in the works of Chretien de Troyes, Andrea Capellanus, Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and many others. According to Desmond the reception of Ovid, and especially of his amatory poetry, is an element crucial in understanding how "the colonial structures of the ancient Roman world shaped the erotic discourses of the medieval West," and, namely, the instruction "in a masculinity that is calculated and predatory, and in a femininity grounded in submission" (Desmond 2006, p. 7). Other scholars have focused on the medieval allegorical readings that expanded the poet's *auctoritas*, and the resulting dichotomy between a perception of Ovid as an authority in ethics, natural philosophy and mythology, and the lingering image of the "archpriest of transgression, whether sexual, political theological" (Dimmick 2002, p. 264).

SEE ALSO *Ancient Rome*.

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Paolo Fasoli

OVULATION

SEE *Menstruation*.

P

PARSIS

SEE *Zoroastrianism*.

PASOLINI, PIER PAOLO

1922–1975

Pier Paolo Pasolini was a poet, novelist, and essayist, but is best known as a filmmaker whose films challenged the moral, political, and aesthetic norms of Italian cinema. Pasolini was linked variously with the Italian communists associated with Antonio Gramsci, the mystical Christianity of the Friuli region, and with the lower-class denizens of the Roman suburbs about whom he made his first films. His homosexuality was also widely known. He was murdered in 1975.

EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCES

Pasolini was born in Bologna on March 5, 1922. Pasolini's parents brought together his father's ancient noble family from Romagna and his mother's more humble and agrarian Friulians. His father, who had been a soldier renowned for having saved Benito Mussolini's life, had trouble with alcoholism and moved frequently for his job. Thus Pasolini was, as he put it, "a nomad," moving from Bologna to Parma, Conegliano, Belluno, Sacile, Cremona, and back to Bologna. His brother Guido, with whom he had a close relationship, was born in 1925. In 1926 his father was arrested for gambling debts, so Pier, his mother, and his brother moved back to Casarsa in Friuli.

Pasolini was interested in literature from a very early age. He identified with the French poet Arthur Rimbaud, and began writing poetry at age seven. Moving around made the timelessness of great literature all the more attractive to Pasolini, so he read widely in the works of William Shakespeare, Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In 1939 he entered the Literature College of the University of Bologna, where he also frequented the cinema club. He also became passionately interested in soccer.

Still young during the beginnings of World War II, Pasolini's sympathies were anti-Fascist. He published his first collections of poems in 1941 at his own expense and edited a literary magazine but was fired by its director, who was aligned with the Fascists. He got a job teaching. During this time, Pasolini's anti-Fascist sympathies were transformed into pro-communist leanings. His family moved back to Casarsa in 1942 to wait out the war in greater safety. He was drafted into the Italian army in 1943 and was imprisoned by the Germans, but he escaped, returned to Casarsa, and began working with other intellectuals to elevate the status of the Friulian dialect. Friulian was important to Pasolini not only as the language of his mother's family but also as an anti-Fascist and anti-Catholic Church action, because the Fascists wanted a standardized Italian language that eliminated dialects and the church reserved the use of dialects for priests.

The wrangling among small groups of rebellious communists in Italy ended in a massacre of one group by another, and among the massacred was Pasolini's younger brother. Guido's death made Pier more politically active, especially on behalf of the Friulian language and Friulian autonomy. He also fell in love with a male



Pier Paolo Pasolini. Pier Paolo Pasolini looks through a camera on the set of *La Ricotta*. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

student, an event that marked his first openly homosexual relationship. He continued to write poetry, publishing several small collections. He also became more openly active on behalf of the communists, becoming a member of the Italian Communist Party.

In 1949 Pasolini was charged with the corruption of minors and public obscenity, fired from his teaching job, and expelled from the Communist Party. In 1950 he and his mother moved to Rome, struggling to survive in the suburbs among lower-class workers, criminals, and others from the country. During this time he became familiar with the kinds of characters who would people his first few films. Unemployed, Pasolini began writing his first novel. He also became a proofreader for the Italian film studio Cinecittà and tried selling his own books at local bookstalls. He finally returned to teaching, while continuing to write and work on literary magazines.

But Pasolini was never to be far from controversy. He published his first novel, *Ragazzi di vita* (1955), which, though successful, was declared obscene and removed from bookstores. The government could not prove its case, so the book was returned. Pasolini was repeatedly

accused of crimes from burglary to obscenity, but he was never convicted.

FILM CAREER

In 1956 Pasolini began his film career, writing the Roman dialect dialogue for Federico Fellini's film *Nights of Cabiria*. He continued to write and publish poetry and essays and in 1961 made his first film, *Accatone*, about the Italian underworld. The film was off-limits for viewers under eighteen. In 1962 he directed *Momma Roma*, a film about a prostitute and her son. He then directed "La ricotta," an episode in the compilation film, *RoGoPaG* (1963), which was removed from the compilation while Pasolini was tried for vilifying religion. He nonetheless continued directing films that combined religious themes with realistic, down-to-earth, and often grim portrayals of life. In 1964 he made *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, an adaptation of the life of Jesus. His 1968 release *Theorem* was a comic film about the sexual unraveling of a bourgeois family. His late-1960s directorial work also included *Oedipus Rex*. (1967) and *Medea* (1969).

Pasolini's films became increasingly grand in scale, folkloric, and openly sexual in content. He traveled the

world, going to India, Kenya, Israel, Ghana, and Guinea. He is perhaps best known for the trilogy of classical folktales made in the early 1970s: *The Decameron* (1971), based on Giovanni Boccaccio's work; *The Canterbury Tales* (1972); and *Arabian Nights* (1974). His final work was *Salò* (1975), an intensely graphic rendition of material from the Marquis de Sade.

Pasolini's films often won awards, including honors at Cannes and the Venice Film Festival, but they were never far from controversy. Pasolini's attitude that life is holy and that sexual and other humble activities of daily life are sacred rather than immoral constantly pitted him against the institutional morality of church and government. He was an ardent opponent of consumerism and globalization, especially because of the way in which these economic forces contributed to the disappearance of regional autonomies. His films never shrank from portraying the facts of life realistically, imaging nudity, sexuality, and violence in stark, unromanticized terms. He also never hid his homosexuality.

Pasolini was murdered in Ostia, Italy, on November 2, 1975, his body run over repeatedly by a car. Although a young hustler was arrested, he later recanted his confession. The mystery has never been solved.

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Judith Roof

PASSING (WOMAN)

Passing, a term that figures commonly in questions of racial identity, as in black passing as white, in this context refers to a woman who is successful in being viewed by others as a man, that is, by creating a male gender identity. To pass combines physical elements (primarily haircut and clothing) with behaviors and mannerisms associated with the male gender. Cross-dressing is an essential component of gender passing. The term became common in the 1940s and 1950s, sometimes referring to butch–femme relationships in which the butch passed as a male at all times. It also designated one partner in a couple who would pass so that they could go out in public, to a straight nightclub or restaurant, without encountering problems. The 1950s also saw a popularization of psychological assessments of a

lesbian as a *man trapped in a woman's body*, inadvertently encouraging some women to pass. As Marjorie Garber (1992) noted, gender passing can produce “a failure of definitional distinction, a borderline that becomes permeable, that permits border crossings from one (apparently distinct) category to another” (p. 16).

Examples of women who cross-dressed and married other women begin to appear in legal records and chronicles in Renaissance (1350–1600) Europe. Many of these accounts offer examples of a young woman who in her guise as a male earns a living and is well-liked in the town, until the truth of the relationship comes out. In such cases the woman who passed as the male partner was likely to receive harsher punishment than was her *wife*, and was frequently put to death. The latter consequence was apparently even more prevalent when some instrument was used to counterfeit male genitalia. Whereas these cases are often considered early examples of the existence of lesbians, it is not always clear how homoerotic desire intersects with economic realities and individual independence. A parallel could be drawn with early Christian women who passed as men for spiritual reasons. Nonetheless, the prosecutions highlight European cultural anxieties concerning the usurpation of male privilege. Passing can be seen as a destabilizing force, threatening the social structures that subtend male dominance.

Military exploits are another common thread in the history of passing women and offer a variety of models. Unlike Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), who cross-dressed but did not attempt to pass as a man, the Basque Catalina de Erauso (c. 1592–c. 1650), also known as the Lieutenant Nun, became famous in her lifetime, inspiring a play. Erauso served in the Spanish army in Latin America. Her sex was eventually discovered, and for her service and military prowess, she received a papal dispensation to wear men's clothing. Erauso as a soldier was notorious for a hot temperament and violent behavior. In order to be more convincing, she seems to have taken on a hyper-masculine role.

The British military, too, had its passing women. Hannah Snell (1723–1792) donned a uniform to search for her husband who had deserted her. After the death of her daughter, she joined the Royal Marines, sailing to India. Even after her sex was revealed, she was granted a pension for her service. After returning to civilian life in 1750, Snell remarried twice. Similarly, Mary Anne Talbot (1778–1808) first cross-dressed when she was mistress to a navy captain in order to be able to sail with him. After his death she continued to pass and earned her living in the military. She spent the last years of her life with a female friend.

The American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) saw Deborah Samson (or Sampson; 1760–1827) serve

successfully while keeping her sex hidden. She received an honorable discharge and eventually, through the intervention of Paul Revere (c. 1735–1818), a solid pension. Samson, who resumed female dress and also married, was proclaimed the official heroine of Massachusetts in 1983. Albert Cashier (born Jennie Irene Hodges [or Hodgers] 1843–1915) enlisted in the Union Army in 1862. After being discharged he continued to live as a man. Although his true sex was found out a number of times, it was only when incarcerated in Illinois at the Watertown State Hospital for the insane that he was forced to wear a dress.

As the varying narratives suggest, no simple identification between passing and homoerotic desire exists. For some, soldiering or earning a living appears to be the main motivation. Such women are often understood as protofeminists, fighting against the constraints of society. For some the period of passing was short lived, and a return to female gender roles followed. Whereas Erauso's pursuit of adventure also included coy flirtations with women—always stopping short of marriage—Talbot's turn to a female companion is fraught with the ambiguities of romantic friendship.

In the nineteenth century, stories of passing women, including those in the military, frequently appeared in the newspapers or as autobiographical sketches, with, of course, the discovery of the true sex as a culminating moment. With the rise of sexology and psychiatry, masculine women, among whom the passing woman was counted, took on another dimension—that of sexual inversion. As formulated by Karl Westphal (1800–1897), the symptoms were “a congenital inversion of sexual experience with the consciousness of the pathological character of that phenomenon” (Mak 2004, p. 65). Passing was not considered a temporary masquerade but rather an identity. The image of the mannish lesbian popularized in the early twentieth century was another manifestation of this sexual invert.

In relation to the late-twentieth-century understanding of gender identities and sexualities, passing crosses its own definitional borders and is associated with other terms, including *transgender* and *transsexual*, and figures such as Leslie Feinberg, whose autobiographical novel *Stone Butch Blues* (1993) traces complex gender identities, including the movement from a passing woman to a transgendered butch.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny; Body, Depictions and Metaphors; Clothing; Eleno; Gender Identity; Lesbianism; Manly (Masculine) Woman; Masculinity: I. Overview.*

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Edith J. Benkov

PATRIARCHY

Patriarchy is an important category for social analysis in feminist theory and theology. Patriarchy refers to societies where the rule of the father is the basic principle of social organization of the family and society as a whole. Patriarchal systems seem to have arisen first in nomadic herding groups in the tenth to fifth millennia BCE in various centers of social development: the ancient Near East, the Indus Valley in India, in China, and in Mesoamerican cultures. Gathering and gardening societies seem to have taken on the patriarchal order as they moved to larger scale agriculture, property ownership, and urbanization. This process took place over a period of time in the ancient Near East, but was well developed by the time written codes of law were developed in the third millennia BCE.

Patriarchy means the “rule of the father.” Patriarchy refers to systems of legal, social, economic, and political relations that validate and enforce the sovereignty of male heads of families over dependent persons in the household. In classical patriarchal systems, such as were found in Hebrew, Greek, and Roman societies, as well as classical India and China, dependent persons included wives, unmarried daughters, dependent sons, and slaves, male and female. In Roman law, the term *familia* referred to all persons and things ruled over by the *paterfamilias*, including animals and land.

While male slaves and dependent sons were ruled over by the patriarch, women were more thoroughly subjugated. Sons grew up and male slaves could be emancipated to become independent householders. Women—as daughters, wives, and widows—were defined generically as dependent persons under the male head of the household in which they lived. The female slave, combining the subjugated statuses of female and slave, was even more vulnerable, having no protection from physical or sexual abuse.

Patriarchy as a social system is found in classical societies around the world. Some anthropologists, such as Elman Service, believe that the patriarchal family was the aboriginal order of human society and hence is “natural” and inevitable. But others, especially feminist

anthropologists, have challenged this assumption. They argue that patriarchal systems arose at a particular time in human history with the change from food gathering and gardening to plow agriculture, private landholding, urbanization, and class stratification. In the ancient Near East this happened sometime between the seventh and fourth millennia BCE. Thus the classical societies and religious cultures of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans that predate Christian society and theology were shaped by patriarchal ideological and social patterns.

The status of women in patriarchal societies has many nuances, depending on such factors as how women's physical protection and the property deriving from their own families of origin are related to their status within their husband's family. Economic and legal liberalization and the spread of women's education also modified women's subjugation in classical times, particularly during the Hellenistic and the later Roman periods. However, in classical antiquity women never gained the status of citizenship with its independent legal political status, the right to vote, or the right to hold office.

Although one cannot define a single system that would be true of all patriarchal societies at all times, one can generalize about the characteristics usually found in patriarchal societies. The general characteristic of the status of women under patriarchy is one of subjugation without legal status in their own right. Several other aspects of this subjugated status include the following:

1. Lineage of children is passed down through the father
2. Male children are preferred to female children
3. As wives, women's bodies, sexuality, and reproductive capacity belong to their husbands
4. The sovereignty of the husband over his wife includes the right to beat her and to confine her physically, sometimes even to sell her into bondage
5. Since women do not have public roles in politics and culture, their education is usually limited to household skills and sometimes minimal literacy
6. Women's right to inherit property as daughters or widows is restricted, and what property they do inherit is usually administered by a male relative or guardian

The exclusion of women from public political and cultural offices and from the higher education that prepared men for such offices accounts for the almost exclusively male elite formation of public culture under patriarchy, and for the definition of women from this male point of view. Women typically have had great difficulty gaining visibility and credibility as creators of culture, even when they manage to gain education and skills and produce cultural creations of comparable qual-

ity to those of ranking males. Since the cultural creations of women have not been incorporated into the public heritage that is taught to the next generation of students, such cultural accomplishments that women did achieve have been continually lost, erased from public memory, or else have survived by accident, often by being attributed to a male.

These patterns of patriarchy were reconfirmed in early modern European law codes and continued to define women in Europe and North America until the feminist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries succeeded in winning for women the legal status of citizens, with the right to vote and hold political office, as well as to make property transactions in their own names and have access to higher education and professional employment. Similar changes in women's social status have taken place in other parts of the world in the twentieth century through liberal democratic or socialist revolutions.

However, many remnants of patriarchal ordering of society still remain in "modern" societies. Women are seen as the primary house-workers and child-raisers, and their capacity to compete economically with men is thereby limited. Cultural patterns and legal restrictions continue to limit women's economic, political, and social equality, and to ratify the view that women are subordinate to men as a gender group, a subordination that is interstructured with class and racial subordination.

The major world religions have been deeply shaped by the patriarchal ordering of the societies in which they developed. Christianity inherited patriarchal religious and cultural patterns both from Greek and Roman philosophy and law and also from the Hebrew world. Patriarchy rooted in these ancestral sources shaped a Christian worldview that took for granted the male hierarchical ordering of society and the church as the "order of creation" and the "will of God."

God is typically imaged as a patriarchal father and lord. The patriarchal hierarchies of male over female, father over children, and master over slave are reduplicated symbolically in the relationship of God and Christ to the Church as bridegroom to bride, father to sons, and lord to servants. The image of Christ as Head and the Church as his body reduplicates the legal view in which the wife lacks her own "head" (self-direction) and belongs as body to her husband.

For some church fathers, such as St. Augustine, this concept of male-headship led to the conclusion that women lack the image of God in themselves and are included in the image of God only under their husbands as their "head." Women are seen as naturally subjugated and inferior by nature, more prone to sin, lacking reason and self-control, and defined by their body and sexuality.

As such, women cannot represent Christ in the ordained ministry. These views have flowed from patriarchal patterns taken into Christian theology and church polity.

Feminist theology arises by challenging this patriarchal distortion of Christian theology. Feminist theology dismantles the legitimization of patriarchy as God's will and the "natural order" and redefines it as sinful distortion of good human relations and as an apostasy from God's true mandate for creation. Feminist theology builds on the partial liberation of women in modern societies and calls for a completion of that liberation in society and in the church and its theology.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Judaism; Matriarchy.*

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Rosemary Radford Ruether

PATRILINEALITY

Patrilineality refers to the organization of family relationships in societies by lines of descent from a person's male ancestors. The term derives from the Latin words *pater* ("father") and *linea* ("thread"). A patriline consists of the generations of male descendants. Both male and female offspring belong to a patriline, but only male children can continue the line. Patrilineality also is called agnatic kinship, a term derived from Roman law. Patrilineality is one version of a unilineal system of descent. The other version is based on descent from the mother: matrilineality. Amilateral or bilateral kinship systems are those in which both matrilineal and patrilineal lines of descent are relevant to determining family relations, social identity, and the inheritance of property and privileges.

There are many ways in which human cultures organize the relationships among their members, but most have certain basic features and prohibitions. The mother-child relation is usually the unquestionable core,

whereas the rules and features of marital relations may vary from culture to culture. Groups such as families and clans must have a way to recruit members (a principle by which individuals belong to a specific group) and determine whether their members will live with the mother's or the father's family. They usually also prohibit incest, or intermarriage between members of the same group. Groups also must have a way to define the descendants to whom family property is passed.

THE PATRILINEAL SYSTEM

Unilineal systems such as patrilineality resolve these issues around a principle of descent from father to son. When a culture defines relationships and identities in terms of male ancestors, decisions about who is or is not a relative are made in relation to the male line. In patrilineal cultures, when sons marry, their wives become a part of the patrilineal group and live with the husband's family. This is called patrilocal residence.

Patrilineal family organization uses the father's line as a way to define naming practices and the inheritance of property, privileges, titles, and social position. In patrilineal family systems children and wives take the father's surname, the patronym. Family property often follows the patrilineal line of descent as well. Sons inherit property from their fathers, but daughters, who are expected to marry outside the family, often inherit nothing. If male ancestors occupy positions of power or prestige, only sons may inherit those positions. Daughters and wives benefit from the family's social status and material wealth but may not participate directly in ownership or power. In some patrilineal cultures only the oldest son can inherit; this practice is called primogeniture. In other cultures, such as the United Kingdom, the line of male heirs will inherit the throne before female members may inherit it, even though that country often has been ruled by hereditary queens.

There is no necessary relationship between patrilineal kinship systems and patriarchal forms of social organization that define the father as the central authority and operate on principles of male dominance and control. Cultures with patrilineal kinship systems are, however, often patriarchal as well. Although many cultures define kinship matrilineally, such as Jewish cultures, those cultures also may be patriarchal in their distributions of power, not allowing women to take a direct part in religious ceremonies, for example. There are no strictly matriarchal cultures.

HISTORY AND THEORIES

Systems of descent in cultures have changed through time. Many Western European cultures, such as ancient Greece and Rome, were patrilineal. In medieval Europe,

Salic law, which governed the Frankish tribes of the areas that are now Germany and France, codified the patrilineal succession of power in monarchies. China and Japan had patrilineal kinship systems, but many cultures, such as those in Africa, Polynesia, and the Americas, were organized around extended families or clans with variations on one system of descent or the other. Clan systems accompanied unilineal kinship systems that were most often patrilineal, but the Ashanti of Ghana, the Nayar of India, and Native American cultures such as the Crow were matrilineal. Most cultures in North America and Western Europe are currently amilateral in that they determine family relationships on the basis of descent from both mothers and fathers, though their naming and inheritance practices may be patrilineal.

In the past anthropologists thought that patrilineality represented a cultural advance from a more primitive matriarchal matrilineal kinship system. Johann Bachofen (1815–1887) posited that ancient cultures were organized matriarchally. In his view matriarchies operated promiscuously in that women had sexual relations with many men. Because of that promiscuity, paternity could not be ascertained, and so those cultures were also matrilineal. Because mothers were the only parents whose relation to children could be certain, women became more socially important. As men gained power, sexual relations became more monogamous to protect paternity; this eventually resulted in the development of law and civilization. Civilization came in the form of altering matriarchies and matrilineal systems into patrilineal patriarchies.

Bachofen's theories about cultural evolution have been replaced by more complex understandings of early societies that are based on modern archaeological findings. Modern anthropologists understand that families are highly complex organizations whose structure depends on a number of factors, such as the physical environment, the economy, and beliefs about reproduction, among other variables, and that there is no intrinsic superiority of one system over another. Bachofen's ideas did, however, influence Friedrich Engels in his analysis of the relations between families, the state, and private property that undergirded Marxist thinking.

THE ROLE OF GENETICS

Although patrilineal descent groups were one solution to the basic issues of social organization, research in genetics has shown that there is a specific kind of genetic relationship between fathers and sons that can be traced only through generations of males. Because all males have a Y chromosome and because that chromosome is passed only from fathers and sons, the genes on the Y chromosome are not mingled with any maternal chromosomes and thus can be traced from generation to generation as mutations or

changes in male lineages occur. Y chromosomes belonging to Cohen males have been identified, as have genes indicating male descendants of Niall of Ireland and Genghis Khan. Advances in DNA technology also have made possible paternity tests that can determine with nearly absolute certainty that a specific individual is the father of a particular child. That degree of certainty has not been possible until this point in human history.

SEE ALSO *Matrilineality*.

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Judith Roof

PATTINI

Pattini is a goddess popular among Buddhists of Śrī Lanka and Hindus of that island's east coast. The goddess is the deified form of the woman Kannaki, who was renowned for her chastity. Pattini's life is the theme of the Tamil poem *Cilappatikāram*, composed during the sixth to ninth centuries. In medieval times, both Hindus and Buddhists assimilated the Pattini cult, suggesting close ties among Sinhalese and Tamils on the island at the time.

Foremost a mother goddess, Pattini does not have the duality of mother goddesses in other parts of South Asia, passive and nurturing or terrifying and vengeful; she is primarily a stern but benevolent mother. Pattini is married to Pālānga (or Kōvala), but remains a virgin. Her sexual purity is essential in maintaining the polarity between harlot and wife, thus rendering the ideal status of wife and mother, in the Pattini cult, essentially undefiled. This requires, however, the impotence or castration of Pālānga, made possible by practices of the cult.

There are two main ritual cycles. The first, the *gammaḍuwa*, includes annual performances by villagers enacted after the harvest to offer thanksgiving, or in response to drought and disease. The second, the *aṅkeliya*, is performed primarily by the male population of the village. The *gammaḍuwa* comprises offering plants (betel leaves and festival boughs) and lights, planting the torch of time, and performing fire trampling rituals and ceremonial dances for the participating gods. Through these acts, Pattini's status as mother goddess is reaffirmed.

The second cycle, the *ankeliya*, involves cathartic participation by the audience around horn game rituals, in which two teams pull on ropes attached to *sambar* (deer) horns and or to wooden hooks representing horns until one of the horns breaks. In the course of these games, men are thought to release impotence and castration anxieties, involving damage and injury to the penis; the winning team with the broken horn represents successful intercourse with the wife (mother), and the team with the unbroken horn is publicly shamed by its failure to engage in intercourse.

The Pattini cult is also a medical system, of Hindu/Buddhist origin, in which the patient solicits the aid of the deity to respond to the *doṣas* or faults of the organism. The three faults of the Āyurvedic medical system (*vāta*/air/breath; *pitta*/fire/bile; *kapha*/water/phlegm) indicate the upset of human homeostasis, which is believed to be caused by physical influences or the agency of spirits, both of which are caused by planetary misalignment and karma. One of the goals of the *gammaḍuva* is to cure, control, protect against, and exorcise the negative effects of the *doṣas*. Thus, for example, ritual fire trampling controls an excess of fire (*pitta*), and ritual cutting of water controls an excess of water (*kapha*).

Pattini is also known for the sacred anklet she wears, an amulet thought to have special curative powers that can rid people of such conditions as smallpox, chickenpox, whooping cough, measles, and mumps. In the form referred to by Tamils, Kannaki, the goddess is a guardian deity who protects people from diseases and calamities, and interacts favorably with nature, bringing rains and promoting fertility and the growth of vegetation. Essentially, Pattini represents maternity, purity, healing, and piety embodied in feminine, yet divine, form.

SEE ALSO *Buddhism; Hinduism.*

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Ellison Banks Findly

PAUL (SAINT) 5 BCE–67 CE

Saint Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, *vas electionis* (the chosen vessel), was born Saul in Tarsus, Cilicia, in present-day Turkey, circa 5 BCE. He was trained and

educated in rabbinical school in strict observance of Jewish Law, and earned a living as a tentmaker, a trade he inherited from his father. The major event in his life was his conversion on the road to Damascus, as narrated in chapter 9 of the Acts of the Apostles, after which he changed his name to Paul and became an ardent follower of Christ. He preached to the Jews and to the Gentiles, and his missionary journeys led him to Asia Minor, Greece, Malta, Rome, and even Spain. He was beheaded in Rome around 67 CE under the Emperor Nero.

As a Jew of the Diaspora, Paul spoke and wrote Greek, the language of his Epistles, whose doctrine became the basis of Christian theology. Paul did not know Christ personally, though he lived during his lifetime; yet, in his writings he insists that his call as an apostle came directly from the Risen Christ and that his teaching is of divine origin, allowing him to distinguish himself from false apostles. Because Paul belonged to Hellenistic Judaism, which had developed in the synagogues of the Diaspora independently of Palestinian Judaism, his teachings contain Gnostic and esoteric elements that are also present in the New Testament Gospels, in the Apocalypse, and in writings of the early church. But Paul never attributed to God the creation of evil or of original sin. Instead, he believed in the tripartite division of the human into body, soul, and spirit (*sōma, psyché, pneuma*; 1 Thess. 5:23), and he strongly affirmed the resurrection in a “glorious body” (2 Cor. 3:1–18). For him, the Old Law is fulfilled with the dispensation of the Spirit, and the Spirit is Jesus, the Messiah, the New Adam, and the New Law.

Paul’s views on women, marriage, divorce, incest, sex, and immorality are contained primarily in 1 Corinthians 5:1–13, 6:12–20, 7:1–40, and 14:34–35; Ephesians 5:22–33; Galatians 3:23–29; and Timothy 2:11–15. In 1 Corinthians 6:12–20, Paul states his central argument against fornication among the Corinthians based on his theology of the human body as the “Body of Christ.” He forcefully condemns sex with prostitutes, because, during the Corinthians’ pagan rites at the festival in honor of Aphrodite, her followers engaged in public revels and in open sexual intercourse with prostitutes. Understood within this context, Paul’s position is not a prohibition on sexual intercourse proper, but a condemnation of ritualistic acts involving open fornication, and it is not connected to any Gnostic belief on the impurity of matter. In 1 Corinthians 7–14, Paul expresses his firm belief that celibacy is the better way, stating, “I wish that all were as I myself am. But each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind and one of another” (7:6). Thus, for those who wish to be married, be they widows or single, “it is better to marry than be aflame with passion” (7:8). If, in a couple, a partner is an unbeliever, the other should not divorce, because the unbeliever is consecrated through the



Saint Paul Preaching to Corinthians. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

partner. For the unmarried, he prefers celibacy, because “the appointed time has grown very short,” and dealing seriously with marriage hinders dedication to Christ. In this case, Paul is obviously thinking of an immediate return of Christ, the Parousia (Second Coming). But he clearly states that if one marries, one does not sin: “he who marries his betrothed does well; and he who refrains from marriage does better”; further, if a wife becomes a widow, “she is free to remarry to whom she wishes, only in the Lord. But in my judgment she is happier if she remains as she is. And I think I have the Spirit of God” (7:38–40).

Regarding the status of women in society and within the church, Paul’s views present ambiguities. No doubt, his teachings were received in accordance with and conditioned by the mores of the Middle Ages, in which the status of women was one of submission and inferiority. Paul’s teachings on women have been nevertheless misinterpreted because of the Aristotelian influence on Christianity through Aquinas, yet Paul can also be seen clearly as an advocate of parity between the sexes. In Ephesians 5:22–33, when Paul states that a wife must be subject to the husband as to the head, he establishes an analogy, Christ = man, Church = wife, thus, the superiority of one over the other. Some commentators, however, have indicated that this affirmation was determined

by the deteriorating conditions of marriage prevalent in Jewish and Greek societies. In Greece family life and fidelity were nearly extinct, and in Rome men and women engaged in numerous divorces; thus Juvenal speaks of a woman who had eight husbands in five years, and Jerome mentions one with twenty-three husbands. Paul would then have been reacting to these conditions by trying to provide a certain order; in the next passage, in fact, he speaks of the relations of children and parents (6:1–4). The analogy, therefore, is created in terms of love, not subjugation.

Christocentrism determines his views on women, and it is based on love and sacrifice. According to William Barclay (1976), while Paul said that “the husband is the head of the wife, he also said that the husband must love the wife as Christ loved the Church, with a love that never recognizes the tyranny of control, but which is ready to make any sacrifice for her good” (p. 174). This is confirmed and enhanced by what Paul says in Galatians 3:23–29—there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, slave and free man, man and woman, and all are children of God through faith, “omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem.” Indeed, *fili* should be translated here as children, not sons. As a rabbinical scholar, Paul knew the traditional Jewish prayer thanking God for not being a Gentile or a woman, and he reversed it with these words. In the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, for example, Thecla, a Pauline convert, abandons her fiancé, dons male clothing and is off in the world to evangelize. Thus it is “simplistic” to declare Paul either “a downright misogynist or the champion of women,” as the feminist scholar Rosemary Radford Ruether has pointed out. Phyllis Trible (2006), for instance, affirms that these texts are “historically conditioned,” and that the apostle may well have been “divided on the subject [of sexual egalitarianism]. Paul never made up his mind on it, and the post-Pauline Church went with the inferior side of it” (p. 51).

Indeed the best approach to the teachings of Paul on women is to view them in the context of each generation, because freedom and equality are basic tenets of the New Testament and its writers. Prophetically, Paul advocated knowledge “face to face,” but the church fathers and traditionalist teachings have mirrored their societies in such a way that social justice, including the rights of women, has been a very protracted and painful process. Lesly F. Massey (1989) points out that in Ephesians 4:11–16 Paul expresses his longing for “the day when the Church would come of age, when its doctrine and its members would display the kind of maturity that would radiate love” (p. 135). This position is coherent with what 1 Corinthians 13:13 eloquently expresses: “without love, I am nothing.”

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

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Giuseppe Di Scipio

PEDERASTY

The term *pederasty* is used variously to refer to: the erotic attraction of an adult male to an adolescent boy; sodomy of an adolescent boy by an adult man; sexual relations between an adult male and a prepubescent boy; anal intercourse between two men; pedophilia, or sexual attraction to young children; sexual molestation of a child by an adult. There is little agreement about the exact definition of the term even in scientific literature, much less in general usage. Unless otherwise specified, however, this article will use the term pederasty in its first sense—that of the sexual and/or emotional attraction of an adult male to an adolescent boy.

The indeterminacy of pederasty's definition is at least partly due to the controversy surrounding the notion of sexual relations between adults and children. In industrialized countries in Europe and North America, societal outrage at and disapproval of such relationships is greater and more unified than censure of perhaps any other sexual behavior. As such, pederasty is often conflated with pedophilia, the sexual attraction of an adult to a child, and sexual molestation; even scientific studies of the behavior tend to assume its abusive nature and often fail to distinguish between pederasty and other forms of child-adult sexual relationships, including rape and incest. Most sociological studies further conflate pederasty with pedophilia in general, and such studies often treat all forms of pedophilia with the same criteria, failing to adequately examine the differences between men drawn to girls rather than boys; between men attracted to prepubescents rather than adolescents; and the degree of consent at work in the relationship. As a result of such

conflation of pederasty and pedophilia and sexual abuse, there is often very little distinction made—scientifically, legally, and in the general population—between a long-term, mutually-satisfying relationship between an adult and a sixteen-year-old youth and a one-time sexual encounter between an adult and a nine-year-old boy.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD PEDERASTY

Contemporary North American and European attitudes generally stress the complete separation of child sexuality from adult sexuality, arguing that the relative power positions of the adult and child render a truly consensual relationship impossible. Even among the researchers who have suggested that pederastic relationships are not intrinsically harmful, this power differential is an ever-present point of concern. Some have argued for more relaxed social and legal understandings of pederasty, pointing out that earlier civilizations (and even some contemporary cultures, most notably in a number of Pacific communities) both sanctioned and encouraged sexual relationships between adults and children, and often provided ritualized mechanisms by which those relationships might be established. The most vigorous opponents of any relaxation of the boundaries between child and adult sexuality maintain that pederastic behavior is always wrong and harmful. More moderate opponents often note that while such relationships may not necessarily be psychologically damaging to the child involved, the attendant social stigmatization and the lack of cultural support for such relationships may render them extremely harmful.

HISTORY

Pederasty was used in ancient Greece to describe a loving relationship in which an adult male served as an educator and mentor to an adolescent boy. Although there was some debate about whether these relationships should be sexual in nature, man-boy relationships were widely considered to be beneficial and an important part of a young boy's development. As with many other practices and beliefs, pederasty was imported from Greece into the Roman Empire. Unlike Greek men, who believed that male love was exalted and would help both lovers to be better citizens, Roman pederasty took place primarily in the context of the master-slave relationship. The power inequities of such relationships engendered the belief that the passive partner (who was almost always a slave) was weaker and less masculine than the dominant partner. Sexual submission to one's master was considered a routine and necessary aspect of a slave's life, but sex with freeborn boys was frowned on and freeborn men who were discovered to have submitted to sodomy by another were subject to ridicule. Although pederasty was

conceived very differently in Rome than in Greece, it appears nonetheless to have been commonly practiced and widely accepted. Provided that one played the “male” rather than “female” role in the encounter, such sexual behavior incurred no particular social stigma.

As Christianity took root in the Roman Empire, however, homosexuality and pederasty were increasingly disapproved of and legislated. In the Middle Ages, with the growing influence of the Catholic Church in Europe, homosexuality and pederasty were increasingly criminalized, and evidence of the existence of pederastic relationships often occurs in the context of legal trials and sentencing. By the Age of Exploration, European attitudes toward both pederasty and homosexuality were highly critical and moralistic.

As European explorers, travelers, and missionaries began to come in contact with the Eastern world, then, they were shocked at the prevalence of homosexuality and pederasty. Chinese literature under the Ming Dynasty, which lasted until 1644, demonstrates a matter-of-fact acceptance of relationships between boys and men, often depicting the affairs as grand, lifelong passions. In the conservative years after the fall of the Ming Dynasty, pederasty was criminalized and penalties were instituted against men who engaged in sex with a boy under twelve. During the nineteenth century, however, a number of emperors had sexual relationships with younger men or boys, and restrictions against such behavior were consequently loosened. Western European visitors generally condemned the cultural familiarity with and acceptance of pederasty, but one French traveler noted that, for the Chinese, pederasty was an aesthetic and physical pleasure and it was often a mark of rank, culture, or intellect for a man to have an adolescent lover.

Japanese culture was heavily influenced by the Chinese and took a similarly casual attitude toward man-boy sexual relationships. Early European visitors to Japan were horrified by the ancient Japanese tradition of *nanshoku* (male love) which dated from at least the ninth century and was thought to exceed the depth of love possible between a man and a woman. As in China, much of the literary production that deals with homosexuality involves an adult man being beguiled by a youth or boy; even when things end badly, the relationship often leads to some sort of religious salvation.

TYPES OF PEDERASTY

Quantitative attempts to analyze the prevalence and beneficial or detrimental effects of pederasty have generally returned widely conflicting results. Case studies based on interviews of both pederasts and the boys they are involved with provide a much more cohesive picture of what constitutes such relationships. Many self-identified pederasts

describe themselves and their relationships in terms reminiscent of Greek love: they consider themselves to have a special affinity for children and see themselves as mentors and educators. For some men, the pederastic relationship is largely confined to quite traditional mentoring activities and includes a minimal amount of erotic interaction. Anal intercourse is generally limited to men with adolescent partners, and many relationships forego it altogether. Studies suggest that the type, degree, and frequency of erotic and sexual interaction is often dictated by the boy rather than the adult, and this interaction is often limited to caressing, cuddling, and manual or oral genital stimulation.

These relationships are rarely violent or physically abusive, though many researchers identify both the potential for and engagement in emotional manipulation by the adult member of the relationship. Interviews with pederasts suggest that such men are more likely to target children who lack self-assurance or who seem emotionally deprived; however, interviews with these boys often—though by no means always—suggest that the involvement with the older man is welcome and provides them with love and attention that they may not receive at home. While many pederasts are interested exclusively in male children or adolescents, it appears that boys who are part of pederastic relationships are as likely as not to be heterosexual; often, the end of long-term pederastic relationships coincides with the adolescent’s growing interest in the opposite sex. While there is plenty of scientific documentation to support the contention that such relationships are emotionally damaging to minors, there is also evidence to suggest that sexual involvement with an adult can help teach boys how to be part of a respectful, stable relationship with another person, whether male or female.

LEGAL STATUS

In some areas of the world, pederasty is both legally and culturally sanctioned. In most Western countries, pederasty is illegal unless the boy has reached the local age of consent. In many countries, the legal code makes additional provisions to ensure a minimum age difference between participants before the older partner is subject to legal prosecution. Some European nations have recently moved to lower the age of consent for minors. In the United States, controversy over pederasty and age of consent focuses on the question of child welfare and, for some, raises questions about to what degree the government can or should legislate private, consensual behavior. There are a number of groups who advocate for stricter laws governing adult-child sexual behavior and others who agitate for lowering the age of consent.

The North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) is perhaps the best known and most

controversial of these groups. NAMBLA advocates for increased sexual freedom for children and adolescents, arguing that prohibition of consensual relationships oppresses men and boys. Founded in the late 1970s, NAMBLA was initially part of the burgeoning gay and lesbian movement of the time. However, NAMBLA was quickly and increasingly ostracized by LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) organizations, many of which echo the general population's disgust for NAMBLA and its violent rejection of adult-child sexual relationships.

NAMBLA insists that it neither encourages members to break existing laws nor serves as a mechanism for its members to make sexual contacts; the group does not advocate any nonconsensual relationships whatsoever, but the occasional arrests and prosecution of NAMBLA members on grounds of child molestation and pornography have led the general public to believe otherwise. In 2000, the parents of a young boy kidnapped and murdered by two neighbors brought suit against NAMBLA, charging that the organization and its publications had incited the murderers to action. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) took the case, arguing that NAMBLA publications are protected under the First Amendment. The case was ultimately dismissed and was continued as a wrongful death suit against individual members of NAMBLA. Public reaction was intensely critical of both NAMBLA's political positions and its existence as an organization. The volatility of public reaction to this and other cases concerning adult-child sexuality concerns some researchers, who have begun to worry that the intensity of public sentiment surrounding issues of adult-child sexuality has adversely affected attempts to properly study and legislate the phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Pedophilia*.

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Maureen Lauder

PEDOPHILIA

The word *pedophilia* comes from Greek words meaning "love of children." The term denotes actual, intended, and/or fantasized sexual relations with a child. Pedophilia is defined in various ways, however, in that it often is parsed and specified not only by the mental health community but also by the criminal justice system. Much confusion has surrounded the term as researchers and lawmakers still question the status of pedophilia as a psychological disorder and are reevaluating the age range of the victims of pedophilia along with the treatments and/or necessary punishments for offenders.

CULTURAL HISTORY

In ancient Greek and Roman culture (300 BCE–400 CE) male members of the upper class were free to have sex with multiple partners, including young boys. Termed *pederasty*, sexual relations between boys and men were common. Through the early and medieval periods the Roman Catholic Church defined many sexual acts along with incest as sinful, and by the 1400s specific rules were drawn up, such as keeping children in separate beds to avoid promiscuous touching. In the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries the concept of childhood began to flourish as a period of life separate from adulthood. During that time children were deemed sexually innocent from infancy, a concept that Sigmund Freud rejected in the twentieth century when he stated that even infants are sexual creatures (Wasserman and Rosenfeld 1992).

Around the world nearly all cultures share certain prohibitions of adult-child sexual relations. However, some extreme cases exist, such as certain tribes in Australia and the Sambia of New Guinea (Davenport 1992). Both groups socially condone relationships between very young children and adults: heterosexual patterns for the former and homosexual patterns for the latter. As William H. Davenport explains, if one is seeking a universal picture of pedophilic activity, it should not be judged by Western standards alone (Davenport 1992). Thus, it may not be appropriate to state that all human groups prohibit pedophilia. Rather, there are prohibitions on specific sexual experiences that may differ across cultures.

CHARACTERISTICS

The American Psychiatric Association defines pedophilia in the fourth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical*



Child Molestation Trial of British Rock Star Gary Glitter. Fallen British glam rock star Gary Glitter received a three-year sentence for "lewd acts with minors." © JULIAN ABRAM WAINWRIGHT/EPA/CORBIS.

Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV) as a usually chronic condition that begins in adolescence, though most individuals report that it was not until middle age that they began to find children arousing (American Psychiatric Association 1994). Those with pedophilia may prefer males or females exclusively, though some are attracted to both sexes. In cases in which pedophiles are attracted mainly to males, the recidivism rate is nearly double that of those who prefer females. Each individual also prefers a certain age range: Those attracted to females often state that girls eight to ten years of age are the most desirable, whereas those attracted to boys generally state that they prefer slightly older children. In the overwhelming majority of cases the pedophile is male, and it is debatable whether women fulfill the diagnostic criteria for pedophilia. Such criteria include a period of more than six months of intense urges or behaviors involving sexual relations with a prepubescent child; those urges and behaviors must create social and/or occupational dysfunction; and the person must be at least sixteen years of age and five years older than the child in question (American Psychiatric Association 1994).

Although the terms often are used with little differentiation, there is a distinction between pedophiles and child molesters and other child predators (Litton 2006). Unlike pedophiles, child molesters are omitted from DSM diagnoses and are not marked by the precise time range of their abusive behavior. Certain characteristics mark further disparities; for instance, pedophiles usually hold steady jobs, whereas the employment history of molesters is often irregular. Molesters have a history of arrests and are more likely to initiate intercourse, whereas pedophiles are quieter, normally law-abiding individuals who are more inclined to fondle their victims (Litton 2006). However, this distinction is marked mostly in child abuse research—the law considers any adult engaging in sexual relations with a child to be a pedophile regardless of the above characteristics.

SEXUAL ACTS

The types of sexual activity engaged in and/or forced by the adult can take many forms. The individual may wish to watch the child undress or coerce children into being watched as they expose themselves. Sexual activity may

consist of soft touching and fondling, masturbation between the child's thighs, and cunnilingus, fellatio, or penetration of the child's mouth, vagina, or anus (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). In some cases the sexual play may include taking photos of the child in suggestive poses.

The most common among pedophilic sexual activities are those which involve looking, fondling, and masturbation, whereas pornographic photography and actual coitus are rarer occurrences. Clearly, coitus remains a difficult practice because of the child's size and still developing body, but some researchers find a connection between the common types of pedophilic sex play, the maturity level of the victim, and the possibly arrested development of the perpetrator (Mohr, Turner, and Jerry 1964).

Categorized in the realm of abnormal psychology, pedophilia is placed under the heading of paraphilia. Meaning "amiss love" or "beside love," the paraphilias include voyeurism, fetishism, exhibitionism, transvestism, and other sexual patterns that deviate from certain European cultural norms. All the paraphilias typically are engaged in by males, and many studies show that those diagnosed with a paraphilia are diagnosed with more than one; thus, a pedophile also may be a fetishist or exhibitionist (Healey 2006).

Within the pedophilic realm of paraphilia there are two categories: preference molesters and situational molesters (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Preference molesters feel that their attraction to children is normal and consider their sexual needs and actions to be healthy. These pedophiles tend to be unmarried and prefer young males as sexual partners. Preference molesters carefully plan and arrange situations in which they will be in contact with children.

Situational molesters, in contrast, are much more impulsive in their pedophilic encounters. Usually responding to stress, those in this group sexually approach children in the heat of a moment and may look back on their actions with disgust and regret (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Usually having regular heterosexual histories, situational molesters for the most part prefer adult relations and see their forays into pedophilia as events in which they lose control. Situational molesters sometimes are involved in incest cases in which marital problems and other stressors have affected an individual and strained family relations.

CAUSES

Various researchers and schools of thought theorize the etiology of pedophilia differently. Cases of molestation in the home may be analyzed in the context of a family-focused sociological or psychological study. As Karen L. Kinnear writes in *Childhood Sexual Abuse* (1995), possible causes can be detected by considering family and marital dynamics. By surveying and studying the family

in its component parts and as a unit, the family-focused approach finds and attempts to remedy negative catalysts in the home environment.

Some offender-focused theories indicate that pedophiles who were molested as children often repeat that behavior as adults because their previous experience has created an attraction to children or because the role reversal has created a situation in which the former victim can be empowered (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Beyond pedophilic events, any early childhood experience of arousal may contribute to an adult fixation that is based on recreating that moment.

Other researchers highlight pedophiles' stunted maturity, marking a type of arrested development, as the reason for their attraction to immature individuals. In cases of what Kinnear terms "blockage," pedophiles may experience embarrassing rejections or abandonment in adult relationships and, feeling hindered and fearful of further rejection, turn to children as more malleable and controllable substitutes (Kinnear 1995).

In his 1905 work *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Sigmund Freud considers attraction to immature sexual objects in a similar vein. He writes that children usually become sexual objects "when someone who is cowardly or has become impotent adopts them as a substitute, or when an urgent instinct (one which will not allow of postponement) cannot at the moment get possession of any more appropriate object" (Freud 1963, p. 14). Interestingly, Freud does not stress the extreme abnormality of such an attraction but uses this and other examples to express the idea that sexual deviance in varying degrees is a normative characteristic of sexuality. This is not to say he condoned pedophilia or labeled it as healthy. Psychoanalytic analysis of pedophilia employs Freudian tenets to consider early childhood fixations that might explain a pedophile's object choice. Psychoanalytic therapy may uncover traumatic memories and/or pressing anxieties that could explain an individual's adult pedophilic actions.

TREATMENT

Successful treatment of pedophilia is questionable because few people seek therapy for their sexual patterns; instead, they often are reported and then consigned to therapy sessions by law. Thus, the drive to complete therapy may consist of an attempt to fulfill court-appointed tasks and avoid prison time and may not include any self-propelled work toward change (Alloy, Jacobson, and Acocella 1999). Other researchers hold that it is impossible to treat sexual offenders and that the only way to protect the community from them is to incarcerate them for life (Kinnear 1995).

Nonetheless, most convicted pedophiles participate in some form of counseling. Some behaviorist therapies

are built on processes of unlearning certain habits and even attractions through aversion. Other therapies focus on impulse control and work like a twelve-step program for drug or alcohol addiction. Regular psychotherapy sessions are used either exclusively or in conjunction with drugs and/or exercises from other counseling techniques.

EFFECTS ON THE CHILD VICTIMS

Children suffer both short- and long-term effects from molestation, and the degree of mental and somatic disturbance experienced coincides with the duration and intensity of the abuse. Difficulty sleeping or eating, problems at school, disruptive behavior, hostility, and low self-esteem are some of a child's initial reactions to sexual abuse (Finkelhor 1986). Socially, children may become withdrawn or difficult to communicate with, and sexually, they may express a more mature curiosity: openly masturbating, employing a sexualized vocabulary, or exposing their genitals. In adulthood a victim may continue to struggle with depression, anxiety, nightmares, post-traumatic stress disorder, eating disorders, and deep-seated feelings of isolation.

PEDOPHILIA AND THE LAW

Many incest cases are adjudicated in juvenile or family court. Civil proceedings such as these are less exacting in considering evidence of abuse and may not even require the child's testimony (Bulkeley 1992). Though as a non-punitive legal arena juvenile court has a reputation for placing the child's interest above all else, criminal prosecution is on the rise. In criminal trials evidence is much more important because the defendant's guilt must be proved without a doubt. Problems in pedophilia cases arise from the difficulty of providing reliable proof. Because there are rarely eyewitnesses and medical examinations may not provide sufficient information, the case relies largely on the victim's testimony.

The child's reliability and competence remain questionable, especially when very young children must take the stand. Furthermore, the experience of speaking before a crowd and perhaps the perpetrator of the crime could be considered traumatizing; in custody battles especially, studies show that the child may have been coached to lie about abuse. Since the 1980s numerous reforms have been enacted to attempt to assess the truth without asking too much of a child witness or denying the defendant a proper trial. The utilization of video testimony, mental health evaluations, and professional testimony by doctors are some aspects of the reformed proceedings.

PEDOPHILIA CULTURE

Although the prosecution of sexual offenders has increased, pedophilia culture thrives, largely as a result of the prevalence of the Internet. The Internet not only

allows pedophiles to befriend children and trade child pornography easily and anonymously, it also offers a space for pedophiles to voice their concerns, tell their stories, and associate via e-mail, blogs, and chat rooms. One of the largest organizations with a Web presence is NAMBLA, the North American Man-Boy Love Association (Cluff 2006). Claiming that their sexual inclinations are not criminal, NAMBLA members try to raise awareness and increase acceptance of their norm-breaking sexual proclivities. Americans for a Society Free of Age Restrictions (ASFAR) similarly wishes to lift any infringements on personal freedom. They feel that children should not be stifled by age restrictions that dictate when they can watch certain movies, drive cars, bear arms, or consent to sex (Cluff 2006). Such affiliations, along with file-sharing and information-sharing capabilities, create a virtual community for pedophiles and child molesters worldwide.

SEE ALSO *Pederasty*.

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Ana Holguin

PEEP SHOWS

Peep shows, or images, scenes, or scenarios viewed through a hole, partition, magnifying glass, or other division of space, have their origin in children's toys, three-dimensional art, and other methods of manipulating space and perspective, such as those used in Japanese rock gardens (Balzer 1998). Contemporary peep shows also rely on voyeuristic appeal but are not as innocent as their juvenile precursors. Peep shows in the past often depicted scenes or scenarios of modern life, whereas contemporary peep shows typically depict pornographic scenes intended for adult audiences.

PREDECESSORS

Although some scholars have cited the emergence of the peep show as occurring as early as 1437 in Leon Battista Alberti's perspective art, in which transparent colored glass was backlit to project or distort images, others note that voyeuristic peep shows emerged in the mid-seventeenth century with traveling exhibitions. In those models intricate miniature scenes and stages were constructed inside a box with a viewing hole, and in those miniature scenes various elements could be manipulated to create a three-dimensional scenario in which figures could move. The boxes varied in size, scope, and detail, and many of them were circulated as exhibitions, often referred to as "raree shows," that were popular as public displays of private entertainment. Smaller peep shows were constructed in the eighteenth century as children's toys that, not unlike kaleidoscopes, were hollow tubes or boxes that contained images that were used to create three-dimensional scenarios that sometimes had moving parts (Balzer 1998).

A precursor to the peep show artist, the Renaissance architect Filippo Brunelleschi, created interactive perspective art in which painted panels with silver backgrounds were viewed through a peep hole and reflected in a mirror. Similarly, in the late seventeenth century Samuel van Hoogstraten created peep show boxes with one open side that allowed light to enter miniature interior views of homes. Around 1730 the artist Martin Engelbrecht created miniature theaters that were small boxes into which could be inserted cards that, viewed together through the aperture, created three-dimensional scenes. Early Chinese and Japanese perspective art also developed as precursors to modern peep shows (Balzer 1998).

Other early inventions, such as the camera obscura, which was popularized by Giovanni Battista della Porta in 1558, were precursors to the modern voyeuristic peep show. In the camera obscura (literally "dark room") observers could watch and, to some degree, participate in live scenes that were "projected" through a hole in the wall of the darkened room and onto the wall opposite the aperture. Such rooms were popular into the mid-nineteenth century,

when in some cases the actors involved in the camera obscura were replaced by live actors in private rooms, or "secure chambers," where sexual scenes were acted out. Correspondingly, the old box and cardboard peep show predecessors began showing pornographic scenes in the place of commonplace cultural scenarios. As precursors to moving film, devices with manual cranks that flipped through a series of images on cards were developed to create early pornographic movies. Such shows often appeared at bars and cafés and could be viewed for a minimal charge.

MODERN PEEP SHOWS

Once film technology advanced enough to allow consumers to buy personal film and video players, crankable peep shows and peep boxes were replaced with viewing rooms in which one could look at short pornographic films in private booths that were reminiscent of secure chambers. Less often used in bars and commercial consumer spaces and more often built into burgeoning sex shops, these modern viewing rooms require a viewer to purchase coins or tokens that are fed into a slot that keeps a movie playing or an aperture open.

In private viewing booths, as in the camera obscura, peep shows also may feature live action in which performers—most commonly women—strip or act out scenarios on command either alone or with others for the pleasure of the user. In such shows a glass partition typically separates the viewer from the performer, and coins or bills are used to keep the curtain between the two open; alternatively, the viewer can pay the performer directly for the show. Traditionally, viewing rooms that display pornographic films or live performers are dark rooms in which viewers can passively watch, masturbate, have sexual encounters with other viewers, or in some cases issue requests that are acted out. Decorated with little more than paper towels or tissue, trash cans, and sometimes sanitizers, private viewing rooms have been relegated to less mainstream venues such as sex shops and strip clubs.

A more recent development in the peep show viewing booth is the "buddy booth." Stemming from the use of "glory holes"—apertures between private booths that allow users to perform more anonymous sex acts on each other—buddy booths typically are made of two adjacent private booths that share a wall with a large window or partition covered by curtains. In those booths the users can watch each other masturbate or strip without necessarily having to pay the higher price of a professional peep show performer.

Publications such as Delacoste and Alexander's *Sex Work: Writings by Women in the Sex Industry* have brought peep show performers into a more academic arena for study (Lerum 2004). Studies show conflicting effects of peep show and sex industry establishments on the surrounding

area (Linz, Paul, and Yao 2006; McCleary and Meeker 2006), but it is clear that peep shows tap into a pervasive cultural force.

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Jeremy C. Justus

PELVIC INFLAMMATORY DISEASE

SEE *Sexually Transmitted Diseases*.

PENANCE

The concept of penance is expressed in all major religious traditions and in a variety of small-scale cultural contexts. Penance typically is characterized by specific ideas about the culture-specific nature of transgression or sin, ideas about the appropriate state of mind and attitude of the penitent, and the use of payment, contrition, or punishment to compensate for transgressions. The idea of penance appears in colloquial interactions that range from seemingly innocent expressions such as "you're gonna pay for that" used among children and peers to tongue-in-cheek jests about "saying a Hail Mary" and similar references in popular culture and personal interactions. Although these references to payment seem to be coordinated with capitalism and a product-profit based economy, the origins of the concept derive from more ancient sources.

PENANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SACRED

In sacred contexts the idea of penance is associated with punishment and repayment for infractions committed

against the supernatural or against shared values. A divine calculus of equivalencies matches the infraction with the appropriate punishment and in almost all instances involves both an element of confession and contrition (in which absolution in some form amounts to obedience to some type of religious or judicial power) and an element of recompense or payment (in which the payment almost always is literal in a meaningful way and the payee almost always is tied to geopolitical power sources). The intractability of this idea of infraction and payment is illustrated in both everyday experience and formalized and institutionalized rituals and practices associated with organized religions.

For example, the common English expression "there'll be the devil to pay" typically is misunderstood in terms of the transformation of *devil* into *hell* and the sanitizing gesture of reinstating *devil* to its correct place. The expression derives from a nautical practice involving "the devil," or the submerged portion of a ship's keel; the action "to pay," or to tar over potential leaks; and the danger and difficulty of that operation. The entire expression has a sense different from the misunderstood version: "There'll be the devil [keel] to pay [repair] and no pitch [tar] hot" simply means that the ship and its crew are in trouble. However, the notion of penance in Western historical and contemporary sensibility is sufficiently strong that the expression has been transformed and a plausible and ideologically consistent story has been produced to accompany the changed formulation. The expression "there'll be hell to pay" combines this traditional nautical expression with traces of ancient Greek concepts of death and the requirement of payment at the River Styx to Charon, the ferryman who conveyed souls across the river into the afterlife—hence the concept "to pay hell." Both versions and the ubiquity of the expression in colloquial speech reflect the persistence of the underlying ideas of payment, death, and safe conveyance into the afterlife converted into a mortal equivalence of payment.

Similarly, throughout Western history large social programs and individual biographies have reflected the connection between spiritual or social indebtedness and self-sacrifice. Florence Nightingale, who was born to a wealthy British family in Italy in 1820, spent her life in the service of others, chiefly through her commitment to nursing and in response to her family's wealth and as penance for the ill health of her older sister. Nightingale's story is significant and illustrative in several respects. First, it demonstrates the preeminent place in Western sensibility of repaying, acts of contrition, and self-abnegation in compensation for a wrong one has complied with or committed. Second, it reflects the formative period of twentieth-century ideologies outside the context of the sacred.

Whereas penance usually suggests orthodox religiosity, the secular meanings and applications of penance are striking. Indeed, when secular expressions of penance appear in U.S. history, especially in the context of social service and humanitarian works, women are typically the agents. Perhaps as a result of the lack of a formalized national religion and the religious diversity in historical and contemporary American society self-sacrificial service gestures in the secular sphere allow women to express personal or collective repentance. In Western life in general and in American life in particular the sacred and secular interpretations of confession, penance, contrition, indebtedness, and absolution have tended to leak into one another's territory and have found mutual support in both ideological and material ways.

CATHOLICISM AND PENANCE

The notion of penance in Western traditions reflects the profound influence of Catholicism. The fundamental elements of the sacrament of penance and reconciliation in the Catholic catechism, the written and oral exposition of Catholic doctrine, are confession and contrition: a willingness to confess sins, atone for sins, and refrain from future sinful conduct. The priest, through the sacrament of absolution, forgives the penitent and grants pardon and peace. The sacrament is called penance and reconciliation to denote the embrace by God of the contrite sinner. This sacrament derives its formal structure and power from a variety of New Testament sources, including the gospels of Mark, Matthew, John, and Luke and the Book of Revelation. The power to determine and forgive sins is concentrated in the authority of the priesthood.

Perhaps the most compelling aspect of penance and gender is illustrated in the medieval notions of self-denial, salvation, sanctification, service, and purification achievable through self-starvation. That "holy anorexia" (Bell 1985) was characterized by lack of appetite, loss of weight, satisfaction with the continual disappearance of the body, and mystical experiences associated with religious dedication. Those women of the Middle Ages, generally in religious orders, embody the idealized medieval Western female body. During the medieval period, whereas the male body was understood as a perfected creation of God, the female body was understood as a creation of the woman herself and a reflection of her character. Thus, denial, refusal of food, and other bodily responses to food constituted a demonstration of a genuine affirmation of faith. A variety of forms of penance-related food manifestations have been documented among medieval women in general and saints in particular, including self-induced vomiting, which was presumed to allow the communicant to receive the Eucharist more truly; refusal to eat; and a full range of contemporary clinical symptoms of anorexia, including extreme satisfaction with a decreasing body size,



Saint Catherine of Siena. Saint Catherine of Siena sought redemption through refusal of food. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

amenorrhea (the interruption of menstruation), fineness and loss of hair, and periods of hyperactivity.

Self-starvation in the medieval period was understood as a mystical and sanctifying experience beyond its most literal function as an ongoing form of penance. Most famous among those medieval women is Saint Catherine of Siena, born in 1347, the most archetypal of the self-starving sanctified women who sought redemption through the refusal of food. Catherine held fast to the principle that the need for salvation of humans was so great that there should be no time to think about eating food. Through suffering and starvation Catherine sought penance and reconciliation with God. Such holy anorexia has been understood as a response to social structural patriarchy and the extremely repressive conditions women faced, particularly where expressions of sexuality and body-related matters were concerned. At the same time some scholars have commented that that particular response also conferred a degree of autonomy on women with few choices and little of control over themselves or outside themselves.

JUDAISM AND PENANCE

Transgression and punishment in Judaism are understood in terms of human agency (free will, or *behirah*) and

action, along with the intention and seriousness of transgressive acts. Penance, or atonement, involves the conscious, intellectual, individual recognition of one's acts, or *teshuvá* (repentance). Recognition, remorse, desisting from continued or repeated transgression, and restitution are the deliberate acts and states of mind of an individual. Confession is made directly to God and can take the form of personal or ritual acts such as articulating one's confession into community prayer life. Personal rather than formulaic confession characterizes repentance in Judaism. No intercessory (priest) acts to link between human beings and God. During the tenth month of the Jewish calendar the major collective ritual of atonement takes place during *Tishri*, a period of fasting and prayer for forgiveness, or Yom Kippur.

The concept of penance in Judaism differs from Protestant and Catholic configurations in several ways. The concept of penance derived from Christian, particularly Catholic, principles that hold that human beings enter life on earth stained with original sin. Judaism regards volitional and unintentional actions during life as constituting sin. The Catholic understanding of sin interprets the fundamentally flawed nature of humans (original sin) and repentance as a moral virtue. Acts of penitence and reconciliation provide access to God's forgiveness. In Judaism, in contrast, penance involves no confession, no absolution administered through a designated intermediary, and no reconciliation or yielding of all inner negative feelings.

In Judaism *teshuvá* is the intellectual recognition of one's sins, and repentance is understood in terms of remorse, desisting, restitution, and confession. In the Catholic sacrament of penance the penitent must communicate repentance through a priest. In the case of Protestant Christianity forgiveness is sought directly through individual prayer, and the concept of penalty was challenged during the Protestant Reformation though Martin Luther's rejection of the purchasing of indulgences, a practice linked to the corruption of Catholic doctrine and ecclesiastical power. Indulgences, although not part of the early Church, began to replace the acts of contrition, the sacrament of absolution, and the reconciliation of the penitent as early as 1095 under Pope Urban II and continued with intensifying vigor until Luther's initiation of the Reformation.

Gender, sin, and repentance in Judaism situate women primarily in terms of domestic issues and family relationships. The degree to which women are confined to the domestic sphere varies significantly over historical time and across Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform traditions. Although women and men are formally bound by identical general requirements of behavior and repentance, women are excluded doctrinally from the ability to

perform a number of acts and wear garments such as a *kippot* (Hebrew) or *yarmulke* (Yiddish); for a woman to express her religious devotion in such a manner would constitute a significant transgression. Thus, because of the restrictions on their behavior, voice, and extradomestic power, the transgressions and consequent penance of women are distinct from men's transgressions or from those of the assumed generic human being.

ISLAM AND PENANCE

As in Judaism, the position of women in Islam is understood formally as equal to the position of men in terms of rights and responsibilities, but in practice women are understood as socially below men hierarchically and in their activities; therefore, their possible transgressions from appropriate moral conduct are gender-specific. Women are described in the Qur'an as essentially and fundamentally different from men. Traditionally, these differences require that men protect women and that women restrict their activities to marriage and family. Chastity, reputation, and maternal devotion are the central conduct-defining characteristics of women's behavior. A good woman is a good wife, and a good wife is a woman whose mind, body, speech are kept in subjection. Moreover, women's transgression is defined chiefly in terms of control, agency, and display of her body.

The Islamic concept of penance, *taubah*, or repentance is derived from language meaning "to return," as is the concept of *teshuvá* in Judaism. Prayers, good deeds and works, repentance, and compensation are forms of punishment for various kinds of sin. As in the case of all religious forms, religious regulation and legal regulation intersect where necessary to ratify each other and supply authorized force and the right to administer punishment. A variety of sins constitute civil law breaking as well as transgressions against Islamic law, including murder, theft, and adultery. The relationship between the body of a woman and veiling is in certain respects comparable to that between the female body and anorexia in the medieval Catholic Church. Self-abnegation, denial of the corporeal, and the erasure of the visible body characterize these fundamental religious inscriptions on the female body.

HINDUISM AND PENANCE

Hinduism is widely distributed around the world and includes a range of beliefs, practices, and degrees of orthodoxy over historical time, geographic space, and cultural situation. Only general characteristics can identify the general shape of women and penance in Hinduism. Hindu views of sin, (*papā*), repentance, and gender are organized around the concept of negative *karma*, the principle that derives from Sanskrit linguistic stems that

Penetration

mean “to do” and “effect,” or “destiny,” and describe the totality of an individual’s actions. Negative *karma* and the sin that creates it have immediate and harmful effects. Sin, or wrongful actions (*kukarma*), are understood as volitional acts, with their greatest impact in the harm caused to the transgressing individual. Penance, or *prayashchitta*, involves acts of devotion and discipline or acts inflicting discomfort on the penitent, including fasting, self-denial, and a variety of other austerities. Rather than the punishment of guilty persons, the objective is the quest to attain a higher level of consciousness and awareness through corporeal deprivation.

As in the case of the other major religious traditions in large-scale highly stratified societies, the configuration of women in terms of transgression, repentance, and penance reflects the social and economic position of women overall. In Hindu tradition women are situated in material and symbolic conditions in which they are regarded as the center of the family, the custodian of values, the socializer of the young, and the source of life and at the same time the root of sin, temptation of men, moral and intellectual inferiority, and the need for constant monitoring and control. Rather than women submitting to penitence in repayment for their own sense of transgression, the infliction of punishment on women traditionally can entail the amputation of ears and noses and the infliction of severe physical distress, in part stemming from the foundational stories of Rama’s similar treatment of his disobedient wives.

BUDDHISM AND PENANCE

Penance in Buddhism centers on austerity, asceticism, and spiritual and physical discipline as a path to the achievement of higher consciousness and spiritual awareness and an intensification of religious devotion. The Middle Path represents an ideal balance between self-indulgence and self-mortification and is the desired state of being. Like Hinduism, with which historical Buddhism shares origins and geographic distribution, Buddhism configures woman as the source of personal temptation and social disruption. Consistent with the fundamental principles of self-denial and asceticism in Buddhism, woman penitents practice strict forms of discipline, denial, and mortification.

The major world religions and the societies in which they originated and are currently found position women as a source of social stability and social disruption. Women’s transgressions are framed in the context of violations of restrictions on female sexual activity and norms that regulate and constrain women’s extradomestic activity. In extreme interpretations women who have been raped are considered guilty of and punishable for adultery. Women’s bodies, universally understood as life-giving and essential, are denied, mortified, constrained,

bound, starved, and covered to various extents both as mundane requirements and as extraordinary measures exacted in payment for transgressions. Women whose lives are dedicated to religious devotion historically have embodied stricter versions of the penance of women outside religious orders, but these extreme versions are consistent with the ordinary constraints and punishments women experience as a consequence of their social roles and symbolic theological meanings.

SEE ALSO *Guilt; Honor and Shame.*

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Melinda Kanner

PENETRATION

Penetration refers to the insertion of a penis or other object into an orifice such as a mouth, vagina, or anus. Penetration is an element of sexual pleasure and reproduction as well as a symbolic action defining virginity, marriage, and sodomy.

Penile penetration of the vagina is the key element in the definition of sexual intercourse, which only occurs when a male penis penetrates a female vagina. There is no requirement about the depth or duration of penile penetration for penetration to have been accomplished. Other sites of penile penetration such as the mouth or the anus do not constitute sexual intercourse but do constitute sexual activity. The specific requirement of penile penetration makes the difference between legal definitions of rape (penile penetration of the vagina and, more recently, anus) and sexual assault (no penile penetration of the vagina), and between sexual practices deemed to be *natural* and *proper* (penile penetration of the vagina) and those categorized by more conservative groups as *unnatural* or *perverse* (any sexual activity other than penile penetration of the vagina). Because of the central role of the penis, sexual activity between women, although it may include penetrations by objects other than penises, has sometimes not been considered sexual intercourse.

PENILE PENETRATION

To accomplish heterosexual sexual intercourse, a man's penis must be erect or hard enough to push through or penetrate the resistance offered by vaginal tissue. The natural lubrication afforded by the vagina aids penetration by making passage through the vagina easier. Penile penetration of the vagina often results in male orgasm, and the ejaculation of semen and may, by itself, also provoke female orgasm. Orgasm solely by penile penetration does not happen as often for females as for males. Because most of the nerves that stimulate female sexual response are located in the outer third of the vagina, deep penetration is not necessary for female sexual pleasure, although some women enjoy the sensations of deep penetration. Penetration may also stimulate the woman's G-spot, a region of the anterior vagina wall that arouses surrounding tissue.

The biological purpose of penile penetration is to enable the conception of a child by delivering sperm as close to a female egg as possible. Typical penile penetration of the vagina would enable the penis to deposit semen on the cervix, the opening to the vagina. Natural conception occurs most often as a result of penetration with ejaculation in the vagina, although occasionally pregnancies occur as a result of sperm contained in the drops of initial preejaculate deposited near the vaginal opening. Removing the penis after penetration but before ejaculation is a risky form of birth control, mostly because of the presence of sperm in the preejaculate.

The concept of penile penetration underwrites concepts of virginity as well as symbolic understandings of marriage as male and female *becoming one* through coitus. These concepts are phallogentric, or focused on the penis as the necessary agent in all sexual scenarios. Whether there has been penile penetration of the vagina defines virginity. A woman who has not been penetrated by a penis is a virgin. Because the first penetration often causes pain and bleeding, the presence of blood on sheets is considered to be a sign not only of virginity but also of a successful penetration.

In coitus, the penis is understood as literally entering the woman's body, attaching the two people. This sense of physical unity then also sustains understandings of marriage as a physical uniting of a male and a female and of adultery as the invasion of that unity. The apparent complementarity of penis and vagina suggests the natural inevitability of penile penetration in heterosexual intercourse while simultaneously suggesting that other modes of penetration are unnatural, even though such practices, such as penile penetration of the anus or digital penetration of the vagina, involve equally complementary parts of the anatomy.

The penis may also penetrate parts of the body other than the vagina. Penetrating the mouth as in fellatio or

the anus as in anal intercourse (also known as sodomy) were traditionally understood as unnatural in the logic that defined penetration as occurring only in a vagina. Such penetration can occur between males and females as well as between males and males and members of other species. Although such penetrations have long been a part of human sexual practice, they were repressed and gradually criminalized after the rise of Christianity. In 2003 a Texas law criminalizing sodomy and oral sex was deemed unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Lawrence v. Texas*. In the United States most sexual practices involving consenting adults are no longer criminalized.

Forced penile penetration of another without consent defines the crime of rape. Although rape originally occurred only between males and females who were not their wives, the definition of rape has been gradually expanded to include any kind of forced penile penetration of the vagina. Sexual assault occurs when there is any kind of forced sexual activity short of penile penetration of the vagina, including contact between the penis and the mouth or anus of another. Forced penile penetration of the anus of other males has been included as a form of rape.

Penile penetration is difficult if a male has difficulty achieving or sustaining an erection. Such failure is called *erectile dysfunction*. Several drugs on the market help remedy erectile dysfunction, including Viagra and Cialis. Other cures for the inability to penetrate include penile implants that stiffen the penis mechanically.

Rough or forced penetration can also cause injury to the one being penetrated. Tears in the vagina and anus can occur when a penis is too large, is inserted without adequate lubrication, or is pushed beyond normal anatomical limits.

PENETRATIONS WITHOUT PENISES

Most notions of penetration are phallogentric or focused on the penis as a necessary element. Sexual penetrations, however, also occur with objects other than a penis. Dildos, which have existed since prehistory, are objects designed to penetrate both the vagina and the anus. Dildos, which often look like penises or have a long, cylindrical shape, are used by both females and males. Some lesbians use dildos, which strap on to one participant's body. Some dildos include an attachment to stimulate the G-spot. Others have two heads and are used for simultaneous penetration by two women. Smaller dildos, called *butt plugs*, are designed to penetrate the anus. People have also used other objects ranging from cucumbers and carrots to light bulbs as instruments for penetration, although some of these objects can cause injury.

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Judith Roof

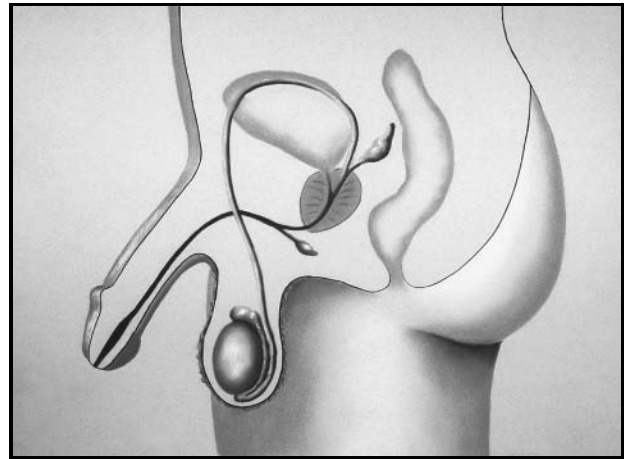
PENIS

The penis is the male reproductive organ in mammals and other species, including some birds and reptiles, and serves as the external organ in the male urinary tract. The urethra enables those primary functions by excreting both semen and urine. At most times the penis is flaccid, but when the male is aroused, it becomes enlarged and firm. Because the penis visibly identifies a person's sex as male, it has been credited with powerful social and psychological roles: "Sometimes the very possession of a penis conflates with all aspects of masculine identity" (Sims 2003, p. 245). In light of the involuntary nature of male arousal, this physical change has led the penis to be perceived at times as a powerful force of nature and at other times as emblematic of the bestial or, in theological terminology, sinful aspects of humankind (Friedman 2001).

STRUCTURE

The penis is composed of three pillars: two corpora cavernosa that lie next to each other on the upper or dorsal side of the penis and one corpus spongiosum, which is on the underside, or ventral side, of the penis. These tissues retain arterial blood during sexual arousal and cause the penis to become erect. Although penis size varies greatly in the flaccid state, in 80 percent of men the erect penis measures between five and seven inches, and most erect penises are close to six inches long or slightly longer (Sims 2003).

At the end of the penis is the glans penis, a bulbous tissue attached to the corpus spongiosum. A loose foreskin, or prepuce, covers the tip of the penis in its flaccid state, and this elastic skin is drawn back during an erection to expose the glans. The glans has a high concentration of nerves, some of which are unique to the glans and increase sensitivity to tactile stimulation. The lip of the glans, the corona, also contains a high concentration of nerve endings. The urethra, a tube for the excretion of fluids, traverses the underside of the penis to the meatus, an opening at the tip of the glans. This



Male Reproductive Organs. An illustration of male reproductive organs. JOHN R. FOSTER/PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

tube both drains the urinary bladder and ejaculates semen, a thick milky fluid composed of sperm and seminal fluid.

At the base of the penis is the scrotum, an external sac containing two testes, or testicles. Because of their external position, the temperature of the scrotum and testes averages 3 to 4 degrees Celsius lower than human body temperature; this is necessary for the production of healthy sperm. Immature sperm begin their development in the seminiferous tubules of the testes and migrate into the epididymis, a coiled tube on the top back side of each testicle. Sperm mature as they travel through the epididymis, a process that can take up to six weeks, although hundreds of million sperm can be produced each day. The vas deferens is the muscular tube through which the sperm enter the body, and the sperm are held in the ampulla, a region of the vas near the prostate gland, until they are ejaculated with seminal fluid through the urethra.

FUNCTION

Penile erection is caused by the dilation of the arteries that bring blood into the penis. As additional arterial blood enters the penis, the cavernous and spongy tissues begin to swell and constrict the blood vessels through which venous blood circulates out of the penis. More blood enters the penis when the arterial veins are dilated (as a result of hormones released during sexual stimulation) than can return to the circulatory system, causing the spongy tissues to engorge and resulting in an erection.

Penile erections are necessary for reproduction. Rigidity during an erection facilitates the penetration of the penis into the vagina so that sperm can be deposited

in the female reproductive tract, where they fertilize the egg. In preparation for ejaculation, the testes increase in size and press against the pelvis. Rhythmic muscular contractions during intercourse force sperm into the urethra, where they mix with seminal fluid from the seminal vessels and prostate gland. Contractions in the urethra lead to the ejaculation of about one teaspoon of semen containing between 1 million and 600 million sperm during the male orgasm (Paley 1999).

MODIFICATIONS

Circumcision is a surgical procedure in which the foreskin is removed from the penis, permanently exposing the glans penis. Circumcision has been practiced in cultures around the world for thousands of years. Frequently this procedure serves a ritual or religious function; for example, circumcision is required in Judaism as a mark of a man's covenant with God (Friedman 2001). During the twentieth century doctors in the United States often performed circumcisions for hygienic purposes (Langley and Cheraskin 1954). Opponents of the practice argue that circumcision reduces the intensity of the sensation experienced during sexual intercourse.

Penises also can be modified through augmentation procedures, including implant surgery, piercing, and stretching. Tribal groups in locations from Uganda to India have tied weights to penises, stretching them to reach a length of twelve to eighteen inches (Bordo 2002). In the Hellenic period and during the Holocaust some circumcised Jews stretched the skin covering the penile shaft to develop a pseudo-foreskin and disguise their religious identity (Friedman 2001). Two surgical procedures commonly are used for penile augmentation: The penis may be injected with fat molecules, or a layer of fat may be grafted to the penis to increase its girth. The surgical procedure for lengthening the penis involves cutting the suspensory ligament so that the flaccid penis stretches farther from the body. At least 10,000 men have undergone augmentation surgery to lengthen their penises in the United States since 1990, but statistically valid studies of surgical success rates are not available. The penis also may be modified to increase sexual pleasure by inserting rings, bars, or pins. The penis most commonly is pierced through the glans or the underside of the penile shaft.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

A distinction must be made between the physical penis, the male organ of reproduction, and the phallus, the erect organ that symbolizes masculine power. Sam Keen hypothesizes that the exaggerated emphasis on the

enlarged phallus provides "compensation for our feelings that the penis, and therefore the self, is small, unreliable, and shamefully out of control" (Keen 1991, p. 70). In European society social, religious, and biological associations have led to the abjection of the penis. Biological function and material presence characterize the penis, whereas the phallus is a symbolic attribute that allows its possessor to generate meaning and assert authority (Thomas 1996). Abstract representations of the erect penis that suggest its powerful phallic double may be generated unintentionally (Bordo 1999).

The penis has evoked extraordinarily strong reactions that differ across historical periods and cultures. Conservative societies sometimes resisted viewing, speaking of, or even acknowledging the penis: The extreme corporeal modesty associated with the Victorian period is an example of that attitude. During other historical periods and among other cultures public displays of the penis or a substitute have been acceptable and even fashionable. In ancient and Hellenic Greece men exercised without clothing at gymnasiums, and depictions of heterosexual courtship rituals suggest that men routinely exposed their penises to women they desired (Friedman 2001). Colorful codpieces (clothing worn over the male genitalia that sometimes was padded and sculpted) worn in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries simultaneously concealed and accentuated the penis.

The significance of the penis as visible evidence of masculinity may lead to anxiety among men. Susan Bordo parallels men's insecurity about penis size with women's concern about body size. Just as average women perceive themselves as too large, the social importance and pornographic images of large penises generate impossible standards of comparison for the average human penis (Bordo 2002). The difference between the length of the penis in its flaccid state and that in its erect state may compound the social anxiety experienced by many men. Even the word for failing to achieve an erection, *impotency*, links the penis with masculine power or its absence. The prominence of Viagra since its production began in 1998 demonstrates the cultural value placed on achieving and sustaining an impressive erection. Through pharmaceutical advances, marketers suggest, the penis can be made reliable and men can become more powerful.

THEORIES OF RACE AND GENDER

Just as claims about greater intelligence, productivity, beauty, and other desirable characteristics have been used to mark the differences between social and ethnic groups, penis size has been used as evidence of superiority or inferiority. Despite the relatively consistent size of the human penis regardless of race, depictions of and jokes

about stereotypical penis size have been used to assert ethnic difference. In ancient Greece foreigners, slaves, and barbarians were characterized as having large penises, whereas depictions of Greek men display small, thin penises (Friedman 2001). During the hearings for the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas in the U.S. Senate questions were asked to invoke the stereotype that black men have large penises, which may be used to imply an uncivilized sexuality. In contrast, the masculinity of Asian men often is ridiculed by assertions of small penis size.

Key aspects of Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory link the penis with masculine and feminine development. As a result of threats or of viewing female genitalia, boys experience castration anxiety: the fear that the penis will be removed. This fear leads to the dissolution of the Oedipus complex and the development of normative masculinity (Freud 1989a). In contrast, the female child desires a penis after glimpsing a playmate's penis. Penis envy leads her to feel contempt for her own sex and to change the object of her desire from the penis to a male lover and a baby (Freud 1989b). In addition to its psychoanalytic meaning, the term *penis envy* is used commonly to describe a woman's desire for masculine privileges or authority.

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Jessika L. Thomas

PENIS EXTENDERS

Many devices, prosthetics, medications (both herbal and pharmaceutical), and techniques are used as penis extenders. From penis pumps and stretchers to vibrating prosthetics, from herbal treatments to erectile dysfunction pills, from cosmetic surgeries to manual treatments, the practice of penis extension is approached from a variety of angles. Most of these approaches stimulate blood flow to the penis and attempt to increase the penis's blood capacity by expanding the corpora cavernosa—two "spongy" chambers in the penis that fill with blood during erection.

Penis extenders are typically considered to be mechanical devices that are used to add length and girth to the penis. Most mechanical penis extenders fall into two categories: pumps and stretchers. Penis pumps are hollow cylinders that are inserted over the penis. Using the body to complete the closure, a penis pump creates a vacuum in the tube, elongating and thickening the penis by suction. The pumps themselves are usually operated mechanically or by hand, but they are also available as suction pumps operated by the user's mouth.

Penis stretchers are also typically hollow cylinders, but, unlike pumps, stretchers are built with a ring or other device for securing the head of the penis. The stretcher operates on a system of adjustable rods, cranks, or locking mechanisms that increase the length and pressure of the cylinder, thereby pulling the head of the penis away from the body and stretching it at increasing increments of frequency, duration, and pressure. Widely considered to be the most reliable alternative to cosmetic surgery, penis stretchers are the most expensive of the mechanical extension devices, usually selling for around \$400 or more. Web-based sex shops and penis extender product web sites represent the most common and widely used method of purchase, but penis extenders are often also sold in traditional sex shops.

Many mechanical extension devices mimic manual techniques for penis extension. The masturbatory technique called "jelqing," for example, also lengthens and stretches the penis. Jelqing involves stretching the penis with one hand holding the head—typically by placing the thumb and fingers around the base of the head in an "OK" gesture—while "milking" the shaft from its base to the head. The aim of jelqing is to expand the corpora

cavernosa by forcing blood into the erectile tissue. In jelqing, the penis is considered to be a muscle, and thus can be expanded through exercise. Other stretches, called “power stretches,” purport to lengthen the penis by stretching the ligament in the penis. Similar to the jelq technique and to penis stretchers, power stretches are done by pulling the penis away from the body for extended periods of time. According to Pankaj Relan, studies show that these techniques do not usually succeed in permanently elongating the penis. Other techniques, such as “Kegels,” made famous by Dr. Arnold Kegel, are practiced to strengthen the pubococcygeus muscle by squeezing, holding, and releasing this muscle in order to control ejaculation. While Kegels do not technically add length to the penis, they do enable the user to better control ejaculation, thereby allowing him to maintain harder erections for longer periods.

Herbal pills and topical ointments are occasionally used in conjunction with penis extender devices or manual practices. Pills and ointments are typically marketed as methods of increasing blood flow to the penis, augmenting the aims of penis extending devices and techniques. Erectile dysfunction medication, such as Viagra and Cialis, can also be used for penis extension because such medications promote blood flow to the penis for extended periods of time; this method of penis extension, however, is typically viewed as less safe than taking herbal remedies.

Also commonly referred to as penis extenders, prosthetics that are fitted over a man’s penis are typically used not only to add length and girth to the penis but also to increase sexual stimulation. Some of these prosthetics, often called “cyberskin” penis sleeves, are fleshy prosthetics worn over the penis. Such sleeves can be purchased at varying lengths and widths. Others, such as studded or shaped latex or silicone penis sleeves, are designed to provide increased genital stimulation to the user’s sex partner by stimulating the G-spot, prostate, or vaginal or anal rims with raised studs or angled heads. Additionally, this type of penis extender may also function as a vibrator that can be operated either by the user or, remotely, by the user’s partner.

Aside from penis-extending prosthetics, the only surefire method of penis extension is surgery. Penis extension surgeries typically take two different approaches. One approach is to insert a prosthetic into the penis, elongating it, but often making it look permanently half-erect. In other surgeries, ligament is cut, torn, or stretched so that the base of the shaft that runs into the body is freed to move away from the body. This method might add up to an inch and a half to the penis, but usually no more. Penis

extension surgery can potentially significantly decrease the sensitivity of the penis, making sex less enjoyable and, in some cases, erection more difficult to achieve.

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Jeremy C. Justus

PENTHOUSE

Penthouse is a monthly men’s magazine primarily devoted to printing sexually explicit photos of women. Among American mainstream pornographic magazines, *Penthouse* is one of the first, largest, and most enduring and has had a lasting effect on the American sexual and pop cultural landscape.

Penthouse was launched in 1965 by Robert “Bob” Guccione as a more risqué alternative to Hugh Hefner’s “girl next door”-style mainstream *Playboy*. Guccione, an American expatriate living in England at that time, had trained himself as an artist and painter while living in various European cities during the 1950s and early 1960s (Heidenry 1997). Using his knowledge of lighting and borrowing compositions from Degas (Colapinto 2004), he photographed the first issue himself.

After experiencing great success in England, Guccione launched *Penthouse* in the United States in 1969. The most obvious difference from *Playboy* was that in April 1970 it became the first commercial magazine to show pubic hair, whereas *Playboy*, taking a hit in the so-called Pubic Wars, still airbrushed models’ genitals. *Penthouse* remained more explicit by being the first to show “split-beaver” shots and male erections and by popularizing “girl-on-girl” pictorials. Guccione also constructed the dynamic of the viewer-model relationship in a different way. He instructed his models not to smile or even look at the camera: “We followed the true philosophy of voyeurism” (Colapinto 2004, p. 61).

The editorial style was edgier, leaning toward controversial investigative journalism rather than essays and commentary. The features were also more sexual (Heidenry

1997)—for example, “Penthouse Forum,” an allegedly unexpurgated section of readers’ actual sexual experiences, and “Call Me Madam,” former madam Xaviera Hollander’s racy sex advice column.

The two other magazines commonly compared to *Penthouse* in terms of content are *Screw* and *Hustler*, both of which generally are considered much more explicit and, according to some, vulgar.

The relationship of *Penthouse* to feminism is multifaceted. It often was singled out by 1970s and 1980s feminists as an example of the objectification of women. A 1984 issue featuring bound Asian women particularly upset antipornography activists. However, *Penthouse* was “one of [all of] publishing’s most female-friendly shops” (Colapinto 2004, p. 62). Regular writers included porn reviewer Susie Bright (1987–1989), who went on to become a figurehead of the “sex-positive” feminism movement of the 1980s. The staff also included some first-rate businesswomen, including Dawn Steel, who later became head of Paramount Pictures, and *Vogue* editor in chief Anna Wintour, who worked on the *Penthouse* spin-off *Viva*, a softcore sex, art, and fashion magazine for women.

Penthouse has been the center of several scandals over the years, most notably the 1984 Vanessa Williams scandal, in which *Penthouse* published third-party erotic photographs of the reigning Miss America, and the 1986 Traci Lords scandal, in which the *Penthouse* model subsequently was discovered to be underage. *Penthouse* also produced the 1980 film *Caligula*, a star-studded flop that Guccione promoted as the first sexually explicit first-run mainstream film in history.

In the 1980s circulation began to decline with the end of the sexual revolution—the rise of AIDS, the aging of the baby boomers, and a shift to conservative politics in particular—as well as the availability of VCR filmic pornography (Colapinto 2004). In the 1990s it fell even farther, pressured by cable and pay-per-view competition, followed by the rise of the Internet. *Penthouse* responded by becoming much edgier, adding depictions of acts such as vaginal fisting (penetration of the vagina with a hand and/or arm), cum shots (external male ejaculation), and urine play.

In 2003 *Penthouse* declared bankruptcy. The next year it was bought by external investors who stated their intention to soften the sexual nature of the magazine and reposition it as a competitor to “lad” magazines such as *Maxim*. As of 2006 the ownership, control, and style of the magazine were still in flux.

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Jennifer Lyon Bell

PERFORMANCE ENHANCERS

Sexual performance enhancers are those objects, practices, or interventions that aid in the arousal, sensation, or consummation of a sex act. These include a large category of sex-related apparatuses, machines, and furniture, and a variety of drugs, exercises or techniques, and surgical procedures. Elements that improve sexual performance can range from stimulation by pornography or fetishes (for example, sexual fixations on shoes, rubber, leather, etc.) to medical interventions that provide a means of overcoming sexual dysfunction such as impotence, premature ejaculation, or other health-related issues. Performance enhancers work to improve the sexual experience through physical, psychological, and/or physiological means. The following provides an overview of the different types of sexual performance enhancers.

SEX-RELATED APPARATUS, MACHINES AND FURNITURE

Anal beads are smooth round balls that range in size from small pearls to golf balls and are held together by a strong cord with a ring at one end. The beads are inserted into the anus and then slowly pulled out with the ring, usually during sexual orgasm, to increase arousal and sensation of the anus.

Ben Wa balls (Burmese bells or Geisha balls) are small, hollow balls usually made of metal that contain a small weight that rolls around. The balls are inserted into the vagina or anus for sexual stimulation and may be left inside the body for prolonged periods or may be removed to enhance erotic sensation or climax. Additionally, these balls may be used to strengthen the pelvic floor muscles of the vagina.

Cock rings are rings made of various materials, such as metal, elastic, or string, that are fitted around the base of the shaft of the erect penis. Some versions have an additional ring that fits around the testicles. Other cock rings fit around both the penis and testicles. The ring functions by limiting the outflow of blood from the penis thereby resulting in a firmer and longer-lasting erection.

Caution should be exercised to prevent injury to the penis from either constricting the penis too tightly or using the cock ring for prolonged sessions.

Dildos are vibrating or non-vibrating shafts made to resemble the shape, size, or appearance of a penis. They may be made of a number of materials, including latex, rubber, silicon, metal, and glass, and are used for vaginal or anal penetration (or to simulate fellatio). Devices made of sturdier materials such as metal or glass are sometimes shaped to provide direct stimulation to the G-spot in women and thus enhance the act of penetration. Dildos may be used during masturbation or to enhance the sex act between partners. A strap-on is a dildo attached to a strap that is fastened around the waist, often with a second strap similar to a g-string that stabilizes the dildo in a position that allows the wearer the illusion of having a penis. Women may wear a strap-on to penetrate either sex. Men may use such a device in cases of erectile dysfunction or to have simultaneous intercourse with multiple partners. Because dildos come into direct contact with body fluids, they must be washed and sterilized if shared between partners. Further, a dildo used in the anus should have a flanged base to prevent its total insertion into the rectum (which may require medical intervention to retrieve it). Those versions used primarily in the anus and left there rather than thrust in and out are referred to as butt plugs.

Lubricants are viscous lotions or gels that aid in insertion and penetration during vaginal or anal intercourse. Though the vagina produces natural lubricant, certain conditions such as nursing or menopause and some medications can cause vaginal dryness; the use of personal lubricants can improve sexual function.

Penis extenders are hollow sleeves that are placed over the penis to increase its length or thickness. They may be made of a variety of materials including latex or silicone and may have a textured surface manufactured to produce an erotic sensation for both the user and the partner. Penis extenders also refer to mechanical traction devices that fasten over the penis and adjust to produce tension on the shaft in an effort to train the penis to grow longer. There is no scientific study that shows any lasting effectiveness of these devices, and overzealous use may damage penile or scrotal tissue.

Penis pump (or vacuum pump) is a hollow cylinder with a manual or motorized vacuum mechanism that fits over the penis and uses suction to draw blood into the penis resulting in an erection. Although these pumps are frequently touted as a method for permanently increasing the size of the penis (and presumably the pleasure of both the man and his partner), there is no research to

support these claims. These penis pumps serve primarily to aid in masturbation. A medical version of the vacuum pump is sometimes recommended to treat impotence. After the vacuum causes the penis to become erect, a compression ring is then snugly fitted around the base of the penis to prevent any subsequent outflow of blood from the vasculature. The resulting erection may be sustained for a considerable amount of time, though it is suggested that the rings be removed after no more than thirty minutes to ensure that damage does not occur to either the tissue or blood supply of the penis. Further, overzealous pumping may result in blisters or damage to penile tissue.

Vibrators are battery or electrically powered devices that enhance sexual arousal and pleasure through direct or indirect stimulation of the sex organs. Though they are often phallic-shaped and intended for insertion into the body, some are meant to be used externally only. Vibrators were originally developed in the mid-1800s for use as a medical treatment for the treatment of “hysteria” in women. Formerly, physicians treated the condition by manually massaging the clitoris with their hands until the patient reached orgasm. The vibrator was invented as a labor-saving device.

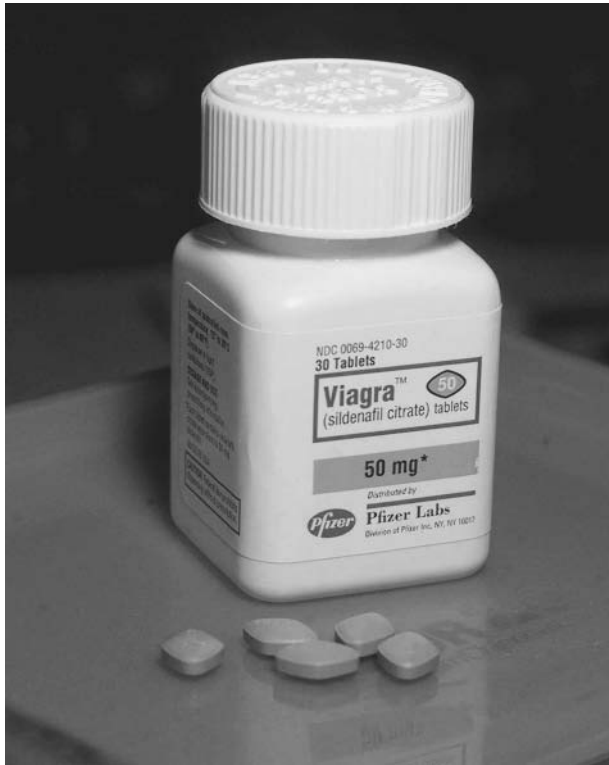
Sex machines (or fucking machines) are mechanical erotic stimulation devices used to mimic the penetration of a penis into a vagina or anus. Typically, the machine has a motor or some sort of rotational mechanism on a shaft to which a dildo is attached. These devices may act alone or may be incorporated into a frame used to restrain a person as part of the sex act. These automated devices are often associated with BDSM sexual activity. Care must be applied to avoid excessive force that could result in damage to vaginal, anal, or rectal tissues.

Sex furniture is frequently (though not exclusively) employed by participants in BDSM activities. Specialized furniture, such as angled pillows, whipping stools, or slings, serve to provide sexual pleasure through optimizing genital penetration or for administering sexual discipline to one’s partner.

Sex toys (euphemistically called marital aids) include devices such as dildos, vibrators, or more specialized devices or objects such as feathers, ticklers, leather, whips, restraints, paddles, crops, and a wide variety of fetish items employed to enhance sexual play.

DRUGS AND PHARMACOLOGIC AGENTS

Erectile dysfunction drugs are a class of pharmacologic agents used, as the name suggests, for improving erectile function in men. They include sildenafil (Viagra), vardenafil



Viagra. *Viagra is one of several performance enhancing drugs that treat erectile dysfunction.* AP IMAGES.

(Levitra), and tadalafil (Cialis) and are taken orally prior to sex. The use of Viagra to treat erectile dysfunction was discovered as the result of a study by its developer, Pfizer, on the use of the drug to treat hypertension and angina. Though the drug failed to effectively treat angina, researchers noted marked erections among men in the study group. After FDA approval, the company then changed its marketing strategy and promoted Viagra to treat erectile dysfunction.

These drugs work by causing the smooth muscles of the arteries in the penis to relax, thereby dilating the blood vessels and allowing the penis to fill up with blood and resulting in an erection. Because of these drugs' effect on smooth muscle, patients with cardiovascular disease or taking certain medications should not use this class of drugs.

When oral drugs fail, injections of agents such as apomorphine into the erectile tissue of the penile shaft may manage to elicit an erection, though this practice has fallen out of favor now that erectile dysfunction drugs have become readily available.

The marketing success of the erectile dysfunction drugs has led to an explosion of fake versions and herbal supplements that lack proven active agents. Though these pseudo-aphrodisiacs are generally ineffective when sub-

mitted to scientific scrutiny, they may occasionally provide positive results through a psychological or placebo effect.

Estrogen creams, patches, or tablets may be used to treat atrophic vaginitis (or vaginal atrophy), an inflammation of the vagina due to the lack of estrogen in the body or a lack of sexual activity. The condition manifests as a thinning of the vaginal walls and a decrease in the amount of lubrication produced, frequently leading to painful intercourse and/or vaginal bleeding. A physician may prescribe estrogen to relieve symptoms and restore sexual function. Increasing sexual activity (with the use of a water-soluble lubricant) may also help. Depending on age, risk factors, and method of administration of estrogen, women may have an increased risk for stroke, deep vein thrombosis (DVT), breast cancer, endometrial cancer, and pulmonary emboli.

Ginseng, an herbal remedy from the ginseng plant, is purported to improve sexual function in women and men. Though the scientific literature suggests that ginseng performs better than placebo in promoting sexual vitality, there is no definitive consensus on its effectiveness in improving sexual performance.

Testosterone supplements may be prescribed to treat hormonal deficiencies that result in erectile dysfunction or impotence in men. In such cases, oral supplements may improve the ability to attain and maintain an erection, though it will not cure any underlying condition causing the dysfunction. In addition, testosterone supplements (administered by injection, pill, patch, or cream) can effectively improve libido in some women.

EXERCISES AND TECHNIQUES

Kegel exercises are named for Arnold H. Kegel, the doctor who discovered the technique of conditioning and strengthening the muscles of the pelvic floor (pubococcygeus muscles). Regular practice of the exercises may result in stronger vaginal muscle tone that may improve sexual enjoyment for both partners. The technique involves isolating the pelvic muscles by stopping and starting the flow of urine. Once the muscles can be distinguished, the woman tightens and relaxes these muscles two hundred times per day. Variations include elevator Kegels where the woman slowly tightens in increments (as if on an elevator that stops on several floors). The technique may also be performed with the use of a Kegel exerciser, a medical device that is often a cylinder of polished stainless steel with rounded bulges at the end. The device is inserted into the vagina and works by making the muscles of the pelvic floor support its weight (usually around one pound).

Semans technique (or start-stop method) is a procedure developed by Dr. James Semans to treat premature ejaculation. The method works by having a partner manually stimulate the man until he is just about to ejaculate and then stop until the sense of urgency goes away. Then stimulation is resumed. The procedure is repeated until the man finally ejaculates. Over time, the method helps the man to prolong his erection before reaching climax.

SURGICAL INTERVENTIONS

Augmentation phalloplasty is a term used to describe plastic surgery to increase the size of the penis. Generally, the procedure involves removing fat from one area of the body (such as the buttocks or abdomen) and injecting it into the penis to increase its girth (the thickness) and, to a lesser degree, its length.

Body piercings (especially to the genitals or nipples) are often undertaken to increase erotic sensation during sexual stimulation. An example is the Prince Albert (named for Queen Victoria's consort who allegedly wore a ring on the end of his penis), which pierces the outside of the frenulum (an elastic band of tissue just below the glans of the penis) and the inside of the urethra. Though penile piercings became popular in the gay culture of the early 1970s, they have since become associated with heterosexuals as well. Body piercings can be a strong sexual stimulator. Infection, scarring, and loss of function (especially in erectile tissue) are possible risks. Further, because of the constant stimulation caused by this type of body piercing, a desensitization may occur resulting in diminished physical sensation.

Genital beading (or pearling) is a procedure where items such as small pellets, ball bearings, or studs are implanted under the skin of the penis near the glans. This practice, popular in Indonesia and southern Asia, is performed to increase the sexual pleasure of one's partner, though frequently it is reported to cause discomfort, bleeding, infection, scarring, and pain.

Penile implants are a drastic treatment for erectile dysfunction or impotence. In such procedures, A rigid, semi-rigid, or inflatable penile implant is surgically inserted into the penis resulting in the ability to mechanically induce an erection. The rigid or semi-rigid implants result in a permanent erection, though the semi-rigid versions may be bent upward for sexual function and downward during other times. The inflatable implant works on the principle of hydraulics; a pump is implanted in the groin and is manually activated to fill cylinders from an implanted reservoir of saline, resulting in a more naturally functional erection. Though the procedure is reliable, it is also irreversible.

Vaginoplasty is a surgical procedure used to correct structural defects of the vagina including the loss of

vaginal muscle tone due to disease or vaginal childbirth. Women who have difficulty experiencing orgasm due to loss of tone may opt to undergo surgery to tighten the muscles to restore sexual pleasure (to themselves or their partners).

SEE ALSO *Dildo; Penis Extenders.*

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Diane Sue Saylor

PERSONALS

Personals are advertisements, not unlike classified ads, in which advertisers seek companionship with others for friendship, a committed relationship, sex, or other romantic encounters. Research indicates that personal ads have been around since at least sixteenth-century Britain and that people all over the world have used them (Jagger 2001). In its most contemporary and prevalent form, the Internet-based personal ad enables advertisers to streamline searches for companionship while juggling the demands of careers and personal lives.

Evidence suggests that personal ads often reflect the normative values embedded in the culture in which they are written. For example, American personal advertisements reveal capitalistic societal trends such as casting a woman's appearance as a commodity in exchange for a man's wealth and social status (Rajecki, Bledsoe, and Rasmussen 1991). Moreover, the American personal ad often indicates a cultural preference for individualism, whereas its international counterparts may reflect other social values, such as community. For example, in China many personal ads reveal cultural preferences for family and community, "even," as Ranna Parekh and Eugene V. Beresin note, "at the expense of individual needs" (2001, p. 223). In India most personal ads prize heterosexual marriage as an ultimate goal for seeking companionship. In fact, Indian ads are typically referred to as "matrimonial advertisements." Once referred to as "lonely hearts" advertisements, personal ads have been popular in Britain since the early twentieth century, particularly from 1912 until the mid-1920s (Cocks 2002).

While personal advertisements are typically placed by heterosexuals looking for more traditional relationships, they have also provided opportunities for people

with less-mainstream preferences to seek companionship. American personals, for example, have provided a greater degree of anonymity and safety for gay men and women since at least 1946, when F. W. Ewing's *The Hobby Directory* gave men opportunities to discuss "common interests" (Harris 1997). Since then, personal advertisement services have evolved to cater to a variety of interests and appetites. From gay fetish to extramarital affair ads, from mainstream heterosexual romance ads to alternative subculture community forums, there now exists, thanks largely to Internet services, personal advertisement for almost any preference.

Not only has the Internet provided virtual spaces for a variety of preferences, but it has also reshaped the face of personal advertisements and made them more accessible to wider audiences. Moreover, because Internet services are not as restricted for physical space, they have provided users with the opportunity to provide longer descriptions of both their selves and their desires. Traditional newspaper personals typically restrict the advertiser to no more than twenty-five words, whereas the Internet services typically impose fewer restrictions in length of ads (Paap and Raybeck 2005). Moreover, the prevalence of Internet advertisements has helped break the negative stigma surrounding the use of personal advertisements. Internet personals services have grown steadily, both in revenue and number, coming in second only to pornographic services as leading the Internet in paid services. In November 2004, for example, Internet personals services netted more than \$220 million in revenue (Flass 2004).

Research has also shown that Internet-based personal advertisement services have facilitated a change in adherence to social norms in demographically determined mate selection. Because the Internet provides a space in which people of different backgrounds, cultures, ethnicities, and locations can more easily meet, it has been suggested that the Internet enables advertisers to choose mates they may not have otherwise chosen (Jagger 2005). Moreover, such Internet services have been both praised and criticized for enabling advertisers to manipulate and create the version of their identities that they present. On one hand, such services allow users to "put their best foot forward," while, on the other hand, they have also enabled users with less-honorable intentions to deceive others. To those in search of companionship, an important rule applies: *caveat emptor*.

Since the beginning of personal advertisements, there has been a specialized language consisting largely of initialisms such as SWF, which stands for Single White Female, to ISO LTR, which means In Search of a Long-Term Relationship. These initialisms may have developed in part to conserve print space and reduce costs for services that

charged by the word. These initialisms/acronyms have survived the move to virtual spaces and remain a part of the genre. Some of the more common terms are as follows: BBW (Big Beautiful Woman), BDSM (Bondage and Discipline, Domination and Submission, Sadomasochism), D (Divorced), M (Married), S (Single), B (Black), W (White), G (Gay), Str8 (Straight), Bi (Bisexual), MOTOS (Member of the Opposite Sex), MOTSS (Member of the Same Sex), MW4MW (Man and Woman Seeking Man and Woman), DDF (Drug and Disease Free), WLTM (Would Like to Meet), NSA (No Strings Attached), and DTE (Down to Earth). Hypothetically, an ad could read "SBM ISO BBW 4 DDF NSA BDSM," which would mean "Single Black Male In Search of Big Beautiful Woman for Drug and Disease Free, No-Strings-Attached Bondage and Discipline Sadomasochism."

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Jeremy C. Justus

PERVERTSITY, POLYMORPHOUS

Polymorphous perversity is a Freudian term that signifies a person's ability to experience sexual pleasure in a variety of ways in the entire body, beyond the narrow range of

genital stimulation that is consonant with reproduction. Sigmund Freud argued in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) that polymorphous perversity is a rudimentary stage of childhood sexuality, infants and children can experience sexual pleasure anywhere on the body, and normal development eventually narrows that pleasure to the genital zones, with the aim of ensuring heterosexual sexual intercourse. Noting that barriers to unregulated sexual expression such as shame, disgust, and the sense of sexual morality are absent in childhood sexual behavior, Freud thought that polymorphous perversity was abnormal only if it persisted into adulthood, which it often did, he thought, in lower-class women and non-European peoples. This notion of nonreproductive sexual practices as gendered, lower-class, racialized, and perverse both reflects and extends late nineteenth-century attitudes about empire, race, gender, class, and sexuality.

A value-laden term from a particular cultural moment, the idea of polymorphous perversity validates heterosexual copulation as the most adult and civilized form of sexual behavior while defining nonreproductive sexual expression as childlike, uncivilized, lower-class, and non-Western. However, the behaviors described as polymorphously perverse can be found among adults of all classes throughout history and across many cultures.

POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY IN THE WEST

Western history is filled with reports of sexual pleasures and practices apart from adult heterosexual reproductive copulation, including the anal and penetrative pederasty of the Greeks; the rape and sexual slavery of men, women, and children that was the prerogative of biblical, Roman, and Enlightenment patriarchs; childhood sexual abuse in arranged marriages among medieval and Renaissance European nobility; and the prostitution and multiple mistresses that absorbed most of the sexual practices disapproved of in the bourgeois marriage bed from the eighteenth century onward.

Shakespeare's Juliet is twelve years old and ready for betrothal by the standards of her day. Prostitution, the world's "oldest profession," has been practiced for centuries by men as well as women, fueled by its customers' desire for sexual practices, including oral and anal sex, fetishism, and dominant and submissive role play, that fall outside the procreative practices that characterize legal marriage. Heterosexual prostitution, which is legal in many countries and tolerated in most, typifies the ways in which polymorphous perversity is acceptable when it operates to uphold other practices, such as the regulation of female sexuality, that are central to traditional patriarchal cultures.

POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY IN OTHER CULTURES

There are many cultures in which polymorphous sexual behavior was or is tolerated under highly regulated circumstances, such as the indigenous tribes of North America, in which men known as *berdache* dressed as women and were married to other men; South Africa, where miners far from their families established domestic and sexual relationships with other men; India, where in some regions men are allowed to dress as women and have sex with men if they become *hijras*, live apart, and undergo castration; Papua New Guinea, where adolescent boys may become adults by swallowing semen from adult males; and Brazil, where effeminate homosexuality is tolerated among cross-dressed *travesti* prostitutes if one partner assumes a traditionally feminine persona and role.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARD POLYMORPHOUS PERVERSITY

The recent decriminalization of sodomy in Europe and the United States and the legalization of various forms of domestic partnership in Europe, Canada, and the U.S. state of Massachusetts signify both a shift in regulatory attitudes toward polymorphous perversity in the Western world and official recognition of its sexual practices. This has eliminated much of the difference between so-called infantile polymorphous perversity and Freud's "normal" zone of adult sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Infantile Sexuality*.

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Jaime Hovey

PETTING

Petting refers to activities such as touching, kissing, or licking the erogenous zones of a sexual partner without necessarily progressing to sexual intercourse. In the strict sense of the term, petting involves the use of the hands, so that fondling a woman's breasts or stroking a man's penis through his pants are both types of petting. In the

broad use of the term, petting includes all types of sexual activity except intercourse. Thus, giving oral sex or manually stimulating a partner's penis or clitoris can both be considered forms of petting. Generally, petting is an action distinct from sexual intercourse, although it can often lead to intercourse since it functions much like foreplay to stimulate both partners.

Light petting includes hugging, gentle touching or rubbing of the partner's skin and erogenous areas, kissing, and necking, but it does not include touching of the genitals or touching underneath clothing. In heavy petting, the hands move under the clothing and/or below the waist to touch breasts or nipples and genitalia. Some people, especially those who are not yet sexually active, draw the line at heavy petting, not allowing their partner to stimulate their genitals.

People practice petting for a variety of reasons. Some see it as a pleasurable experience of its own, not necessarily as a precursor to sexual intercourse. One advantage of petting is that both partners can enjoy the experience of either being touched or touching another's body. Petting can also be a way for newly active sexual partners to learn about each other's bodies and physical preferences. Petting can also work as a form of non-verbal communication between partners, so that touching one another conveys strong feelings of love, tenderness, or affection. For these reasons, petting is also an excellent form of foreplay, since it gets partners ready for intercourse physically and emotionally. Men typically get erect penises as a result of petting, and women get aroused, becoming warm and lubricated.

Since it often takes the place of intercourse, petting is commonly associated with adolescents or individuals who are not fully active in sexual intercourse. Those concerned about contracting sexually transmitted diseases may abstain from intercourse but still practice light or heavy petting. Petting can thus function as a substitute for intercourse, and petting can include dry humping, or simulated intercourse through clothes to the point of orgasm.

With the introduction of the automobile, American society saw a sharp increase in petting between young adults, especially those still living with their parents. Sociologist Kimball Young noted in the 1930s that the automobile had done more to change dating and courtship behaviors than anything else in the previous two thousand years. Cars allowed a new space of privacy between sexual partners, and many couples practiced petting and intercourse at night in cars parked at designated sites where other couples were also parking. Movie theaters and other darkened, semi-private places are also popular sites for discreet public petting.

SEE ALSO *Foreplay*.

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Michelle Veenstra

PHILOSOPHY

Philosophical attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and the corresponding roles of men and women find their roots in the mind-body distinction: The human being comprises a rational substance (the mind or the soul) and a material substance (the body). These substances were not viewed equally. The mind, which was assigned to men or *the male*, was privileged over the body, which was assigned to women, or *the female*. Although the distinction is present in the pre-Socratics, for example, in Pythagoras's (569–475 BCE) Table of Opposites, development of this gendered distinction by Plato (c. 427–342 BCE) and Aristotle (384–322 BCE) had the greatest impact on the history of philosophy and the social institutions it influenced.

The medieval philosophers continued to emphasize this distinction. Significantly the strong influence of the three monotheistic religions on this period produced philosophies that had a significant impact on the cultures in which they developed. Thus the modern period from which the Enlightenment emerged strongly reacted to the *Church* philosophies of the medieval period. Modern philosophy resisted the role of faith and religious discourse in philosophy. Yet, in spite of this resistance, many of the vestiges of mind-body dualism and sexed characteristics that defined subjectivity in masculine terms remained intact.

The emergence of both existentialism and phenomenology in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century philosophy challenged the view of the subject conceived in terms of the mind-body distinction. This new formulation of the subject provided other avenues of understanding gender, sexuality, and sex roles since the typical mapping was now contested. Deconstruction and post-structuralist movements provided a methodology for men and women to challenge normative views of sex and sexuality that until then had been accepted as biological or even social facts.

PLATO'S LEGACY

Plato's most explicit references to the mind-body distinction are found in the *Phaedo* (c. 380–360 BCE) and the

Republic (c. 380–360 BCE). The *Phaedo*, the retelling of Socrates's death, describes the philosopher's aim: to live life such that in death the soul will be liberated from the body. The philosopher must not become attached to worldly goods—to friends, children, sensuous pleasures, and so forth. When Socrates's friend begins to weep for him, Socrates tells him that he is acting like a woman and threatens to expel him from the room.

The *Republic* provides the most developed account of the mind-body distinction and the correlated views of men and women. Plato divides the human being into the soul and body and then further divides the soul into three parts, where each part is responsible for a different activity. The appetitive part controls sensuous desires—hunger, thirst, and so forth; the spirited part of the soul controls emotional response such as righteous indignation; and the rational part of the soul, or reason, is intended to keep these two parts of the soul in balance. Plato's description of the three different groups of people in the *Republic*—male or female—corresponds to the three different parts of the soul. Each group is determined by the dominant power of one of the three parts: an appetitive person; a spirited person; a rational person. These three groups of people then correspond to the three different classifications of jobs and social roles in the *Republic*—each person can do one and only one task. Appetitive people will be merchants; spirited people will be the guardians of the city; and rational people will be the philosopher kings.

Plato's categories do not assume that all men will have rational souls nor does it assume that only men will have rational souls. In Book V of this dialogue, Plato responds to the following question, "What is the role of women in the *Republic*?" He demonstrates that although childbearing is part of women's nature, it is not a task that will prevent them from performing other tasks simultaneously. Childbearing is a temporary act while childrearing is ongoing. Although he does conclude that childrearing is not an essential part of women's nature, insofar as women rear children, they are incapable of doing anything else.

The varied and often conflicting scholarship on Plato's attitude towards women as philosopher-guardians of the republic reveals the ambiguity with regard to gender in his philosophical project. He nonetheless claims that women are not necessarily excluded from the class of individuals whose soul is controlled by the rational part. Yet it is also clear that in order to live the life of the philosopher there is a cost: women must give up childrearing responsibilities, which tie them to their bodily life. The separation of matter and form, picked up by Aristotle and carried into the Middle Ages, permeated the history of philosophy and had a substantial impact on early feminist theory.

Although Aristotle, Plato's most famous student, developed his own ideas, apart from those of his teacher, there are significant ways in which one can see the latter's influence. First and foremost is Aristotle's understanding of biology, and in particular, reproduction. Plato's mind-body dualism appears in Aristotle's description of what each, male and female, contribute to the reproductive process. Although Aristotle's renderings of how reproduction occurs are not always consistent with each other, the received view states that the male contributes the seed while the female contributes the warm place for this seed to develop. Another description of reproduction has the male contributing power (*dunamis*) to the act whereas the female contributes the matter upon which the power acts.

The significance of either rendering, however, is the assumption of the relative passivity of the female's contribution to the process. In the first description, the female is simply seen as a vessel in which the seed develops. In the second rendering, the female provides the matter, but the matter is nothing until it is acted upon by the power provided by the male. Aristotle's descriptions of reproduction reinscribe the characteristics of active male/passive female that influenced not only the medieval philosophers, but also had a significant impact on how science understood reproduction and the role of the woman in that process well into the twentieth century.

In spite of this view of reproduction, however, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* provides a space for reconsidering stereotypical feminine and masculine characteristics. For example, Aristotle's focus on [the] *phronesis*, practically wise judgment, acknowledges the important, even necessary role, that emotions play in ethical judgment. The practically wise person considers context—the right decision or reaction in one instance might not be appropriate in another. Although Aristotle was not looking to women for his model, his understanding of the role of emotions provided an important contrast to the ethical theories that developed in the modern period.

MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The medieval philosophical period is marked by the intersection of the three monotheistic religions: Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. As a result, philosophical motivations are often blurred with theological presuppositions. Generally speaking, Christian medieval philosophy, dominated by Saint Augustine (354–430) and Thomas Aquinas (1224–1275), and Jewish medieval philosophy, dominated by Maimonides (1135–1204) and Gersonides (1288–1344), adopts the Platonic/Aristotelian model of soul and body, which accorded a privileged status to rationality. As a result, the philosophers of the medieval period endorsed the respective views of male and female, men and women that correspond to that model.

Christian Philosophy Early Christianity promoted both chastity and celibacy. However this early view did not result from a negative view of the body or bodily behaviors; rather it emerged from a sense of liberation from the restrictive laws governing marriage during this time period. As Pagels explains, young women and men were required by the state to marry at very early ages. For men, marriage was connected to their entrance into civic responsibility. Men and women took vows of celibacy, which they viewed as liberating in the face of oppressive state responsibility. Augustine, ironically, is credited with contributing to the negative view of the body that continues to exist in Christian thinking while also providing a positive view of sexuality. Augustine argued that sexuality should be expressed through marriage and only then for the primary purpose of procreation. Significantly this view differed radically from the Jewish view that sexual pleasure for its own sake was not only morally acceptable; it was also frequently lauded in rabbinic sources. Augustine condemns sexual pleasure even in marriage that is pursued for its own sake and without any intention to procreate. Augustine refers to the wife as “the husband’s harlot,” and to the man as “the wife’s adulterer.” (Augustine Book 1, Chapter 17).

Aquinas’s view of sexuality as described in his *Summa Theologica* followed Augustine’s view. Insofar as one’s action accords with reason, the action is not sinful. Thus sexual acts that keep with the end of human procreation follow the order of reason. Aquinas also contributed significantly to the discussion of sexuality within a Christian context. Influenced by Aristotle, Aquinas held that a fetus was not ensouled until quickening—when the woman could feel the baby kick. He held that up to this point the termination of the fetus was life destroying, but it was not a homicidal act. In spite of Aquinas’s influence on early Catholicism, the Catholic view of abortion has changed dramatically. In the early-twenty-first century, abortion is not sanctioned by the Catholic Church even to save the life of the mother, unless the principle of double effect can apply: The intention is not to kill the fetus, but rather to do something else. For example, in the case of uterine cancer, the intention would be to remove the uterus, not the fetus per se.

The impact on church dogma and practice are clear. First, any sexual activity pursued outside of a recognized marriage is sinful. Second, any sexual activity pursued without the express intention to procreate, even if pursued within a recognized marriage, is sinful. On this view, all homosexual activity and self-gratifying sexual activity is sinful. To the extent that heterosexual activity does not satisfy these criteria, it is also sinful. Augustine’s view of marriage, sexuality, and divorce was widely influential. Catholicism recognizes still the rhythm method as the only legitimate form of birth control, greatly restricting

sexual relations both inside and outside of Church-recognized marriages. Insofar as sexual behavior was not regulated by the Church, couples, and in particular women, continue to risk pregnancies that are unwanted, whether due to financial, emotional, social, or personal concerns (e.g., if pregnancy would be life-threatening). Finally, insofar as abortion is restricted save in very specific circumstances, a woman’s life appears to be subordinated to the life of the fetus.

Jewish Philosophy Jewish philosophy, even in the medieval period, presents a more complex system. The primacy of reason that characterizes much of the western philosophical canon is found primarily in Maimonides and Gersonides, but is absent in the pietistic philosophers such as Judah Halevi (1075–1141). Yet even as the Aristotelian presence is noticed, it is nonetheless a modified Aristotelianism. As pre-Christian philosophers, Plato and Aristotle had a tremendous impact on the formation of Christian metaphysics. Their philosophical impact continued into the modern period and well into the twentieth century. Because Judaism as a religion emerged before the Greek philosophical period, individual Jewish philosophers were influenced by the social milieu in which they lived, but that influence was mitigated by the philosophical underpinnings of the Jewish religion as expressed in its sacred texts.

For example, in Judaism, specific dimensions of bodily life are not disparaged and are even encouraged and lauded—sexual pleasure, the enjoyment of children and family life, and so forth. The Laws of Onah and the marriage contract itself (the *ketubah*) specify that the husband is obligated to provide sexual satisfaction to his wife, even if she is unable to bear children (e.g., she is beyond the reproductive years). Yet, in spite of this view, Maimonides, in adopting an Aristotelian model of form trumping matter, also adopted a negative view of the body, women, and human sexuality. For Maimonides, the relationship between form and matter ultimately points to the necessity of female subordination to the male. She, as matter, must be dominated by masculine reason. Either she is, in which case the point is proven. Or she is not, in which case the characterization of her as recalcitrant is proven. Although Maimonides is often viewed as the dominant Jewish philosopher of the medieval period, he is certainly not the only one of importance. Philosopher Sarah Pessin argues that Spanish poet and mystic philosopher Solomon Ibn Gabirol (1021–1058) provides a counter to the Maimonidean view. Gabirol does not offer a specifically feminist view of women. Rather he explicitly privileges materiality by linking it to the divine. In so doing, he allows for the privileging of the feminine and the traits associated with it.

Islamic Philosophy Islamic philosophy, similar to Christian and Jewish philosophy, raises questions regarding the relationship between philosophy and theology. One branch of Islamic philosophy utilized Greek philosophy, in particular Aristotle's work, to counter orthodox Islamic principles. Yet the attitudes towards gender in philosophy and theology were not necessarily consistent. Insofar as Islamic philosophy appropriated Aristotle's metaphysics, its view of gender ought to have been parallel to that developed by Aristotle. Spanish philosopher and physician Averroës (1126–1198) is most noted for his view that philosophy is incompatible with religion, if each is done properly—a view not much different from that found in both modern and contemporary philosophy. In particular, the difference can be seen in Persian philosopher and scientist Avicenna's (980–1037) criticism of Aristotle's theory of generation.

Contrary to Aristotle, Avicenna claimed that the female did provide a formal contribution. However, even with this concession, Avicenna's description of the account of generation reveals that this formal contribution is inferior and secondary to that of the male. The Aristotelian influence on Avicenna can be attributed to music theorist and scholar Abu Nasr Al-Farabi (870–950), who is credited with introducing Aristotle and Plato to the Arabic world. Avicenna's concept of a person included a concept of the soul that was differentiated as male or female. Although Avicenna believed in eternal life, his lack of belief in pre-existing souls—souls can be differentiated only through matter, and thus embodiment—led him also to believe that even after souls were separated from their bodies they retained their sexed differentiation. Thus even after being separated from their respective bodies, sexed souls will not attain equality. Avicenna accepted Aristotle's view of men and women (i.e., women are the privation of men), even though he was critical of Aristotle's theory of generation. Avicenna advocated the husband's required care of the woman, which allowed her the financial freedom, ironically, to pursue nontechnical forms of education—poetry, philosophy, law, and music. Although Avicenna's criticisms of Aristotle were not enough to limit Aristotle's future influence, Avicenna's *The Canon of Medicine* (c. 1593), which included discussions of pregnancy, natural abortion, and lactation, was important in the study of medicine.

In contrast to Avicenna, Averroës accepted Aristotle's account of generation: The female contributes matter and the male contributes form. Averroës claims that the latter is due to more heat in the male. Additionally Averroës held that men and women could not attain friendships of equality with each other. Interestingly the Platonic influence on Averroës led to a view of gender relations different from that yielded by the Aristotelian influence. Like Plato, Averroës believed that men and women had the same end, and that women were capable of philosophy.

Insofar as he believed that Law commands the study of philosophy, one might infer that women were included in this view. In this regard, it is not clear if Plato or Aristotle had the greater impact on Averroës. Also not clear is whether Averroës's turn from Plato to Aristotle changed his mind with regard to women. Yet Averroës is noted for expressing dismay at the treatment of women in Islamic culture and he worried that women were destined to become nothing more than child bearers or servants to their husbands. His express concern that there was no space for women to develop their talents reveals an underlying Platonic influence. Interestingly these views angered religious zealots and Averroës was eventually removed from his post as jurist to the king. The fact that Aristotle's views had a lasting effect on the masses makes it difficult to determine what lasting impact Averroës's platonic views had.

Iranian philosopher Suhrawardi (1154–1191), the founder of the Illuminationist School, was influenced by doctrines of belief of both Aristotle and Avicenna. Explicitly critical of Avicenna's philosophy in many ways, Suhrawardi's philosophy resembles Plato's theory of the forms more than Aristotle's metaphysics. Suhrawardi's philosophy is characterized by a focus on light, emanating from the light of lights, and decreasing evermore in intensity. This light is then governed by the light that governs reality. Most notably, in his treatise on chivalry, Suhrawardi advocates more compassion in human actions towards others. For example, if a woman has been accused of sexual immorality, he advocates compassion towards her rather than adherence to the cultural norm of obtaining four reputable witnesses to the action and then stoning her to death. His notes on chivalry, rather than paternalistic as in other such codes, genuinely advocate a sympathetic approach to both men and women, not only for their sake, but also for the spiritual development of those who would administer the accepted and expected punishment.

Islam as a practiced religion functions differently from the philosophical positions that are classified as Islamic. For example, in Islam the way to the divine is through the heart, viewed as distinctly feminine. There are numerous references in the Koran that exalt Mary, mother of Jesus, as the mediator or the connection between God and God's creation. As in Suhrawardi's philosophy, Sufism extols the typically feminine characteristics of joy, love, tenderness, and self-sacrifice. Like Judaism, the attitudes towards gender, found in the sacred texts, may differ altogether from how gender and gender roles are viewed and treated within the social-political context of the lived religion. And like Judaism and Christianity, Islam is not monolithic. Islam's emphasis on the mind or spiritual development of the individual promoted a positive view of woman.

MODERN PERIOD

The modern philosophical period (1550–1900) begins with French mathematician and philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) and Dutch philosopher Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677), both of whom were influenced by the medieval period—philosophically, politically, and religiously. Descartes is noted for his extreme mind-body dualism. Spinoza is credited with providing a corrective to this dualism. Most significantly, Spinoza’s emphasis on reason gave birth to Enlightenment philosophy. The modern period is characterized primarily by the emergence of the French and British Enlightenments, which emphasized the universality of reason. This emphasis laid the ground for universal human rights even as it contributed to maintaining gender stereotypes. In spite of claims to universality, women were often excluded from the category of beings capable of rationality. Even when women successfully entered these elite circles, the general attitude towards their supposed natural behavior remained. Women’s social roles and female biological roles that fell outside the realm of rationality were ascribed a lower status.

The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), in his essay “What is Enlightenment?” (1784), concludes that women and others are unable to think rationally not because of human defect but because they have not been permitted to use or develop this faculty. Kant’s view is consistent with the Enlightenment project. Yet, in so far as the dualism was accepted, behavior that could be viewed as irrational or arational was treated as less important. Including women in the category of rational beings did not necessarily improve their status or the opinion of behavior and labor that was defined as female or feminine.

In addition to maintaining the privileged status of reason, the early modern period also emphasized autonomy, freedom, and independence in its definition of human subjectivity, once again by implication lowering the status of those behaviors—childbearing, childrearing, and the nurturing of others—that were characteristic of women. Although this description is both common and accurate, it disregards the nuances that typify many of the philosophers of the modern period. For example, Swiss philosopher and writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s (1712–1778) political philosophy reveals his desire for human subjects to be autonomous and independent in order to make wise and ethical political decision and his wish for those human beings to have healthy relationships with others. A close examination of Rousseau’s educational treatise *Emile* (1762) exposes both a supremely negative view of women and also a view of women that portrays them as both ethically wise and epistemically privileged. In fact, they are presented as the model for human

subjectivity. Rousseau is also clear, however, that there is a distinction to be made between men and women, male and female, and this difference is to be maintained.

Developing Rousseau’s political thought, German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) appropriates the gendered description of civil society. Women are incorporated into the civil society through their participation in the family. Using the example of Greek dramatist Sophocles’s (c. 496–406 BCE) character of Antigone in his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel contrasts the gendered duty of Antigone’s responsibility to bury her treasonous brother, an act that directly defies Creon’s rule of political law, with her responsibility to the state. Even as women participated in civil society, their duties to the family would necessarily exclude them from any authentic participation.

Hegel’s view of women, or gender, in both the *Phenomenology* and *The Philosophy of Right* is the source of controversy even among feminist theorists. Some twentieth-century scholars such as Luce Irigaray and Patricia Mills argue that Hegel’s emphasis on the family and the role of women in the family necessarily excludes them from participation in civil society, even according them a lower status than the slave who eventually moves the dialectic. Irigaray argues that Hegel overlooked the potency of this gendered division. Using Hegel’s own example of Antigone, Irigaray shows that insofar as women are confined to a particular gendered role, the fulfillment of this sexed behavior actually becomes the cause of civil society’s undoing. Antigone had no choice but to act as a woman—to respect the religious law and obey it even if this obedience meant disobeying Creon’s political order. The modern period brings to the fore the tension in masculinity and femininity, especially as these ideals relate to the political community.

TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

Several philosophical developments in the twentieth century provided radical critiques of the European and North American philosophical conception of subjectivity. Phenomenology allowed for the reconsideration of the traditional model of mind-body dualism in discussions of subjectivity. German philosopher Edmund Husserl’s (1859–1938) *Cartesian Meditations* (1931) and Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1908–1961) *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) challenged the idea of a disembodied consciousness. Although neither of these philosophers made explicit reference to gender per se, the implications of their philosophical project for feminist thought and conceptions of subjectivity have been far reaching. Despite this, feminists have taken issue with Husserl’s emphasis on the ego as not bodily enough and with Merleau-Ponty’s examples of

sexuality in the *Phenomenology of Perception*. The concern with regard to the latter is that his examples presume a traditional conception of sexuality as heterosexuality. Though the theories of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty led to the radical overturning of both Platonic and then Cartesian dualism that had gendered subjectivity for centuries, the examples used in their philosophical treatises point to a traditional conception of sexuality subtly at work.

Utilizing an existentialist framework, French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) presents a developed account of how woman has been conceived of as other. Beauvoir's work demonstrates how a theory such as existentialism, though not itself concerned with gender, can be applied to discussions of sex and sexuality. Though radical in the way it challenges European and North American conceptions of gender, Beauvoir's philosophical project repeats many of the same themes. On the one hand, Beauvoir investigates the sustained treatment of woman as other—the second sex—to the male subject. On the other hand, her response to this conception replicates many of the same flaws found in Plato's theory and again in modernity: Women can transcend their bodies and participate in the world of the mind, but it means leaving behind or subordinating behaviors that are closely associated with women. In particular, child-bearing, childrearing, and marriage are treated negatively. To be fair to Beauvoir, however, the context in which she is writing must be acknowledged. Adequate birth control was not available, marriage laws were confining if not outright oppressive, and good childcare was not readily available. Women were often forced to choose between careers and childrearing, not because of any metaphysical definition of themselves but because of the social, political, and legal context in which they lived. It should also be noted that H. M. Parshley's English translation of *The Second Sex* (1949) is not faithful to the original French in significant ways. The influence of the English translation led to widespread interpretation of Beauvoir as unsympathetic to women and the choices they made.

Inflecting phenomenology with a Jewish accent, Lithuanian philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1995) provided yet another conception of human subjectivity, one which inverted the subject-other relationship. Influenced by the German Jewish philosopher, Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), Levinas claimed that human subjectivity arises in ethical response to the other. This reformulation of subjectivity challenged traditional gender roles by elevating ethical response to the other over the Enlightenment values of freedom, autonomy, and rationality. This reformulation utilizes the conception of the feminine as other, but in this project, the other is accorded a privileged position. Levinas presents the feminine in three distinct manifestations. In *Time and the Other* (1947) the feminine inaugurates the

experience of alterity. In *Totality and Infinity* (1961), the feminine is conceived as hospitable and welcoming. Finally in *Otherwise than Being* (1974), the feminine is reconceived in the image of maternity, which he calls the ethical relation par excellence.

Levinas's ethical project transformed philosophy's relationship to otherness. Noting this transformation, feminist theorists such as Irigaray and Tina Chanter offer nuanced readings of Levinas's use of the feminine and the implications for gender and sexuality. Despite the privileged position of the other, these scholars argue that Levinas maintains the feminine stereotypes that proved so dangerous. Scholars of Jewish philosophy, such as Leora Batnitzky, while noting these concerns, also emphasize the influence of Judaism on Levinas's philosophical thought and how this can contribute to a positive reformulation of women and gender. Values such as dependence and vulnerability, associated with women by European and North American philosophy, are seen in Judaism as human values, and signs of humanity itself.

The late-twentieth century French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) radically departs from the philosophical systems that preceded him. Foucault's contribution to the discussion of sexuality and gender is not a critique of gender roles and attitudes per se—rationality versus the body. Instead Foucault analyzes the very way that the discussion develops. In *The History of Sexuality* (1976–1984), he reveals the power structures that control discourse on sexuality, in particular those surrounding sexual repression. He is less interested in *what* has been said about sexuality than he is in *who* has said it, *how* they said it, in what context they said it, and what has not been said. Foucault's primary interest lies in the production of knowledge and power, which he believes are intertwined. The genealogical method employed for his exploration of the history of sexuality radically influenced how twentieth and twenty-first century philosophy examines historical claims to power, truth, and the normative practices in which people engage. The application of this methodology to gender has proved productive for uncovering how discourse on birth control, abortion, marriage, prostitution, and so forth lies in certain premises that are uncritically accepted with particular historical presuppositions.

Feminist responses to mind-body distinction varied widely even though they did not contest the distinction itself. One line of response claimed that women were just like men and could aspire to the same rational capacities even if that meant transcending their bodily identities. A converse response was to claim that women were in fact different from men and that these differences should themselves be valued. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century that philosophy offered a critical analysis of the received view of

human existence and the mind-body distinction itself. Early twenty-first century feminist scholarship reveals the history of European and North American philosophy to be more complex with regard to the mind-body distinction and philosophy's attitudes towards sexuality and gender than has previously been assumed. Although feminist inquiries reveal a pattern of misogyny, it is difficult to reject the values of the Enlightenment in their entirety. However twentieth century European philosophy, which includes phenomenology, existentialism, deconstruction, post-structuralism, and critical theory, provided a new way for thinking about philosophy with regard to sex, gender, and sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Philosophy, Feminist*.

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Claire Katz

PHILOSOPHY, FEMINIST

A number of developments since the late 1970s suggest that the distinction between sex and gender is much more malleable than feminism came to assume. These include increasingly technological reproductive means (artificial insemination, for example) and the proliferation of gender identity clinics, which enable female-to-male and male-to-female operations. Hand in hand with these developments, gender theorists are no longer as invested in parsing out the distinction between sex and gender as they are in reversing the implied causal relation between them. In these theories, it is not sex that causes gender, but gender that causes sex. Theorists such as Monique

Wittig (1992), Christine Delphy (1993), and Judith Butler (1990) have argued that there is no natural ground of gender, no sex that is somehow prior to or outside interpretation. Gender is always already at play in definitions that proceed according to culturally specific assumptions about femininity and masculinity, which require the body to signify the appropriate gender. In this sense, the body itself functions as a sign.

ORIGINS OF THE SEX/GENDER DISTINCTION

The distinction between sex and gender finds its origins in anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Influenced by Margaret Mead (1935) and the Parsonian idea of roles, whereby one's behavior is determined by one's function in the workplace, feminists developed the idea of sex roles, which took seriously the notion that social roles could be multiple and sometimes conflicting. One could be an employee, a sister, a daughter, and a mother, for example. One's social function or status determines one's role. The psychologist Robert J. Stoller (1968–1975) introduced the distinction between sex and gender in his work on transvestites in the 1970s, and the sociologist Ann Oakley (1972) defined sex and gender in a way that lays out the main contours of the distinction as it came to be taken up by feminists. The variability of gender, as opposed to what Oakley identified as the "constancy" of sex, is what made gender so central to the feminist program. If gender originates from socially inculcated roles, then it can change over time. There is nothing inherent in women's makeup or constitution that destines them to work in the home, look after children, or engage in traditionally feminine activities. Women are not hardwired to be nurturing, caring, or other-oriented—there is no genetic predisposition to prepare women for the role of mother or housewife. Only cultural expectations require that women confine their activities to the domestic, familial, private sphere.

Mary Wollstonecraft pointed out in her *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1975 [1792]) the contradictory state of affairs that consisted on the one hand in the assumption that women were ethically inferior to men, and on the other hand in entrusting the rearing of children to women. If women were considered incapable of governing themselves, how could they be considered fit to educate young children? The assumption of women's ethical inferiority to men can be traced back in Western philosophy at least as far as Aristotle, who maintained that women's deliberative capacity in ethical decision making was inferior to men's. Such a view represents a challenge to Plato, his teacher, who carved out a place (albeit limited) for some women to be philosopher guardians in the ideal city he describes in the *Republic*.

Although he did not employ the language of sex and gender, John Stuart Mill argued in his 1869 work, *The Subjection of Women*, that until women were given the chance to prove themselves in the public sphere, the idea that women are innately unsuited for the rigors of politics or government remained mere speculation. With the exception of Wollstonecraft, whose most important philosophical allegiance was to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (himself hardly a feminist), it was not until 1949, with the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (trans. 1953), that a thorough analysis of women's oppression was undertaken. Beauvoir argued from the perspective of existentialist ethics, which held that all humans are subjects, and as such are free to determine their own existence, but as radically free, are liable to forgo their liberty and give in to the temptation to act as if they are not in control of their own destiny. Focusing on the asymmetrical relationship between the sexes, Beauvoir contended that women must confront a special condition: Men impose upon women the patriarchal expectation that they occupy the position of "the other." Although Beauvoir did not employ the language of the sex/gender distinction, her famous claim at the beginning of volume two of *The Second Sex*—"One is not born, rather one becomes, woman"—could be read as reflecting the issues that would come to be taken up in terms of that distinction. There is no innate, essential, or natural essence of femininity, no eternal myth of the feminine; rather, women construct their identities as they live their lives. This philosophy reflects the dictum perhaps most closely associated with existentialism, "essence lies in existence."

Drawing upon cultural dictates, subjects are called to enact normative genders, which constitute facilitating or enabling scripts which both sexes take on and through which people assert their identities. From this, it is a short step to a Foucauldian understanding of power and agency. If it is true that power is not merely repressive and negative, but also productive and positive, that it operates in multiple sites, rather than univocally or monolithically, then it is also true that feminist politics can themselves become sites of repression. This is, perhaps, nowhere more blatant than in the Western, Eurocentric assumptions of the feminist movement itself, which has tended to operate in exclusive ways.

Since the 1980s feminist discussions have been critical of the extent to which gender was theorized in isolation from other forms of oppression such as race and class, with the result that, by default, racially and class-privileged women have set the feminist agenda. Gender theory in the West has therefore tended to be biased toward white, middle-class, and heterosexist experience. African-American theorists such as bell hooks (2000) have persuasively argued, for example, that to define

feminist struggle as a quest for equality is to overlook the fact that such a definition assumes a privileged, middle-class point of view. Clearly, women are not striving for equality with those men afflicted by racial oppression or poverty. Accordingly, hooks suggests that feminism should be understood not in terms of the aim of equality between the sexes, but rather in terms of multiple and interlocking oppressive systems: race, gender, and class.

Mainstream feminists also made the case that women should emphasize gender over sex, thereby opening up cultural and political definitions of femininity to change, and leading to another organizing distinction that played a central role in feminism, namely that between the private and the public realms. Arguing for the right to vote, for example, was a matter of reconfiguring the demand that women remain within the confines of domesticity, within the privacy of the home. Feminism called for women to migrate into the public, political realm of the workplace. Strategically such an argument has proved crucial for some women. Many African-American women, however, worked in domestic spaces, homes that were in some sense private but that were not their own. These workers defy easy categorization in terms of the opposition of private and public: their place of work was usually that of white, middle-class families. Thus, even the organizing distinctions of feminism are not immune from privileging the experience of some women over others, in ways that are permeated by racial and class assumptions for which feminist theory must be accountable.

POSTCOLONIAL INTERVENTIONS

Third-world feminists have developed postcolonial feminist theories, which on the one hand draw attention to the ways in which women's bodies often come to be the ground on which competing versions of mythical nationalism are played out, and on the other hand defend themselves against charges that to be feminist is to be co-opted by Western ideas (Narayan 1997). In the wake of the relentless spread of global capitalism, multinational corporations engaged in offshore sourcing are particularly exploitative of third-world women (Lim 1983). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) is among those to have highlighted the need for feminist theory to engage Marxist theory in a way that takes account of globalized exploitation.

Native American feminists have argued that while civil rights might have operated in largely liberatory ways for white, Western women, they have had repressive effects for colonized, sovereign, tribal groups. A system of government modeled after corporate America, and without the checks and balances ensured by the three branches of the U.S. government (executive, legislative, and judiciary), was imposed on tribal authorities from 1924 to 1968. Matrilineal traditions were eliminated, and women were

subjected to multiple abuses, including forced sterilization. Native American women were misrepresented by white America as meek and submissive, in contrast to the considerable prestige and power they had actually enjoyed prior to their colonization and forced relocation. Their ideas about gender, which celebrated and honored the *berdache* (or third sex), were suppressed in favor of ideas emanating from a Christian, heterosexist ethic (Guerrero 1997).

SEE ALSO *Aristotle; Philosophy; Plato.*

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Tina Chanter

PHONE SEX

Phone sex occurs when one person stimulates a sexual response in another person by means of conversation, suggestive hints and cues, stories, role playing, and sound

effects over the telephone. Commercial phone sex offers itself as a service through advertisements in places where those seeking to purchase sexual titillation would look to find it: on line and in pornographic magazines. In this case phone sex is conducted as a business arrangement in which one person pays another person a prearranged fee for aural stimulation. Phone sex may also be noncommercial and romantic as a part of the way two people, especially those who are separated by distance or circumstances, enjoy sexual intimacy. Phone sex is mutually consensual and thus differs from illegal obscene phone calls in which a caller offers unsolicited sexual suggestion, often as a mode of harassment.

Commercial phone sex involves paid sex workers, called erotic performers, adult phone entertainers, or phone actors. These performers may be female or male and their talents involve not only their voices, but also their ability to perceive, anticipate, and respond to a phone client's requests and desires. Such actors are skilled in conducting and managing aural scenarios. They are often sympathetic and nonjudgmental, though they may refuse a client's requests if they are too extreme. Most phone sex patrons are males who rely on the aural stimulation of a live responsive partner as an aid to masturbation. However, many also wish to explore fantasies they may be reluctant to expose, such as various forms of fetishism, bondage and discipline, transvestism, coprophilia, homosexuality, or incest, and there are those who wish to play sexually stimulating roles or fantasize that their phone partner comes from a specific group or profession. A client may wish to fantasize that he is a cable guy, for example, and his phone sex worker a housewife. Because patrons are anonymous on the phone, phone sex is a safe way to explore sexuality without the risk of exposure or the dangers of contracting sexually transmitted diseases or becoming victims of violence.

Commercial phone sex services have various ways of conducting their business. They must have a way of certifying that their patrons are over eighteen, gathering credit card information, connecting clients with appropriate phone actors, and measuring the services provided. Many work through centralized payment services. Some provide toll-free numbers for patrons to call, ask for a particular kind of service, and provide payment information, then be called back by the assigned actor. Some services still employ 1-900 numbers that charge a special, more expensive rate per minute. In 1996 the Federal Communications Commission adopted regulations governing pay-per-call services such as phone sex, which had become rife with deception. The regulations require that such services disclose the cost of calls in print advertisements and at the beginning of each call and cease funneling toll-free calls into pay-per-call services. The regulations also required that 1-900 number blocking be available.

Phone sex as a part of noncommercial relationships may be an intrinsic part of a couple's sexual life, especially if they live apart. Some couples enjoy the variety phone sex may represent as well as the kinds of fantasy it can enable. In 1990 Nicholson Baker published a novel, *Vox*, based on the imaginary transcript of a phone sex conversation.

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Judith Roof

PHYSICAL CULTURE

Based on an ideal of athleticism and physical beauty that dated back to classical Greece, the physical culture movement promoted fitness, health, and muscular strength through regular exercise, participation in sports, and proper nutrition. It had its origins in the eighteenth-century revival of interest in classical aesthetics, especially the artistic emphasis on the muscular male form, and reached its height in the United States, Britain, and Europe from 1880 until 1930. The ideals of the physical culture movement survive today in modified form in the sport of bodybuilding and in the contemporary emphasis on fitness in Europe and the United States.

HISTORY AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Perhaps the most prominent forerunner of the physical culture movement was the mid-nineteenth-century doctrine of muscular Christianity. Aimed at young men, this stressed the twin goals of physical fitness, largely through participation in sports, and religious observance, drawing its inspiration in part from the Roman satirist Juvenal's doctrine of *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body). Its advocates included such English writers as Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, who made it the underlying value system of his 1857 novel, *Tom Brown's School Days*. Despite the popularity of Hughes's novel, and although gymnasias opened in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1823, in Paris in 1847, and at Oxford University in England in 1858, the physical culture movement did not become fully developed until it was mass-marketed by Eugen Sandow (1867–1925) and Bernarr Macfadden (1868–1955) at the end of the nineteenth century.

Sandow is generally credited as the originator of what would eventually become modern bodybuilding. Born in Prussia, Sandow performed throughout Europe as a sideshow strongman before coming to America in 1893 to appear at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where he was hired by showman Florenz Zeigfeld to tour in a variety show. Sandow's act quickly evolved from performing feats of strength to displaying his muscular development by covering himself in white powder and imitating the poses of classical statues, such as *The Dying Gaul*, albeit with the addition of a discretely placed fig leaf. Photographs of him in such poses were widely marketed, establishing the tradition of physique photography. Sandow is also credited with organizing the first bodybuilding contest, "The Great Competition," at the Royal Albert Hall in London in 1901, with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle as one of the judges.

Largely forgotten now, Macfadden was known during his lifetime as the Father of Physical Culture. Influenced by Sandow's show at the Columbian Exposition, Macfadden toured in his own muscle display show, developed and marketed exercise equipment, opened physical culture clubs in cities across the country, and in 1898 began publishing *Physical Culture* magazine. By 1903 the magazine was selling 100,000 copies per month, and it would eventually provide the basis for a publishing empire. Macfadden was also an early proponent of physical activity for women, advocating that they participate in outdoor sports such as swimming and tennis, publishing a fitness magazine (*Beauty and Health*) aimed at a female audience, and campaigning against corsets and restrictive clothing. Beginning in 1904, he organized bodybuilding competitions that included both genders.

Sandow and Macfadden's success at retailing the ideal of physical culture can be attributed to a number of contemporary cultural factors that provided a fertile climate for their ideas. By the end of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin's notion of survival of the fittest had been adapted into a related theory, social Darwinism, which applied his concepts to contemporary human societies. Social Darwinism argued that relations between societies, and between groups within a society, should be understood as intrinsically competitive, with superior individuals and groups winning out over those less suited to survival. Such ideas provided part of the conceptual framework for the colonial and imperialist projects of the era, which argued that the inherent superiority of the white race required it to bring civilization to less-developed parts of the globe. Along with this assertion of confidence in the destiny of Europeans and Americans, however, came a corollary anxiety: because evolution argued that species were continually changing, late-nineteenth-century intellectuals became concerned about the idea of degeneration—the possibility that each

generation of Europeans and Americans was weaker than the last and that crime, poverty, and social disorder were increasing.

The physical culture movement can be seen as part of the response to this anxiety in its stress on enhancing male health and fitness, a goal that was of particular importance because the physical state of individual men was conceptually linked to the health of the country as a whole. Degenerate and effeminate young men, it was thought, meant a weak nation, which could easily fall victim to other countries or races (Seltzer 1992). As such, the physical culture movement is simply one part of a general emphasis in Europe and the United States on improving the fitness of the individual and thereby ensuring the future viability of the nation, an ethos that also spawned the modern revival of the Olympic Games in 1896 and the founding of the Boy Scouts in 1907.

Since the 1930s the physical culture movement has developed into the sport of modern bodybuilding, with the emphasis gradually shifting from exercise done for the sake of strength and fitness to exercise as a means of shaping and proportioning the body for aesthetic effect. Key moments in the development of bodybuilding as a recognized sport were the emergence of Steve Reeves (Mr. Universe, 1950) as a movie star in *Hercules* and other "sword and sandal" films from 1959 to 1964; the founding of the Mr. Universe and Mr. Olympia bodybuilding competitions, in 1948 and 1965, respectively; and the 1977 documentary film *Pumping Iron*, which detailed a young Arnold Schwarzenegger's attempts to win the Mr. Olympia title. The film not only launched Schwarzenegger's film career but also made bodybuilding a popular sport.

PHYSICAL CULTURE AND SEXUALITY

If only because it involves partial nudity, the physical culture movement, like modern bodybuilding after it, has always been closely tied to sexuality. As a feature of Sandow's stage shows, women were invited to come backstage afterward, where they could feel his muscles upon payment of a fee. Although bodybuilding culture has thus given women opportunities to appreciate the male form since its inception, the sport's primary relation to sexuality has been a long and uneasy association with homosexuality. Because bodybuilding is one of the few arenas in twentieth- and twenty-first-century culture where men have been allowed to look at and appreciate the bodies of other men, the sport is often seen as implicitly homoerotic (Simpson 1994). The connection between physical culture and homoeroticism is clearest, however, in the history of physique photography. Although *Physical Culture* and Sandow's photographs

were the first widely accessible sources of male imagery for gay men at the turn of the last century, it was not until the late 1940s, when a recognizable gay subculture began to emerge, that physique photography began to be produced specifically for the gay community.

In 1945 Bob Mizer founded the Athletic Model Guild in Los Angeles, a photography studio that was originally intended to provide portraits for aspiring actors but quickly evolved into the marketing of photographs of muscular young men. Beginning in 1951, Mizer published *Physique Pictorial*, a magazine featuring his photographs and including brief biographical descriptions of the models. Because of the rigid censorship laws of the time, the models were shown wearing posing straps (which were sometimes painted onto the negatives of nude photographs), and Mizer justified his work by appealing to the classical tradition of male nudity in art and to the physical culture movement. Mizer's photographs, however, were clearly designed to appeal to an emerging gay audience, and customers could order photo sets that contained nude shots of the models. Other studios and magazines soon followed suit. Significant photographers of the era also include Don Whitman (Western Photography Guild) and Bruce Bellas (Bruce of Los Angeles) in the United States, John S. Barrington in England, and Gregor Arax (Studio Arax) in France. The liberalization of censorship laws in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s removed the need to justify male nude photography through an appeal to the ideals of physical culture, paving the way for the more diverse images of men found in contemporary gay pornography.

Bodybuilding has also played a direct role in the gay community. Beginning in the late 1970s, gay men began to take up bodybuilding, both because of the sport's growing popularity and because of an increasing emphasis in gay culture on masculine self-presentation. This trend was enhanced by the onset of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s, which led not only to increased health consciousness among gay men but also to a concern with *appearing* healthy as well. Among gay men, the popularity of working out has continued into the twenty-first century, and bodybuilders now comprise a large and recognizable subculture within the gay community, as web sites such as BigMuscle.com attest. Unlike straight bodybuilders, however, whose aim is usually to enhance their self-esteem by improving their appearance, bodybuilding in the gay community is often designed to objectify the body, making it more attractive as an erotic object (Miller 1992).

SEE ALSO *Beauty Pageants*.

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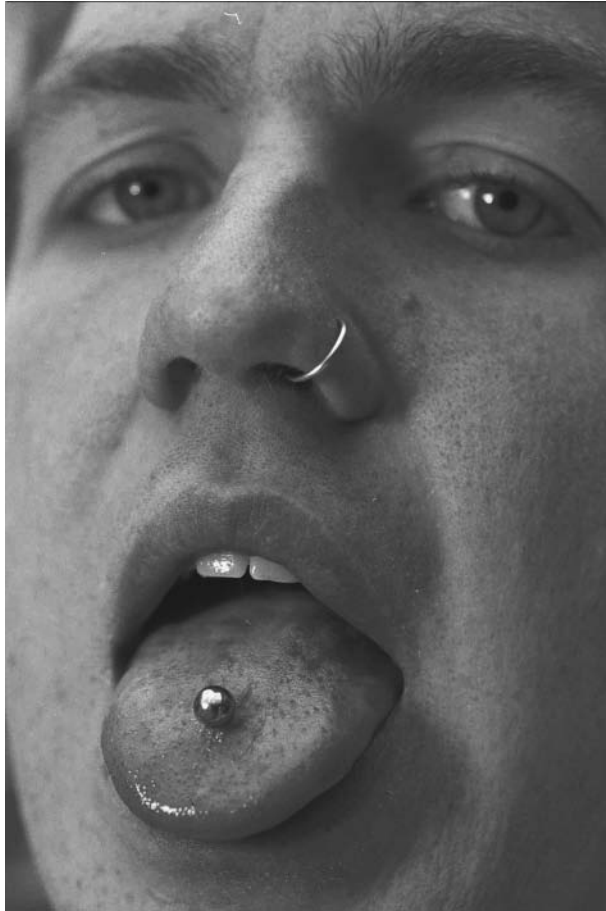
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Dennis Allen

PIERCINGS

Body piercing is a type of body modification often compared to and grouped with tattooing. It uses a gun or needle to create a hole in various parts of the body, into which decorative materials such as metal rings and pieces of wood or bone are inserted. The most popular body part for piercing is the ear, as demonstrated by its popularity among people in Africa, India, Indonesia, and North and South America. Other areas of the body that commonly are pierced include the face, mouth, nipples, navel, and genitals. Facial piercings include the lip, tongue, labret (beneath the lip), nostril, septum, and eyebrow. Male genital piercings include the ampallang (horizontal bar through the penis head), dydoe (bar through the ridge of the penis head), foreskin (ring through end of foreskin), apadravya (vertical bar through penis head), frenum (bar through skin on the underside of penis shaft, below head), guiche (under scrotal sac near anus), Prince Albert (through urethra opening to bottom of penis head), and hafada (through scrotal skin). Female genital piercings include the clitoris, fourchette (over the perineum from the bottom of the vaginal opening), and labia.

Because of its connection with rites of initiation, piercing is embraced most commonly by adolescents, but adults also modify their bodies with piercing for its aesthetic or sensual appeal. Women were once a minority among the largely male population of body modifiers, but the practice has become more common within both sexes. As of the year 2000, approximately 50 percent of



Body Piercings. *A Penn State student displays some of his body piercings.* AP IMAGES.

the pierced population was female. Motivations for body piercing include group affiliation, aesthetic appeal, rites of passage, individuation, shock value, fashion trends, and sensual enhancement. Many people argue that piercing, similar to other forms of body modification, reestablishes a connection between mind and body in modern industrial cultures that privilege mental work over physical activity.

PIERCING IN HISTORY

Piercing has been practiced since ancient times in diverse cultures. Ancient Maya, Aztec, and other Mesoamerican cultures practiced nose, tongue, ear, and lip piercing. Biblical stories from the Old Testament indicate that nose and ear piercing were common practices in the Middle East (see Genesis 24:22). In India, nose piercing has been common since the sixteenth century. More recently, in Victorian England, many women pierced their nipples to enhance both sensation and the roundness and appearance of the nipple and breast. In the

1970s body piercing was embraced by various groups outside of mainstream culture, including the punk culture in Europe and North America and the homosexual culture of California. Starting in the late 1970s, the punk movement began using safety pins and other common objects to pierce and mark themselves as members of this counterculture. Similar to leather clothes and tattoos, piercing in the gay and BDSM sexual communities (practitioners of bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and/or sadomasochism) signifies an enhanced emphasis on sexuality and sensuality in all aspects of one's life. It also continues to mark pierced individuals as not subscribing to mainstream or corporate standards of appearance. The art of piercing in North America and Europe fully began in the 1980s, when Doug Malloy and others standardized the ancient practice with the use of stainless steel materials and specific, hygienic processes. Beginning in the 1990s, piercing became increasingly popular among celebrities and more common on fashion runways.

SEXUALITY AND PIERCING

Genital piercings have functioned historically as means of both enforcing chastity and enhancing sexual pleasure. Labia piercing rings can be used as chastity belts, linking together to prohibit penetration. Likewise, the male genital piercing of the frenum has been used to prevent copulation by the addition of a padlock inserted through the ring. Genital piercing can also enhance pleasure of the area pierced. Women with pierced nipples and clitorises note much higher sensitivity in those areas, and men with Prince Albert piercings and other penile piercings also experience increased pleasure during intercourse. While the Prince Albert is the most pleasurable genital piercing for men, other options such as the ampallang and the dydoe also enhance the experience for their sexual partners. In fact, the ampallang, a piercing practice begun in the areas surrounding the Indian Ocean, makes such a difference that women have been known to specify the size ampallang a man wears during intercourse or deny sex altogether to men without this piercing.

In addition to sexual uses, genital piercings also have symbolic meanings. Such piercings can compete with finger rings as symbols, so women receive labia piercings and men receive frenum piercings at the same appointment. Such piercings can also symbolize ownership or belonging; for example, a submissive woman may have a labia piercing that marks her as belonging to a certain partner. In some countries, female genital piercing is taking the place of female circumcision, satisfying the requirements of ritual bloodshed without the accompanying health risks and loss of sensation that clitoridectomies produce.

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Michelle Veenstra

PILGRIMAGES

This entry contains the following:

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Marco Gottardo

II. CHRISTIANITY

Maribel Dietz

III. HINDUISM

Karin Polit

IV. ISLAM

Siobhan Lambert-Hurley

V. JUDAISM

Barbara Geller

I. BUDDHISM

The category of Buddhist pilgrimage involves a breadth of historical and regional heterogeneities matching that displayed by the various forms of practices and beliefs defined as Buddhism. Only through the study of specific examples can certain features of Buddhist pilgrimage in general be extrapolated, and even then broad generalizations are unsatisfactory. The local characteristics of pilgrimage sites illustrate their individual and composite character, recapitulating the syncretic nature of the development of Buddhism. In India and in Tibet, for example, Vedic gods and goddesses were incorporated within the Buddhist pantheon, and symbols from both religious spheres are found at the same pilgrimage sites. In China, Daoist deities are worshipped side by side with Buddhist ones at a number of sites. In Japan, Buddhas and bodhisattvas almost without exception have been matched to Shinto deities (*kami*).

SITES AND PURPOSES

Topologically, Buddhist pilgrimages are rarely linear journeys to single sites but often consist of circuits: Multiple sites are linked by the pilgrim's journey, with each site allowing the interaction of a pilgrim with a

specific deity or set of deities. This typology differs from the classic model of pilgrimage developed by Victor and Edith Turner (1978), which was based on Christian pilgrimages. Furthermore, whereas a transformative experience for the pilgrim is central in Turner's model, Buddhist pilgrimages tend to downplay that element in favor of other experiences.

The central aim for a Buddhist pilgrim is to accumulate merit by her or his journey through sacred sites that are seen as the abodes of Buddhist enlightened beings or as places of contact with the other world; this explains the prominence of mountains as pilgrimage sites. The merit of carrying out a pilgrimage is transferable to others: In the Japanese pilgrimage around the island of Shikoku both male and female pilgrims carry blessed paper vouchers that they distribute with prayers to believers along their route in exchange for an offering. Without actually leaving for the journey, a believer can thus establish contact with the sacred through the pilgrim and accrue merit. The contact with the sacred may ensure that her or his supplications will be heeded or guarantee protection in daily life. The merit may secure for the believer future rebirth in a better station or in one of the Buddhist Pure Lands.

PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN

This logic of pilgrimage allowed the indirect participation of women in many pilgrimages that they could not carry out directly. Many sacred mountain sites in Japan, for example, were off limits for women until late in the nineteenth century because of the belief that women are inherently polluted (the blood of menstruation and parturition usually was taken as a material symbol of that pollution). Women's presence at such pure sacred sites would contaminate the sites. Women, however, could be made part of the pilgrimage indirectly by having merit transferred to them from those who undertook the pilgrimage.

Alternative strategies were developed in which women could carry out the practice of pilgrimage directly. One strategy involved the establishment of places of worship for women at or near the common pilgrimage site but distinct from the ones available to men. On Mount Fuji, for example, where that exclusion was enforced less intensely than at other sites, men and women could climb the mountain together up to a certain point; from there only men could ascend to the top, whereas a special shrine for women was set up by the local religious leader. There women pilgrims were able to witness the rise of the sun (the chief deity worshipped at Mount Fuji), one of the central practices in that pilgrimage. Another strategy implemented for the Fuji-related pilgrimage was the establishment of miniaturized replicas of Mount Fuji throughout the city of Edo (modern Tokyo). Fully open

for women and men to climb all the way to the top, those sites became central in the practices of pilgrimage groups to Mount Fuji and were erected specifically to correct to an extent the gender bias at the original site.

Other pilgrimage routes were miniaturized and replicated, not always with female pilgrims in mind but making available to everyone a sacred site that otherwise might be out of reach because the original sites were too dangerous or time-consuming to reach or were strictly prohibited. The fact that the circuit had been miniaturized and established at a different site was not seen as detracting from the authenticity of the pilgrimage: The same merit was accrued and the replica was seen as a true sacred place, identical to the original site. That practice resulted overall in a less dramatic gender differentiation in terms of direct participation in pilgrimages and in an increased popularization of pilgrimages.

Beyond the acquisition of merit and the opportunity for direct supplication to a deity, Buddhist pilgrimage can be seen as a particular form of journey performed to connect the individual pilgrim to an extensive social, political, and cultural network. In many cases pilgrims would belong to organized groups, and so those chosen to be sent on pilgrimage as representatives of their group eventually would connect the whole community to the network of religious and cultural symbols encountered on that journey. Many sites of religious pilgrimage were enriched by additional stops along the way to places of historical or literary fame as well as overt recreation. Numerous travel guidebooks for male and female pilgrims—travelers were printed, and extant travel diaries illustrate the presence of both sacred and *worldly* dimensions to those journeys, which may be seen as precursors of contemporary tourism.

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Marco Gottardo

II. CHRISTIANITY

Pilgrimage is a contested phenomenon within Christianity and yet a very popular one. Its origins date to visits to the tombs of the martyrs whose witness to their faith resulted in their deaths. Many martyrs were women whose stories invariably involve attempts at sexual violence toward them. They would become models for the consecrated virgin, who removes herself from the normative world of arranged marriage and procreation to enter a holy life of devotion and strict celibacy. The formative period for pilgrimage began in the fourth century with the building of the church of the Holy Sepulcher. Many of the earliest Jerusalem pilgrimage texts involve women, many of whom build churches, hostels, and monasteries at the holy sites. There was a close relationship between monasticism and pilgrimage; many pilgrims were consecrated virgins, widows, or in chaste marriages. Egeria, a fourth-century Spanish nun, wrote the earliest surviving pilgrimage account. She sought out living holy people who populated the sacred places. The Mount of Olives was a locus of female pilgrimage in the city. Melania the Elder (d. 410 CE), a wealthy widow and pilgrim, established monasteries and a hostel on the hill. Pilgrimage to Rome began through a papal effort to open the catacombs to pilgrims. Pilgrims collected holy oil in clay flasks from the lamps burning in front of the tombs. The early seventh-century queen, Theodolinda (d. 628), had a collection of these flasks at Monza. Holy oil had healing powers and served as more than just a souvenir of the pilgrimage.

The popular pilgrimage centers of Santiago de Compostela in Spain and Canterbury in England were primarily healing shrines that appealed to lay pilgrims. Canterbury pilgrims went to visit the tomb of Thomas Becket (1118–1170), as popularized in Geoffrey Chaucer's (1342–1400) *Canterbury Tales*, which follows a diverse group of pilgrims telling stories to pass the time. The character of the Wife of Bath, with her frank discussions of her five marriages and of the overvaluing of virginity, became a model of the female pilgrim. A more accurate portrayal comes from the writing of the English mystic and pilgrim, Margery Kempe (1373–1440). Kempe was married and had fourteen children when she decided to devote herself to God and begin a life of pilgrimage, traveling to the major centers of Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Jerusalem, and around England.

In Byzantine Asia one of the most popular sites was the tomb of St. John the Evangelist at Ephesus. Manna was said to issue forth from the tomb and could be used for a variety of miraculous cures. Women in labor would mix it with water and drink it to ease their pain and ensure a safe delivery. Water from the miraculous spring of St. Tryphaena was said to increase milk production in lactating women.

Much modern pilgrimage centers on locations of Marian apparitions. The most popular American pilgrimage

site is the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe (apparition in 1531) just outside Mexico City. Since the nineteenth century there has been a marked increase in the popularity of Marian apparitions, the majority of which have appeared to young women. The best known include La Salette (1846), Lourdes (1858), Fatima (1917), and Medjugorje (1981). The majority of pilgrims to these sites are women (one study states 68% of the Lourdes pilgrims are women).

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Maribel Dietz

III. HINDUISM

Pilgrimage is an important aspect of Hinduism. Especially for Hindu men, pilgrimage plays an important role, as they should become renunciators and go on a pilgrimage once they have become paternal grandfathers. Pilgrimages, however, are undertaken by men and women alike, as well as by deities—male and female. Rules and prescriptions of Hindu pilgrimages commonly depend on the gender of the deity and not so much on the sex and gender of the pilgrim.

Popular pilgrimage places are rivers—such as the Ganges—often conceptualized as female, but temples, mountains, and other sacred sites are also destinations for pilgrimages, as they are thought to be where the gods may have appeared or become manifest in the world. In most Hindu pilgrimages the purifying quality of water is of utmost importance. Pilgrims bathe themselves for purification in a holy river as during the *Kumbh Mela* in the holy cities of Hardvar, Allahabad, Ujjain, Nasik, and Tryambakeshvar. Men and women alike make pilgrimages to holy rivers as the bath in such holy water is understood to wash a person free from his or her sins. A pilgrimage to the holy city of Varanasi, especially when a

person comes to die in this city of death, is thought to release one's soul from the cycle of life.

Hindus make a clear hierarchical distinction between adult men, women, and children. Whereas children (especially female children) are often seen as divine, women (especially women who are in their reproductive years) are considered as dangerously polluting, especially at times of menstruation and childbirth. Therefore, women of reproductive age may be excluded from entering certain places of pilgrimage when they are pregnant or menstruating. Women also refrain from revealing sexually desirable parts of their bodies in public and can therefore only bathe fully dressed. In general, however, men and women, often husband and wife, undertake pilgrimages together once their children are married and have produced children of their own.

Because pilgrimage is an act of purification, pilgrims are often expected to observe certain restrictions concerning their food, clothing, and behavior, especially sexual contact. Purity for Hindus is an embodied state of mind; physical contact with impure persons, beings, and places, as well as impure thoughts—such as sexual desire with someone other than one's spouse and in moments of religious importance—endanger the purity of the self and thus also the deity that is the object of worship during a pilgrimage. Because sexuality, especially female sexuality, and sexual contact are considered as polluting activities, pilgrims are often expected to refrain from any sort of sexual behavior as well as impure thoughts during the duration of their pilgrimage.

Particular places of pilgrimage have particular rules and regulations for their pilgrims. In Varanasi, a pilgrim, male or female, should fast and bathe before performing any further purification rituals once arrived in the holy city. During the great pilgrimage (*Raj Jat*) of the goddess Nanda in the central Himalayas, the men carrying the Devi should stop cutting their hair and nails, stop shaving, eat only once a day, and bathe twice a day. They should avoid eating food made by a female and contact with any menstruating woman and refrain from any sexual contacts. Until recently women had been strictly forbidden to join the pilgrims during the last days of this royal pilgrimage. However, during the last *Raj Jat* in 2000, women were actually permitted to join in the royal pilgrimage.

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Karen Polit

IV. ISLAM

Pilgrimage in Islam may be distinguished from the practice in other religious traditions by its obligatory nature. In order to fulfill the requirements of the Islamic faith as elucidated in the Qur'an and traditions, every Muslim, male and female, must make a scripted visit to the Kaaba in Mecca during the assigned month of Dhul-Hijjah at least once in their lifetime, if they can afford it. This pilgrimage is known as the hajj. The limits on the requirement to make the hajj have meant that most Muslims throughout history have not fulfilled this obligation, though numbers have increased dramatically in the modern age because of improved transportation, among other factors.

Pilgrim sex ratios are not available, but it is clear that women have made up a fair percentage of those going on hajj from the earliest days of Islam, not only from contemporary reports, but also from their own accounts of the journey. Women are also documented as being among the largest numbers pursuing others forms of Islamic pilgrimage, such as visitations to shrines (*ziyara*). A few shrines, such as that of Lala Rahma at Boujad in Morocco and those to Fatima in the Shia tradition, are dedicated to holy women, while others, such as that of Sheikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur Sikri in India, have special resonance for childless women. In some shrines, women also offer ritual services to pilgrims, though their role is rarely recognized, or perform mystical poetry (*sufiana-kalam*) in which there is a prominent female voice. Starting in the nineteenth century, however, the growth of religious reform movements with an emphasis on scripture has meant that popular pilgrimage activities have often been censured with greater importance being placed on hajj.

Modern guides for hajj pilgrims often include a separate section in which special rules for women are explained. These rules stipulate that a woman may not go on hajj unless accompanied by her husband or another male of her immediate family with whom marriage is forbidden. They also specify that she need not wear the garments mandated for male pilgrims consisting of two unsewn and preferably white sheets wrapped around the body. Instead, she is to prepare for entering the state of purity (*ihram*) by dressing in clean, plain clothing that covers her hair, but

not her face, her legs to the ankle, her arms to the wrist, and the entirety of her breasts. Male and female pilgrims alike are also directed to abstain from wearing perfume or any adorning ornaments, though women have the additional requirement of conducting themselves in such a manner so as not to attract the attention of men. To this end, they are instructed to say their prayers, including the *talbiyyah* upon entering Mecca, in silence. The only exception is if they are menstruating in which case they are not to perform any of the daily prayers, though other prayers not requiring obeisance are permitted. Women are also excused from completing the more physically demanding rites of hajj, such as running between the mountains of Safa and Marwah, and shaving off all of their hair at Mina. In terms of sex, any form of intercourse, masturbation, or other lustful touching is forbidden while in a state of *ihram*.

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Siobhan Lambert-Hurley

V. JUDAISM

At the heart of Jewish sacred history, embedded in biblical narrative, is the transformative journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land, the Exodus, presented as a kind of pilgrimage from slavery to freedom and nationhood in the embrace of a covenant with God. Thus, it is perhaps surprising that pilgrimage is not a mainstay of Judaism. At the same time, from antiquity to the present, pilgrimages, especially to Jerusalem, have been an important practice with potent religious, national, and community-building dimensions. Pilgrimage practices reflect both commonalities and differences among the various Jewish cultural groupings and denominations. Gender-based differences are rooted in large part in the

gendered character of key facets of ancient Judaism and modern Orthodox Judaism.

Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem dates to the first millennium BCE. Kings David and Solomon built a temple in Jerusalem to be the house of God. The city became holy as God's chosen dwelling place. Later statutes in the biblical books of Exodus and Deuteronomy mandated that all Israelite males journey to Jerusalem three times yearly, at the festivals of Passover, Sukkot, and Shavuot, each of which combines an agricultural celebration with the celebration of Israel's self-understanding of its history of redemption in the Exodus journey.

Pilgrimage may have reached its zenith in the final decades of the Second Temple, built in the sixth century BCE following the destruction of Solomon's Temple, and destroyed by the Roman army in 70 CE. The New Testament and the writings of the first-century Jewish historians Philo and Josephus describe crowds of men and women pilgrims who came to Jerusalem to pray and bring sacrifices to the temple, the centerpiece of the expanded Temple Mount built by King Herod (r. 37–4 BCE).

In the aftermath of the destruction of the temple, pilgrims became increasingly eager to visit the Western Wall, a retaining wall of the Temple Mount. During the 1967 Six Day War, it came under Israeli rule, and since then has functioned as a powerful religious and national symbol, a focus of pilgrimage, and a site of individual and communal worship and religious and national celebrations. However, the government mandates that religious practices conform to the requirements of the Israeli Orthodox rabbinate, a reflection of the privileged legal status of Orthodox Judaism and the power of the religious political parties. Thus, the Western Wall plaza was divided into men's and women's prayer sections with a partition between them. Women are prohibited by the government from engaging in such practices as reading from a Torah scroll and praying aloud in groups.

Jewish pilgrimages are not limited to Jerusalem. For example, outside of Israel, journeys to sites associated with the Holocaust function often as pilgrimages of Jewish identity formation. Within Israel many men and women, especially from Hasidic and Sephardic communities, continue the deeply rooted tradition of visiting tombs of saints. Nearly all these saints are men. Saints are venerated as embodying exceptional righteousness, piety, and holiness. Visits to their gravesites are believed by some to be a vehicle of intercession with God and to offer cures for illnesses and other life problems.

Anthropologist Susan Sered has studied the cults of women saints. These include Rachel, the biblical matriarch, whose shrine is in the occupied West Bank, and Rachel, the wife of the famed second-century Rabbi, Akiva. Their tomb sites attract many women from

religiously conservative communities; the cults function to affirm their communities' image of the ideal woman—the self-sacrificing wife and mother. As Sered notes, women pilgrims view both saints as having a special understanding of their gender's problems including infertility and household strife. Gender remains a significant factor in shaping the experiences of many Jewish pilgrims.

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Barbara Geller

PIN-UPS

European and North American art abounds with images of naked women artfully posed for the delectation of male spectators. However, it was not until the Industrial Revolution's technologies for producing mass-media images that the pin-up genre emerged "to both negotiate a space for itself between the fine and popular arts and define itself through the representation of a pointedly contemporary female sexuality," observes Maria Elena Buszek in *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (2006). This book is the most comprehensive study to date of the pin-up's complex historical, cultural, aesthetic, and ideological dimensions examined in relation to the three waves of feminism. A core question posed by the pin-up phenomenon as well as feminists and other philosophers of sexuality, culture, being, and identity is: Can, or how can, individuals subjected to the consuming gaze of an other, as an object of that spectator's desire, inspiration, projection, or fetishistic fantasy, find a space in which to become subject? If, as Simone de Beauvoir has famously written, the persistent condition of *femininity* as constructed by patriarchal culture objectifies *woman* as a secondary support for the subject that is *man*, how can women contest this objectification to attain subjecthood? And how do visual images of women perpetuate and/or contest these misogynist, asymmetrical subject/object power dynamics?



WWII Soldiers Admiring Pin-up. A group of World War II soldiers admire a photo of their favorite pin-up girl, Dorothy Lamour.
© BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Fin-de-siècle pin-ups arose in relation to both the advent of cinema, fan culture, and fanzines such as *Photoplay*, and the first-wave feminism of the suffragettes and the Anglo-American New Woman, who were leaving patriarchal domestic confines to seek employment, voting rights, and self-determination. In the 1880s artist Charles Dana Gibson (1867–1944) created pin-up images for *Life Magazine* that simultaneously celebrated the New Woman’s resourcefulness and beauty and reinscribed her within conventional romantic narratives (Buszek 2006). Early cinema in an artistically thriving interwar Europe and pre-Hays Code Hollywood both fed and was shaped by a pin-up culture that enabled representations of provocative, ambiguous sexuality; the androgynous beauty of Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992) and Greta Garbo (1905–1990) was shot in butch and/or femme poses. Similarly

valorized within pin-up culture, if not stereotypical film roles, were *exotic* foreign or racially ambiguous actresses such as Anna May Wong (1905–1961) and Dolores del Rio (1905–1983) (Buszek 2006).

The most famous pin-up artist is Joaquín Alberto Vargas y Chávez, born in Peru, 1896. *Esquire* publisher David Smart demanded that Vargas eliminate the “s” from Vargas, presumably to defuse his *foreignness*. The *Varga Girl* who graced *Esquire* pages from 1940 to 1947, became a huge sensation, embodying the shifting cultural zeitgeist. Both sweetly innocent and hypersexualized, these apple-cheeked, rosy-lipped hometown girls and bathing beauties sported physiques with endless, shapely legs, enormous but perky breasts, and taught tummies that defied the law of gravity. Airbrushed and rendered in glossy palettes of satin pink, silky black, or valentine

red, their bodily contours were seductive but clad. Varga Girls were hugely popular amongst World War II (1939–1945) troops, who pinned them above army cots, had their girlfriends mime their poses, and emblazoned them upon military aircraft and barges (Buszek 2006). Traditional femininity was combined with strength and a glamorized sexuality within images of girls working, maintaining the home front, or even wearing *military drag*. This hybrid of sweetheart and siren, patriotic professionalism and soft-skinned domesticity made them ideal for consumption by a culture rife with wartime anxiety. Pin-ups and 1940s Hollywood film-starring actresses who embodied these qualities mutually reinforced these visual and cultural constructions of femininity.

The 1950s pin-up model Bettie Page's (b. 1923) trajectory illustrates a link between pin-ups and cryptopornography in postwar, presexual revolution America. Page posed for wholesome *cheesecake* photos, as well as for film reels and photos taken by the siblings Irving (1910–1966) and Paula Klaw featuring bondage/domination scenarios, and Hugh Hefner's (b. 1926) *Playboy* (founded 1953). Hefner's *playmates* were designed as subservient objects for their male readers' pleasure as against the bondage and discipline (B&D), sadism and masochism (S&M) images starring *threatening* dominatrices, in accordance with a postwar backlash patriarchy that eschewed the female independence glamorized in wartime pin-ups (Buszek 2006). These discussions of sexuality unfolded within a cold-war culture both confused about and obsessed with the binaries pornography/art, American/foreign, normal/deviant, and heterosexual/homosexual. With the sexual revolution pin-ups metamorphosed into increasingly pornographic centerfold images. This shift was accompanied by fierce debates between second- and third-wave feminists who either condemned pin-ups as irreducibly sexist exploitations of the female body or valorized their potential as complex aesthetic phenomena in which to negotiate feminist sexual and existential identity.

Numerous artists from the 1960s to the early twenty-first century have appropriated the pin-up as a means of contesting patriarchal subject–object gender dynamics toward a feminist aesthetic of self-determination and pleasure. Art historian Joanna Frueh uses her own bodybuilder physique in poses that are both erotic and powerful, wedding subject and object of desiring gaze. Susie Bright's (b. 1958) deconstructed lesbian pin-up, shot by Phyllis Christopher for the feminist magazine *On Our Backs* (1989), Anna Magnuson's *Revenge of the Vargas Pin-Up Girl* (1992), whose subject turns a phallic airbrush against the photographer, and performance artist Annie Sprinkle, Cindy Sherman (b. 1945), and others have innovatively explored the pin-up's potential for celebrating feminist agency, pleasure, and autonomy.

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Leora Lev

PIZAN, CHRISTINE DE 1364–1430

Christine de Pizan, a late medieval French author, wrote more than twenty texts, many of which address issues of sexuality and desire within the structures of late medieval culture. Often considered the first professional woman of letters in French literature, Christine was born in Venice in 1364 but moved to Paris as a young child when her father, Tommaso da Pizzano, was recruited to serve as court astrologer to Charles V, the king of France from 1364 to 1380. At age fifteen, Christine was married to a royal secretary, Étienne du Castel; in her autobiographical text *Christine's Vision* (1405), she recounts that the ten years of her marriage were happy. When Christine was twenty-five, Étienne died suddenly, leaving Christine the responsibility of supporting her three young children



Christine de Pizan. MANSELL/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

and her widowed mother. Rather than remarry, Christine took up her pen and pursued a life of letters under royal and ducal patronage. Her initial compositions were a series of poems, composed in the 1390s, many of which deal with the topic of her bereavement. These verses brought her recognition as a poet, and over the next two decades she produced a series of texts in verse and prose, many of which take up questions of gender. A large number of Christine's texts survive in illustrated manuscripts; because Christine was involved in the production of these illustrated texts, the visual programs in the manuscripts of her works offer additional witness to her concern with the representation of gender and sexuality.

Each of Christine's texts approaches the topic of gender differently. *Othea's Letter to Hector* (1399) offers the male chivalric reader a lesson in identity and desire. In text and images, the *Othea* rewrites classical mythology in order to tutor the implied male viewer in chivalric ethics. Although it ostensibly endorses the heteronormative values of late medieval Christianity, the *Othea* nonetheless promotes a vision of masculinity that disavows misogyny and violence against women. In 1401 and 1402 Christine participated in

an epistolary debate on the ethics of reading Jean de Meun's portion of the *Romance of the Rose*. Christine's three letters in this debate characterize the *Romance of the Rose* as a misogynist text that has the potential to encourage domestic violence. This debate on the *Rose* provoked a later debate about the cultural and social roles of women that came to be known in the early modern period as the *querelle des femmes* (the debate on women).

In her *Mutation of Fortune* (1403), Christine metaphorically describes herself becoming a man in order to take up the demands of authorship. This work, a verse narrative of universal history, offers a historical account of the rise and fall of ancient cities and civilizations, a traditional view of world history that left little room for attending to the place of women in history. By contrast to the masculinist *Mutation of Fortune*, *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) focuses exclusively on women. As a prose treatise in defense of women, *City of Ladies* creates an allegorical city to house and defend the women of myth and history, including the Christian saints, who are omitted from the standard structures of history. As her most sustained critique of the cultural constructions of gender, *City of Ladies* is the most purposefully feminist text of the entire Middle Ages. *City of Ladies*, however, was followed by *The Book of Three Virtues* (1405), a conduct book addressed to women that offers an entirely conventional set of instructions for female comportment within marriage and heterosexual desire, although it does criticize courtly love for the unworkable position in which it situates women.

In addition to the texts that explicitly address topics of gender, Christine also composed works on political, courtly, and devotional themes. While Christine produced a body of work that frequently criticizes the masculine bias of literary and historical traditions, she did not develop an alternative to the reproductive, heterosexual norms of the late medieval world. For that reason, she is not generally considered to be a radical—or even a subversive—literary figure. Yet despite her conventional attitudes toward sexuality, her work nonetheless presupposes gender to be a construction that emerges from—and responds to—cultural dynamics. Christine's view that gender is a construction marks a significant departure from the late medieval assumptions regarding gender, and her approach to gender as a cultural construct constitutes an important aspect of her literary legacy.

SEE ALSO *Literature: I. Overview; Queering, Queer Theory, and Early Modern Culture.*

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Marilynn Desmond

PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Planned Parenthood has its roots in founder Margaret Sanger's work with birth control and birth control clinics in the early twentieth century. Sanger (1879–1966) was a social advocate who believed that a woman's right to control her body was fundamental to women's human rights; that every person should be able to decide whether or not to have a child; and that women have the right to sexual fulfillment and pleasure (Knowles 2004). As such, she worked against the Comstock laws that prohibited the distribution of information about sex, reproduction, and contraception. Sanger's work in advocating for birth control—a phrase she is credited with coining—resulted in her founding the American Birth Control League in 1921, which then became Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942 (Knowles 2004). She did not, however, promote abortions because they were both illegal and dangerous during her time. Yet Sanger did urge women to use contraception so they would not have to resort to “back-alley abortions.”

Through her creation of the birth control clinics—the first one was established in 1916—she made contraception and information about sex and reproduction available to low-income, minority, and immigrant women (Knowles 2004). Her focus on these particular communities has drawn criticism because it is often linked with Sanger's association with eugenics, a popular sociological movement in the 1920s and 1930s (Knowles 2004). Planned Parenthood repudiates the accusations that Sanger subscribed to the overt racism of the eugenics movement, contending, rather, that “she agreed with the progressives of her day” (Knowles 2004, p. 3). Sanger and her contemporaries in the eugenics movement believed in “incentives for the voluntary hospitalization and/or sterilization of people with untreatable, disabling, hereditary conditions, the adoption and enforcement of stringent regulations to prevent the immigration of the diseased and ‘feeble-minded’ into the U.S, and placing so-called illiterates, paupers, unemployables, criminals, prostitutes, and dope-fiends on farms and open spaces as long as

necessary for the strengthening and development of moral conduct” (Knowles 2004, p. 3).

Sanger's controversy was not limited to her involvement with the eugenics movement. Because she promoted birth control and knowledge of sex and reproduction, Sanger often clashed with the Catholic Church and law enforcement, which frequently resulted in court battles. Also, Sanger came under fire for her alleged Marxist leanings, which, some argued, contributed more to her political agenda than her humanitarian efforts (Spooner 2005).

Despite the debate surrounding Sanger's politics, she brought to light women's health issues, began the birth control movement, and founded Planned Parenthood as part of her efforts. Sanger's family continues its involvement with Planned Parenthood. Her grandson Alexander Sanger chairs the International Planned Parenthood Council and previously served as the President of Planned Parenthood of New York City (PPNYC) and its international arm, the Margaret Sanger Center International (MSCI) (AlexanderSanger.com).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Planned Parenthood served more than five million men, women, and children yearly, and there were 120 affiliates and 860 health centers (“By the Numbers” 2006). According to the organization's mission statement, Planned Parenthood believes in “the fundamental right of each individual, throughout the world, to manage his or her fertility, regardless of the individual's income, marital status, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, national origin, or residence,” and “reproductive self-determination must be voluntary and preserve the individual's right to privacy” (Planned Parenthood 1998, p. 1). Also, Planned Parenthood envisions its goals to be: “to provide comprehensive reproductive and complementary health care services in settings which preserve and protect the essential privacy and rights of each individual; to advocate public policies which guarantee these rights and ensure access to such services; to provide educational programs which enhance understanding of individual and societal implications of human sexuality; to promote research and the advancement of technology in reproductive health care and encourage understanding of their inherent bioethical, behavioral, and social implications” (Planned Parenthood 1998, p. 1). The organization works with a range of populations, and it estimates that 74 percent of its clients are at or below 150 percent of the federal poverty line (“Planned Parenthood by the Numbers” 2006). In addition to working with economically disenfranchised populations, Planned Parenthood assists young adults and teens; yet 74 percent of its clientele is over the age of nineteen (“By the Numbers” 2006). It further approximates that its contraceptive services prevent 617,000 unintended pregnancies,

and only 9 percent of its clients receive abortion services (“By the Numbers” 2006).

The organization currently addresses a variety of issues, including reproductive freedom, universal access to services, universal access to sexuality education, abortion, adolescent services, censorship and first amendment rights, early pregnancy detection, international family planning, women’s rights, voluntary sterilization, and population (Planned Parenthood 1998). To attend to these concerns, Planned Parenthood engages in educational campaigns from the preschool through the collegiate level, in effect reaching approximately 1.3 million people per year (Planned Parenthood, May 2006). In addition, the organization works with the federal and state governments to advocate in the area of public policy. Planned Parenthood is using the Internet to raise awareness about and challenge the “war waged on women and their reproductive rights by executive and legislative branches”). In particular, the organization targets issues concerning contraceptive equality, access to abortion, emergency contraception, family planning funding, sexuality education, censoring free speech, and replacing science with right wing ideology, and it maintains watch on federal and state court proceedings regarding reproductive issues, such as South Dakota’s 2006 ban on abortion (overturned by voters).

Planned Parenthood also campaigns against and raises awareness about contraceptive access like the birth control prescription policy at the Target chain of department stores. In 2005 Planned Parenthood responded with a letter writing campaign to a Target pharmacist in Fenton, Missouri, who refused to fill a woman’s prescription for emergency contraception. Following the campaign, Target made public its policy, which Planned Parenthood summarizes as “Target does not guarantee that all prescriptions for birth control, including emergency contraception, will be filled in-store, without discrimination or delay” (“Planned Parenthood Targets Target” 2005). Planned Parenthood is still working to challenge Target’s policy and has even dedicated part of SaveRoe.com to this campaign (see <http://www.SaveRoe.com/campaigns/target>).

In addition to addressing domestic concerns, Planned Parenthood also works internationally. The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) was founded in 1952 and has five priority areas: adolescents, HIV/AIDS, abortion, access, and advocacy (IPPF.org). The IPPF is a “global network of Member Associations in 151 countries and the world’s foremost voluntary, non-governmental provider and advocate of sexual and reproductive health and rights” (IPPF.org). The organization works “to improve the quality of life of individuals by campaigning for sexual and reproductive health and rights through advo-

and services, especially for poor and vulnerable people; defend the right of all young people to enjoy their sexual lives free from ill-health, unwanted pregnancy, violence and discrimination; support a woman’s right to choose to terminate her pregnancy legally and safely, and strive to eliminate STIs and reduce the spread and impact of HIV/AIDS” (IPPF.org). IPPF’s facilities, operating in more than 180 countries, provide a variety of services, including counseling, gynecological care, HIV-related services, diagnosis and treatment of sexually transmitted infections, infertility services, mother and child health, emergency contraception and abortion-related services (IPPF.org). In 2005, for example, 1.3 million HIV-related services were provided and over 8 million sexual and reproductive health services were provided to people under the age of twenty-five (IPPF.org).

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Michelle Parke

PLANTS, SEXUAL SYMBOLISM OF

There are no universals in symbolism—although their ordering of the world is a comforting temptation. Symbols—and the place of plants in the grammar of symbols is no exception—travel across time periods and continents, yet their visual resemblance is deceiving and their meaning can vary significantly. The fleur-de-lis, for instance, is found in various ancient cultures and in Egypt was the emblem of the southern provinces, where it symbolized fertility and wealth. It later became a Christological symbol, and then an emblem of purity and virginity applied to the Virgin Mary from a verse of the Song of Songs (2:2) before being associated with the French monarchy (Pastoureau 1997, pp. 115–116).

The apple also occupies shifting ground: Linked in the story of Genesis to the Fall, it became associated in the Christian imaginary with women and sin, reflected in

modern folk expressions such as the Breton term for a pregnant woman—that “she had eaten the apple.” In classical myth the golden apple that Paris of Troy bestows on Aphrodite, as well as the three golden apples thrown at Atalanta by Hippomenes to defeat her in the race (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book X, 291–295), are connected to wooing and erotic power. This also seems to be their function in Celtic myth, but here, it is the otherworldly woman/goddess who appears to entice a human man, bearing a branch from the silver apple tree of Emhnae or, like Clíodna, accompanied by birds who feast on the apples of the otherworld tree (Mac Cana 1973, p. 91). General statements about the connection of plants to fertility, birth, and regeneration (Cirlot 1958, p. 348), or worse yet, stale clichés about female flowers and male sexual aggression (Stevens 1999, pp. 380–81), are thus not very helpful in understanding the sexual symbolism of plants.

Symbols are powerful in part because they translate or even erase the predictable. Thus, historian Simon Schama pointed out how a classically trained renaissance art historian of the end of the nineteenth century Aby Warburg (1866–1929) came to shed the rationalist belief that symbols merely “... protected prescientific man from his fear of the inexplicable.” Deeply troubled by the images he studied, Warburg “... began to lose this conventional confidence that knowledge could supersede symbol as a way of dealing with terror” (Schama 1995, p. 211). If terror is linked to symbols, then, the sexual symbolism of plants cannot be limited to the representation of fe/male binaries or of sexual acts, but signals designated access routes to the sacred. Such is the function of the cut pine in the cult of Atys, who becomes mad and self-castrating (Schama 1995), and of plants linked to dark magic. In ancient pre-Christian or non-Christian fertility and love cults, the pine is thus dedicated to or representative of a god/goddess or associated with life through fecundity in objects and emblems, such as the pinecone, whose sexual symbolism remains active in medieval lore linked to taverns and bathhouses (Canadé Sautman 1995).

Trees, shrubs, flowers, fruits, vegetables, herbs, ornamentals, and even noxious specimens have been culturally meaningful, foremost through the imperatives of food production and medical treatment, and thus, the practices—dietary and/or magical—that they have fostered. Their symbolic translation of sex and gender is readable in actual medical, or magicomedical, usage, contained in the *materia medica* and *pharmacopeia* of specific cultures and periods, which provide explanations or associative chains for the role of specific plants in sexuality. In medieval cultures plants became symbolic because of positive or negative physical effects on any aspect of erotic/sexual life (abstinence, passion, procreation, delivery of children)

or because authoritative tradition claimed them to be so (Canadé Sautman 1995). Sexual symbolism could stem from a feature of the plant itself: Thus, with their prolific seeds, pumpkins (*cucurbite* in Latin), in order to grow, must be protected against women who should not touch them or even look at them while menstruating (*Tacuinum sanitatis* 1984). The seed, used to treat the prostate gland, coded as male (Telesko 2001) is thus vulnerable to the contamination of women and especially menses, a long-standing belief acknowledged at least since Pliny (23–79 CE) (Canadé Sautman 1995).

In sexual regulation the function of plant parts can vary immensely: thus, the rue, an astringent herb, was known since Galen (129–200 C.E.) to suppress sexual desire (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 1984). Recommended as such by St. Albert the Great (c. 1206–1280), it was thought to preserve chastity, all the way through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001). However, in the sixteenth-century Arabic *Perfumed Garden*, the seed of the wild rue is one of the ingredients in a drug to induce in women an irrepressible desire for lesbian passion (Taberner 1985). A derivative symbolic language of plants also stems from regimens of health that regulate what one eats to various ends beyond mere sustenance. Plants thus signify sexually regardless of their actual physical effects; for instance the eggplant was deemed a melancholy-inducing plant, and “virgins and married women” were warned to be on guard when picking it because the plant’s melancholic odors combined with its hot and moist nature could arouse males to deviate from “decent behavior” (*Tacuinum sanitatis* 1984).

Preceding the sentimental language of flowers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, largely codified in the 1910s in the fashion of exchanging postcards, the custom of offering May bouquets that signified attraction and love was known in medieval Europe. Such bouquets could also codify sexual insults from males to young women through the incorporation of certain plants—such as hazel or elder trees—and led to confrontations (Canadé Sautman 1995).

Plants can symbolize—because of a mix of potentially toxic effects and inclusion in magical practices—particularly forbidden love magic. Toxicity is precisely what allows these plants to break psychic and physical barriers or conjure hidden forces. An example is the plant *hyoscyamus niger*, known as henbane in English, used in witches’ brews and, like the mandrake and belladonna, present in alchemical symbolism and ancient medicine. Its active ingredients, which include aggressive alkaloids, penetrate through the skin and mucous membranes such as the vagina and induce violent sexual excitement, as well as lead to madness and divinatory trance (Sangirardi

1981). Another, favored as a sexual restorative and aphrodisiac from the Antiquity to the modern era in different guises, is the Artemisia group, including wormwood or mugwort (*artemisia vulgaris*), an effective if dangerous anthelmintic (worm expellant) due to the active compound santonin, which can induce epilepsy, respiratory failure, and even death (Taberner 1985).

Plants are also symbols in the representation of sexuality because of linguistic details or legendary narratives that have accrued to them. Plants in the large Orchidaceae family acquired the Latin term *testiculos* because of the double tuber at their root. According to Pliny, the *orchis* or *serapion* has a major tubercle that excites desire and a minor one that inhibits it. The older and larger tubercle, eaten by men, engenders boys; the smaller and younger one, when eaten by women, engenders girls. Thessalian women were reputed to eat its root with goat's milk to stimulate sexual appetite and to eat the old tubercle to inhibit it. These associations of shape and property with a gendered order of nature and procreation were repeated in later herbals, such as the English *Herbal* of John Gerarde published in 1636, which recommends the generative powers of the plant "testiculos leporis" (Sangirardi 1981), whose name is doubly symbolic, as the hare, *lepus*, is reputed to have volatile sexual urges. The ancient doctrine of *signatures*—every plant is marked by God to reveal its specific use—categorized many plants as sexual enhancers because of their shape, such as the asparagus. Even more so, plants whose roots resembled an entire human form, such as the mandrake, were widely recommended for use in love magic (Taberner 1985). This largely mythical plant, essential to magic and sorcery, could be different plants in its actual botanical epiphany: ginseng, or *man-root* for the Chinese; the thorn-apple (*datura stramonium*), a Solanaceae, in early European and Arabic writing; and in medieval to early modern English and French herbals, the white bryony (*bryonia dioica* Jacquin), a wild cucumber that is quite poisonous. The magic of "like produces like," inherent to the sexual symbolism of plants, is probably at work in the custom decried by a fourteenth-century Dominican friar of young girls invoking the plantain (*plantago major*) to be married to the man of their choice (Savoie 1933). Besides the power traditionally ascribed to it, the plant does have long, pointed, tubular pistils. The parallel persists in the modern world; the root of St. John's Wort (*hypericum elodes*), popular in the twenty-first century as a mood enhancer, is said to have been used in the twentieth century as a love charm in the southern United States because of its phallic shape (Taberner 1985).

Incarnations of the fecund Gaia and Artemis led to a Marial iconography with Mary in the center of a paradise

garden surrounded by flowers, fruit, and leafy trees (Schama 1995). Plants can be at the crossroads of religious (monotheistic) symbolism and of sexuality, where ambiguous zones of carnal and devotional love interface. This is particularly true in Marial devotion. For instance, in the commentary on Catholic flower and fruit garlands painted around the Madonna, the fig, a symbol of luxury in antiquity, becomes a fruit of the Virgin (Goody 1993). The iris is also ambivalent in medieval symbolism: It was at once associated with generation and with the incarnation of Christ and virgin maternity (Girault 1997). The lily is an ancient fertility symbol, but the white lily, *lilium candidum*, also signifies purity and unblemished beauty and refers to Mary as the vessel in which the seed of God is brought into full bloom. The lily is thus at once Mary's purity and Christ's glory (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001).

Similarly, the sour pomegranate, *granata acetosa*, was linked to fertility, blood, and immortality in antiquity and changed in Christianity to signify the death of Christ and his resurrection and the life-giving virtue of the Virgin Mary and Redemption (*Tacuinum Sanitatis* 2001). The retablo of the Dominican church of Colmar painted by Martin Schongauer (1430–1490) places in its central scene Christ and Mary Magdalene under a flowering pomegranate tree that bears ripe fruit, surrounded by a wooden fence. This is the *Hortus Conclusus* of the Song of Songs, in which Christ is the beloved, and Mary Magdalene the *sponsa* (betrothed), reconciling the apparently contradictory images of carnal sin and chastity, in "the personalized crucible of mystical faith" (Kessler 1997). The image of an enclosure around a flowering and fruit-bearing pomegranate tree is one of betrothal in courtly literature, invested with new meaning by theology, for the pomegranate is fundamental to the Christian system of vegetal symbolism because of its natural structure, which designates martyrdom (Kessler 1997).

The double meaning of fruits—overtly sexual or Christianized to signify sin and resurrection—is evident in the work of a Renaissance artist such as Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516), who places oversized, round, and yellow or red fruits with seeds, partially cut open, in symbolic positions—for instance, in his *Hay wain* (Madrid, Prado), over the portal of Paradise that Adam and Eve just left. He also transforms familiar berries in the painting of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (Madrid, Prado), adding blue strawberries or giant raspberries, or combinations, "... to obtain the 'synthetic fruits' he needed to surcharge the symbolic equation between the flesh (of the sinner) and fruits that are made of flesh only, without a hard pit, which will constitute and symbolize at once the food and the putrefaction of the carnal sin" (Kessler 1997, p. 177–178).

Plants, trees, and, in particular, flowers, are sexually symbolic as vegetal matter, regardless of their actual species, because of their shape or growing habit. There are thus general categories of worship (protection of fertility) or spaces of symbolic transfer (shrines, bowers, woods) where human and vegetal figures are connected to love and sex. This process is particularly evident in the medieval French romance of *Flore and Blanchefleur*. The two youths become enraptured with each other, listening to birds and admiring nature in Flore's father's garden, filled with flowers and herbs of all types, including the mandrake (*Flore et Blanchefleur*, 14, vss. 241–44). In Flore's heart, Love then plants its strong stem, perpetually in bloom and more fragrant than exotic plants such as citrons, clove, or garingal (22, vss. 373–78). A sumptuous tomb is built for the two lovers, with their semblance carved on top of it, kneeling in front of each other, she holding a rose of fine gold, he proffering a beautiful lily (vss. 574–76). Trees are planted at its four corners. At the head, a small, leafy ebony, covered with white flowers all year long, that can never be burned by fire; at the foot a red terebinth, more beautiful than the rose; on the right a mythical tree that produces the oil of baptism; and on the left a balm tree. No fragrance in the world equals theirs, and they were planted with invocations to all the gods that made them always bear abundant flowers (34–36, vss. 603–642). In contrast, the tree in the emir's garden is linked to predatory sex: His completely red *tree of love* is not natural but has been rigged to always have flowers and drop one on the woman the emir has chosen to be his for a year, before he puts her to death (vss. 104–107).

Whereas the examples discussed so far have been almost all European, there is no dearth of symbolic associations between plants, gender, and sexuality in other cultural regions of the world. Thus, flowers appear early in Chinese literature in relation to courtship and marriage, where the beloved is compared to a plum or peach blossom, to slender bamboo, to the pepper plant or lotuses, as early as the *Book of Odes*, c. 800 BCE (Goody 1993). Beginning with the poet Li Po (701–762), “flower poetry” depicted the world of the courtesans and singing girls as “beautiful flowers,” and flowers, natural and human, interplayed in a genre both popular and literary (Goody 1993). A strong element of eroticism is built into the very depiction of flowers, as a range of terms in written characters describing beauty have a female radical and are applicable only to women, flowers, and fruit. Thus, in the euphemistic language of lovemaking, the feminine is the plum blossom and the masculine is the bamboo. Women painters of flowers, some of them courtesans themselves, furthered the association by reproducing the systematic—and conventional—girl-and-flower equations. Courtesan painters particularly favored the orchid as subject matter, as in the “rock and

orchid” composition, because it was a metaphor for a lovely girl living in seclusion (Goody 1993).

Orchid, sexual status, and women were linked in legend and literature when the seventeenth-century author of the *Mustard Seed Garden* recounts that, after the princesses of Xiang were given away as concubines by their father, the orchid fields “reflected a blush of shame and yet continue to bring forth no ordinary flower . . .” Specific flowers elicited a literature of their own, for instance the twelfth-century *plum poetry*, in which the blossom of the flowering plum is likened to lovely chaste women. The peony, on the other hand, even in contemporary contexts, stands for both wealth and sensuality, whereas the begonia was feminine because it likes a cool shady spot, and the iris was linked to fertility and the birth of sons, as was the red pomegranate, which also was expected to ward off bad luck (Goody 1993).

Notwithstanding these refinements, however, the general category of flowers in Chinese culture went beyond referring to women and female beauty in general to a very precise usage linked to prostitution, evidenced in the language of the sex trade, with terms such as “looking for the flowers and asking after the willows,” “flower smoke rooms,” or going to “drink flower wine” (Goody 1993). Traditional Chinese brush painting has, on the other hand, elegantly codified the auspicious symbolism, not only of single flowers and plants, but of compositions: bamboo with plums signify marriage; peony and bee, lovers; two lotus blooms or one bloom and one leaf indicate shared love; a willow with a female golden oriole and a male butterfly evoke love; and plants otherwise incorporated in erotic language, when grouped in threes, can signify the Three Purities, as do plum, pine, and Buddha's hand citron (Cherrett 2003).

The elaborate ancient and early modern systems—medical, magical, erotic, and religious—that governed the symbolic value of plants in art or in literature have receded, at least in the Europe and North America, in the modern period, where they obey different syntaxes, idiosyncratic to a specific author or artist. Thus Marcel Proust (1871–1922) uses the hermaphroditic *orchidaceae cattleya* to evoke Swann's passion and to signify making love, and constantly regenerating desire (Fladenmuller 1993). Some plants, however, have a culturally symbolic range, combining popular tradition with literary craft. The sugar cane and the canebrake itself have acquired complex meanings in Caribbean and African American literature, interfacing erotic allusions and situations with a broader reference to the tensions and struggles of plantation cultures, a trend evident in works as varied as Jean Toomer's unique and foundational *Cane* (1923), in Gloria Naylor's *The Women of Brewster Place* (1982), or in Lemuel Johnson's poem “sudden ecstasies in lefthanded places” (Johnson 1992). Modern artists have

also openly sexualized flowers and fruit, their individual eye conferring sexual ambiguity to them, as in Georgia O'Keefe's (1887–1986) 1927 painting *Red Cannas*, read by some through her bisexuality, or photographer Edward Weston's (1886–1958) 1929–1930 renditions of peppers (Appel 1992). Finally, many modern vernaculars retain the sexual associations of plants, as in the Italian *finocchio* (fennel) for homosexual, the English use of *cherry* for the virginity of girls, or the French *gousse* (garlic clove) for lesbian.

SEE ALSO *Erotic Art; Folk Beliefs and Rituals; Folk Healers and Healing; Folklore; Legends and Myths; Magic; Medicine, Ancient.*

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Francesca Canadé Sautman

PLATT LYNES, GEORGE 1907–1955

George Platt Lynes, born in East Orange, New Jersey, on April 15, was the son of Joseph Lynes, a lawyer, and Adelaide Sparkman, a Southerner who was raised in New York. Joseph changed his profession to Episcopalian minister after George's birth and moved the family to Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Although George had a brother, Russell, three years his junior, George was the more pampered of the two, possibly because he was sickly. An undistinguished student, he attended the nearby Berkshire School, studied French in Paris, and then briefly attended Yale in 1926. He also studied book selling at Columbia and tried that occupation. Platt Lynes was always self-taught. He died of lung cancer in New York City on December 6.

THE NUDES

In the early twenty-first century Platt Lynes is known chiefly for photographs of nudes. Mainly male nudes, they were a dominant theme in his work after the early 1940s, though he also photographed nudes for most of the 1930s. These pictures always were intended for private viewing, but some achieved exhibit status in his lifetime. When Platt Lynes was in his early forties, Dr. Alfred Kinsey began amassing hundreds of his negatives and positives, along with examples of his other artistic and commercial works. However, the nudes did not earn Platt Lynes a livelihood.

Literary creation, not photography, was Platt Lynes's first calling, and he was encouraged by Gertrude Stein, who befriended him in France before he was twenty. By 1930, however, he was dissuaded in that enterprise by the two lovers who invited him to return to France and join them in 1928, Glenway Wescott and Monroe Wheeler. Madly in love with Wheeler, Platt Lynes began a three-person affair that would last, off and on, for about fifteen years.

The relationship also served him professionally. Wescott, who was established as a writer when they met, eventually worked with him, writing texts to accompany Platt Lynes's photographs on mythological themes. Wheeler, who became the director of publications and exhibits at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, facilitated Platt Lynes's early entry into important MoMA exhibitions. The first occurred in 1932 ("Murals by American Painters and Photographers"), in which he displayed a triptych arrangement ("Landscape") that included classical idealized nudity that was made ambiguous by other superimposed images that direct the viewer's gaze toward a central phallic edifice. More significantly, in 1936 MoMA showed "The Sleepwalker," a photographic montage of male nudes in a surrealist mode.

Surrealism, the style of many of the early works, suited Platt Lynes both practically and stylistically despite André Breton's diatribe against homosexuality. Through surrealism, as well as through Platt Lynes's mythological thematics (1937–1940), he could both legitimize the still not tolerated male nude photograph and satisfy an esthetic principle: He was usually against including both full face and genitalia in an image. The unlikely supplanting realities that surrealism customarily aimed to achieve could make the male nude photograph possible in an era when it seldom could appear in print.

Not only did Platt Lynes adopt the stylistic norms of the friends he made in French art circles (Jean Cocteau, Man Ray, Hoyningen-Huene, Berenice Abbott, and Paul Outerbridge, among others), he used them in his creations in such a way that he eventually was able to launch full-fledged photographic programs that found an outlet in the male nude. An example would be the mythological and the ballet photographs, especially those depicting a new version of the ballet *Orpheus* (1948), for which Francisco Monción and Nicholas Magallanes performed dance poses naked before the camera. This series, which is recognized as the culmination of the ballet photography that Platt Lynes began to cultivate in 1935, provides a link among dance, mythology, and male nudes as photographic thematics. It had its deepest roots in Platt Lynes's association with his wealthy schoolmate Lincoln Kirstein, the founder of the New York School of American Ballet developed by George Balanchine, who

until a financial disagreement in the mid-1950s sponsored Platt Lynes's ballet photographs. The point was usually static form, not movement, a norm that seemed to be in conjunction with the Greco-Roman idealizations that are the foundation of many of Platt Lynes's male nudes—in other words, with the antipornographic bent of his male nudes.

The cast of characters in the nudes included dancers, models, gymnasts, and even studio assistants, men with beautiful bodies who sometimes became involved in sexual affairs with the photographer. In the case of George Tichenor, Platt Lynes grew enamored of him to the point of long grieving over his death in World War II, an event that occasioned a subsequent affair with George's brother, Jonathan. However, sex may not have been the usual end of Platt Lynes's male nude photographic enterprise, just as pornography was not, although the photographs are considered in art history to be exemplars of homoeroticism. Platt Lynes photographed himself nude and posed in the nude informally for his intimate friends and formally for Man Ray. Women were the subjects of some of his nudes, including close acquaintances and family members, such as his sister-in-law.

PORTRAITS AND FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY

His portraiture, which helped support the photographer financially, began as casual and grew to be formal. His portraits depict close acquaintances: lovers such as Glenway Wescott and Monroe Wheeler and the poet René Crevel, as well as Alfred Kinsey and friends from the world of art, literature, music, film, and theater such as Christopher Isherwood, Jean Cocteau, Katherine Anne Porter, Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, Johnny Weismuller ("Tarzan"), Aldous Huxley, Edna Ferber, Thomas Mann, Edith Sitwell, e.e. cummings, Igor Stravinsky, Marsden Hartley, E. M. Forster, and Yul Brynner (nude). In the case of Porter, who was many years his senior, it is said that she wanted to have an affair with Platt Lynes in spite of his professed leanings, and Platt Lynes did reside with her briefly.

Fashion photography in New York was Platt Lynes's source of revenue, and the abandonment of it led to his financial undoing. It was his chief means of sustenance during the time he experimented with nudes (1930s), and one sometimes finds studio trappings in the nudes similar to those found in fashion shots. It is rumored that he may have had brief affairs with the fashion models Laurie Douglas ("Duggie") and Helen Bennett.

Although Richard Avedon and Irving Penn picked up some of the New York commissions that Platt Lynes abandoned when he left to become a *Vogue* director in Hollywood, it was photographers such as Robert

Mapplethorpe and Bruce Weber who undertook the cultivation of sophisticated male nude photography in the years after Platt Lynes's death.

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Lee Fontanella

PLATO

c. 427–347 BCE

One of the most important figures in the history of Western philosophy, Plato is the source of ideas and the locus of debates about assigned gender roles in society, male homosexuality, and the nature and role of erotic drive in human life.

LIFE AND WORKS

Although scholars have little secure data about his life, it is clear that, after 387 BCE, Plato founded a philosophical institution, called the Academy, and that in the 380s he began writing dialogues in which the Ideal Philosopher (Socrates) discusses moral, political, educational, and similar topics with a variety of serious and interesting opponents. The Platonic dialogue is a unique literary and philosophic form. Clearly designed to make discovering doctrines difficult, the dialogues are full of ideas and arguments, myths and metaphors, humor and irony. They mix the technical and simple, subtle and candid, playful and serious, concrete and abstract. Plato is notoriously inconsistent about technical vocabulary, but he probably invented philosophy as a distinct discipline or intellectual practice.

PHILOSOPHY

The heart of Plato's philosophy is a two-level vision of reality. The lower level, material things that change, is sensed and derives its shadow of reality and value from the higher, unchanging level of immaterial Forms or Ideas that are truly real and known by thought. So Ideas are the proper focus of human pursuit, and

Platonism is thus the first and most influential of all forms of Idealism, the view that ideas are more real and more important than material things. It derives from a dramatic ethical and psychological story.

According to Plato, everyone by nature wants to be "happy" (the Greek *eudaimonia*, usually translated "happiness," is not a feeling; it is a state or condition), but popular ideas about happiness—wealth, pleasure, status, or power—are false. So are popular assumptions about the ultimate reality and importance of material things and the derivation of knowledge from sensation. True happiness consists in wisdom and knowledge, which can be attained only by means of a special kind of rational thinking called dialectic. One must give up the false beliefs that the welfare of the body is more important than that of the soul, and that material things are real and important. If thought and speech are to make sense, then, apart from material things, there must be eternal, unchanging, immaterial entities that are truly and permanently what their material copies are only partially and temporarily. These, usually called Platonic Forms or Ideas, humans grasp with their intellects, not their senses. The human soul is by nature able to ascend from sensation to rational awareness of these Forms and philosophy is at once a daunting, private, educational journey to the happiness that is found only in rational knowledge and a heroic, public, religious mission to goad one's fellow citizens into pursuit of these loftier pursuits.

SEX AND GENDER THEMES

Several of Plato's dialogues have specific relevance to issues of sex and gender. In the *Timaeus* (50d–51c), a creation myth similar to that in *Genesis* and other creation myths envisages an active male, heavenly power impregnating a passive female power, called the receptacle. The gender role assignments in the *Timaeus* myth are consistent with disparaging attitudes toward women expressed in a few other dialogues but inconsistent with what is found elsewhere.

In the *Republic*, Socrates describes a city he says would be perfectly just. Run by a class of philosopher-rulers selected for character and intellectual ability in which women are included (Books 4 and 5), it violated the assigned gender roles in Greek society, providing equal opportunity for women in the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom and in higher social functions (military service, including war, and public administration). Further provisions abolish families and establish a community of wives and children and strict control over sexual intercourse, reproduction, and child rearing. The ruling class also is denied wealth and personal property. Many of the same topics are discussed in the *Laws*, but from a less idealistic perspective.



Plato and Aristotle. In this detail from Raphael's *The School of Athens*, Plato (left) walks with Aristotle. © TED SPIEGEL/CORBIS.

Male homosexuality is a theme in the *Phaedrus*, *Lysis*, and *Symposium*. In the first, Phaedrus reads Socrates a speech written by Lysias arguing that a boy should grant sexual favors to an older man who does not love him rather than to a lover: love (*eros*) makes people crazy, resulting in harm to the boy, whereas the nonlover, not being crazy, will help, not harm him. Socrates explains *eros* as a form of divine madness, like that of poets and prophets, and not harmful if one understands the nature and destiny of the human soul. The soul is immortal and is like a chariot driven by a rational charioteer, pulled by a noble horse that tends toward right action and an ignoble one that tends toward immediate, physical gratification. The soul in its naturally good condition has seen truth and reality beyond the physical world, including true Beauty, the Form. Incarnated, fallen into the physical world, souls lose their natural wings and do not rise to this vision. But physical beauty reminds them of the Beauty previously

experienced and stimulates the drive of *eros*, which, properly understood, leads the soul back to its native, divine, knowing state. Thus sexual attraction is the first step along the way to knowledge of the Forms. True *eros* leads not to the physical act of sex but to the intellectual act of philosophical inquiry.

Dinner party participants in the *Symposium* give speeches in praise of *eros*. Several glorify the homoerotic relations between older and younger men that were not uncommon in upper-class Greek society at the time. Aristophanes says there were originally three sexes, male, female, and hermaphrodite. People were double beings, split in half by the gods for presumption. Now individuals go through life looking for their “other half,” and this is what the erotic love drive is. Some people are halves of male–male beings, others of female–female beings, and still others of male–female beings of a sort of bisexual or androgynous nature. Socrates reports what

a priestess, Diotima, taught him about “erotics.” *Eros* is the power that drives all human action. Its goal is “giving birth in the beautiful,” but since there are different levels of beauty from that of individual bodies to that of souls, knowledge, and the Forms, there is a “ladder of loves” that specifies the best life for human beings. The ultimate goal of *eros* and of human beings is intellectual union with the Beautiful. The true erotic relationship—“Platonic love”—is between men who jointly pursue wisdom through dialectical conversation and knowledge of Forms, rather than pursuing physical pleasure through sexual activity.

DEBATES ABOUT PLATO

Plato’s devaluation of sensory experience and his transformation of the erotic drive into a universal power leading to intellectual creation and discovery rather than to physical pleasure or procreation has been praised for its idealistic inspiration and elevation of human life but also criticized as a falsification of human nature, which can only be truly healthy when its animal needs are met. Aristophanes’ speech in the *Symposium* has been a rich source of discussion about androgyny, and the frankness with which Plato seems to accept the homoeroticism of many of his characters has seemed a vindication of contemporary views about sexual difference. However, the idea that Platonic love is the highest form of *eros* might seem to support a rather different conclusion about the importance of sex altogether.

The gender role and family arrangements of the *Republic* suggest that Plato is ahead of his time, a proto-feminist, for recognizing that women are equally capable of learning and ruling. Others claim that absorbing women into the male training program amounts to an antifeminist denial of difference. The reproductive lottery in the *Republic* has seemed to encourage abhorrent programs of eugenics, and the community of wives and children in the *Republic* has been compared, for praise or blame, to communistic social experiments from early Christianity to the communes of the 1960s. Some scholars think the social and political arrangements envisaged in the more “idealistic” *Republic* are not retained in the more practical and “realistic” *Laws*; others disagree. In short, it is possible to find in Plato a misogynist, a sexist, or a forerunner of women’s liberation.

PLATO’S INFLUENCE

Plato is one of the three formative influences on the Western cultural tradition, the source of ancient, medieval, and modern Platonisms and Neoplatonisms, as well as modern “rationalism,” and the various forms of “idealism” that led to the work of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) and Karl Marx (1818–1883) as well

as to American Pragmatism. The *Republic* has inspired utopias from the Platonopolis of Plotinus (third century CE) through Thomas More’s *Utopia* (1516) and Tommaso Campanella’s *City of the Sun* (1623) to utopian social experiments of the nineteenth century. The *Symposium* theory of *eros* as the driving force behind all human action reappears in Sigmund Freud’s discussions of *eros* and *thanatos* as primary psychic drives, and the chariot image of the soul in the *Phaedrus* reappears in his theory of the id, ego, and superego.

SEE ALSO *Androgyny*.

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Gerald A. Press

PLAYBOY

Playboy, the brainchild of Hugh Hefner, was born in 1953. Its first issue, featuring Marilyn Monroe, was undated because, as Hefner put it, he was not sure there would be a second (Miller 1984). Not only was there a second issue, there has been more than half a century of one of the world’s most successful men’s sex magazines, one that has continued to be profitable while its competitors have fallen by the wayside and one that brought the nude girlie magazine out of working-class garages and into the cultural mainstream.

Alfred Kinsey’s *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) was a major inspiration for Hefner, as was Kinsey’s follow-up study of sexual behavior in the female published five years later. Hefner linked himself directly to Kinsey: “We believe . . . that we are filling a publishing need only slightly less important than the one just taken care of by the Kinsey Report” (Miller 1984, p. 39). Max Lerner commented that “in the sexual revolution Kinsey was the researcher and Hef its pamphleteer” (Petersen 1999, p. 229).

For Hefner, image, in both senses of the term, was the key. His pages created a fantasy world and guide for the



Playboy Founder Hugh Hefner with a Group of Bunny Girls. AP IMAGES.

man about town. Hefner had the ability to read America after World War II. Whereas other men's magazines touted the great outdoors, Hefner made it clear to his readers that "we plan spending most of our time inside" (Miller 1984, p. 39). The logo created by Hefner's team was a bunny with large ears. Symbolically ambidextrous, the rabbit could represent the sophisticated man about town positioned to enjoy the pleasures of life. As a bunny in a rabbit-eared costume, it represented the available female. Both images function as symbols of sexual activity. In its ubiquity the *Playboy* rabbit has been second only to the equally large-eared Mickey Mouse, and it survives on clothing and other consumer products as a symbol of openness to sexual pleasure.

Hefner's reader was treated to a monthly female Playmate who was posed provocatively to suggest the American ideal of that time: blond, white, young, and

buxom. In 1965 *Playboy* featured its first African-American Playmate. In the 1970s the magazine felt pressure from other sex magazines, specifically *Penthouse*, to include pubic hair in the photographs. The Playmate pictorial is the one area of the magazine that Hefner always has insisted on supervising personally. The result has been an extraordinary consistency of vision across the years of changing fashions and sexual mores. The pornographic equivalent of comfort food, Hefner's pictorials feature soft, nonthreatening nude and seminude girl-next-door types and generally eschew the darker provinces of eroticism.

However, *Playboy* did not restrict itself to pictures of human flesh. In 1956 the magazine began to publish fiction by authors such as Vladimir Nabokov (1899–1977) and James Baldwin (1924–1987). In 1962 the *Playboy* classic interviews began. The list of interviewees

included world celebrities in the arts, literature, and politics: Nabokov, Malcolm X (1925–1965), Peter Sellers (1925–1980), Jean Genet (1910–1986), George Wallace (1919–1998), Jimmy Carter (b. 1924), and many others. The pages of the magazine were filled by suggestions from the Playboy Advisor, followed by the Playboy Forum (1963). The Advisor was there to answer questions from readers with problems, whereas the Forum published letters penned by readers. Hefner adumbrated a *Playboy* philosophy composed of critiques of censorship and advocacy of open sexual expression all wrapped in a democratic egalitarianism and associated with the magazine's rampant consumerism. *Playboy* succeeded in combining the open sexuality of the girlie magazine tradition with enough high cultural features to create a kind of Hollywood respectability and a durable position among American cultural elites. The opposition of feminists illustrated, for example, by an investigative article penned by the young Gloria Steinem, barely dented the magazine's influence as Hefner took a prowomen's rights but prosexual liberation stance.

Hugh Hefner did not simply publish a revolutionary magazine but changed the face of sex world wide. He created a veritable corporation, including Playboy Clubs in many cities, a phase in the development of the Playboy Enterprises that later was eliminated. As head of the empire Hefner has been succeeded by his daughter, Christie Hefner. Despite some grim naysayers, Playboy Enterprises has remained a major forum for sex because of its successful combination of consistency and adaptation to the American culture that gave it birth.

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Fedwa Malti-Douglas

PLEASURE

The most inclusive uses of *pleasure* (commonly conceived as the opposite of *pain*) are both critical to and distinct from its development in the technical vocabulary of psychoanalysis as well as its more recent proliferation in the fields of queer and sexuality studies. This entry describes pleasure as conceived in psychoanalytic approach and then

considers how the term has morphed in feminist, gender, and queer studies.

The colloquial connotations of pleasure include *desirable*, *satisfaction*, *enjoyment*, *indulgence*, *delight*, and *gratification*. Pleasure in its everyday use bears close relations to the realm of the sensual and sexual: *To pleasure* can mean *to have sex with* or *to masturbate*. The link with sex is also apparent when pleasure means *indulgence in sexual desire*, evident in phrases such as *pleasures of the flesh*, or the somewhat archaic phrase, *a woman of pleasure*, to indicate a prostitute (sex worker).

The pleasure/pain dichotomy has long been questioned. Multiple disciplines (psychoanalysis, philosophy, psychology, and biology) have produced epistemological terrains for understanding pleasure and pain. Plato (427–347 BCE) argues that emotions often combine feelings of both pleasure and pain. Likewise, Aristotle (384–322 BCE) gives us the example of the affect of anger, which requires taking pleasure in thoughts of revenge.

PSYCHOANALYTIC UNDERSTANDINGS OF PLEASURE

In Freudian psychoanalysis, the pleasure principle dominates over mental life, binding excitations to ensure that they remain at a low, constant level (pleasure) as opposed to a high, fluctuating level (unpleasure). Unbound energy travels freely in the unconscious, whereas bound energy undergoes a regulatory mechanism. Binding prevents unpleasure by mastering energy that might otherwise overwhelm the senses due to its excess.

According to Freud, the pleasure principle operates alongside the reality principle, which introduces an ability to postpone feeling and a *temporary toleration* of unpleasure that helps navigate sensation. The basic principle is that the ego is threatened by unbound processes. In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1922) Freud writes that unbound processes create extremely intense feelings, both of pleasure and unpleasure. Pleasure and unpleasure here are not diametrically opposed but entwined and enmeshed, sometimes serving as each other's own limits.

Freud studied trauma neuroses where there is a feeling of fright, an inability to protect oneself against external dangers. In traumatic neuroses one often repeats the trauma (in dreams, hallucinations). For instance, children often relive unpleasurable events in order to gain mastery over them. After a child undergoes a scary doctor's appointment, the child may go home and re-enact the experience—only this time, the child plays the role of the doctor. *Re-experiencing*—a compulsion to repeat—repressed material is necessary, but the more re-experiencing (which implies immediacy) can be exchanged for remembering (which implies distance), the better. In this sense it is necessary to undergo a certain amount of unpleasure to

reach a state where it is possible to bind newly liberated repressed material and to keep stimulation low.

Freud sees in instincts a conservative urge to retreat to an earlier stage. In one sense the compulsion to repeat is a form of this desire to return to an original state. Yet the compulsion to repeat is also in opposition to the pleasure principle because it does not encourage low, stable levels of stimulation. The final goal of all instincts is to return to the initial state of inertia. Thus, where pleasure is concerned, “the aim of all life is death.” However, it is important to keep in mind that the reality principle helps check the pleasure principle: It modifies what Freud calls the Nirvana principle, and this is, in part, due to the influence of the libido. This creates a distinction between the pleasure principle and immediate death or inertia, because the pleasure principle, unchecked, is in tension with survival. As well, it introduces the idea of *constancy* as necessary for pleasure, one of the notions that later BDSM (bondage and discipline/domination and submission/sadism and masochism) sexual subcultures took to heart. These various factors can account for the differences between experiences of pleasurable tension and unpleasurable tension.

The pleasure principle is intimately connected to the sexual instincts due to early autoeroticism of the infant and prepubescent stages of sexual development. Sexual instincts are thus attached to fantasy and pleasure. For Freud, unbound drives are both tempting and dangerous due to their heightened intensity, and it is noteworthy that Freud identifies untamed drives as perverse, wild, irresistible, and instinctual. Whereas this has been a subject of debate, it is important to recognize that pleasure is often closely linked to danger. Michel Foucault, for instance, wrote about the Speaker’s Benefit, the phrase he uses to capture the idea of the pleasure one has in speaking about sex in a culture where discussing sex, sexual desire, and sexuality is considered taboo.

FEMINISM, SEX, AND PLEASURE

Being castigated for expressing pleasure has long been a topic of feminist concern. In nineteenth-century Western European countries as well as the United States, some women who expressed too much sexual pleasure were considered dangerous and deviant. If their sexual pleasure was taken too far, they may have been diagnosed with nymphomania and subjected to treatments ranging from the bedrest cure to genital cutting—the removal of the clitoris as a site of pleasure.

The fact that variously gendered bodies and subjectivities have been officially punished, medically diagnosed, or culturally shamed for seeking pleasure in the wrong object, wrong thought, or wrong act has long been a topic of gay/lesbian/bi/trans/queer concern. The late

1960s and 1970s feminist movements taught women to discover their own pleasure. Consciousness-raising (CR) groups, along with books such as *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (1973), helped educate people about female anatomy and pleasure. Positive attitudes toward diverse ways of achieving sexual gratification also inspired the founding of the woman-centered sex store Good Vibrations in 1977. Within feminism, debates about pleasure, such as when one’s fantasy or sexual life involves pleasure not traditionally seen as feminist in nature (e.g., domination, submission), exploded at the infamous Barnard Conference on sexuality in 1982 out of which much literature and an anthology, *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexualities*, appeared.

Pleasure is also integral to the sex-positive movement that includes cultural *sexperts* such as Susie Bright, Annie Sprinkle (b. 1954), Carol Queen, and Patrick Califia-Rice (b. 1954), and activist organizations such as COYOTE, Samois, and the Society of Janus. Here the feminist slogan *the personal is political* could be tweaked to read that *the pleasurable is political*.

Pleasure has also received a great deal of attention in feminist and queer film studies, an enterprise that incorporates both scopophilia, or pleasure in looking, as well as the multiple objects and sites of pleasure in cinema. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1913), Freud noted that in a dream the dreamer (or the spectator of a film) can inhabit multiple subject positions. That is, the dreamer can be the one dreaming, the one being dreamt about, the one controlling the dream, or even several people in the dream. Pleasure, then, is not a simple feeling. It is linked with the realm of fantasy, and it has long been noted that fantasies do not necessarily match up with political commitments. Pleasure can be experienced contradictorily, or in combination with unpleasure.

The second volume of Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* serves as another seminal text on pleasure. Titled *The Use of Pleasure*, Foucault’s book considers pleasure in ancient Greek society and argues that sexual pleasures were structured by moral experiences and ethical problems involving sexual ethics of *aphrodisia* (the “acts, gestures and contacts that produce a certain form of pleasure”), the use or type of subjection that practicing pleasures underwent to attain moral valorization, the mastery that was required to produce one as an ethical subject, and the concept of moderation that ultimately characterized ethical sexual subjects.

In sexuality studies the term *jouissance* (orgasmic bliss, rapture that transcends or shatters the stable subject) may mistakenly seem to be interchangeable with pleasure due to that term’s derivation from the French verb *jouir*. *Jouissance* does not belong to the same stream of thought. French social and literary critic Roland

Barthes (1915–1980) distinguishes the terms. For Barthes, *plaisir* is pleasure linked to enjoyment and does not threaten the ego. Whereas *jouissance* shatters and disrupts, pleasure confers upon the subject a sense of self. For French psychiatrist Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), *jouissance* is not just pleasurable; it is heightened sensation aroused to a point of discomfort—the place where a cry of pleasure and a cry of pain become inseparable. This is different from the bound state or the wish to return to the inorganic state that Freud theorizes when he conceives of sex as increased stimulation, something that does not necessarily resonate with the pleasure principle.

Another critical point about pleasure, particularly in the wake of the essentialism versus social constructionism debates, is that there is nothing natural about whom or from what one derives pleasure. Whether it is a sexual experience, a sensual experience, a culinary pleasure, a pleasure in looking, a pleasure in shopping, or a pleasure in certain sex acts, pleasure varies among individuals, cultures, and time periods. Gayle Rubin's influential article "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" (1984) made it clear that a culture might valorize certain sanctioned pleasures and castigate what does not fall into the *charmed circle* of acceptable forms of pleasure, but this is a distinctly cultural, not a natural or biological, phenomenon.

SEE ALSO *Bondage and Discipline; Dreams and Eroticism, Dream Books; Erotic Art; Kiss, Modern; Kiss, Pre-Modern; Lust; Sexual Subcultures.*

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Christine Rose

POLITICAL SATIRE

The phrase *political satire* is so current in common parlance that defining its range of applicability may seem daunting at first. The first problem is to define what is meant by *political*: even by excluding more contemporary forms of mass-media-related satire in liberal and democratic political contexts—and, because of space constraint, cinema, journalism, and video art—and provisionally agreeing on the referential nature of satire (to the world outside the text, to history, to the community—indeed, critics have often pointed out that satire flourishes in urban settings), the scope of political remains redoubtably broad. In times when free speech was inconceivable, any reference to the *body politic* could be conveyed through various levels and forms of indirection and sometimes perpetuate the premodern entanglement of politics and ethics. In many instances tackling the political implication was a task left to the reader. As Dustin Griffin notes, "if open challenge is not permitted, writers will turn to irony, indirection, innuendo, allegory, fables—to the fiction of satire. Indeed, satirists would seem to prefer indirection to frontal attack, and thus to be spurred to do their best works by restriction" (Griffin 1994, p. 139).

To give an example, William Congreve's retelling of the Ovidian myth of Semele bore, at the time of its publication (1705–1707), a more vague political reference than it would when, in 1743, George Frideric Handel (1785–1859) set it to music as an oratorio. The story of a woman, Semele, who is burnt because she asks to mate with Jupiter in his divine form and not in a human disguise, could immediately be linked by the public to contemporary events, namely, the intrusive political maneuvers of King George II's (1683–1760) German mistress. In Stephen Lawless's 2006 stage production of the oratorio, Semele, Juno, and Jupiter were portrayed, respectively, as Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962), Jacqueline Kennedy (1929–1994), and President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), and the program notes at New York City Opera contained excerpts from journalistic reports on the Monica Lewinsky (b. 1973) and Chandra Levy (1977–2001) affairs. It must be noted that Handel and other composers switched from the opera to the oratorio form as a result (among other causes) of the

immense impact of the parody, and satire, of Italianate opera John Gay's (1685–1732) *The Beggar's Opera* of 1728.

Just to quote another operatic example, William Hogarth's (1697–1764) *The Rake's Progress* (1733–1735), which began as social (and, indirectly, political) satire in visual arts became, in the hands of librettists W. H. Auden (1907–1973) and Chester Kallman (1921–1975) (writing for Igor Stravinsky's [1882–1971] opera of 1951), a text inspiring reflections on gender normativity, body politics, and orientalism (through the character of Tom's bearded wife, Baba the Turk). But the opera could be perceived as conveying an even broader satirical message. As the Italian poet Eugenio Montale wrote after attending the world premiere of the opera, "A great European by choice (i.e., Stravinsky) warns Europeans not to become barbarians." (Montale 1982, p. 249)] A further example of a text not intrinsically political but that exerted an enormous impact on civil society could be Gore Vidal's *Myra Breckinridge* (1968), a satirical novel that, challenging sexual normativity, became a milestone of early queer literature.

A second problem is that of the ambiguous definition of satire as a genre, even within the confines of highbrow European and North American literature. In Alistair Fowler's words, it is "the most problematic mode to the taxonomist, since it appears never to have corresponded to any one kind" (Fowler 1982, p. 110). Whereas new critics had imposed a genre status on satire, and Northrop Frye (1912–1991) had developed a complex taxonomy of it as a mode articulated in multiple phases, deconstructionists and neohistoricists have attacked, from very different angles, an essentialist and rhetorical notion of the genre. Unlike most classical genres, which were mainly defined by formal (metric) characteristics, this quintessentially Roman practice had initially (as in Horace's [65–8 BCE] *Sermones* [35–30 BCE]) avoided even the use of the word, probably to disengage the genre both from the Greek words *satyr* and *satyresque* (the latter used by Aristotle in the *Poetics* [350 BCE]), and from the *Lanx Satura* miscellaneous genre. In fact, the word remained polyvalent, and eventually (as in John Dryden's [1631–1700] *Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire* of 1693) was used to indicate (1) the formal verse satire of Horace, Juvenal (late first–early second century CE), and Persius (34–62 CE), (2) the miscellaneous Varronian (or Menippean) satires, and (3) the lampoons and related forms. This ambiguous meaning of the word has resonated with contemporary theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin (1895–1975), who, in the Menippean tradition, identified the polyphonic, positive, or at least ambivalent genre (leading to the novels of Fyodor Dostoevsky [1821–1881]), and, in formal verse satire, the monological (and therefore negative) type.

Given the immensity, and the blurred boundaries, of the field, it is particularly arduous to even imagine the possibility of an exhaustive treatment of the implication of gender- and sex-related issues in (political) satire, though some threads can be sorted out. For instance, a study of the tradition and influence of Juvenal's *Satura VI* ("a monument of misogynistic satire" in Amy Richlin's words; 1986, p. 1) could yield at least a genealogy of texts (Dryden translated it). And recent studies have discussed Jonathan Swift's (1667–1745) use of scatology and extreme misogynistic stereotypes in his attacks on women (for instance, in texts as highly religiously and politically charged as *A Tale of a Tub* [1704]), as well as the attitude toward women of other great Scriblerian satirists who were members of the literary Scriblerus Club, such as Alexander Pope (1688–1744) and John Gay. In this context it is important to remember the personal involvement, as satirist-attacker as well as victim of Pope's retort, of a woman, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1716), who had parodied Pope's *Epitaph on the Lovers Struck by Lightning* (in 1718) and was subjected to a counterattack, famously, in the Scriblerian's *Dunciad* (1728). In later times notable women satirists became involved in political burlesque literature, as is the case of Elizabeth Ryves (1750–1797) with *The Hastiniad* (1785), and of Lady Anne Hamilton's (1766–1846) *The Epics of the Ton* (1805, see Johns-Putra 1999). If Lord Byron's (1788–1824) misogynistic attitudes and his representations of (hetero) sexual politics have been well investigated (see Wolfson 1987), a very interesting reading of *feminist misogyny* in Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (though not formally a satirical work) has been proposed (see Gubar 1994).

Critics have often debated the possible reasons for the very limited citizenship enjoyed by women writers in early modern and modern European satirical literature. Whereas recent studies on early authors such as the English Aphra Behn (1640–1689) and the Italian Arcangela Tarabotti (1604–1652) have extended the roster, and more canonic writers such as Jane Austen (1775–1817) receive ever more attention, a question on the quasi-invisibility of women satirists in more recent times still lingers: in Griffin's words, "have women been excluded from the canon of satire? [...] Or have they excluded themselves?" (1994, pp. 189–190).

Other scholars have provided indirect answers, extending the discussion beyond literature proper and into the realm of visual arts. In a 1995 book on contemporary American satirical novels, Steven Weisenburger, delving into the old *vexata quaestio* of the conservative versus progressive nature of satirical literature, has proposed a distinction between two *modes* of satire: the *generative* mode (whose purpose is "to construct consensus and to deploy irony in the work of stabilizing various

cultural hierarchies”), and whose gamut ranges from Pope to Mark Twain (1835–1910) to contemporaries such as Tom Wolfe (b. 1931); and the *degenerative* mode, akin to Bakhtin’s Menippean mode, which instead is subversive and delegitimizing, as it can be found in works by William Gaddis (1922–1998), Ishmael Reed (b. 1938), Don DeLillo (b. 1936), and Thomas Pynchon (b. 1937). To this degenerative mode could ascribed, according to Weisenburger, works by feminist artists such as Cindy Sherman (b. 1954) and Jenny Holzer (b. 1950) (and, I would add, those of Kiki Smith (b. 1954), who deals with body politics as much as Sherman does). To these must be added the many women artists who, through body art, video, performance, and other media and forms, have produced satirical works on gender and sex politics.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Enlightenment; Juvenal; Literature: I. Overview.*

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Paolo Fasoli

POLITICS

In January 2007 Nancy Pelosi became the first woman to serve as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. Her achievement signified the continued advancement of women, but it also underscored the historical disparity between the sexes in terms of political agency and opportunity. Political questions about sex and gender require an



Supporter Wears Speaker of the House Pelosi Button. A supporter of 2007 Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi of California wears a button with Pelosi’s likeness. © MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/EPA/CORBIS.

understanding of the relationship between enfranchisement and representation, activism and advocacy, and authority. Women have historically possessed positions of leadership, but these powers were consistently contested, marginalized, and violated. The emergence of political rights in modern Europe and North America has increased women’s political freedoms, but women still endure underrepresented and disproportionately held leadership. Initial progress of women to high, elected, national offices has occurred in third-world political settings—Sri Lanka (then Ceylon), India, and Israel are the best examples—where emergent, postcolonial, nation-states are providing enhanced opportunities for female participation in the process of universal franchise.

SEX, GENDER, AND POLITICS IN PREMODERN SOCIETIES

In Greco-Roman society the state (*polis*) was deeply interconnected with the household (*oikos*). Males controlled

both entities, with the husband, as the head of the household (or the *paterfamilias*), ruling over his wife, children, and slaves. Based on his understanding that men and women are naturally different (predicated on biological notions of sperm as the seed of life), Aristotle (384–322 BCE), in his *Politics*, affirms the husband as the ruler, for “the male is by nature fitter for command than the female,” and thus there is a permanent inequality between them. Supposed to have distinctive natures women were disqualified from citizenship because “the natures of the citizens are equal, and do not differ at all”; thus, women could not participate in the political life of the community. Aristotle argues that men and women could both possess virtue, but he envisages this virtue as manifested differently and with political implications: “the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying.” Within Greek tragedy Sophocles’s (c. 496–406 BCE) *Antigone* depicts a woman’s struggle to honor her commitments to her family and properly bury her brother Polyneices despite its prohibition by the political ruler Creon (no traitors can receive a proper burial). Though her sister Ismene protests that women cannot challenge political authority (“You ought to realize we are only women, not meant in nature to fight against men, and that we are ruled, by those who are stronger”), Antigone defiantly determines that such resistance is necessary and ultimately suffers death by her own hand (and not by a political means). Judith Butler (2000) retrieves Antigone as a model to examine the relationship between sex, gender, kinship, progressive feminism, and politics.

In early Christian communities women did have some leadership roles. As part of his ministry to challenge unjust social structures, such as patriarchal privilege, Jesus invited women to join his movement. Wealthy women facilitated the development of Christianity by providing space for house churches. Nonetheless, numerous scriptural passages proscribe preaching and teaching by women. Women such as Perpetua (d. 203 CE) became martyrs for the church, but the narratives (written by men) that recorded their feats depicted them as becoming like males in their willingness to suffer and die for their beliefs. In the Middle Ages (476–1350) women served principally as procreative agents and as manual laborers. Denied access to the education that occurred in cathedral schools and in newly established universities, women were not able to secure economic, political, or religious positions of power. Women were governed by strict civil codes, dominant autocratic powers, feudal lords, or ecclesial structures.

SEX, GENDER, POLITICS, AND MODERNITY

In the early modern period, monarchial systems of government were often restrictive and harsh, but they did

enable women through familial right and political alliances to ascend to leadership. In Great Britain Queen Mary I and Queen Elizabeth I ruled in the sixteenth centuries, laying the groundwork for Queen Anne (eighteenth century), Queen Victoria (nineteenth century), and Queen Elizabeth II (present day); in Russia, Catherine II (the Great) reigned during the eighteenth century and rebuilt the country. With increasing modernization and the rise of the nation-state, women monarchs gradually became merely symbolic figures. In the early twenty-first century, countries such as Japan still refuse to accept the legitimacy of a woman monarch (regardless of the sex of the firstborn heir).

The Enlightenment (1600–1800) ushered in political, legal, and economic systems that promoted individual autonomy, rationality, progress, and rights, as well as social contract theory. Tolerance, self-determination, and equality constituted central political values, but women did not fully benefit from such values. In his *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), John Locke proposes a model of a European liberal constitutional state characterized by limited, nontyrannical government, private property, and natural freedom and rights. Yet, as did Aristotle centuries before (though with a greater recognition of shared powers), Locke describes paternal power as normative. Carole Pateman (1988) argues that presuppositions of domination and subordination along gendered lines are embedded in the supposedly gender-neutral social contract theory and European and North American liberalism. The writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, notably her *Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) and *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), appeal to Enlightenment ideals of rationality and equality to promote the political rights of women. Nevertheless, Wollstonecraft holds that the British constitutional structure created class divisions and that women needed wider educational opportunities and property rights. Nearly a century later the English philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) wrote *The Subjection of Women* (1869), a treatise dedicated to promoting the equality of men and women. Mill notes the burgeoning political protests of women in Europe and in the United States seeking to attain this equality.

WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE AND PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES

Protests by women helped to mobilize political change in the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) had specifically referred to the denial of *males* aged twenty-one and older the right to vote as unconstitutional; women challenged this narrow construal of political citizenship. Suffrage for women at the federal level occurred in the United States in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. This achievement was made possible only

through the efforts of women activists and reformers. Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1848 helped to galvanize the women's suffrage movement at the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The convention culminated in *The Declaration of Sentiments*, which concluded:

Now in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

(Stanton 1881, pp. 70–71)

Susan B. Anthony advocated for women's voting and social rights on constitutional grounds and, with Stanton, founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) led an antilynching campaign and resistance to gender and racial injustice. Jane Addams (1860–1935) addressed social justice and urban poverty by establishing the Hull-House in Chicago. Eleanor Roosevelt (1884–1962) served in the League of Women Voters and the Women's Trade Union League.

The Nineteenth Amendment signaled progress, but it further demonstrated a substantial political chasm along sex and gender lines. The right to vote for women came fifty years after African-American males had gained the franchise through the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment and seventy-two years after the Seneca Falls Convention. Even after women had achieved the universal franchise, they faced political, legal, and social obstacles. Local communities attempted deterrent mechanisms, such as poll taxes and voting tests, all of which violated the constitutional right of enfranchisement. Despite these obstacles women gradually achieved greater political participation. In 1933 President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945) appointed the first woman to a cabinet position, designating Frances Perkins (1882–1965) to head the Department of Labor. Jeane Kirkpatrick (1926–2006) served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations from 1981 to 1985, and Madeleine Albright (1997–2001) and Condoleezza Rice (b. 1954) served as secretary of state in the 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, respectively. In the 110th U.S. Congress of 2007, there were eighty-seven women, with sixteen women in the Senate (16 percent of the seats) and seventy-one in the House of Representatives (16.3 percent of the seats).

WOMEN, POLITICS, AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

In terms of international developments, the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952) promoted and protected the freedoms and rights

of women. The first three articles secure women's entitlement to vote on equal terms with men, women's eligibility for election to all publicly elected bodies, and women's entitlement to hold public office and to exercise all public functions established by national law. In several countries women have used grassroots organizations to help transform totalitarian regimes and dictatorships into democratic governments. For example, Jeong-Lim Nam (2000) discusses the contributions that women—formally excluded from the political process—made in the South Korean transition to democracy in the 1980s. Women demonstrated on the grounds of human rights, social justice, and democratic freedoms and utilized interunion solidarity strikes and labor union activities. Women have increasingly participated in global protests and global conferences to identify the central political issues impacting women.

Through the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), women have also influenced the formation and implementation of international law. For example, the efforts, advocacy, and leadership of the Women's Caucus for Gender Justice at the Rome Conference (1998) on the International Criminal Court helped establish codified punishments for the crimes of mass rape and forced pregnancy. Nonetheless, the continued practices of honor killings, female infanticide, and female genital mutilation demonstrate the oppressive character of tradition and political authority. Autocratic powers, whether in the form of monarchies or military regimes, govern women strictly and do not afford enfranchisement. Countries such as Saudi Arabia continue to deny women the right to vote.

Since the mid-1960s a number of women have ascended to political leadership. Prominent examples include Indira Gandhi, prime minister of India (from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 to 1984); Golda Meir, prime minister of Israel (from 1969 to 1974); Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Great Britain (from 1979 to 1990); Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany (elected 2005); and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, president of Liberia (elected 2006). Since the 1970s women have held presidencies or prime minister positions in Bangladesh, Chile, Finland, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Latvia, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, the Philippines, Sri Lanka—where Sirimavo Bandaranaike was appointed the world's first female prime minister upon her husband's assassination in July 1960—and Turkey. These positions have principally been in the so-called developed or first-world countries; by contrast, women in the so-called developing or third-world countries have endured significant marginalization from political structures.

THEORIES OF WOMEN AND POLITICS

Feminist thinkers have engaged a number of lenses and interlocutors in discussing sex, gender, and politics.

Feminist theories of politics have appealed to Karl Marx's (1818–1883) theories of class struggle, oppositional consciousness, and historical materialism, and Michel Foucault's (1926–1984) genealogies of knowledge, sexuality, and power. Other feminists insist that politics should attend more fully to a care approach (focusing on relationships and trust) rather than a justice approach (focusing on universal, rational principles). Contemporary debates about democracy and gender focus on questions of difference. Whether construed in terms of race, gender, class, ethnicity, or other distinguishing factors, dimensions of difference have resulted in identity politics. Feminist thinkers such as Iris Marion Young, however, prefer the term *politics of difference*, holding that “political claims asserted from the specificity of social group position, and which argue that the polity should attend to these social differences, often serve as a resource for rather than an obstruction of democratic communication that aims at justice” (2000, p. 82). Hence, Young argues, there is need for pluralistic representation to address and engage constructively these differences.

Seyla Benhabib also addresses questions of difference, and she critiques the tradition of European and North American political thought that has differentiated public and private in extreme terms. The deconstruction of the female self has occurred through public rhetoric that has assumed household duties, reproductive choices, and care for the young as exclusively private and thereby inaccessible to public political discourse and debate. Benhabib insists that these putative distinctions are false dichotomies and deleterious to women's participation in society: “Challenging the distinction of contemporary moral and political discourse, to the extent that they privatize these issues, is central to women's struggles which intend to make these issues ‘public’” (1992, p. 108). Women must continue to struggle to exercise their political voices.

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Charlotte Radler

POLYGAMY

SEE *Marriage*.

PORNEIA

The Greek word *porneia* refers to prostitution, with the related terms *porne* and *pornos* referring to female and male prostitutes, respectively. In ancient Athens prostitution was legal and was taxed, although it was considered both illegal and shameful for freeborn citizens. Thus, in seeking to discredit a rival, the Athenian orator and politician Apollodorus charged his enemy's partner Neaira with being a *porne* (c. 340s BCE; Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*). In another famous case Aeschines prosecuted his opponent Timarchus for prostitution, arguing that a man who sold his body for profit could never be trusted with the affairs of the city (c. 346–345 BCE; Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*).

Porneia thus had a decidedly negative connotation, and expressions such as *pornes huios* (“son of a whore”) were used as pointed slurs. In the moralizing literature of the first and second centuries CE, men were warned not to squander their inheritance on *pornai* and were condemned as licentious (*akolasia*) if they overindulged in trips to the brothel. Tax receipts, legal documents, and historical writings from the Roman period show that prostitution continued to be regulated and taxed despite the fact that *porneia*—with an expanded sense indicating any illicit sex—was condemned by Greco-Roman moralists. A double meaning of *porneia* prevailed: *porneia* as a recognized profession forced upon slaves or taken up by impoverished persons of low status and *porne* or *pornos* as a sharp insult that could be directed at “honorable” men or women.

The rhetorical potential of the category *porneia* was used effectively by early Christian authors to target

outsiders accused of visiting prostitutes, engaging in incest at brothels, and confusing former prostitutes with inspired prophetesses (1 Corinthians 5–6; Revelation 2:20–22; Hermas, *Similitudes*, 9.13.9; Justin, 1 *Apology*, 36; Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, 1.6.3, 1.23.3, 1.25.3). Those authors built upon a tradition they had inherited from the Septuagint (the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible), in which idolatry—worshiping gods other than the god of Israel—was associated with improper sexual acts, including incest, male homoerotic sexual intercourse, and bestiality. Thus, Israelites were warned not to “play the whore” (*porne*) by going after other gods (Hosea 4:15–19, Septuagint) and Canaanites were said to “prostitute themselves” (*ekporneuo*) to their gods (Exodus 34:15–16, Septuagint). Equating false religiosity with sexual acts, authors such as John of Patmos called their enemies “whores” (*pornai*; Revelation 2:21–22, 17–18).

A tendency to confuse highly charged Christian rhetoric with historical fact has contributed to the stereotype of the “pagan” or “heretical” commitment to sexual excess, especially in the context of religious rituals. For example, Paul’s anxiety about *porneia* in Corinth (1 Corinthians 5–7), combined with comments in other first-century literature about the *betairai* (“companions” or “courtesans”) associated with the temple of Aphrodite (Strabo, *Geography*, 8.6.20), has been taken as evidence of sacred prostitution despite a lack of archaeological evidence. This interpretation fails to recognize the metonymic equivalence of *porneia* and impiety in Christian sources. *Porneia* was and continues to be a widely applied loaded term that is as useful for slandering various targets as for describing a social and economic practice.

SEE ALSO *Adultery; Aphrodite; Courtesans; Fornication; Greco-Roman Art; Inanna-Ishtar; Prostitution.*

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Jennifer Wright Knust

PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography consists of literary texts, images, magazines, films, videos, audio tapes, erotic arts, theatrical events, Internet sites, and other forms of representation that depict sexual and/or salacious subjects without sufficiently redeeming artistic merit. The purpose of pornography is to excite its consumers sexually, but what may count as pornography at any given time or location is defined by the tastes, ideals, fears, and repressions of the local community. Although the ancient Greeks employed the term *pornographos* (*pornos* meaning prostitute and *graphos* meaning writing), referring to writing about the lives and acts of prostitutes, the term and its more modern concept do not appear in English usage until sometime between 1755 and 1857. As literary scholar Walter Kendrick points out, the term pornography was not new but, instead, arose from “the grave” (Kendrick 1987, p. 2), as the obscene frescoes and statuary from the Roman ruins of Pompeii were unearthed. Its reappearance represents the continual clash of religious values and repressions introduced by the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the censoring actions of governments, the introduction of new technologies such as photography and mass production and distribution, and a burgeoning class of consumers who desired and could afford such entertainment.

The term pornography refers generally to material depicting sexual activity intended to excite its consumers sexually, rendered in a way deemed obscene, unchaste, or lascivious. The degree of explicitness and the kinds of activities depicted in pornography change from time to time and from place to place. Pornography may depict nudity, especially images of women’s breasts, genitals, or various stages of suggestive striptease or partial nudity. Naked women and men are drawn or photographed in suggestive poses on everything from ancient Greek pottery to modern-day playing cards, magazines, and calendars. Pornography often depicts sexual activity between males and females, including coitus, anal intercourse, cunnilingus, fellatio, and sex involving multiple partners. It may also include images of erections and ejaculations (the latter called a *money shot*) from both males and females. There are depictions of sexual encounters between males and males, often engaged in anal

intercourse but also in fellatio. Lesbian sexual behavior is a staple in many otherwise heterosexually oriented stories and films, including images of kissing, cunnilingus, and penetration with a dildo. Pornography includes accounts and images of sadomasochistic behaviors such as bondage, spanking, and flagellation. It may include images of sex with animals or acts involving excretion, such as *golden showers* or urinating on a partner, or the use of feces. Pornography may be aimed at fetishists—those with fixations on particular objects such as shoes or lingerie. It may involve children posed as sex objects or engaged in sexual acts with one another or adults. In short, pornography portrays anything that has been known to stimulate anyone sexually and is produced in almost any medium in which such subject matter can be portrayed, depicted, or described.

Different cultures have had different attitudes toward the kinds of obscene material now commonly classified as pornography, but notions of the pornographic and the obscene are always relative and involve sets of cultural values. Because the concept of pornography is linked to ideas of outlawed sexual excess, access to which is restricted, how cultures understand obscenity determines whether or not a concept of the pornographic—as that which is beyond permissible expression—even exists. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term obscene, often used in relation to pornography, derives from the Latin word meaning *adverse* or *inauspicious* and includes material that is “offensive to modesty or decency” and is “impure, indecent, lewd.” Although all pornography may be expected to be obscene, not all of what might be considered obscenity is pornography. Not all obscenity is outlawed nor viewed with as much fascination by those who would prefer to censor it. Some obscenity, even in the most repressive of cultures, is linked to high art or other forms of expression—novels, paintings, films—whose artistic values mitigate its presence. Obscene material that appears in these forms is not considered pornography, although the qualities that endow a work of literature or art with redeeming value change from culture to culture and through time. In the early twentieth century, for example, the United States banned James Joyce’s novel *Ulysses* (1922), which is no longer censored. The same is true of novels such as D. H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928), and Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* (1934).

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT OF THE PORNOGRAPHIC

In the Middle East and Europe, ancient cultures understood sexuality as an integral part of life and social relations. The Hebrew Bible includes numerous accounts of passion, sexual liaisons, adultery, and other behavior,

which might be deemed pornographic if such instances had not also often been occasions for moral lessons. Ancient Greek writing about prostitutes was not pornographic in the modern sense. The Greeks were fairly open about sexuality and nudity, seeing it as a form of social commerce. Greek culture, especially among the upper classes, often featured multiple sexual liaisons with courtesans (or high-class prostitutes) and male youths. Greek theater featured obscene material, not only Oedipus's liaison with his mother, but also and especially in such comedies as Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* (411 BCE), which depicted the very evident effects of a women's sex strike on their warring husbands. Greek sculpture, pottery, and painting depicted nudes as well as overt sexual activity, even on such everyday items as children's eating utensils.

The Greek attitude continued in ancient Rome until the time that Christianity, with its more ascetic attitude toward pleasure and the body, promoted sexual abstinence as a virtue. However, the Romans, as did the Greeks, left marks of a more openly sexual culture on their cultural artifacts, including, crucially, the walls of homes in Pompeii, which, when unearthed in the eighteenth century, led most directly to the notion that pornography had risen from a grave.

The art excavated from Pompeii posed a problem for Enlightenment Europeans because, as Pompeii had a Roman and non-Christian attitude toward sexual pleasure, sexual behaviors were liberally and overtly represented in wall murals and on artifacts. Viewed by the Enlightenment European eye, these artifacts could neither be destroyed nor could they remain hidden, as knowledge needed to be disseminated. Valuable but indecent, the more salacious artifacts became a part of the *secret museum* of Pompeii, located in a locked room at the Museo Borbonico, a museum noted for its pornographic content and visited by discreet gentlemen. The word pornography first appears in English, according to Kendrick, in a translation of C. O. Müller's 1850 handbook of the archaeology of art titled *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kuns*, referring to the antiquities of Pompeii. Contemporaneously French historian Paul Lacroix (1806–1884) wrote a six-volume history of world prostitution, producing another kind of pornography whose meaning reverted to the more ancient practice of writing about prostitution.

From its second embodiment pornography was a vexed topic in and of itself. It included public health topics such as prostitution, treated exhaustively and scientifically by Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet (1790–1836) in a two-volume work on the lives, working conditions, and treatment of prostitutes in Paris. William Acton (1814–1875), an Englishman, published a treatise on prostitution in London in 1857, as did American William Sanger in *History of Prostitution* (1858). These

were scholarly writings, but their fate, like the destiny of most educational materials having to do with sex, sexual behavior, birth control, prostitution, or even medical texts, had restricted readership. These kinds of serious texts, too, were insistently kept out of the hands of *the young person*, who in Victorian times was the model whose imagined sensitivities needed protection.

On the other hand, there was not only the secret museum of Pompeii and its descriptions, but also the salacious pleasure that might be derived even from reading dry scientific works about prostitutes. As Kendrick suggests, the term pornography “names an argument, not a thing,” (Kendrick 1987, p. 31). Pornography's argument is not only an issue of access—of who should be permitted to see the obscene—but also touches upon the impact of representation—about how the representations of sexual topics affect their consumers. Imagined to be at stake were the souls and innocence of the young, whose morals and values would certainly have been affected, it was assumed, by seeing material that suggested sexual excitement. Even some educational materials designed specifically for young people were repressed, such as American Margaret Sanger's (1818–1966) pamphlet, *What Every Girl Should Know* (1913), about birth control options.

Curiously, the only materials to escape such crusading zeal were some older classics, such as Greek drama whose holistic appeal to life values excluded them from consideration. At its rebirth obscenity required censorship in order to be pornography. It was not sufficient that works represent merely the kinds of obscene materials that had always circulated in everything from Greek plays to Italian author Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313–1375) stories and Geoffrey Chaucer's (c. 1342–1400) poetry. Books became the objects of obscenity trials in England and the United States. In the United Kingdom, Lord Campbell sponsored the Obscene Publications Act in 1857, which was aimed at the importation or public display of obscene materials, defined as materials devised with an intention to corrupt without redemptive qualities. Most ancient classic or high art productions were not included in the act. Other works, such as the British re-publication of *The Confessional Unmasked*, a pamphlet from the early nineteenth century aimed at exposing rather spectacularly the imagined errors of the Catholic Church, became the notorious objects of obscenity trials. During the trial Lord Chief Justice Cockburn of the Court of Queen's Bench not only found that the text had the “tendency to corrupt the minds and morals of those into whose hands it might come” (Kendrick 1987, p. 122), but also that having such tendency, the text must also have been intended to have such tendency. In a law that punished those who intended to produce corruption, finding intent in the presence of corruption extended the

law to cover almost any work that contained any kind of salacious material.

The Cockburn decision and its underlying logic of assuming an intention to corrupt became the model, as Kendrick suggests, for antipornography legislation in the United Kingdom and the United States. Even France, typically more liberal than the English-speaking countries, tried Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857) for obscenity. In the United States, the Customs Act of 1842 outlawed the importation of obscene material and became the basis for the zealous Anthony Comstock's (1844–1915) one-man campaign against pornography. Comstock had taken it upon himself as a private citizen to attack and confiscate the inventories of producers and distributors of unwholesome material, including that of prolific Irish-American publisher William Haines, the successful entrepreneur who had introduced pornography into the United States. Comstock's energetic private prosecutions soon won him support in the form of New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, formed by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Under the auspices of the YMCA, Comstock continued to purge society of what he considered to be smut. Thinking the Customs Act fell short of what was necessary to suppress vice, Comstock lobbied energetically for a new federal statute, passed in 1873, which made it illegal to send pornography through the mail. Known as the Comstock Act the new law also earmarked funds for a special agent to enforce the law, a position given to Comstock and which he held until his death in 1915.

Comstock's activities—and especially his disregard for other rights or laws—were not popular with everyone, although, as in Great Britain, public sentiment against pornography seemed to be the majority opinion. The early twentieth century saw both a continued attempt to preserve the kind censorship that made pornography the paradoxically fascinating subject it had become and a challenge to the range of expressions permitted to exist as artistic expression. As with Flaubert, whose *Madame Bovary* had undergone judicial review, the first installments of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1920) were banned. England tried Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928) for obscenity, and the novel was successfully suppressed. The story of a sexual invert—or women who felt herself to be and acted as if she were a man—the novel was considered to debauch public morals by many people, including the judge who presided over the New York obscenity trial. In the United States, however, the finding of obscenity was overturned on appeal as the novel contained no overt descriptions of sexual activity; the novel, partly because of the notoriety of the various trials, sold more than 1 million copies.

In the 1930s Miller's novels *Tropic of Cancer*, *Black Spring* (1936), and *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939) were all

banned from the United States as obscene. Even as late as the 1950s, Grove Press had to fight to publish an unexpurgated version of Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Judicial opinion about materials considered obscene was also changing from the repression of almost anything that tended to corrupt public morals to an examination of the entire work, which, if deemed to have artistic merit, could overcome accusations of salaciousness based on a few episodes or even pretexts. When Théophile Gautier's novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, about a woman who poses as a man and courts women, was tried for obscenity by a New York court in 1922, the court found that books should be considered as a whole instead of on the basis of a few episodes and that *Mademoiselle de Maupin's* value as art indeed overcame its subject matter. Ideas about the suppression of literature finally turned to a less censorious practice with the American trial of the full version of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1932, the year that Random House published the novel. The novel was found not to be pornographic on the basis that, taken as a whole, it tended not to be obscene. It tended not, according to the Judge, to excite sexual feelings in its readers.

Although various books would continue to be put to the test, and the idea of protecting the public and particularly young people from the deleterious effects of knowing the details of sexual behavior, would continue in many other forms, pornography had succeeded in establishing itself as both a secret pleasure fostered in part by public condemnation (a public that enjoyed the voyeurism of its chastising court cases) and a shameful practice to be continually rooted out and suppressed. As government actions regarding sexually explicit material became more oppressive, the more sexually explicit material was produced. This paradoxical phenomenon occurred both during the repressive Victorian period in England, when many of the anti-pornography statutes were developed and prosecuted, and in the 1980s during Ronald Reagan's presidency, when more fundamentalist religious discriminations became mainstream and began to try to exert a direct political force on public policy. The 1986 Meese Report, ordered by President Reagan, embodied the controversy over the actual effects of sexually explicit materials on consumers, presenting once more the idea that pornography is harmful, produces violent behaviors, and is linked to organized crime. However, instead of being imagined to damage the morals of the young, who had served as the protected sensibility in the nineteenth century, pornography was now deemed to harm women at the hands of male pornographers. This theory was promulgated in the work of some feminist critics such as Catherine MacKinnon but was also evident during obscenity trials related to some men's magazines. Larry Flynt (b. 1942) the publisher of *Hustler Magazine* and outspoken advocate of First Amendment rights, was prosecuted for obscenity several times beginning in 1976

based on the explicitness of his magazine's depictions of women's genitalia, as well as his ownership of several strip clubs.

PORNOGRAPHIC LITERATURES

Obscene texts have existed ever since there have been texts, if obscenity is defined as the representation of sexual activity. Most texts, such as the Bible, that in some way portray a vision of life and human history, include sexual matters because they are an integral and important part of life and its dilemmas.

Ancient Greek literature reflects the culture's pleasure in sexuality. As the originators of pornography focused on descriptions of prostitutes, the Greeks produced a large number of texts on the lives and habits of courtesans (professional women of pleasure). Greek dramatic comedies often consist of sexual humor, such as Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* and *The Frogs* (405 BCE). Even such tragedies as Sophocles's *Oedipus Rex* (427 BCE) and Euripides's *The Bacchae* (c. 407 BCE) situate sexual excess at the center of their plots. More philosophical writings also include discourses on prostitution, homosexuality, and sexual pleasure, such as those presented in Atheneaus's *Deipnosophists* (Dinner table philosophers) from the third and second centuries BCE. Other Greek works present homosexuality and pederasty as typical elements of Greek life, to be rued, at least according to Plato (c. 428–347 BCE), and enjoyed, according to Socrates (c. 470–399 BCE). The poet Sappho (who lived in the seventh century BCE) ostensibly addressed some of her love poetry to women.

The pre-Christian Romans continued the Greeks' pleasure in sexuality, represented particularly in the poet Ovid's work *Ars Amatoria* (The art of love) (2 BCE), a guide instructing men in the fine arts of seducing mistresses and keeping them happy, and instructing women about how to keep men happy sexually. Ovid's work extols the mutuality of pleasure and offers advice about many modes of lovemaking—from genital intercourse to digital fondling. Ovid's rather courteous approach to lovemaking contrasted with the more brutish and extreme pleasures of some of the Roman emperors, in particular, Tiberius (42 BCE–37 CE), Caligula (12–41 CE), and Nero (37–68 CE), who indulged in pornography, sadistic sexual practices, homosexuality, and incest. Tiberius decorated his palace at Capri with pornographic pictures and had available the books of Greek female pornographer Elephantis (dates unknown). Some of the spirit of this excess is captured by Roman poet Petronius in his work *Satyricon* (c. 61 CE), which describes everything from fellatio, flagellation, and sodomy to pederasty and pedophilia.

In India in the second century BCE, Vatsayana composed the treatise of sex and lovemaking known as the

Kamasutra. Presenting a detailed exposition of sexual practices, behaviors, and techniques, the *Kamasutra* was widely available in India. During the same period other Asian cultures produced erotic paintings and statuettes, including phalli.

In Europe, Roman excess contrasted with the ascetic philosophy of early Christianity, which, instead of indulging freely in sexual pleasure, saw sexuality as a fleshly evil that should be repressed. In its focus on chastity the church, as with later censors, had a tendency to enjoy a kind of reverse pleasure in the contemplation of sex as that which one should not enjoy. However, some texts that contained sexual scenarios—often involving philandering priests, from the period between the fall of Rome in the fifth century and the burgeoning of the Renaissance in Italy in the fourteenth century—survived. Surviving also from the later centuries of the Middle Ages were ribald and satirical tales of Renard the Fox, whose exploits often included adultery. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, troubadours and Goliardic poets from France and Germany wrote and sang love poetry whose double entendres often betrayed the air of desperate purity maintained by a poet who pined for the lady he loves who stays forever out of reach.

At the end of this period, Boccaccio composed *The Decameron*, published in 1371. A collection of ten days' worth of traditional tales and invented stories told to pass time by a group of nobles fleeing the plague, the stories of *The Decameron* contained everything from adultery to fornicating priests and were told often in unveiled detail. *The Decameron* was joined by other collections of bawdy tales of illicit love, including the poetry of Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*, especially in "The Miller's Tale"; *The Heptameron* by sixteenth-century French writer Margaret of Navarre; the satirical and finely obscene narratives of François Rabelais in *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534); and, in the Middle East, the tales collected in the eighth and ninth centuries in Persia circulated as *One Thousand and One Nights*.

Writers were less squeamish about sexual matters during the Renaissance than they would become after the Reformation. William Shakespeare's plays often included lewd puns and commentaries on explicit sexual practices, which were frequently given to lower-class characters, such as the servants in *Romeo and Juliet* (1597). English drama continued its interest in seamy sexual situations during the Restoration with plays such as William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675). In eighteenth century France, the Marquis de Sade, imprisoned for sexual crimes, wrote a series of erotic novels that presented a philosophy of sex and contained numerous accounts of sadistic and licentious behaviors; most of these novels were suppressed until the twentieth century.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw an explosion in the production of print pornography, including John Cleland's novel *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749) more commonly known as *Fanny Hill*. The novel details every form of sexual encounter, from flagellation to attempted rape, multiple forms of intercourse, and homosexuality. *Fanny Hill* ends with the redemption of its initially naive heroine in marriage with her first seducer. *Fanny Hill* was the first book prosecuted for obscenity in the United States in 1819–1820.

As public culture in the nineteenth century grew more aware of and repressive toward erotic literature, more was produced—often of less interest or literary quality. Pornographic literature took the form of instruction books, confessions, autobiographies, letters, and adventure novels involving gentlemen, young girls, boys, courtesans, school masters, priests and clerics, and rich old men. These characters engaged in everything from intercourse and group sex to sadomasochism, homosexuality, and voyeurism. Literacy increased, and printing technologies made erotic literature more widely available in the form of books and magazines. Pornography became for some a gentleman's hobby, especially those who collected erotic literature. Famous among these was Henry Spencer Ashbee (1834–1900), whose three-volume bibliography of erotica was published from 1877–1885. The United States had no producer of pornography until the 1840s when Haines entered the empty field.

As reformers such as Comstock tried to clean up the literary marketplace—in the process of doing so, helping to produce the modern conception of pornography—the market and tolerance for material containing obscenities gradually grew, resulting in the eventual acceptance in the twentieth century of the obscene as an integral part of artistry. This tolerance produced a less repressive market for literary material in Europe and North America. Print classics, such as Grace Metalious's *Peyton Place* (1956) and Jacqueline Susann's *Valley of the Dolls* (1966) engaged women readers in the consumption of novelistic obscenities, whereas erotica, or literature about sex, became more widely available, including texts as varied as Anais Nin's *Delta of Venus* (published in 1969 but written earlier) and Terry Southern's *Candy* (1964). Pulp fiction novels (cheap paperbacks aimed at mass-market sales) depicted the melodramatic existences of gay males and lesbians, with occasional erotic scenes, whereas romance novels piqued the libidos of housewives.

Attempts to study and control pornographic material in the United States continued, most notably during the Reagan administration in the 1980s. Pressure from those who earnestly believe that people should not be permitted to excite themselves sexually through any kind of representation continues in the early twenty-first century,

although the threshold for social acceptance of risqué materials has lowered.

PORNOGRAPHIC IMAGERY

From the time of the ancient Greeks, images of sexual activity have been inscribed on walls, pottery, and other everyday items. Nude studies in sculpture and painting are common. The walls of Pompeii included many sexually explicit murals, whose exhibition in the eighteenth century was limited initially only to discerning gentlemen. Erect phalli dotted some landscapes, and genitalia protectively adorned architecture. Some of these images evoked gods of fecundity; others celebrated daily life in societies where sexuality was more open.

After the Renaissance more openly erotic art gradually became a part of the fine art tradition. As printing technologies became more sophisticated and cheaper, artists began producing caricatures, lithographs, and etchings with overtly pornographic topics. George Cruikshank illustrated *Fanny Hill*, whereas Thomas Rowlandson produced illustrative pornographic plates to accompany such books as *Pretty Little Games for Young Ladies and Gentlemen* (1845). By the end of the nineteenth century Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) was producing stylized erotic drawings for magazines and books.

With the invention of photography in 1839, a new medium for the mass production of garishly realistic pornography became available. From the 1850s on pornographers, usually in home studios, produced series of photographic images depicting female nudes in a dazzling array of postures; sadomasochistic practices; various positions of sexual intercourse; male nudes; fellatio; lesbian sex; and naked children, sometimes engaged in sexual play with adults. One such pornographer was Henry Hayler, a London photographer whose studio was raided in 1874 by police. Although Hayler escaped prosecution by fleeing to New York, police confiscated 120,248 obscene photographs.

Despite antipornography legislation such as the Comstock Act, pornographic images continued to be produced and distributed in the form of calendars; pinup pictures, often movie stills; watch fobs; playing cards; and finally, movies and video. Most visual pornography was aimed at heterosexual males and consisted of females seductively clothed or, later, posed in the nude in suggestive positions. Some more explicit images depicted scenes of overt sexual activity, including bestiality. There was also a market in explicit gay male images.

In the 1930s mainstream magazines such as *Esquire* (founded in 1933) began including pinup pictures, and by 1953 Hugh Hefner, who began his career working for *Esquire*, founded *Playboy*. The first issue included a nude

photo spread of actress Marilyn Monroe. Other pornographic magazines followed, including *Penthouse* and the more graphically explicit *Hustler* (founded 1974). Along with these magazines came an entire industry of pornography, including strip clubs sponsored by magazines, such as the Playboy Clubs, or owned by the magazine publishers, such as Larry Flynt of *Hustler*. Magazines spun off movies, videos, and cable television channels. Porn stores emerged along interstate highways catering to truckers and other travelers. These industries became more mainstream and acceptable throughout the twentieth century. Their heyday was truncated, however, by the onset of the AIDS epidemic and consequent demands that pornography responsibly depict safe sex. In part the spread of video pornography was enabled by the ways such materials were kept away from minors in stores (paradoxically, restricting pornography produces it); in part its spread was possible because sexually explicit material was increasingly more available in mainstream films, books, and—eventually—television.

PORNOGRAPHIC FILM INDUSTRY

The first erotic film images came from the serious work of English photographer Eadward Muybridge (1830–1904), who took a series of still photographs of nude women carrying out everyday acts in the period from 1884 to 1887. The subjects' nudity permitted the viewer to see how the body moved. Erotic cinema is as old as the film industry itself. Thomas Edison (1847–1931), who began to produce short films in the late 1890s, made some provocative entries, such as *What Happened in the Tunnel* and *Aunt Sallie's Wonderful Bustle*. Early film pioneer Georges Méliés (1861–1938) produced an 1897 film called *After the Ball—The Tub* depicting a naked young woman in a bathtub attended by her maid. In 1896 a short film screened in Ottawa, Canada, showed the first on-screen kiss, and some viewers called the police. In the early twentieth century, the nickelodeon, a type of theater invented by Edison, showed very short films, including *What the Butler Saw* and *How Bridget Served the Salad Undressed*.

This auspicious beginning for unregulated cinematic erotica ended in 1915 when the Supreme Court of the United States held that films were a business endeavor and not entitled to First Amendment protection. This finding led the film industry to adopt the Hays Code, a set of self-regulatory guidelines, in 1930. The Hays Code prohibited excessive kissing, fondling, complete nudity, licentiousness, or anything that was contrary to the moral standards of the time. The code was a response, in part, to the popularity of stag films—short films depicting overt sexual activity usually between young women and convenient passersby. These films were promoted by itinerant entrepreneurs called *stag masters*.

Except for the underground stag cinema, the Hays Code effectively eliminated sex and nudity from American mainstream cinema, even though plots and circumstances were often sexually suggestive. Joan Crawford played a high-class call girl in *The Women* (1938); however, the film contained no sex scenes. Adultery was the pretext of other mainstream offerings, such as *Indiscreet* (1958), in which Ingrid Bergman and Cary Grant carry on an adulterous love affair. Screen beauties such as Betty Grable were sought-after pinup girls, their photographs adorning soldiers' barracks during World War II.

After Hefner began *Playboy* in 1953, photographers became more adept at imaging seductive female nudity. The skills of photographers such as Russ Meyers and Bunny Yeager crossed over to filmmaking, producing *nudie cutie* films such as *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959). The 1950s hosted a fairly modest pornographic film industry, which featured nudie films made of people frolicking in nudist camps. The convention that governed these films and made them barely legal was a prohibition on any images of pubic hair or *pickles and beaver*—male and female genitals. These and other more illegal *loops*, or short films of sex acts, played at burlesque theaters and other illicit venues. Burlesque theaters were the precursors of modern-day strip clubs in which women in various stages of undress would dance and remove clothing for patrons, though in theory full nudity was prohibited.

By the late 1960 and early 1970s the pornographic film industry was booming, aided by the demise of the Hays Code and adoption of a rating system that identified film content by a series of letters. An *X* rating, indicating appropriateness for mature audiences, quickly became a code for pornography. Pornography was divided into two categories: *hard core* for graphically explicit sexual scenes, and *soft core* that showed very little male frontal nudity, no erections, and only simulated sex scenes. The pornographic film industry had its greatest success in the late 1960s and 1970s, producing the famous *Deep Throat*, starring Linda Lovelace, and *Behind the Green Door*, starring Marilyn Chambers, both released in 1972. Porn films included, from 1968, full frontal nudity and pubic hair. Films depicted oral and anal penetration, fellatio and cunnilingus, various forms of bondage and discipline, group sex, bestiality, masturbation, and the famous money shot footage of male ejaculation. Ruben Sturman invented the *peep show booth* that provided a means for the private screening of pornographic films in adult theaters and adult bookstores. In 1973 the Supreme Court ruled, in *Miller v. California*, that each state could develop its own definition of obscenity. As a result pornographic films such as *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973) became financially successful, and a profitable gay male pornography industry was born.



Jenna Jameson. In 2000, porn star Jenna Jameson founded the entertainment company, Club Jenna, which had \$30 million in revenue in 2005. © CHRIS FARINA/CORBIS.

The pornographic film industry was gradually altered by the invention of video formats and the availability in the 1980s of consumer camcorders. Although changes in format made production of film pornography cheaper and easier (even if of lower quality), the industry struggled against crackdowns by the Meese Commission, public disapproval spurred by the AIDS crisis, and confiscation of all films made by porn star Traci Lords, who made the films when an underage actress. Cheaper video equipment enabled a greater number of amateur filmmakers to begin production of pornography. The availability of home video players began to cut into the business of burlesque theaters—the major outlets for the production of the film pornography industry. Competition with amateurs lowered the already bare-bones standards of porn films, though it also enabled pornography to infiltrate to a larger number of consumers. Pornography finally became a choice among cable television offerings, and mainstream films became increasingly more explicit, showing full frontal nudity and explicit sexual scenes (still shot tastefully).

In the early twenty-first century, pornography is widely available in both video and DVD formats. Vendors sell on the Internet, which also hosts X-rated sex sites with pictures, videos, and live Webcam performances. Attempts to control children's access to Internet porn sites have been stymied by successful constitutional challenges to federal legislation. However, authorities have had success in suppressing web sites offering pornography involving children and have apprehended and prosecuted predators who seek child sex partners online.

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Judith Roof

POSSESSION

According to “possession” beliefs, spirits or demons may control the bodies of human beings. Such beliefs are ancient, widespread, and linked to concepts of the duality of the human person, consisting of a body and a separate animating entity (one or more souls, a spirit, etc.), which may be replaced by another being. Comparisons between possession and multiple personality disorder have been made.

In Western tradition, possession beliefs are rooted in Jewish and Greek sources. Among non-Western people, Christian missionaries have often misidentified positive possessions by ancestral spirits with demons to be expelled.

Ritualized possession generally involves an altered state of consciousness (trance, dissociation). In Haitian *vodou*, a religion that combines Catholic, African, and local elements, a spontaneous trance state, illness, bad dreams, and/or personal problems may be interpreted as calls for initiation by a spirit. These symptoms themselves are not considered to be evidence of possession. Initiation turns the spirit into a protector and helper. It is the spirits who claim their human servants. A woman possessed by a male spirit enacts a male personality, a man possessed by a female spirit, a female personality. The majority of possession trancers are women, most of whom have male spirits. Spirits are invited to participate in ceremonies by means of drum rhythms, songs, and dances. Each spirit has its own personal attributes, as well as songs, dances, and tastes in food, drink, adornment, and colors. Spirits interact with each other and with their human faithful, state their demands, and give advice.

Women possession trancers are referred to as wives of spirits. Men may marry a female spirit in a ceremony in which a possessed woman acts as the spirit’s vehicle. These men may then experience the presence of the spirit in dreams. Spirits are said to “mount” their human hosts, who are also referred to as “horses.” The dances of some aggressive spirits are also more sexually suggestive, even orgasmic.

Haitian spirit possessions and rituals are related to those of Cuba, Trinidad, and Brazil and are derived from the same African origins: Both men and women may be possessed and may be priests, and women comprise the majority of possession trancers. In Brazil the strong value placed on assertive masculinity may inhibit men’s participation as possession trancers in African-derived religions. Men who do participate are often perceived as effeminate; many are homosexuals.

The predominance of women in possession-trance religions has been noted from many parts of the world. In Burma, for example, where the dominant religion is Theravada Buddhism, a woman medium, who may already have a human husband, undergoes a formal marriage ceremony with a spirit who has fallen in love with her. If she

refuses this call to her profession, she risks illness and misfortune. Her work requires the help of this spirit.

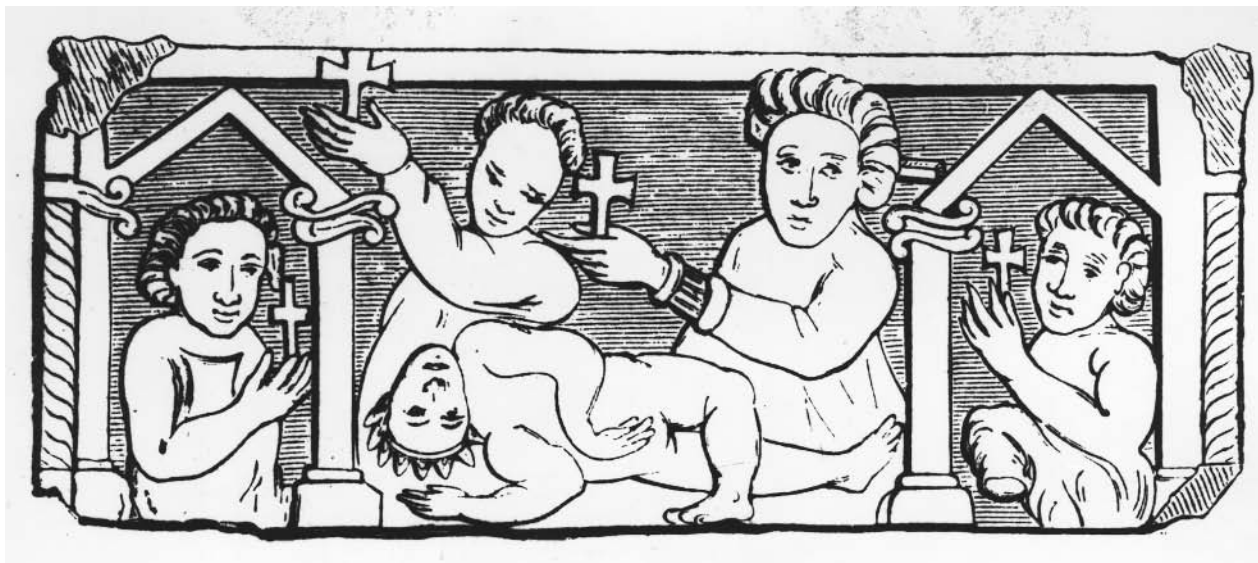
In Bali, where the dominant religion is Hinduism, possession appears in many forms: among women healers, little girl trance dancers, men and women kris dancers, men and women who dance with a *kris*, or Balinese knife, pressed against their chests, male hobbyhorse dancers, and in masked ritual dramas, where men act out the role of female characters. Ritual possession is common, controlled, socially useful, highly valued, encouraged, and satisfying. This is in contrast to parts of India where negative possession and exorcisms are found. The possessing spirits are those of the dead, and the victims are most frequently young married women. The exorcism is harsh, seeking to drive out the spirit by causing it pain.

In traditional Judaism, too, the victims of possession are frequently young women, and the possessing spirits are those of dead sinners, mostly men. The exorcism ritual, conducted by a rabbi, involves questioning the spirit about its identity, its sins, and the sins of the victim that made the attack possible.

Possession has a long history in the United States, yet it virtually disappeared in the nineteenth century. It has experienced a revival since the 1970s and has become the subject of mass media attention, both as reportage and as fiction. In this context, possession is understood as harmful, causing physical and mental disorders. The possessing spirits are demons and the cure is exorcism by a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, or lay self-trained exorcists who take their scriptural authority, in part, from references in the Gospels (Luke 8:30, Mark 5:1–13, Matthew 10:11). Exorcism is seen as a means of treatment of a variety of perceived social and psychological maladies, which are understood as being caused by demon possession. These complaints range from schizophrenia and depression to alcoholism and apparent character changes. In the United States the Exodus movement, a branch of the ex-gay movement since the early 1990s, links “treatment” of homosexuality and the forcible expulsion of the presumed demonic possession that causes individuals to succumb to the homosexual way of life.

Several television programs, including primetime specials on the ABC network, and widely syndicated newspaper stories demonstrate the widespread popularity and growing faith in the efficacy of exorcism as a form of intervention and treatment. In the American theater and cinema classic *Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* George, the male protagonist, mockingly recites a lengthy passage from the rite of exorcism of the Catholic Church to rid his wife of alcoholism and other demons that seem to plague their lives.

Since the mid-1960s, accelerating in the United States during the 1980s, in Catholic, Protestant, and secular cases, demonic possession has been identified as



Exorcism. An exorcism is performed on the possessed, whose body contorts painfully. © CHRISTEL GERSTENBERG/CORBIS.

the force believed to impel adolescent girls to behave in ways considered excessively or inappropriately sexual. In other cases, in which homosexuality is the presenting problem, families have sought the intervention of exorcists. These are sometimes laypersons who are prepared for their tasks in a set of community-recognized (not church-sanctioned) practices. At other times, ordained Catholic priests, who are not assigned the position of exorcist in their diocese, perform the rites in violation of church prohibitions against their practice.

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Erika Bourguignon
Melinda Kanner

PRAYER

Gender and sexual identity have had varying implications for prayer in different devotional traditions, sects, and denominations, related primarily to the language of prayer in fixed liturgies (especially as it ascribes a gender to God),

the gender of those credentialed to lead prayers in worship communities, and the matters about which one prays. Traditional liturgies in monotheistic traditions often presume a male God in the use of masculine pronouns and male imagery (God identified, for example, as Father or King), even when the underlying theology assigns no gender to God. When praying communally most Muslims and Orthodox Jews pray in sex-segregated groups, and in most religious traditions, women are relative newcomers to prayer leadership. In some Christian traditions the cleric's role as a representative of a male-embodied Christ privileges male prayer leadership; classic Jewish law (*halakha*), which specifies that a quorum for prayer be ten men, requires that the cantor, or public representative, be a man; and in Islam, where full bowing is a repeated feature of prayer, rules of modesty are among the reasons that restrict women from assuming a position at the front of the prayer space.

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Prayer—whether petition, thanksgiving, or confession—often reflects the priorities of a religious tradition. Blessings for uniquely female experiences—such as onset of menses or childbirth—have typically not been codified in formal liturgies, though there is a history of women's private traditions for sanctifying their experience or pleading for health, for example, in pregnancy and labor. Similarly, public rituals that include prayers have had a heterosexual bias: Religious commitment ceremonies or same-sex weddings are relatively recent innovations in traditions with an otherwise long history of sanctifying marriage.

In many world religions in which prayer tends to be meditative, private, and personal without a formal leader or fixed liturgy, these gender imbalances are less in evidence. In some of cases of polytheism the different characterization of gods and goddesses has implications for the construction of gender. In Hebrew Scriptures women's prayers are efficacious. Early in Genesis, Hagar's prayer, unusually, receives a direct response when God provides water in the desert for her son, Ishmael. Other biblical matriarchs' prayers for fertility are answered, and in the Book of Samuel, Hannah's fervent prayer, with moving lips, later becomes the textual basis for the Jewish practice of shaping the words with one's mouth during the important silent devotion prayer. Moses utters the first biblical prayer for healing on behalf of his sister Miriam ("Please, God, heal her!") when she is struck with leprosy. And the figure of Mary has also been a focus for Christian prayer, especially for prayers of intercession. Although the monotheistic faiths generally maintain that all prayer reaches God equally and that God is without gender, over time, men's prayers were codified in prayer books, the God to whom adherents pray was imagined in masculine form, and houses of worship privileged men's authority and community, whereas women more often prayed privately at home.

CONTEMPORARY INNOVATIONS

Christian and Jewish feminists have led the way in modifying prayer experiences to make them more inclusive. Liberal Christian and Jewish denominations have afforded authority to women prayer leaders and have embraced equal participation for women and men in worship, though some denominations still do not ordain out gays and lesbians. There has also been a growth of Christian women's prayer circles, and in Judaism all-female *minyanim* (prayer quorums) in which women chant from the sacred Torah scroll in women's community even if they would be unwilling to do so in a mixed-gender group. Some Jewish women gather in groups monthly to ritually celebrate the new moon. Because formal Muslim prayer is largely reading from the Koran, the focus of Islamic feminists has not been on prayer. Orthopractic Muslim imams and male worshipers in the Middle East, Asia, and even Europe and North America often exclude women from Friday prayers. Those Muslim women who regard Islam as an egalitarian faith have protested such exclusion.

More complex has been the gender identity of God, a problem energetically articulated in 1973 by Mary Daly in her theological treatise, *Beyond God the Father*. In the years since then, some Christian feminists have advocated for *vertical inclusive language*, using such strategies as balancing paternal with maternal imagery, utilizing gender-neutral language, or replacing formulations such as

the *Son of God* with *Divine Child*. Jewish feminists have reached into mystical literature and recovered the *Shechinah*, a feminine characterization or aspect of God, for use in prayer. Feminist liturgists have experimented with changing classical blessing formulas, as Marcia Falk (1996) does when she replaces *King of the Universe* with *Source of Life*. Nonmonotheistic and mystical traditions have been a resource for images that have been imported into patriarchal traditions. In addition to the systematic editing of prayer books for gender inclusiveness in the liberal denominations, some feminists have worked to discover women's unique folk traditions, including prayers written by or for women (such as Yiddish *techines*) as a way of honoring the heartfelt expressions of the foremothers. Feminists have also been responsible for a flourishing of new rituals and liturgy, ranging from welcoming ceremonies for daughters to crowning ceremonies for women elders and including prayers sanctifying coming out as a homosexual and blessing same-sex unions. The ceremonies described on ritualwell.org evidence decades of creativity and effort to enlarge the opportunities for prayer in a traditional religion by acknowledging the distinctive experiences of the female body and other long-neglected transcendent human occasions or needs.

The power of the printing press and art did, however, reify traditions that privilege men and masculinity, and the process of defrosting religious language and ideas can be slow. Although the Internet has become a resource for innovative prayers and practices, revising liturgical canons and codifying innovation remains challenging. Nevertheless, attention to gender and sexuality has led to some significant adjustments in how people define prayer communities, who is authorized to pray on whose behalf, which pronouns and images are used for God, and which compelling subjects are included in prayers.

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Lori Hope Lefkowitz

PREDATOR, SEXUAL

A sexual predator receives sexual satisfaction by engaging in exploitative and/or nonconsensual acts with less powerful individuals. The majority of sexual predators are men who target women and children, but women commit 1 to 4 percent of reported sexual offenses. Predatory acts include rape, sexual assault, lust homicide, incest, and domestic violence. Other nonviolent predatory acts occur in exaggerated cases of sexual paraphilias (disorders) with nonconsenting partners, including exhibitionism, voyeurism, and frotteurism (touching or rubbing against a person in public without consent). Certain types of pornography and prostitution are connected with sexual predators who enjoy the unequal power dynamic implicit in those practices.

TYPES AND MOTIVATIONS

Sexual predators are motivated by emotions such as anger, aggression, loathing, fear, and insecurity, and their actions typically are aimed at controlling or dominating others. Although not all people who practice deviant sexual practices such as voyeurism become aggressive sexual predators, most predators who commit illegal sexual acts displayed deviant sexual tendencies in their youth. Those people possibly become predators because their desires are not fulfilled by culturally sanctioned sexual acts. They experience increasingly intense sexual arousal focused on a paraphilia such as pedophilia that demands greater and greater stimulation, ultimately resulting in predatory acts that endanger others.

The appearance and popularity of the Internet have created a new venue for sexual predation. The Internet sex industry uses the most innovative technology on the Internet and in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century accounted for \$12 billion in annual revenue. Predatory acts on the Internet include organized prostitution tours, mail-order brides, online prostitution, child pornography, and sexually abusive text conversations with children.

Because it is impossible to regulate all Internet activity, many concerns have been raised about children's ability to access pornographic material that is readily available online. However, online interaction between children and adults is particularly problematic because it allows for several types of sexual predation. Many

predators use online chat rooms to seduce underage children into sexually explicit conversations, often following up with attempts to arrange physical meetings. Those predators may take on an identity other than their own, often claiming to be children when they are much older. If they arrange a meeting, they usually abuse the children sexually and may kidnap them.

Pornography and prostitution can be considered forms of sexual predation, especially because prostitutes or models are often financially desperate and unwilling participants in at least some of those acts. In addition, most of those individuals are subject to physical and emotional violence from their clients or pimps. Studies have shown that at least 70 percent of prostitutes have been raped, and those rapes are not always committed by a client or pimp. Both the Internet and globalization have produced an international sex industry that allows sexual predators from wealthy first-world countries to gain access to victims in impoverished, underdeveloped, or war-torn countries. As sex tourists, predators may visit a country such as the Philippines and then post their experiences with prostitutes, many of whom may be underage. Other people can then access this often pornographic, misogynist, and/or sadistic information and learn how to procure and treat prostitutes when they visit.

AMERICAN LAWS AGAINST SEXUAL PREDATION

There are both federal and state laws that punish sexual predators, attempt to limit opportunities for predation, and inform communities about known predators. Several laws outlaw forcible rape, and starting in 1976, marital rape no longer was excluded from punishment. Laws designed to protect children prohibit incest, sex with minors, and kidnapping. The federal Child Abuse and Prevention Treatment Act of 1974 defines child abuse and neglect and mandates public support and information for communities. Aimed at stopping child pornography, the Sexual Exploitation Act of 1978 prohibits the transportation of children across state lines for purposes of sexual exploitation. Other federal laws prohibit child prostitution and pornography, punishing pimps, pornographers, and parents who allow their children to be misused in that way. Several laws from the 1990s are aimed at preventing child pornography on the Internet and limiting underage access to pornographic material. Child prostitution is illegal in all fifty states, and prostitution is illegal in every state except Nevada. To reduce trafficking in women and children, the Mann Act, originally passed in 1910, prohibits the interstate transportation of women or girls for commercial sexual purposes. A 1986 revision expanded its terms to include all genders

Pregnancy

and noncommercial activities. To protect communities and keep known predators under surveillance, all the states have laws requiring sex offenders to register with a local agency, and that information is made available to the public.

SEE ALSO *Rape*.

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Michelle Veenstra

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is the condition of carrying one or more developing embryos or fetuses in the body. It starts as soon as the ovum is fertilized and implants (normally in the inner lining of the uterus, the endometrium) and continues until the delivery of the baby, usually 280 days after the last menstrual period (though this number may vary, most occur within two weeks of the due date). During pregnancy, both ovulation and menstruation cease—the first indication of pregnancy is often a missed menstrual period. Women frequently note nausea early in the pregnancy (morning sickness), breast enlargement (often accompanied by tenderness), and darker pigmentation developing around the nipples.

As the fetus grows larger, the woman's abdomen increases in size to accommodate it. This is frequently accompanied by stretch marks, reddish depressions in the skin that streak across developing areas of the body, especially the abdomen and breasts. Many women apply cocoa butter preparations to the skin to minimize their occurrence, but there is no guarantee that these lotions will prevent stretch marks. Often a brownish-black line (the *linea negra*) appears at the midline of the abdomen as pregnancy advances. In addition, the face may develop irregularly sized and shaped brownish patches. Both of these colorations generally disappear soon after childbirth (or parturition). The nipples typically grow larger and may begin expressing a thick and yellowish fluid (colostrum)

that contains many proteins and antibodies, which the nursing mother passes onto her newborn.

Pregnant women gain weight primarily due to the extra mass of the growing uterus and fetus, the enlarged breasts, and the increased maternal blood volume (to meet the demands of the growing uterus and to provide a safeguard for excessive blood loss during childbirth). This weight gain continues throughout pregnancy until childbirth. Pregnancy makes high demands on the maternal iron and calcium stores, and for this reason women frequently take supplements with prenatal vitamins and minerals prior to and during the course of the pregnancy. Water retention is common as pregnancy advances and women may notice pitting edema (where the skin retains an indentation when a finger is pressed against it). Women may also notice a spreading of the pelvic bones caused by a hormone (relaxin) that causes changes in the connective tissue that helps the reproductive tract accommodate the growing uterus and baby and facilitates childbirth.

STAGES OF PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is arbitrarily divided into three trimesters, each lasting roughly three months. During these gestational periods, the bodies of the mother and the baby undergo changes. Though there is variation in when these changes occur, the following represents a typical timeline of the different stages of pregnancy.

The first two weeks after ovulation and successful fertilization of the ovum, which occurs in the fallopian tube, the newly formed embryo continues into the uterus where it implants in the endometrium. The ruptured follicle of the egg continues to support the hormonal needs of the pregnancy for the first three months. After that, the placenta (which grows at the site of implantation) takes over, nourishing and supporting the fetus until the end of the pregnancy.

By the end of the sixth week of pregnancy (after the last menstrual period) the embryo is roughly twenty-two–twenty-four millimeters (mm) in length with a relatively large head compared with its trunk. It has a fully formed heart, fingers and toes, elbows, and an upper lip and rudimentary elevations that will eventually develop into ears. At the end of eight weeks, the embryo is called a fetus (an arbitrary designation). By this time, the fetus has grown to almost four centimeters (cm). Though its lungs begin to develop, this period of time is predominantly devoted to the growth and maturation of organs and tissues formed during the first eight weeks.

At twelve weeks, the uterus is just palpable above the pubic synthesis. The length of the fetus (measured from crown of the head to rump) is about six–seven cm. Most of the fetal bones begin ossifying (hardening due to the

deposition of calcium), and fingers and toes become differentiated. By this time, both the skin and nails have developed, and the beginnings of hair appear. The external genitalia show early signs of being either male or female, and the fetus begins to move (though this is not necessarily apparent to the mother). This period of time up until the twelfth week is known as the first trimester. Morning sickness (if present) usually resolves by this stage.

By sixteen weeks, the crown–rump length is about twelve cm and the growing baby’s weight is about 110 grams (g) (slightly less than four ounces). The external genitalia are now more clearly differentiated. The sixteenth week marks the starting point of the second trimester of pregnancy. Women begin to put on weight and may notice fetal movement starting at this point (known as quickening).

At twenty weeks, the pregnancy is at its midpoint. The fetus continues to grow and now weighs more than 300 g (slightly more than ten ounces). The skin is less transparent, and a downy hair (lanugo) covers most of the body. Some hair also begins to develop on the head.

At twenty-four weeks, fetal growth continues to about 630 g (a little less than one-and-a-half pounds), and though fat begins to be deposited in the body, the baby’s skin is wrinkled. The head is still proportionally larger to the body than that of a newborn. The eyebrows and eyelashes start to become apparent. The lung tissue begins to develop, and fetuses born at this time will try to breathe, though most will not be able to successfully manage this on their own because the lung tissue is not yet fully formed.

At twenty-eight weeks, the crown–rump length is about twenty-five cm and the fetus grows to about 1,100 g (about two-and-a-half pounds). The skin appears red and is covered with a white creamy substance (the vernix caseosa) that protects the fetal skin. The thin membrane that covers the pupils disappears at this time. Infants born at this time show more energetic limb movement and are able to weakly cry. If no other conditions exist, they have a 90 percent chance of survival provided they are given medical support.

At thirty-two weeks, the fetus is about twenty-eight cm long and weighs about 1,800 g (about four pounds). The skin surface continues to be wrinkled and red. This period marks the beginning of the third and final trimester of pregnancy. During this time, the infant continues to mature, especially its eyes, muscles, and brain. Infants born at this time may need special neonatal care, but are likely to survive.

At thirty-six weeks, on average, the length of the fetus from crown to rump is around thirty-two cm and the weight increases to about 2,500 g (about five-and-a-half

pounds). Fat deposits under the skin cause the body to round out and lose its wrinkled appearance. Infants born at thirty-six weeks have an excellent chance of survival under the proper care.

At forty weeks, pregnancy reaches its term. At this time, the fetus is fully developed and ready for birth. Though the average length at term is about thirty-six cm (nineteen inches) and weight approximately 3,400 g (seven pounds, eight ounces), healthy babies may be larger or smaller depending upon genetic predisposition, maternal nutrition, and health of the mother and fetus.

Labor, characterized by regular uterine contractions and changes in the cervix, commences at the term of pregnancy to propel the baby out of the womb. Though most women will deliver their newborn vaginally, complications of labor or fetal distress may necessitate a Cesarean section (C-section; surgical removal of the baby). In the case of obstetrical emergency, an emergency Cesarean section may be performed. In other less urgent circumstances, such as a failure of labor to progress, multiple births, or a previous Cesarean section, an elective or scheduled C-section may be performed under regional anesthesia, allowing the mother to be alert during the birth. A Cesarean section may be performed with a classical (vertical) incision, but this type is rare because of the increased risk of complications. The majority of C-sections are performed with a low-transverse uterine traditional incision.

Medical wisdom has held that once a woman has a Cesarean section, all subsequent pregnancies must be delivered surgically as well. However, studies have shown that many women are able to deliver vaginally following previous C-sections (vaginal birth after Cesarean section, or VBAC). Despite a concern over the number of Cesarean sections performed, a growing number of women are requesting an elective primary C-section to avoid the pain of natural childbirth and the loss of vaginal tone which may accompany it.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD PREGNANCY

Historical and cultural attitudes toward pregnancy and pregnant women generally reflect society’s view of sexuality and women. Romans regarded pregnancy as a duty and women earned their freedom from guardianship and their right to inherit property only after successfully delivering four babies. Other cultures considered pregnancy and childbirth a natural part of a woman’s life with women continuing to perform their daily chores up to and immediately following childbirth. Certain societies confined women approaching their due date to the home or areas specific for those menstruating (and thus considered

unclean). A quote often attributed to St. Augustine (354–430) describes this attitude: “We are born between urine and feces” (De Beauvoir 1989, p. 167).

Many cultures historically believed that pregnant women (and thus their unborn children) were vulnerable to evil spirits and were therefore not allowed to go to funerals. Before scientific enlightenment, most thought that women were responsible for the sex of the unborn child, and failure to produce a desired male offspring could be accompanied by a slap on the new mother’s face, divorce, or even execution. Mental or physical birth defects were also thought to be the fault of the woman. In Christian cultures, people believed that the pain of labor was God’s punishment to all women for Eve’s original sin.

Until the twentieth century, women gave birth at home and were often assisted by midwives or women experienced in the birthing process. During the Renaissance, maternal modesty was so revered that midwives often had to grope under the mother’s skirts to assist in the delivery. Even in the early twentieth century, doctors were rarely consulted, and when they were, it was only because of medical emergency (a common adage was “When a man comes, one or both must die.”). Indeed maternal and infant mortality was high during the pre-antibiotic days primarily due to infections contracted during childbirth.

Medical reliance on technology marked a significant change in the attitude toward pregnancy and permitted an understanding of pregnancy as a medical condition akin to illness. Subsequently, babies were born more often in hospitals than at home. Routine use of ultrasound to view the unborn infant, electronic monitors (to record fetal heartbeat and the progress of labor), intravenous lines, drugs (to alleviate pain and induce labor), and episiotomies (a surgical cut in the perineum to help facilitate birth and prevent tearing) all indicate that medical professionals consider pregnancy to be a condition that can be treated. In the early-twenty-first century there is a trend away from what some see as an overuse of technology back to natural childbirth.

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Diane Sue Saylor

PRE-RAPHAELISM/ SYMBOLISM

Founded in 1848 by the artists Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais, and William Holman Hunt, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood represented a youthful rebellion against the established aesthetics of the Royal Academy. The term “Pre-Raphaelite” was chosen because it reflected their admiration for the early Italian painters of the period before Raphael” (Wood 1981, p. 10). Although the brotherhood lasted only until 1853, Pre-Raphaelite art continued to flourish till the 1920s in the works of followers and disciples such as Arthur Hughes, John William Waterhouse, Marie Spartali, Joanna Boyce, and Evelyn de Morgan.

PRE-RAPHAELITE AESTHETICS

At a turbulent time, with revolutions raging in Europe, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood initiated a revolution in British culture that had far-ranging effects. Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais resisted the precepts advocated by Raphael’s successors and the first president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds. Instead of hierarchical idealism, they promoted egalitarian and naturalistic realism. The belligerent critical reception of John Everett Millais’s *Christ in the House of His Parents* (1849–1850) illustrates the Pre-Raphaelites’ blow against aesthetic, class, and gender hierarchies. Their commitment was not limited to aesthetics but extended to social reform as they sought to establish an egalitarian society that would be accepting of unconventional class and gender constructs.

GENDER AMBIGUITY

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was a poet-painter who often composed poems to accompany his paintings, guiding the spectator’s interpretation. Subverting conventional representations of femininity, he created highly sexualized women; his femmes fatales combined feminine and masculine characteristics, with their long necks, massive shoulders, powerful arms, luxuriant flowing hair, and rosebud mouths, as in *Lady Lilith* (1868), *Fazio’s Mistress* (1863), and *Astarte Syriaca* (1877).

Critics often denigrated Millais for the flagrant reversal of gender roles in his depictions of women rescuing



Proserpine by **Dante Gabriel Rossetti**. © CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS.

men, such as *The Order of Release, 1746* (1853), and *The Proscribed Royalist, 1651* (1852–1853). Ambiguity and indeterminacy govern outdoor paintings that are devoid of narrative content, such as *Autumn Leaves* (1856), *Spring* (1856–1859), and *Vale of Rest* (1858–1859), in which, rather than endorsing the doctrine of separate spheres, Millais creates a matriarchal world untouched by the law of the father. Unlike Rossetti and Millais, Holman Hunt remained faithful to the principles of Pre-Raphaelite art to

the end of his life; like them, he represented gender ambiguity, especially in the *The Lady of Shalott* (1886–1905) and *Isabella and the Pot of Basil* (1867) and in his popular religious paintings *The Light of the World* (1853) and *The Shadow of Death* (1870–1873), all of which combine conventionally male and female characteristics.

The gender ambiguity initiated by the early Pre-Raphaelites became prevalent in the paintings of the second-generation advocates of aestheticism (art for art's sake) led by Edward Burne-Jones. Privileging the aesthetic over the mimetic, he was upbraided by critics for “sublimely sexless” subjects (James 1989 (1956), p. 147) in paintings such as *Laus Veneris* (1873–1878), *Le Chant d'Amour* (1868–1877), *The Beguiling of Merlin* (1874), *The Mirror of Venus* (1873–1877), and *The Days of Creation* (1870–1876). “In a period which was so fraught with sexual anxiety it is perhaps not surprising that the guilt . . . and the sense of personal impurity and national degeneracy . . . should be projected onto forms of visual art” (Bullen 1998, p. 216).

A fluid representation of masculinity and femininity also characterizes Simeon Solomon's paintings, such as *Love in Autumn* (1866), *Bacchus* (1867), *The Evening Star* (1871), and *The Sleeper and the One Who Watcheth* (1870), which critics found effeminate or emasculated. In Solomon's figures the poet Algernon Charles Swinburne noted a “supersexual beauty in which the lineaments of woman and of man seem blended as the lines of sky and landscape melt in the burning mist of heat and light” (quoted in Mancoff 2005, p. 36). Solomon's homoerotic figures represent his attempts to deal with the taboo subject of Victorian homosexuality.

The Pre-Raphaelites' representation of gender ambiguity can be explained partly in terms of their desire to represent life truthfully and thus undermine the idealized, stereotypical gender hierarchy. If one considers that the Pre-Raphaelites deliberately chose to create effeminate men and masculine women that critics saw as “grotesque” and “repulsive,” one may realize the scope of their contribution to the extension of gendered boundaries. Their representations of gender ambiguity or unconventional gender roles reflect their awareness of legislative movements (divorce laws, women's higher education, women's suffrage) to ameliorate women's social and legal status and redress legalized gender inequities. Besides painting, Pre-Raphaelite art shaped poetry, as in the work of Swinburne and William Morris as well as the novels of writers such as Elizabeth Gaskell, Wilkie Collins, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy (Andres 2005). The Pre-Raphaelites offered literary artists new ways of extending gender boundaries and representing perceptual, psychological, and poetic realism.

SEE ALSO *Allegory; Androgyny; Art; Effeminacy; Love Poetry; Symbolism.*

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Sophia Andres

PRESLEY, ELVIS

1935–1977

Elvis Aaron Presley, American singer, guitarist, and actor, was the most successful of the mid-1950s artists who were identified with the new genre of rock 'n' roll. Often called the King of Rock 'n' Roll, Presley was crucial in the formation of the images and sounds of early rock and its mythology. Popular music has often been a generative site for representations of masculinity, sexuality, and race, and Presley's career embodied many of the controversies that circulate around these social categories.

Born in the American South during the middle of the Depression, Presley had many musical influences, ranging from the gospel of the Assemblies of God Pentecostal churches he attended (which were among the first racially integrated congregations) to country, bluegrass, jump blues, blues, rhythm and blues, and popular ballads. His professional career began in 1954 when he recorded the Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup blues number "That's All Right" with the Bill Monroe bluegrass song "Blue Moon of Kentucky" on the B-side. Presley's career is often broken into four phases: his early rock phase, his movie career in the 1960s, the *1968 Comeback Special*, and Las Vegas in the 1970s. The first phase of his career, generally considered to have ended in 1957 with his induction into the U.S. military, tends to generate the most praise from rock critics, along with the *'68 Comeback Special*.

Presley's early image was that of a longhaired working-class greaser with big sideburns who sported clothes from

Lansky Brothers on Beale Street, a store with a predominantly African-American customer base. Although he was soft-spoken and unfailingly polite, his image and musical sound were very much in opposition to the crew-cut, All-American standard of mainstream, middle-class, teenage suburban masculinity. He mixed white, working-class, Southern masculine codes with African-American masculine codes and some feminine codes (he wore his hair long and also went on stage wearing eye shadow). While the newly emerging youth demographic, especially teen girls, flocked to his concerts, adults were increasingly concerned with his displays of sexuality. His performances were denounced as devil music from church pulpits and his records were banned from radio stations. Frequently, attempts were made to censor his sexuality and tame the hysteria that would grip audiences who watched him on stage. In August 1956, a Juvenile Court judge in Florida called Presley a "savage" and threatened to arrest him if he shook his body while performing at Jacksonville's Florida Theatre, claiming his music undermined the morals of American youth. His early career was marked by many similar attempts to contain his body, including his famous 1957 appearance on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, where he was filmed only from the waist up. This era symbolically ended with the shearing of Presley's long hair during his induction into the U.S. Army in 1958.

What followed was a period in the 1960s when his sound embraced more popular crooning influences, like that of Dean Martin (1917–1995), and he spent most of the decade starring in successful Hollywood films and releasing soundtrack albums. Although those films were financially successful, for some critics they represented the emasculation and mainstreaming of a rock rebel. However, such views uphold a binary of masculine rock/feminine pop to which Presley never subscribed. After his Hollywood period, he came back into the rock scene through his televised *'68 Comeback Special*, a much-praised return to his roots as a black leather-clad rocker. Soon after, he installed himself as an extraordinarily successful Las Vegas performer, wearing white rhinestone-encrusted jumpsuits with high collars and courting an older fan base.

In 1992 the U.S. Postal Service announced a commemorative stamp of Presley and asked the public to vote on which image should adorn it, the young rock 'n' roller or the older white jumpsuited Vegas Presley. The public overwhelmingly chose the image of the young Presley. However, the ensuing debate highlighted many of the tensions around Presley and his image. Although many rock critics have praised his machismo, his toughness, and the rebellious sexuality of his early period, there is more to his image than aggressive masculinity. Sue Wise has deconstructed the "butch god" formation of Presley's image, noting that it was mostly a construction of male



Elvis Presley. *Elvis Presley performs for an excited crowd.* AP IMAGES.

writers and pointing out that he had other images, such as the sensitive teddy bear of “Love Me Tender.”

Yet there are complications even within the butch sex god of songs like “Hound Dog.” This song was originally a hit by blues shouter Big Mama Thornton, and the gender ambiguity is still present in the Presley version. Additionally, the infamous pelvic gyrations that were typically featured in Presley’s performances of “Hound Dog” came from a Las Vegas burlesque show that Presley and his band had seen while on tour. As Robert Fink has pointed out, Presley’s macho performance of sexuality was in part a copy of a female strip show, and in fact, Presley was frequently compared to strippers in 1956, the year of “Hound Dog.” In his June 6 *New York Times* column, the journalist Jack Gould dismissed Presley as a “virtuoso of the hootchy-kootchy,” noting that Presley’s “one specialty is an accented movement of the body that heretofore has been primarily identified with the repertoire of the blonde bombshells of the burlesque runway.”

Marjorie Garber has elaborated a theory of Presley as a female impersonator, situating him on an unmarked transvestite continuum with Rudolph Valentino and Liberace. She analyzes Presley’s self-display, his artificiality,

his status as object of the gaze, his wearing of makeup, and media focus on his hips, lips, and weight. Garber’s focus is on the Vegas-era Presley, and she categorizes him as a type of covert drag queen. However, Presley’s status as butch lesbian icon (along with James Dean and Marlon Brando) points to even more complex appropriations of his masculinity and sexuality.

Another important aspect of Presley’s position in the discourse of gender and sexuality is the legion of impersonators who copy his look and mannerisms. In addition to drag king Elvis impersonators (such as San Francisco’s Elvis Herselvis), there are impersonators of all different ethnicities. As a figure of impersonation he has somehow attained a status beyond race and gender—rather than male or female impersonation, there is Elvis impersonation. Presley seems to have become an ambiguous but affectively intense figure who can personify an almost infinite number of sexualities and gender configurations, from Southern working-class to lesbian to gay male to heterosexual, from tender to tough, from American icon to outsider rebel.

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*Stephan Pennington
Robert Walser*

PRIESTHOODS, PRIESTS, AND PRIESTESSES

The priest’s specialized role in social life has been addressed in many studies, but the exact nature of the priest has remained elusive to many. The idea that the priest reflects some universal construct was apparent to the ancients and is a widely employed scholarly concept for analyzing religious practices. In their consideration of the priests of pagan Rome, however, contemporary scholars (e.g., Beard and North 1990) find that a single term that encompassed all types of priests was lacking among the Romans. Nonetheless, the cross-cultural utility of such a concept is reflected in a frequently used Roman term for a priest, the *flamen*, which is associated with the

Sanskrit word for priest, *brahman*. Roman priests occupied a diversity of specialized roles, duties, organizational structures, and functions that had foundations in the very early history of Rome. Nonetheless, there was a basic similarity in the religious roles of the *Pontif, rex sacrorum*, kings, magistrates, and others responsible for rituals of the state cult (Winkelman 1992). What Roman priests share in common is belonging to a cult, which is a social group that operates as a collective entity with specialized knowledge in managing rituals “mediating between men and gods” (Beard and North 1990, p. 7). This mediation of priests involves regulation of the human approach to and communication with the divine. Originally the role of the priest was reserved for members of patrician families, but later became more widely accessible to those with the financial resources to join the cults. The basic ritual functions of the priests were also carried out by many others who performed some priestly acts, such as the *paterfamilias*, the master of the house or family who was responsible for propitiation of the spirits of the ancestors. One of the most ancient and general images of priestly activities involves sacrifice, the killing, offering, and consumption of domestic animals.

These priestly cults or colleges of Rome distinguished themselves most fundamentally in contrasting the *pontifices* and the *augures*, the mediators with the community, and the communicators with the gods, respectively (Beard 1990, Gordon 1990). The principal focus of priestly mediation in Rome was in the Senate, which decided on valid divine communication and the permissible human rituals to deities, mediating human responses and relations with deities, and so offering an intermediary role between the citizenry and the government. Priests provided the required rituals in the Senate, where they served as consultants on matters of law and interpretation and also regulated the ritual life of families through their official roles in burials.

In their analysis of the priests of pagan Rome, Beard and North (1990) note the interpenetration of religion with politics, commenting that it was assumed that a political career included participation in the priesthoods of the state. The most powerful figures of Rome’s public life (e.g., the Caesars) achieved this through combining the priestly and political roles. It was the priestly colleges that provided the most important integrative functions during the Roman Republic (Gordon 1990), creating a wide diffusion of power among the elite class, as well as a permanent political presence by virtue of the prestige conferred by official membership. The lack of permanency in political power created by one-year terms in the Senate was superseded by religious cult memberships and priesthoods that generally were permanent. The integration of the powers derived from the religious ritual system of priests with the power derived from the political system

allowed for processes of domination by the elite in ways not generally apparent to the masses.

PRIESTS

The characteristics of the Roman priests are not unique but reflect a cross-culturally valid conceptual type, according to the research of ethnologist Michael Winkelman (1992), whose analyses illustrate similarities of priests found in different societies around the world. His study sample included the priests of major religions, such as clergy of the Ethiopian Coptic Church, the Buddhist priests, and the Islamic murids and mullahs, as well as others such as the Roman Pontiff and priests of the state cult and practices of ancestor worship found there and in other societies around the world.

Priests are not found in all societies, but do appear universal in societies with a primary reliance on agriculture. Priests are found in societies with political systems with two or more levels of political integration beyond local communities (i.e., villages organized into districts organized into states). The priest exemplifies male power in society, with female involvement in activities typically only as assistants or servants; the occasional empress or queen serving in the role of a high priestess is an unusual exception to exclusively male functionaries. Although priests may represent preeminent power on earth, being members of the elite classes, they do not control the gods but, rather, serve as intermediaries who petition the gods on behalf of the people. Priests may also have personal religious power in ritual knowledge or control of an impersonal power, such as mana.

Priests typically acquire their positions by virtue of inheritance, typified in ancestors’ cults, in which the reigning member of the lineage is also the chief priest; this post, is passed on to a son upon the priest’s death. Priests typically exercise control over considerable economic resources and hold important political positions either as consultants or as the supreme political leader such as chief or king. Priests generally hold formal judicial power, ruling on everyday disputes as well as life-and-death decisions. Priests were often members of legislative bodies and are generally considered to be the moral authorities of society.

Priests are typically in charge of a permanent institution (e.g., a church). Priesthoods are organized in a hierarchically ranked group that provides a system of administrative control over society. The highest level of the priesthood may involve the king, emperor, or chief. Official duties, sacred and secular, generally take up all of a priest’s time.

Priestly religious activities involve collective propitiation of group’s deities with sacrifices and feasts, particularly public rituals associated with particular parts of the agricultural cycle (e.g., planting and harvesting). These

rites of intensification are to aid the general fertility of animals and crops as well as to provide thanks for the abundance provided. Harvest rituals typically sacrifice some portion of the harvest to the gods, but the sacrifice may be consumed by the priest and participants. Sacrificial offerings generally involve domestic animals (e.g., cows, pigs, chickens), which are typically first sacrificed to the gods before their consumption by participants, which emphasizes the importance of the priests as a controller of ecological relations (Rappaport 1967, Lansing 1991).

The role of the priest provides the most important contrast with the primordial religious functionary, the shaman. This contrast emphasizes the priest as an intermediary with the spiritual world who petitions the intervention of deities rather than someone who enters into a direct relationship with the deity or presumes to control them. Priests are leaders of what anthropologist Anthony Wallace (1966) called *communal cults*. These communal religious activities involve heads of clans or other kinship groups organizing activities related to ancestor worship and specialist professional associations of ecclesiastical cults that organize the worship of collective deities. The dual political–religious role characteristic of the priest is emphasized in the role of the *divine king* who holds supreme secular and religious power and is a deity as well.

Male priests are a typical feature of the gender restrictions found in religions worldwide. Although female participation in specialized religious roles is widespread if not universal, women have not typically been allowed to serve as priests. The leadership roles in religions where women are dominant may be called priestesses, but their characteristics differ significantly from those of priests. Female-dominant religions involve mediums. Mediums reflect adaptations of more complex societies to the therapeutic potentials of altered states of consciousness and local community healing rituals that were first manifested in shamanism. In contrast, priests organize society-wide rituals involving integration of separate community groups into larger political hierarchies. Thus, gender plays an important role in the human division of labor in accessing supernatural power.

Functional Perspectives on Priests The role or position of the priest is found in sedentary agricultural societies (and some pastoral societies that depend on herd animals such as cows, camels, and reindeer for subsistence). These roles have a functional relationship to the leadership needs of these more complex societies. When found in societies without complex political hierarchies, priests are still associated with ritual activities intended to ensure the success of agriculture and to occupy positions of political leadership based on succession. It appears that the role of priests evolved in response to the needs of agricultural societies but that their origins may lie in the organizational principles of clan structures and ancestor worship.



Bishop Katharine Jefferts Schori is the 26th Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. Jefferts Schori, 52, is the first female priest to lead a national church in the nearly 500-year-old Anglican Communion. © MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/EPA/CORBIS.

Winkelman’s cross-cultural research found that when religious practitioners are selected for their roles on the basis of social inheritance or social succession, they exercise judicial and political power as well and engage in collective rituals of propitiation. These are the priests reflecting an adaptive aspect of religion in which the biological and social power of kinship groups is united in religious practices of ancestor worship. A hierarchy linking heaven and earth places one’s living kin in supernatural positions of authority.

“COMPLEX HUNTER-GATHERER TYPE RELIGIONS”: THE RISE OF ANCESTOR CULTS AND PRIESTS

How did this new form of religiosity represented by priests come to supplant shamanism as the central feature of religiosity in society? Archeologist Brian Hayden (2003)

reviews evidence of the emergence of this new form of ritual development during the early Upper Paleolithic period (approximately 15,000 years ago) when hunter-gatherer groups developed more complex organizations called *trans-egalitarian* societies. Their rituals emphasized accumulation and storage of large amounts of food for use in extravagant ritual displays focused on enhancing group fertility, worship of ancestors, and integration of large groups of people.

These public displays of prestige and success may have been a turning point in the evolution of religion—a dramatic shift from popular cults focused on earlier communal healing practices of shamanism to that of elite cults that manipulated their communities through religious rituals and symbols. Food, art, and monumental architecture were resources for exercising ritual control and influence by the elite. These new fertility religions used animals to represent their clans and lineages, ancestor cults to elevate their ancestors as group gods, megalithic architecture as public places to make ritual statements of their power, public feasting for solidification of alliances and kinship-based political systems, and commodity items in gift giving, exchange, and tribute to increase wealth, power, and prestige.

The public cult activities of these religions focused on fertility, epitomized in the *Venus figurines*, stone and clay depictions of pregnant women. The exaggerated female features (e.g., broad hips, large breasts and buttocks, and prominent genitalia) indicate a fertility cult. The involvement of specialists in their production and their role as prestige items is indicated by the high quality of the depictions, the extensive work involved in their production, and the standardization of their features. Hayden views the fertility cults as elite families' prestige competition in attracting females as wives who could produce children, who represent the ultimate long-term strength in kinship-based political systems. Fertility cults, marriage, and feasting were all part of a system that helped to ensure production of future food surpluses.

During the Neolithic period (approximately 12,000 years ago), these kinds of rituals became dominant social institutions. Their focus was on animal cults and the lineages and ancestor worship they represented. Ancestor cults and veneration are suggested by the special care given to the burial of a few elderly men, who were interred with elaborate grave goods and offerings that indicated their elevated status. These offerings that were found in their graves seem to indicate people with unusually important social positions, such as the heads of clans. Their skulls were often removed and used as ritual objects, reflecting the continued importance of these individuals in their afterlife roles. Central to these elite-focused religions were warfare, human sacrifice, and megalithic architecture. These manifested a chief's ability to organize groups to achieve goals that, while often viewed as collective (i.e., protecting our

village), generally served the interests of the elite. Hayden postulates that the emergence of the more complex priestly religions was a consequence of increased competition for economic resources. Increased resources contributed to social stratification and contests between the elite and communities.

The new Megalithic societies can be regarded as similar in activity to near-modern chiefdoms in which leaders ruled by virtue of their positions in kinship systems. Public rituals involved wealth exchanges and prestige competition as mechanisms for differentiating the chiefly elite from the nonelite. Through ritual exchange the elite control social life—wealth exchanges, bride exchanges, arranged marriages, social alliances, debt payments, and allocation of resources in times of scarcity. The gods, embodied in the elite's ancestors, are believed to be key actors in ensuring group well-being, particularly in issues related to fertility. Their key roles in managing political needs of complex societies are exemplified in the role of the divine king.

THE DIVINE KING AND RITES OF INTENSIFICATION

A fundamental function of priests is a concern with the fecundity of the earth and its crops in particular. The role of the priest is exemplified in the *divine king*, a supreme leader whose life and health are intimately related to fertility of all of society and nature. Priests' rituals of intensification involve symbolic depictions of the connection of the king with the fecundity of the earth. The roles of these divine figures were explored by the Scottish anthropologist and folklorist James G. Frazer (1935) in his considerations of divine sacrifice, making the king himself a sacrificial offering to the gods as a scapegoat for famine or drought. The king theoretically offers his life as a sacrifice for the good of the community or is sacrificed by his own people, particularly his counselors, when the his health or that of the community in general has declined. Frazer characterized regicide and human sacrifice as reflective of an early development of religion in which people saw human life and nature as intimately interconnected. The sacrifice of a human life fed the energy of nature and restored the fecundity of the earth. These rituals are part of a general effort to perpetuate the cycle of life and to ensure the fertility and prosperity of both the agricultural fields and domestic animals.

Frazer's concept of the divine king, a supreme priest who in failing health is sacrificed for a renewal of nature, is not typical. Most divine kings were not sacrificed. As David Hicks (1996) describes in the ritual regicide in Timor, a substitute for the king is put through the motions of sacrifice, a feigned blow to the head preceding the ritual act of tying the individual up in fishnets at the

shore of the lagoon. This substitute, however, is not killed either; rather, a pig or buffalo is ritually offered as a substitute for the king. This sacrifice is thought to reestablish relations between the spiritual and human populations, regenerate the divinity, and induce the spirits to give fecundity to the world. These rituals are generally performed in August during the shifting from the dry season to the rainy season. The sacrificial offering of the lifeblood of an animal is seen as helping ensure the fecundity of nature and this seasonal change from the male season to the female season.

These rituals reflect the fundamental role of priestly religions in mediating relationships with the environment. This is exemplified in anthropologist Roy Rappaport's (1967) discussion of Tsembaga ancestor rituals and the ecological relations maintained through the sacrifice of pigs. These ritual festivities also allow these groups to assess their allies' fitness for the warfare that begins soon after the pig festivals have ended. Because there are no political authorities that command these groups, the ability of a group to effectively exercise warfare depends on attracting kinsmen in other groups to join them in their fight. An invitation to attend a dance is tantamount to a request for military support, and that support is solidified in the context of the festivals and feasting.

ALCOHOL AND PRIESTHOODS

The characteristic of priests as mediators with the supernatural world rather than entering the spirit world is reflected in their general lack of notably altered states of consciousness (ASC). Unlike shamans who enter into an ecstatic relationship with the spirit world, priests remain in this world. The priest may nonetheless experience some less profound ways of altering consciousness produced by social isolation, restrictions involving fasting and sexual prohibitions, and prolonged prayer. ASC rituals of priests also generally involve consumption of alcoholic beverages by priests and congregations. Drinking alcohol may not seem like a religious activity, but the notion of alcohol as *spirits* reflects a past where alcohol was a sacred beverage. The connections among public ritual, consumption of alcoholic liquids and food, and power found its way into the religions of medieval and modern times in Judaism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism, for example. This sacred role of alcohol is exemplified in the Roman Catholic Church, where the priests consume wine during the Mass, considered a symbolic representation of the blood of Jesus. Sacred consumption of alcohol is associated with rituals for integration of the community, particularly formation of alliances.

ALCOHOL CULTS IN PREHISTORY

Priests were part of prehistoric public festivals of alcohol use involving rituals that reinforced community solidarity,

social cohesion and rapport, and internal hierarchies. Alcohol's central role in the religious life of pre-Christian European and of Jewish ceremonial uses led to its continuation as a central sacrament of Christianity, where it was viewed as creating a spiritual connection and enhancing community solidarity. The continued importance of wine in the Christian traditions was reinforced in accounts of the drinking of wine by Christ at the Last Supper, which came to be a symbol of Jesus's own blood and his sacrifice for humanity. Early Christian communities consumed wine to bring joy to life in communal ritual celebrations.

Anthropologist Terrance McKenna (1992) suggests that in social evolution from premodern societies, alcohol cults played a central role in the development of *dominator exploiter* cultures. These weakened male-female relations in enhancing tendencies toward ego obsession and immediate gratification, reflecting anxiety produced by alienation from the feminine qualities of nature. During the Neolithic period alcohol cults spread as agriculture made large amounts of sugar-producing plants available for the fermentation process involved in the production of alcohol. This accompanied periods of rapid social and economic change and new political structures that developed to meet the needs of complex agrarian societies.

Winkelman and Keith Bletzer (2005) review research revealing elite male warrior cults that were key components of alcohol cults. Their central roles in society are attested to by the prominent inclusion of drinking vessels found in graves of the elite by Richard Rudgley (1993). According to archaeologist Bettina Arnold (1999), alcohol was central to religious ritual and political life of Europe during the Iron Age (c. 900 BCE–100 CE), a key element in establishing relationships between rulers and their supporters and maintaining the latter's allegiance. Consumption of alcohol provided a social lubricant for important rituals used to moderate intragroup competition and establish relations of power. Alcohol was consumed at feasts organized by nobles, where followers made public commitments to provide military defense for their noble benefactors.

Alcohol rituals are exemplified in feasts provided by Celtic kings of the British Isles. These feasts were expressions of the king's generosity, and bonds of friendship were enhanced by bountiful consumption of alcoholic beverages. This ritual consumption became an exclusive practice of the high elite as these festivals became dominated by the consumption of wine that was acquired through overseas trade connections with the Mediterranean world. Wine was capable of being stored for long periods without spoilage, unlike beer. This storable commodity enhanced the power of political aggrandizers who rose by replacing beer with wine as a source of alcohol in public religious feasts. These

ostentatious public ceremonies provided contexts for the rulers to carry out political and judicial processes and allowed for competition in military games to establish a hierarchy among their supporters. These public rituals also involved supporters making public declarations of their loyalty to the ruler, supporting long-term political alliances. This was a domain of men, not women.

FEMALE-DOMINANT RELIGIONS

Although not normally functioning as priests, women are not absent from religion. In *Priestess, Mother, Sacred Sister*, anthropologist Susan Sered (1994) used a cross-cultural case study to characterize religions in which women are dominant figures, illustrating their similarities with cases from the Okinawa shrine maiden and traditional women's societies of Africa, the Korean household rituals of shamanism, as well as more modern examples, such as the North American Shakers and the development of Christian Science. Although conventionally referred to as *priestess*, roles in female-dominant religions are much more like those of shamans than of male priests. Sered's research illustrates how the leadership roles in religions dominated by women differ from the leadership roles involved in the practices of priests.

In female-dominant religions, those who occupy roles of authority do so through their personality or supernatural power rather than from acquisition of a position within a formal hierarchy. Nonetheless, these religious leadership roles are dominated by older women. Sered points out that these groups may have unequal statuses among women and may promulgate ideas of gender inequality, endorsing prevalent masculine notions of male dominance and female subordination. Sered also notes that societies in which women's religions are present, women tended to have a relatively high level of autonomy. Their societies are likely to be matrilineal or matrilocal. These religions enhance women's roles within these societies, particularly in activities related to their responsibilities as mothers.

Women's religions emphasize the interpenetration of public and domestic spheres, incorporating ritual spaces and processes into the home. Female-dominant religions focus more on the needs of the individual rather than the broader societal concerns emphasized in the activities of male priests. Rituals of women's religions focus on domestic areas and involve food rituals as a central element. In contrast to priestly religions, female-dominant religions generally did not involve animal sacrifice. These are not proselytizing religions and are not focused on the rules of moral behavior and their enforcement. Women's religions are not centralized and institutionalized but, rather, integrated around individuals who are closely related by kinship and care a lot about one another. It

is not morals that are codified but rather relationships that have important implications for the community: enhancement of interpersonal relations and familial bonds and providing nurturance and support for the family, particularly those who are ill or suffering.

According to Sered, "what does receive attention and elaboration in these religions is women's social roles as nurturers and healers, women's rights and responsibilities as primary child care providers, women's emotional experiences of pain at the illness and death of children, women's social ties with other mothers, a matrifocality and women's proclivity for discovering the sacred which is evident in the everyday world of care and relationship" (p. 286).

Women's religions are characterized by high levels of emotionality and broadly appeal to those of marginal economic and social circumstances. Female-dominant religious groups emphasize an emotional dynamics of *brotherly* love and sisterhood in the strengthening of family and community. Female-dominant religions' concerns focus on their role as mothers and domestic issues of children, health, and home, particularly with the explanation of illness and other forms of misfortunes and the provision of solutions for problems of the practical world. These female-dominant religions have a significant emphasis on illness in the process of selection and development of healers. Spirit possession characterizes the emotional ASC that typify female-dominant religions. The concept of *possession* is rooted in the belief that spirits can enter into the bodies of people and take over their personality and behavior. According to Sered, "possession trance is a pivotal component in the majority of women's religions" (p. 181).

These possession experiences are a consequence of how women's marginalized and subordinated position affects their material, emotional, and social relations in ways that facilitate dissociative altered states of consciousness. Possession allows for the adoption of the persona of dominant males exhibited by their possessing spirits. The frequent belief that possession involves a sexual relationship with spirits is reinforced by erotic gestures and other sexual elements frequently noted in ecstatic possession trances. Sered further notes a central feature of women's religions that involves spirit possession of predominantly female audiences, as well as the professional mediums who become possessed in order to heal the afflicted. These possession states are induced through a variety of techniques, including singing, chanting, drumming, dancing, and sometimes the use of alcohol or other drugs. In a height of frenzy the spirit *mounts* or enters the woman, whose body then becomes the medium through which the possessing spirit communicates with the community. These possession relationships are central to the religious experience in women's religions although not in the ecstatic soul flight of shamans.

Priestesses as Mediums The term priestess has been applied to female religious practitioners without regard to whether they engage in typical activities of priests. The term has been generally applied to what Winkelmann (1992) has characterized as *mediums*, another type of religious practitioner identified cross-culturally. Mediums are found in societies with complex political hierarchies. Their characteristic possession experiences reflect an adaptation to the shamanistic potentials associated with ASC under the powerful influences imposed on individual psychology by the interpersonal and personal conditions derived from considerable social and economic stratification and oppression.

Like priests, mediums are generally believed to be moral people and protectors, acting against the influences of sorcerers, witches, and evil spirits. Also like priests they engage in worship and propitiation of spirits. But unlike priests mediums are typically women and of lower social and economic status, being subordinate to the power of the priests, the dominant religious practitioners in their societies. Mediums may nonetheless have a relatively greater prestige than others in the society as well as some informal social power. This social power is reflected in their ability to designate sorcerers and witches as the cause of their patients' illness and in their relationships to powerful spiritual entities manifest in their possession.

The medium's possession states of consciousness generally begin as spontaneous seizures that occur in late adolescence or early adulthood, experiences outside of their personal control that are seen as constituting a call to the profession. These possession episodes are interpreted as the personality and will of the individual being taken over by a spirit entity. The training and religious rituals of mediums involve a deliberate induction of spirit possession that often manifests powerful male deities that enable mediums to exert important social influences. The belief that the spirits control the medium's body and communicate through the medium makes their proclamations divine demands that others are obliged to follow.

This is exemplified in the functions of the priestesses in the Near East discussed by Savina Teubal (1984) in *Sarah the Priestess: The First Matriarchs of Genesis*. The priestess was supposed to supply information about current or future events, to act as oracular prophets of the deities, and to provide military and political advice to rulers. The priestess was an inspired figure, giving utterance to divine revelations that were the will of the deity, not her own.

The psychodynamics of possession ASC have been interpreted as providing mechanisms for control of the person's emotions and attachments through the concept of outside possessing forces that act on the patient's body and consciousness. Possessing spirits provide opportunities to

engage in alternate selves that express socially prohibited roles and emotions and a displacement of responsibility for feelings and behaviors from the patient to the possessing spirit entities. By considering the possessing spirits responsible for emotional expressions and behaviors, possession allows for indirect influences on others' behavior and perceptions.

CONCLUSIONS: PRIESTS AND MEDIUMS AS SACRED GENDER SPECIALIZATIONS

The societies in which mediums are found as exemplifications of female-dominant religions have male priests as representatives of the more powerful religious institutions dominating the politics and economy of society. This copresence of mediums with priests reflects female and male specializations in religiosity. Male priests lead rituals that are related to the broader sociopolitical needs of society, whereas women address the domestic dynamics of the health and well-being of the family and intimate community.

Men and women in most cultures have access to some form of religious position with leadership roles. These commonly accessed statuses and roles involve using the shamanistic therapeutic potentials involving collective rituals with altered states of consciousness. Although men predominate in many of these shamanistic religious traditions, female-dominant religions are found cross-culturally in stratified societies in forms of shamanistic healing known as mediums and possession trance. These women, often called priestesses, are the dominant participants and leaders in rituals focused on the well-being and health of family and community. Men are virtually exclusive occupants of the position of priests, the most important societal religious activities. These traditional restrictions on female access to the powerful positions of priests persist throughout the modern world but are increasingly challenged. Even in the early twenty-first century, the Roman Catholic clergy remains exclusively male; so, too, in Zoroastrianism where the magi are all men who inherited their positions. The situation in Orthodox Judaism is similar. Only by the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Protestant denominations are female ministers or pastors gradually becoming part of the church hierarchy. In Conservative (1984) and Reform (1972) Judaism, women have been accepted in rabbinical roles by certain congregations. Although women serving as priests remains a highly controversial concept, their acceptance reflects broader societal trends of increasing gender equality in professional spheres.

SEE ALSO *Baha'i Faith; Buddhism; Celibacy; Christianity, Early and Medieval; Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Confucianism; Daoism (Taoism); Egypt,*

Pharaonic; Gnosticism; Goddess Worship; Hinduism; Islam; Jainism; Judaism; Menstruation; Mysticism; Protestantism; Shamanism; Shintoism; Sikhism; Yoga; Zoroastrianism.

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Michael Winkelman

PRISON, DETENTION, AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Most prisons and jails have rules that prohibit inmates from engaging in sexual activity with staff or each other. Notwithstanding these policies, prisons and jails remain highly sexualized environments in which a great deal of sexual activity, including consensual sex as well as harassment and sexual coercion, takes place. The physical nature of incarceration contributes to the sexualized nature of imprisonment. Imprisonment involves physical restraint, surveillance of prisoners' bodies, and the concentration of prisoners in crowded spaces. In addition, prison subcultures appear to place great importance on sexual and gender roles, so that sexual identities become very important to the experience of incarceration.

ADULT MALE PRISONERS

There is very little reliable empirical research on overall rates of sexual activity in prisons. The U.S. prison population is overwhelmingly male, and most existing studies of sex in prison focus on nonconsensual sex among male prisoners. These studies have produced highly divergent reports. Some studies estimate that as many as 15 to 20 percent of male inmates are victims of sexual assaults by other inmates (Struckman-Johnson 2000, Struckman-Johnson 1996), whereas other researchers have found much lower rates of victimization, closer to 1 percent or even less (Saum 1995, Nacci and Kane 1983).

The image of prison rape prevalent in popular culture—attacks by physically violent predators against weak and naive new prisoners—appears to capture only a very small portion of inmate sexual assaults in male prisons. Studies show that young, white, first-time offenders are more likely to be the target of sexual coercion, and correspondingly aggressors are more likely to be experienced, long-term prisoners. But most coerced sex does not involve an act or direct threat of physical violence (Human Rights Watch 2001, Struckman-Johnson 2000). Instead, many prisoners who recognize themselves as vulnerable will trade sex for protection. In prison slang, a *punk* may agree to have sex with a *man*, *Daddy*, or *jockey* in an ongoing relationship in which the punk may expect his man to protect him. Coerced sex is apparently often interracial: aggressors tend to be disproportionately African-American and their targets are disproportionately white (Human Rights Watch 2001, Lockwood 1980). It is unclear whether this pattern is traceable to specific racial animus or is simply the result of sentencing patterns in the United States, where prisoners serving repeat or long sentences are disproportionately African-American. Some researchers argue that prisoners serving a sentence for a sex offense are themselves more likely to be

the victim of a sexual assault behind bars, but this claim has not been substantiated by empirical research.

By prisoners' own reports as well as empirical studies based on interviews or surveys, many inmates choose to engage in sexual activity for reasons other than fear of immediate or possible violence. Prisoners sometimes have sex in exchange for money, food, cigarettes, drugs, or other valuable items. Moreover, like persons outside of prison, prisoners sometimes have sex for physical gratification or as part of an emotionally committed relationship. Few researchers have tried to determine the prevalence of consensual sex among prisoners, but those who have addressed the issue suggest that consensual sex is far more common than coerced sex (Saum 1995). Most prisons have official rules that prohibit prisoners from having sexual intercourse; some institutions also prohibit masturbation. These rules do not actually stop such activities from occurring, but they almost certainly shape prisoners' decisions about whether to report sexual assaults. Prohibitions against sexual activity may contribute to one of the greatest difficulties facing prison sex researchers: the assessment of whether a particular sex act is consensual or not.

Both external and internal prison observers have difficulty distinguishing between coerced and consensual sex. The existing studies do not use consistent definitions of consent and coercion; some studies fail to define these terms at all. Most prisons are sufficiently dangerous and unpleasant that the prison environment could be said to be inherently coercive. Of course, distinguishing between coercive and consensual sex is difficult even beyond the prison context. But the peculiar environment of the prison makes this distinction especially elusive.

Studies of sexual activity face other methodological problems. Prisoners are reluctant to participate in research studies: a prison code of silence creates a strong norm against reporting fellow prisoners' misbehavior. Even among those prisoners who disclose information, there are incentives both to underreport (to avoid reprisals or breaking the code of silence) and to overreport (to gain attention or to protest prison conditions generally) sexual violence in prison. In 2003 the Prison Rape Elimination Act became law in the United States. This legislation mandates record-keeping, reporting, and research on sexual violence in prison. These requirements may eventually produce better information about the issue.

Even beyond actual incidents of coerced or consensual sexual activity, sexual dynamics shape prison life profoundly. Researchers as well as former prisoners describe a prison subculture that "fuses sexual and social roles and assigns all prisoners accordingly" (Donaldson 1993, p. 118). To a significant extent, prisoners appear to be defined by their identities as aggressors, victims, or nonparticipants in sexual encounters as well as sexual harassment. Sometimes sexual

aggressors force their victims to clean, do laundry, or even alter their appearances to appear more feminine. Some victims are treated as property and rented or sold as sexual slaves.

Assessment by researchers of these sexually defined roles has changed over time. Early studies of prison sex approach the subject as one of the psychology of homosexual preferences, distinguishing *true* homosexuals from *situational* homosexuals. Many of the older studies advanced a *heterosexual deprivation* thesis that assumed that 1) sexual orientation is fixed; 2) most inmates are heterosexual; and 3) heterosexual males need regular sexual activity or they will suffer deprivation and turn to same-sex intercourse as a poor but necessary substitute.

More recent studies tend to incorporate two critical claims of gender theorists and feminists. One claim is that sexual identities and the significance of those identities are at least partly socially constructed rather than based entirely on fixed biological differences. Another claim is that (constructed) sexual differentiation is often a site upon which to ground inequality. Researchers' use of differentiated sexual categories to organize hierarchies in male prisons gives considerable support to these claims.

Reported constructions of sexuality inside prisons do not always correspond to constructions of sexuality that are common outside of prisons. Prisoners do not view all participants in male-to-male sexual contact as homosexual. Many researchers emphasize the intensely masculine atmosphere of male prisons. Some of these conceptions may be changing, however. According to some reports, many male prisoners describe a general understanding among prisoners that sexuality is fluid rather than fixed.

Corrections officers or other staff have on occasion encouraged or exploited sexual hierarchies among prisoners. There are reported incidents (some resulting in litigation) in which staff have intentionally placed vulnerable inmates with known sexual aggressors; in addition, staff in many institutions seem to tacitly accept and sometimes encourage punk-daddy relationships. By some reports, prison officials on occasion use sexual humiliation or orchestrated sexual violence as a disciplinary measure. Some of the most notorious incidents of deliberate sexual humiliation of prisoners occurred at the hands of U.S. military personnel at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. There have been reports of similar, though less well-documented, sexual abuse in some prisons within the United States.

ADULT FEMALE PRISONERS

Less research is available on women prisoners than on men. With respect to coerced sex, existing studies suggest lower rates of inmate-on-inmate assault in women's prisons than in male-only institutions. In one study, 7 percent of female inmates reported being sexually assaulted by another

inmate (Struckman-Johnson 1996). Published letters from one prisoner describe patterns of assault somewhat similar to those in male prisons, in which sexual aggressors establish ongoing relationships of domination over their victims and require their victims to clean, do laundry, or otherwise play a domestic and subservient role. According to the same source, heterosexual women viewed by prison staff as *feminine* may be more likely to initiate sexual aggression, in part because staff view such prisoners as nonthreatening and give them more leeway. Openly lesbian and bisexual women may be more likely to be targets of sexual aggression. Racial tensions in women's prisons are not reported to be as high as they are in men's prisons, and researchers have not reported racial patterns in sexual violence among women prisoners. As with male prisoners, however, the existing studies of prison sex do not have clear definitions of consent and coercion, and the rate and nature of sexual assault in prison remains an area about which very little is known.

Early studies of purportedly consensual sex in women's prisons reported that prisoners formed "pseudofamilies" and dyadic sexual relationships that mimicked domestic familial relationships outside of prison. More recent research reports that women prisoners who choose sexual relationships do so primarily for economic reasons (to get money or goods from commissary), and many women prisoners emphasize the manipulative nature of most sexual relationships between inmates. However there continue to be some reports of caring, intimate relationships among women prisoners.

Some sources report that female prisoners are much more likely to be sexually assaulted by staff members than are male prisoners (Human Rights Watch 1996). Assaults or harassment by staff members have produced a considerable amount of litigation, and women prisoners appear to be somewhat more successful in the courts than are male prisoners.

Pregnant women prisoners face particular challenges. Access to adequate health care is not always available. In addition, most prisons either prevent or restrict greatly women prisoners' access to abortions. Although some prisoners have brought legal challenges to the denial of access to abortion, these challenges have usually been unsuccessful as courts have applied a legal standard that is deferential to prison administrators.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS, IMMIGRATION DETENTION, AND NON-U.S. PRISONS

Some researchers have suggested that the rates of sexual assaults may be higher for juvenile offenders and in immigration detention centers. In immigration centers, overcrowding, inadequate access to counsel or outside

monitors, and cultural and language differences appear to create a higher prevalence of sexual assaults (Stop Prisoner Rape 2004). When juveniles are incarcerated in adult prisons, they are estimated to be five times more likely to be victims of sexual assault (Stop Prisoner Rape 2006).

The few available studies that address sex in prisons outside the United States report assault rates from 1 percent (Banbury 2004) to 2 percent (Butler et al. 2002). One study found a higher victimization rate of 5 percent for sexual coercion (defined more broadly than rape) (Banbury 2004). There is no evidence of racial patterns to sexual abuse in foreign prisons, although this is an area on which there has been very little research.

SEXUAL HEALTH

Among both male and female prisoners, the rate of sexually transmitted diseases is higher than in the general population. HIV and AIDS are particular problems; reports at the state level in the United States estimate that prison populations have HIV-infection rates of three to five times the infection rate of the population as a whole. In the United States, prisons are required by law to provide basic medical care to inmates, but the quality of care actually provided is often insufficient. Most prisons do not make condoms or other forms of protection available to prisoners.

CONCLUSION

Sex and sexual identities appear to structure the experience of incarceration in profound ways. Even beyond the specific acts of sex, harassment, or sexual stereotyping discussed above, there is a further way in which prison is inherently sexualized and will remain sexualized even if sexual coercion is successfully reduced. Prison is sexualized to the extent that prisoners remain sexual beings. Prison life precludes almost any degree of privacy. Accordingly the sexuality of prisoners is continually visible to other prisoners and to the prison staff. Measures promoted by the Prison Rape Elimination Act, such as increased surveillance, are likely only to increase the lack of privacy and the extent to which prison life is sexualized.

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Alice Ristroph

PRIVACY

Privacy is the condition of being outside the scrutiny of others. The concept of privacy began in Rome as seclusion or withdrawal from public life. The term has been used in English since the late Middle Ages (c. 1450) to refer to seclusion, solitude, or retirement from public life. Privacy is understood as protection against intrusion into an individual's personal emotions, thoughts, sensations,

and experiences in domestic and private life. Privacy thus refers to the realm of the intangible as opposed to being a property right, the benefit of a contract or business arrangement, or an explicit constitutional right in the United States.

PRIVACY AS A LEGAL ENTITLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

As a legal entitlement, the idea of a right to privacy has evolved slowly from expanded concepts of property and contractual rights but seems to have arisen in the nineteenth century as a self-evident principle of Western law. As Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis, a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, wrote in the *Harvard Law Review* in 1890, "That the individual shall have full protection in person and in property is a principle as old as the common law" (Warren and Brandeis 1890, p. 1). As nineteenth-century law courts in both Great Britain and the United States developed a right to privacy, they had recourse to a series of analogies that included protection against bodily injury or assault; the model of nuisance, or protection against offensive odors and noises; libel and slander, or the protection of reputation; and copyright and laws protecting intellectual property. Just as the law protected infringements on physical or proprietary existence, it began to recognize that emotions, thoughts, and sensations deserved similar protection. In addition, the development of photographic and other technologies that made it easy to invade the domain of individual private existence in addition to the increasingly invasive activities of the press made the issue of a right to privacy more pressing in the nineteenth century in both the United States and Europe.

"The right to be left alone," as Warren and Brandeis define the right to privacy, is an intrinsic part of what they called the "right to life." This right is more figurative than literal and refers generally to one's right both to conduct one's private affairs in the ordinary course of existence and to what Judge Cooley called "the right to be left alone—the right to live unmolested by the government and others" (Warren and Brandeis 1890, p. 2). There are several constitutional premises for this right, though the right to privacy is never mentioned specifically in the U.S. Constitution. Some of the first American cases involving the right to privacy were based on the provisions of the Fourth Amendment to the Bill of Rights, which guarantees "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures," and the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. Those amendments protected Americans against the kinds of abuses previously practiced by the British government to obtain information.

Olmstead v. United States, a U.S. Supreme Court case involving the conviction of bootleggers that resulted partly from evidence gathered by tapping telephone conversations, entailed a determination of the rights guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment. Although the Court held that government phone tapping was not a violation of the Fourth Amendment, it declared that the rights protected in the Fourth and Fifth amendments of the U.S. Constitution applied “to ‘all invasions on the privacies of life.’ No exact definition of the term has been found, but obviously it is a comprehensive term and surely includes the right to be left alone.” In noting the capabilities of developing technologies, the dissenting Justice Brandeis asked, “Can it be that the Constitution affords no protection against such invasions of individual security?” (*Olmstead v. United States* 277 U.S. 438 [1928]).

Later cases proliferated the constitutional bases of a right to privacy. The First, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth amendments and particularly the Fourteenth Amendment have been interpreted as extending a right to personal privacy. The Fourteenth Amendment provides in part: “No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of laws.” Like the Fourth Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment does not establish a specific right to privacy, but it suggests a right to live without undue governmental interference.

CONTEMPORARY LEGAL CASES

Since the 1960s many landmark Supreme Court cases defining the right to privacy have focused on governmental regulation of sexual, marital, and reproductive practices. *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965), determined that there is a right to privacy in marital relationships. *Eisenstad v. Baird*, 405 U.S. 438 (1972), protected a right to privacy in individual decisions by the unmarried to use contraception. *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), guarded a woman’s right to privacy with respect to pregnancy and its termination. *Whalen v. Roe*, 429 U.S. 589 (1977), suggested a right to privacy in the disclosure of personal information. In a long series of earlier cases, however, the Supreme Court also found that the rights protected are only those that can be considered “fundamental” or “implicit in the concept of ordered liberty” (*Palko v. Connecticut*, 302 U.S. 319, 235 [1937]). By imposing a standard of fundamentalism or implicitness on the privacy rights protected by the Constitution, the courts for a time were able to prevent the extension of any right to privacy to issues of personal sexual conduct.

A series of challenges to state laws that regulated private sexual behavior continued the process of the delineation of a right to privacy. In 1986 Michael Hardwick, who had been arrested under a Georgia statute that made consensual adult sodomy in the home a misdemeanor, challenged the constitutionality of that statute, claiming that private sexual practices are part of the fundamental rights protected by the right to privacy implied by the Fourteenth Amendment. Although the acts took place in the home and although sexual relations are an intrinsic part of the private intimate relations individuals may have with others, the court found that the Fourteenth Amendment “does not confer any fundamental right on homosexuals to engage in acts of consensual sodomy” (*Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. p. 186). By refusing to include sexual privacy as a fundamental right, the court was able to exclude sexual acts from constitutional protection under any formulation of a right to privacy.

The decision in the *Bowers* case was reversed in 2003 in *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 123. As in the *Bowers* case, homosexuals were arrested for engaging in consensual homosexual behavior in their home, but this time the court found that the “convictions of two adults for consensual sexual intimacy in home . . . violate[d] adults’ due process liberty and privacy interests.” The court found further that “the state could not demean the adults’ existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime, as the adults’ right to liberty under the due process clause gave them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government” (*Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 123 [559]).

Although *Lawrence* made it clear that private sexual conduct is a fundamental right protected by the implied right to privacy in the Fourteenth Amendment, courts still refused to recognize a fundamental right to sexual privacy. Constitutional protection for all private sexual conduct was still unclear at the time of *Lawrence* (i.e., 2003). In *Williams v. Alabama*, 378 F.3d 1232 (2004), the Federal Appeals Court for the Eleventh Circuit determined that there is no fundamental right to sexual privacy, that matters of personal autonomy and privacy sufficiently “fundamental” to be protected under the Fourteenth Amendment are fundamental “not simply because they implicate deeply personal and private considerations, but because they are ‘deeply rooted in this Nation’s history and tradition and implicit in the concept of ordered liberty, such that neither liberty nor justice would exist if they were sacrificed’” (Elimelekh 2006, p. 261). The plaintiff in the *Williams* case had challenged an Alabama statute prohibiting the sale of sex toys, but the appeals court decided that the state could limit such commerce not only because it was not a constitutionally protected right but also because states can restrict the “sale of sex” as part of antiobscenity legislation.

FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY

Because the question of how fundamental specific private practices may be is often a question of contemporary values and ideologies and because the right to privacy is not guaranteed explicitly in the Constitution, the evolution of the right to privacy will continue. At the start of the twenty-first century individuals' rights to their own credit, shopping, and other information are assailed by computer, Web, and global positioning technologies that can track their purchases and expenditures and determine what they read, where they go, and what their medical histories are. Ideas about what may constitute personal information and what aspects of that information may be kept private are likely to occupy the courts in the future.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Closets; Fornication; Foucault, Michel; Fundamentalism; Inquisition, Spanish.*

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Judith Roof

PRODUCTION CODE (HAYS CODE)

The Hays Code, also called the Production Code, was a self-imposed system of regulation that explicitly and implicitly affected the themes, story lines, and tone of Hollywood films produced between 1930 and the 1960s, particularly with regard to the treatment of sexuality.

In the years leading up to the popularization of sound cinema in about 1930, certain segments of the American public had come to believe that Hollywood films exemplified the decline of American moral values. In 1915 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment did not apply to motion pictures, and city governments began to ban the exhibition of "immoral

films." A series of Hollywood scandals involving drugs, bisexuality, and murder occurred in the early 1920s. Throughout the 1920s general social changes were threatening the cultural hegemony of the Protestant middle class with an influx of "alien" modernism and Jewish and Catholic influence (Maltby 2003). After the Wall Street crash of 1929 production companies feared the financial effects of an impending Catholic ban on their films (Leff and Simmons 1990).

Fearing a government crackdown, Hollywood decided to self-regulate by creating the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) to oversee the moral decency of sound pictures. The Catholic Church-influenced code was created in 1930 by MPPDA head Will Hays. Although it was not legally mandatory, MPPDA production companies would be fined \$25,000 for releasing a non-Code picture, and MPPDA theaters agreed to ban non-Code films.

The Production Code listed three "General Principles," including "No picture shall be produced that will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience should never be thrown to the side of crime, wrongdoing, evil or sin." The Production Code also listed a variety of "Particular Applications," many of which applied to sexuality: no nudity, no "sexual perversion" (i.e., homosexuality), no adultery, and no miscegenation. "Scenes of Passion" were to be avoided along with any other treatments that might "stimulate the lower and baser element."

It took four years for the Production Code to be taken seriously by producers. During that brief period, somewhat confusingly referred to as "Pre-Code," Hollywood generated some of the raciest films seen for decades before or after. By 1934, however, the crackdown had been strengthened.

The Production Code had a powerful and wide-reaching effect on nearly all films generated by the Hollywood system over the course of more than thirty years: It affected dialogue, plot, themes, and even the selection of scripts to be produced. On a micro level minutiae such as "seconds per kiss" and "inches between twin beds" had to be recorded and negotiated. In practice the proscriptions were applied with a gender bias, emphasizing restraint of female sexual desire and behavior (LaSalle 2000, Krzywinska 2006).

However, in many cases "unacceptable" issues quietly resurfaced in "coded" form: A time ellipse during a romantic episode might signify actual sex, prostitution was evoked by showing a woman walking alone on the street, and lightly effeminate or butch characters stood in for actively gay ones.

Challenged by new domestic and foreign films with forbidden situations and language as well as by the sexual

Prostitution

revolution and the civil and gay rights movements, enforcement of the Production Code began to wane in the mid-1950s. By 1966 it was effectively dead, though it was a direct precursor to the first Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) American ratings system in 1968, a version of which was still in effect in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

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Jennifer Lyon Bell

PROGESTERONE

SEE *Hormones: I. Overview*.

PROSTITUTION

Prostitution involves the exchange of sexual services for money or another form of material compensation. The main reason for becoming a prostitute is economic: the need for income among individuals who lack other job opportunities or believe they can earn more from prostitution than from a conventional job.

TYPES OF PROSTITUTION

The most common type of prostitution involves female sex workers and male customers. This reflects traditional gender relations between men and women: Objectification is taken to the extreme in sex work, in which the workers are valued almost exclusively for sexual purposes, and the existence of commercial sex provides men with an avenue for reaffirming their masculinity.

The gendered character of the sex industry is also evident in its power structure: Many of the managers are men, who exercise control over female sex workers and reap much of the profit. In general, power is concentrated in the hands of male pimps, traffickers, and brothel owners. The exception is the independent worker

who is free of third-party control; this includes call girls and some streetwalkers.

Not all prostitution involves female workers and male customers and managers. A significant sector of the sex trade involves male prostitutes who service men. Compared with female providers, male prostitutes are involved in prostitution in a more sporadic way; have greater control over their working conditions (few male prostitutes have pimps); are less likely to have been abused as children, to be forced into prostitution, and to experience violence from customers; are more likely to enjoy their work overall and derive sexual gratification from it; and are less susceptible to arrest or harassment by the police (Aggleton 1999, West 1993).

A much smaller number of male prostitutes service women. Some women buy sex from young men they meet on the beaches and at clubs while on vacation in the Caribbean and other places. Very little research has been done on those female customers, but it appears that few of them plan to buy sex ahead of time, in contrast to male "sex tourists" who travel to another country, such as Thailand, with the express purpose of buying sex.

HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION

The Ancient World In ancient times some forms of prostitution had positive associations. "Sacred prostitution," in which men had sex with a temple priestess, was a way of worshipping a deity. Prostitution existed in ancient Greece and Rome, where it was an accepted part of life. In Greece prostitutes at the lowest level worked in licensed brothels. Those in the highest echelon, the *hetaerae*, were courtesans who were valued for their intellect and beauty. They kept salons where they fraternized with politicians, artists, and intellectuals. *Hetaerae* enjoyed great freedom and mobility unknown to other Greek women of the time (Roberts 1993).

The Romans did not operate state brothels but did attempt to regulate prostitution by requiring prostitutes to register with the authorities and mandating that lower-class prostitutes wear distinctive clothing to set them apart from upright women. Female slaves who had been captured abroad by the Roman legions were forced into brothels or exploited by individual slaveholders.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance In medieval Europe the rapid growth of towns and cities after the eleventh century caused large numbers of rural peasants to relocate to those areas. Prostitution provided an alternative for marginalized women who could not find other employment. They worked in inns and taverns, in bathhouses, in their own rooms, or on the streets, and some were successful enough to set up their own brothels. Prostitutes also accompanied military and religious

expeditions, including the Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Christian Church attempted to reform some prostitutes by establishing convents for their rehabilitation. However, during the Middle Ages prostitution generally was viewed as a necessary evil (allegedly preventing rape and other sexual deviance) by both religious and political authorities, and some church leaders participated in or profited from the sex trade. By the end of the medieval period prostitution flourished in most parts of the continent.

Prostitution came under attack in sixteenth-century Europe for two reasons. The first was the Protestant Reformation. The two most prominent Protestant leaders, Martin Luther and John Calvin, were appalled at the Church's tolerance of extramarital sex and campaigned for moral reform throughout society, including closing brothels. At the same time prostitution was associated with a continentwide epidemic of venereal disease, especially syphilis. The authorities closed brothels in many cities and created novel punishments for prostitutes, but elsewhere corrupt officials allowed brothels to operate. This period was marked by unprecedented religious hostility toward the oldest profession, yet prostitution continued to exist because both demand and supply remained high.

Throughout history, whenever prostitution was condemned, there was blatant gender bias: The prostitute was chastised and blamed for a variety of social problems, but male customers and male profiteers rarely were mentioned. A sexual double standard reigned supreme and has continued to do so.

The Modern Era Prostitution in the United States in the eighteenth century was confined largely to major cities such as Boston and New York. By the nineteenth century it had become more widespread as a result of increasing urbanization and the low wages paid to female laborers. Many sex workers were young, single recent migrants to the city who sold sex for a short time and then found other work or married. Their customers included the growing number of single men who emigrated from Europe. In the western states men greatly outnumbered women, producing a huge demand for paid sex. There were red-light districts and brothels in cities throughout the country. Luxury brothels known as parlor houses existed in some affluent neighborhoods and paid their workers well; more modest establishments catered to working-class men. New Orleans was known for having the largest red-light district, Storyville, spanning thirty-eight city blocks. Streetwalkers worked in various cities. In addition, dance halls, saloons, theaters, and cabarets offered sex for sale.

There was, of course, some opposition to prostitution during the nineteenth century on the part of church leaders, women's associations, and reformers, but attempts to rid the country of brothels were ineffective. Prohibitionists were more successful toward the end of the century, when antivice crusaders launched a major war against commercial sex. Prostitution not only was condemned for its immorality but also was linked to other social evils, especially the spread of venereal disease. During the first two decades of the twentieth century vice commissions were formed in more than forty American cities; they conducted investigations and urged officials to abolish red-light districts. By 1915 most states had passed laws banning brothels or criminalizing other ways of profiting from prostitution.

During that period, in both the United States and Britain, the notion of "white slavery" gained currency. Reformers claimed that a large number of women were being forced or deceived into prostitution by procurers who would take them to another country or a different region of the same country. The U.S. Congress gave credence to those claims by passing the Mann Act of 1910, which outlawed the transport of women across state lines for "immoral purposes" and provided stiff penalties for offenders. Britain passed similar legislation. Early twenty-first century scholars view the white slavery campaign as a moral panic that was based on mythical or inflated fears. Contrary to the claims of the moral reformers, relatively few women were kidnapped and forced into sexual slavery (Grittner 1990).

The Mann Act was the first stage in a larger trend toward criminalization. Most states enacted laws against aiding and abetting prostitution, running a "bawdy house," associating with a prostitute, and fornication. Statutes banning solicitation typically applied to the woman, not the male customer, and even as late as the 1960s most state laws against prostitution were gender-biased. By 1930 the era of open brothel prostitution was a relic of the past, and the sex trade became more clandestine. Instead of working in tolerated brothels, women worked out of tenements, dance halls, and other venues. Many others had little alternative but to work on the streets in more dangerous conditions.

CONTEMPORARY PROSTITUTION

The contemporary sex trade is big business worldwide, with numerous providers, customers, and third-party profiteers. Prostitution takes various forms. Independent call girls operate out of their own residences, where they do both in-call and out-call service. Escorts, who provide out-call service, are employed by agencies that advertise in the telephone book and on the Internet. Others work in bars, massage parlors, saunas, tanning salons, and

brothels and on the street. Male and transgender prostitution also exists in many cities.

Stigmatization and Motives Because prostitution involves direct sexual contact, it is stigmatized more heavily than is “hands-off” sex work such as stripping and commercial telephone sex. In general, prostitutes are more stigmatized than are their customers even though both are involved in a disreputable activity. This is the case because customers participate in these transactions occasionally, whereas prostitutes do so in an ongoing manner. Also, the popular perception is that those who sell sex (unlike their customers) are expressing their central identity. “Prostitute” becomes a master status that overrides all other attributes and roles. The labels used—*whore*, *hooker*, *harlot*—are emblematic terms of dishonor, yet there are no equivalent terms for the male customer. In addition, there is a cultural double standard by which female sexual behavior is more circumscribed than male sexuality is. By virtue of being sexually aggressive and promiscuous, female sex workers break traditional gender norms for women. By contrast, male customers’ behavior is consistent with male sexual socialization, which values sexual conquest and multiple partners as evidence of masculinity.

Sex workers typically attempt to deflect the stigma. They compartmentalize or separate their deviant work persona from their “real identity,” conceal their work from family and friends, describe their work in neutral or professional terms (*working woman* or *sex worker*), and see themselves as performing a useful service (keeping marriages intact, engaging in sex therapy, providing emotional support to customers). These techniques are used to reduce stigma and normalize the sale of sex.

A 2000 national poll found that 17 percent of American men have patronized a prostitute at some time in their lives, though the real number is probably higher in light of the tendency to underreport disreputable activity. Customers are of all ages, races, and classes, and about half are married. Their motives for buying sex are diverse: satisfying a “need” for sexual stimulation, fulfilling a fantasy, a desire for a certain type of sex, and contact with a certain type of woman. There are at least three types of customers: (1) misogynists, who are looking for a woman to control or abuse; (2) persons who are interested only in sex; and (3) those seeking friendship or romance in addition to sex. Men who patronize call girls or escorts often are looking for companionship and emotional support (Lever and Dolnick 2000). For some regular customers involvement with a call girl can resemble what has become known as a “girlfriend experience,” with some degree of romance and intimacy but without the obligations inherent in a real relationship.

Myths about Prostitution There are a number of popular myths regarding prostitution. One is that the majority

of prostitutes entered the profession as teenagers or that the average age of entry is fourteen. The available data do not justify those claims. No study has been based on a representative survey of workers, which is needed to measure accurately the background characteristics of the individuals involved. Representative surveys are impossible in this field because the population is unknown; there is no comprehensive inventory of prostitutes from which a random sample could be drawn. Claims regarding the age of entry or other demographic characteristics, such as racial or class background, are based on small, unrepresentative convenience samples.

A second myth is that most prostitutes are subjected routinely to violence and other kinds of abuse. This claim is not supported by research studies, which show considerable variation in the amount and type of victimization experienced by different kinds of sex workers. Providers who work in brothels and massage parlors or as escorts and call girls are less likely to be abused by customers than are streetwalkers. Most customers do not act abusively; a small proportion are responsible for most of the violence against prostitutes (Monto 2004).

A third myth is that most sex workers were abused physically or sexually as children and the corollary notion that those childhood experiences explain why they ended up as prostitutes. Some prostitutes were abused as children, but that is not the case for most upscale sex workers. Some studies that compare matched samples of prostitutes and other women find no statistically significant difference in their experience of family abuse. Abuse may be one influence affecting some prostitutes’ decision to sell sex, but it is simplistic to argue that it is a major causal factor.

A fourth myth associates prostitution with the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Risk of exposure to venereal disease and AIDS varies considerably from nation to nation and city to city and by type of prostitution. HIV infection rates are highest among street prostitutes who inject drugs but very low among call girls and escorts and among women who work in legal brothels in Nevada, Australia, Holland, and elsewhere. Condom use is mandatory in those legal brothels.

Psychological and Health Issues An important distinction is that between street prostitution and indoor prostitution. Although street prostitution has received a great deal of attention, many prostitutes work indoors as call girls and escorts or in bars, brothels, and massage parlors. Street and indoor prostitutes differ in important ways. Compared with streetwalkers, indoor workers generally earn more money, work in safer conditions, are less economically exploited, and are less likely to be victimized by managers and customers (Weitzer 2005).

Consequently, indoor sex workers express greater job satisfaction than do their street-level counterparts. The stress and danger associated with the streets contribute to negative assessments of the work as well as psychological problems. Street workers are also more likely to use addictive drugs and are at higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases; many experience routine abuse from pimps. Indoor workers are much less vulnerable to those types of victimization. There is one important exception: Women who are recruited by force or fraud and trafficked to work in brothels are at high risk for exploitation and victimization.

Sex workers' psychological health is associated with a range of structural factors, including their education, motives for selling sex, control over working conditions, resources for protection, and client base. In the indoor sector call girls generally control their working conditions and express greater job satisfaction and have higher self-esteem than do workers in brothels and massage parlors (Weitzer 2005). Indoor workers tend to feel that their work has at least some positive effect on their lives or believe that they provide a valuable service. All the escorts in one study took "pride in their profession" and viewed themselves as "morally superior" to others: "They consider women who are not 'in the life' to be throwing away woman's major source of power and control [sexual capital], while they as prostitutes are using it to their own advantage as well as for the benefit of society" (Foltz 1979, p. 128). Similarly, half the brothel workers and call girls in an Australian study reported that their work was a "major source of satisfaction" in their lives, and seven of ten would "definitely choose" that work if they had it to do over again (Woodward et al. 2004, p. 39). Brothel and massage parlor employees have one advantage over call girls and escorts: They are at lower risk of customer violence (because of the establishment's safety precautions) than are workers who have no third-party protection.

This points to variation not only between different types of workers but also within each level. For instance, some massage parlors and brothels offer much better working conditions than others do, and they also differ in the degree to which workers have collegial versus competitive relations with each other. Street prostitution is stratified by race, gender, age, appearance, and locale, all of which shape workers' daily experiences and earnings. HIV infection rates vary markedly among street prostitutes, with the highest incidence among workers who inject drugs or smoke crack cocaine. Drug-addicted streetwalkers differ strikingly from nonaddicts in their willingness to engage in unsafe sexual practices and accept low prices.

Workers in different sectors of the sex trade thus experience different kinds of working conditions and

varying degrees of freedom, job satisfaction, victimization, and exploitation. The type of prostitution is so important that broad generalizations about prostitution should be avoided.

PUBLIC POLICIES

There are three main government policies toward prostitution. Under *criminalization* prostitution and related conduct, such as pimping, trafficking, and running a house of prostitution, are illegal. *Legalization* refers to some type of government regulation, including special taxes, mandatory health checks, registration or licensing, and stipulations on the locations in which prostitution is permitted. Under *decriminalization* prostitution is not subject to a criminal sanction, and under total decriminalization it is entirely free of legal regulation. Total decriminalization is rare throughout the world, whereas legalization exists in several nations. In the United States criminalization is the prevailing policy. Legal brothels exist only in the state of Nevada but are prohibited in the large cities of Las Vegas and Reno. In 1971 the Nevada state legislature passed a law giving rural counties the option of legalizing brothels, which already existed in many small towns in that state. In the early twenty-first century there are thirty-five legal brothels scattered throughout the state, with gross earnings of \$40 million per year (Hausbeck and Brents 2000).

According to the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports*, approximately eighty thousand persons are arrested in the United States for prostitution-related offenses each year in addition to an unknown number of arrests of customers. The penalties are modest, usually consisting of a fine or a few days in jail. Pimping is a felony subject to harsh punishment, but very few pimps are arrested.

As a general rule law enforcement focuses on street prostitution more than on indoor prostitution, though some cities target both. Gender bias prevails in the criminal justice system, which traditionally targeted sex workers exclusively. In most jurisdictions today arrests of prostitutes far exceed those of customers, and the customers who are prosecuted and convicted typically receive lower fines and are less likely to receive custodial sentences.

Some cities have begun to arrest customers in substantial numbers, though this remains an exception to the rule (Weitzer 1999). Customers are arrested after they have solicited an undercover female police officer posing as a prostitute. Several cities in the United States, Canada, and other countries have created "john schools" where arrested customers undergo a day of lectures on topics related to prostitution. The goal of this intervention program is to deter men from buying sex. Public shaming is another recent innovation. Several cities

publicize the identities of men who have been arrested for or convicted of soliciting a prostitute (Weitzer 1999). A substantial number of Americans want customers sanctioned by shaming: In a 1995 poll half the population favored a policy of displaying in the media the names and photographs of men convicted of soliciting a prostitute.

Americans are less tolerant of prostitution than are citizens in several other Western countries. In a 1991 Gallup poll 40 percent of Americans said that prostitution should be “legal and regulated by the government,” but a sizable majority in Great Britain, Canada, France, and Portugal favored legalization. In some other Western nations certain types of prostitution are legal; examples include Australia, Germany, the Netherlands, and New Zealand.

THE INTERNET

The advent of the Internet has had major implications for the sex industry and for government efforts to control that industry. Previously, the quest for commercial sex was an isolated individual affair and customers rarely communicated with others about their activities and experiences. The Internet offers unprecedented opportunities for both clients and sex workers. Providers can advertise online, chat with prospective customers, and set up appointments. Several major websites contain message boards that offer a great deal of information from customers: what to expect in terms of prices and services; “reviews” of a worker’s appearance, demeanor, and performance; the location of specific kinds of workers (e.g., which massage parlors have Asian workers); and warnings about recent police activity against a particular agency or parlor. Many cyberexchanges also include pointers on appropriate treatment of sex workers, an emergent code of ethics regarding the purchase of sexual services. These sites are a window into the reasons why men buy sex, what it means to them to do so, and how they view commercial sex more generally. At the same time the police in some cities periodically review those sites for the purpose of making arrests of sex workers who advertise or chat there. Thus, although the Internet has created space for the emergence of a new virtual sex trade community, it also has widened the population of individuals subject to surveillance and arrest by the authorities.

SEE ALSO *Gigolo*.

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Ronald Weitzer

PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism derives from the Reformation, which began as a Catholic reform movement in western continental Europe in the sixteenth century and eventually led to the separation of Lutheran and Calvinist denominational churches from the Catholic Church. In addition numerous independent Protestant movements, such as the Anabaptists and the Hutterites at the time of the Reformation, and the Herrnhutters of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) and the Methodists of John Wesley (1703–1791) in the eighteenth century, have grown up outside the original (and continuing) Lutheran and Calvinist denominations of Protestant orthodoxy. From the eighteenth century on there were repeated evangelical revivals, some of which faded away and others eventually leading to the formation of new denominations, most notably the Wesleyan Methodists.

OVERVIEW OF GENDER ISSUES IN PROTESTANT HISTORY

The Reformation was male-led and focused on issues of church order; reformers did not set out to address gender issues. The Protestant leadership and the ministry of mainstream Protestant denominations remained in the hands of men. The Reformation, however, led to a Protestant reordering of aspects of gender relations within pre-Reformation Catholic institutions. Before his break with

the Catholic Church, Martin Luther (1483–1546) was an Augustinian monk, ordained as a priest, and therefore living a celibate life. The reformers advocated that ministers be married and favored the abolition of religious orders. Luther himself married a former nun. The alternative to marriage offered by entry to a religious order was henceforth denied to Protestant women. Although the role of the married woman was considered worthy of respect, the Protestant woman was expected to be subordinate to the headship of her husband. The Protestant emphasis on the authority of the Bible led to male headship being underwritten by scriptural warrant arising from dominant readings of key texts, notably the accounts of the Creation and Fall in the (Old Testament) book of Genesis and of the household codes in the (New Testament) letter of Timothy.

There is some evidence of a greater scope for women in movements such as the Anabaptists of the radical Reformation, and in some subsequent evangelical revivals. Women preachers played a significant role in seventeenth-century English radicalism, but subsequently, in eighteenth-century conservative minds, became a symbol of upheaval and social instability. Women played an active and visible part in the early stages of the Methodist revival, but this was discouraged by the male leadership in the early nineteenth century as Methodism became institutionalized as a denominational church: Respectable opinion was thus appeased.

By the nineteenth century leading evangelical women, such as the English religious writer Hannah More (1745–1833), simultaneously promoted women's spiritual equality with men and their social and sexual subordination. On this basis evangelical women street preachers were active in revivals throughout the nineteenth century, and this role was given its most formal expression in the women preachers of the Salvation Army and later the (Anglican) Church Army.

Middle-class evangelical women played a major part in nineteenth-century philanthropy—social reform and poor relief. Through this female civilizing mission in the predominantly Protestant countries of northern Europe and North America, women took up leading roles and were active in a variety of causes and campaigns. The evangelical social project at Kaiserwerth, Germany, provided a model that inspired similar activity elsewhere, including Florence Nightingale's (1820–1910) establishment of the profession of nursing in the United Kingdom and the founding of the Mildmay Mission in London. The Dutch Réveil movement was also significant. In the United Kingdom organizations such as the Raynard Bible women and nurses, Caroline Talbot's parochial missions, reestablished Anglican Deaconess orders, and the revived Anglican

religious sisterhoods all provided opportunities for women's involvement. Nevertheless, women's autonomy was generally curtailed by control remaining in the hands of male clergy.

The early twentieth century saw the rise of *church feminism*—a term coined by church historian Brian Heeney (1988)—in the Church of England manifest in reform movements for both women's suffrage and church reform. Maude Royden (1876–1956) was a leading figure in both. The Church League for Women's Suffrage was founded in 1909, with Free Church and Friends (Quaker) leagues being founded in the following year. The League of the Church Militant, founded in 1919—superseded in 1930 by the Society for the Ministry of Women in the Church and the Anglican Group for the Ordination of Women—was the first movement to campaign for the ordination of women in the Anglican Church. But the Church of England was deeply divided on the issue. By 1922 this question was also on the agenda of the Methodist Church.

In the Protestant Free Churches, women's ministries had developed by the early years of the twentieth century. Gertrude von Petzold (1876–1952) was a Unitarian minister in the years preceding World War I (1914–1919), Hatty Baker was a notable Congregationalist de facto minister, and in 1917 Constance Todd Coltman (1889–1969) became the first woman to be ordained into the Congregationalist ministry. The Methodist Church approved the ordination of women in 1966, largely because of the initiative of Pauline Webb in reopening the question. In the Anglican Communion moves toward women's ordination took place in a number of provinces—notably in the United States, Canada, and New Zealand—but, in the United Kingdom, the Christian Parity Group, and later the Movement for the Ordination of Women, campaigned for more than two decades against vocal opposition before women's ordination was finally granted assent in 1992.

In sum, nineteenth-century women made some progress by articulating and embodying a female civilizing mission in which women were perceived as bearers of superior spiritual values. This perception of women's specific qualities provided the rationale for women to be active beyond the confines of domesticity. Liberal twentieth-century movements challenged this view, claiming a place for women's agency that no longer relied on claims of women's distinct spiritual qualities. But conservative Protestant movements continue to advocate women's subordination to the headship of men, grounded in an assertion of God-made irreducible gender distinctions between men and women, as bearers of assumed inherent masculine and feminine traits.

Sexual practices and beliefs concerning sexuality are key within these contested views of gender. The nineteenth-century English reformer Josephine Butler (1828–1906), who campaigned against the state regulation of prostitution, criticized the double sexual standard that expected women to be chaste but allowed men the routine use of prostitutes. Her remedy for the plight of, in her view, the women victims of prostitution was to demand the same standards of chastity from men. By the mid-twentieth century, through the influence of sexology and psychoanalysis, an ethos of women as sexual partners within heterosexual relationships had been established, in contrast to the assumed asexuality of nineteenth-century constructions of womanhood. The articulation of homosexual gay and lesbian identity over the same period found expression in the formation of the Gay Christian Movement, with joint Protestant and Catholic membership, during a Student Christian Movement conference in 1976—in 1986 becoming the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement. Thus, the assertions of an active female heterosexuality and of lesbian and gay identities emerged simultaneously. Conservative Protestant congregations and sects resist both developments, advocating the continuing control of female sexuality within patriarchal marriage alone.

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

Starting in the seventeenth century Protestant Christianity spread to North America through European migration, and in the nineteenth century it began moving into Africa and Asia through missionary activity from European and North American churches. *Home* churches raised funds to support foreign missions, with women playing a significant role in this fund-raising activity. Women also served as missionaries alongside men. Whereas married women tended to work under the authority of their husbands, the geographical remoteness of many mission stations meant that single women frequently had a greater scope for initiative and self-reliance than women of similar backgrounds who remained at home. Among returning missionaries were those who brought these qualities to early twentieth-century church feminism. Figures cited by Sean Gill (1994) show that in 1909, 824 out of 1,390 Church Missionary Society (evangelical) missionaries were women, 438 of these being single, whereas the (liberal) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1900 had only 186 women missionaries. Despite this contrast the missionary societies portrayed women's work in foreign missions as a call to submissive service, as an antidote, rather than a response, to the growing *first-wave* women's movement, and thus as an expression of traditional gender roles.

Given the assumed superiority of European and North American culture, missionaries sought to impose

nineteenth-century gender roles from European or North American societies on indigenous contact cultures. Thus, writing of American missions to the Zulus, Amanda Porterfield (1997) argues that “issues concerning women were central to encounters between missionaries and traditionalists” and that “[t]he Americans regarded the treatment of women in Zulu society as the epitome of heathenism, and held up missionary women, marriage, and family life as the epitome of Christianity” (p. 71). This judgment showed a woeful failure in understanding Zulu culture, which ignored the importance of women in Zulu society and eventually undermined traditionally sanctioned opportunities for their protection, wealth, and status.

This pattern of disruption to traditional patterns of gender relations was widespread in the mission field, with Christian schooling creating gender dichotomies based on a European and North American model. Thus, Misty L. Bastian (2000) cites a Church Missionary Society missionary to Nigeria, the Reverend J. C. R. Wilson, writing in 1909, who shows a readiness to judge an African culture by European and North American standards:

When African children of both sexes roam about at will indoors and out-of-doors without clothing of any kind, until in some cases 18 years of age, & when Christian mothers allow the same unclothed condition to prevail among their own young ones, the innocence of infancy is lost at birth, & how is it possible for the young people to be either pure in thought or chaste in deed? When the older girls and women are unclothed to the waist, & when even among Christian mothers an upper covering is considered a “fad,” rather than an act of decency, is it to be wondered at that the young men fall an easy prey to the enticements of the girls? The African Christian woman has yet to learn her responsibility in this direction, & we trust that the Missions to Women held during the year in this District and elsewhere . . . may lead women to see their duty in this matter of Social Purity

(Bastian 2000, p. 145).

A gendered separatist schooling scheme aimed to prepare male converts for work in the mission field, whereas, as Bastian puts it, “girls were trained in the doctrines of the Christian faith, to become ‘helpmeets’ for their Christian male contemporaries and proper mothers of the next Christian . . . generation” (Bastian 2000, p. 145). This Christianized domesticity mirrored that of European and North American middle-class women of the time, and thus created a gulf between the monogamous model Christian home of the missionized



World Council of Christian Churches. A view of the first business meeting of the World Council of Christian Churches (WCC) in the Concertgebouw Hall in Amsterdam, Aug. 23, 1948. AP IMAGES.

and the traditional gender roles of the unconverted. The staffing of girls' schools by women missionaries and the need for married missionaries to model the gender relations of the required Christian home generated the demand for women to serve in the mission field alongside men. Further, boys educated at mission schools were regularly recruited as the next generation of teachers, whereas girls left school to be married; thus women missionaries continued to be needed to staff the girls' schools. Kathleen Sheldon (1998) offers an analysis of minority Swiss Presbyterian and American United Methodist Church missions alongside Catholic missions in Portuguese colonial Mozambique. She describes identical patterns of subsequent generations of women missionaries in mission schools training girls for their domestic role as Christian wives in this contrasting cultural and mission context.

The International Missionary Council played a major role in the creation of the ecumenical movement, which was institutionalized in the founding of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948. As the mission churches moved toward indigenous leadership, the WCC provided a forum for global theological debate and cooperation.

FEMINIST THEOLOGY

With the advent of the *second-wave* women's movement in North America, feminist theology emerged. Although the first feminist theologians were mainly Catholic—notably Mary Daly, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza—the questions they raised pertained to the patriarchal nature of Christianity as a whole, and Protestants, such as Letty M. Russell and Carter Heyward, were quick to respond; Heyward is among those who raise

lesbian voices within feminist theology. Simultaneously, the WCC provided a forum for women in the European and North American churches and for Latin American, African, and Asian Christian women to articulate their concerns. The Community of Women and Men in the Church consultation (1977–1981) and the Ecumenical Decade of the Churches in Solidarity with Women (1988–1998) provided a focus on gender issues.

Feminist theology quickly became, Kwok Pui-Lan stated in a 2002 work, an *intercultural discourse*. In the light of feminist theology, Mercy Amba Oduyoye, the leading African theologian, suggests that women's approach to mission is characterized by mutuality, partnership, interdependence, and solidarity. A challenge to the gender roles imparted by the missionary societies is underway. In addition, women theologians have become active in the Women's Association of the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT), originally founded in 1976 by male theologians mostly from the global south. Writings emerging from EATWOT conferences have been collected in the texts *With Passion and Compassion: Third World Women Doing Theology* (1988), edited by Virginia Fabella and Oduyoye, and *Through Her Eyes: Women's Theology from Latin America* (1989), edited by Elsa Tamez. The Women's Desk of the Christian Conference of Asia also provides a significant forum for Asian Christian women.

Feminist theology from Latin America, Africa, and Asia shares with European and North American feminist theologians a commitment to the struggle for gender justice. Distinct contextual concerns with class struggle (Latin America), indigenization (Africa), and religious pluralism and interfaith dialogue (Asia) are also evident. Oduyoye founded the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians in 1989, which by 2007 had 600 members across the continent and had done much to raise the profile of women within African Christianity. The Korean theologian Chung Hyun Kyung caused a stir at the 1991 WCC Assembly in Canberra, Australia, with a performative plenary address that interpreted the Holy Spirit in terms of Kwan Yin, an East Asian goddess of wisdom and compassion.

Protestant congregations are spread on a wide spectrum. At one end are those inclusive congregations that welcome the ministry of women and a partnership between women and men in the leadership and life of the church; have embraced inclusive liturgical language; are open to all, irrespective of sexual orientation or practice; and are informed by feminist and queer perspectives in the preaching of the Word. At the other end of the spectrum are those who maintain fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible and seek to retain male headship and the subordination of women within traditional

gender roles, rejecting homosexual practice as perverse and sinful. This division exists across the globe: Both elements are to be found among congregations in the global north and those in the south. In the early twenty-first century the Anglican Communion was on the verge of schism over sexuality and gender: The burning questions were whether heterosexuality is compulsory in the church and whether women may be ordained as bishops.

SEE ALSO *Christianity, Reformation to Modern; Fundamentalism; Witchcraft.*

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Jenny Dagers

PSYCHIATRY

Sigmund Freud introduced psychoanalysis into the United States in 1909 through his lectures at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. By the 1940s, psychoanalysis and its proponents were having a powerful, controversial impact on American psychiatry. "Dynamic" therapies, such as psychoanalysis, focused on changing patients' motivations rather than on altering their cognitions or behavior. By the 1940s, dynamic therapies were prestigious and were greatly enhanced by the emigration to the United States of prominent German psychoanalysts fleeing Hitler. Dynamic therapies were treatments of choice for those who could afford them, but early on the medical tie between psychoanalysis and psychiatry was determined by James Jackson Putnam (1846–1918), the founder of psychoanalysis in the United States. Putnam was in disagreement with Freud over the necessity that psychoanalysis have a medical base. Although psychiatry emerged as a branch medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Western world, the United States remains the only country in the world to require medical training for the practice of psychoanalysis—in countries other than the United States, one can be a psychoanalyst without medical training, without being a psychiatrist. Although the beginnings of psychosomatic medicine are attributed to the German physician Johann

Christian August Heinroth (1773–1843) in 1818, its roots in America were distinctly psychoanalytic and psychodynamic (Scully, et al 2000, p. 136).

One of the first tasks given to psychiatry was to classify mental disorders. Psychiatry began to be applied to those living outside institutions, as well as to those in hospitals, workhouses, and sanitariums. In Great Britain, psychiatry applied specifically to medicine, while in its earliest manifestations in North America it covered the work of other mental health professionals such as clinical psychologists and social workers.

Psychiatry developed in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States as a practice characterized by the use of electroshock treatments and frontal lobotomies for those people kept in mental hospitals. Only in the 1940s and 1950s would antipsychotic drugs such as Thorazine begin to be used in treatment of the severely mentally ill. Indeed, in the decades since, psychiatry has evolved as a pharmacological and biological set of treatments for distressed individuals. Even in the twenty-first century, psychiatrists still use electroconvulsive therapy as a last resort for those in extreme distress. The basis for deciding what treatment to pursue followed the social and historical contingencies of science. As a science, psychiatry privileged the most immediately effective treatment methods, comparing a patient's behavior before and after treatment. Women in particular were treated by surgeries in which their ovaries or breasts were removed to cure "neurotic" diseases. It was thought that such surgical treatments could cure patients via the sympathetic arc syndrome (Shorter 1992).

The history of psychiatry's development is, however, often difficult to trace. Elliot Valenstein's *Great and Desperate Cures* is perhaps the most extensive publicized account of twentieth century biological therapies. Indeed, the early sparse history of psychiatry is told more through medical records than through literature on the subject. To quote Michel Foucault, "The new methods of power [were] not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control" (1979, p. 9). Hydrotherapy, electroshock therapy, and lobotomy were all practices approved by contemporary science. So disturbing were the treatments of the early twentieth century that the 1960s and 1970s saw the beginning of antipsychiatric movements.

"Psychiatric Education after World War II" cites the power and omnipresence in clinical practice of psychoanalysis up through the 1950s (Scully et al. 2000). In 1951, a conference was held at Cornell University to focus on the role of psychiatry in medical education. While the medical knowledge required was neuroanatomy, neuropsychology, and neuropathology, the "new" science of psychiatry was based on psychodynamics. The

thrust was to correctly diagnose patients, to differentiate between normal, neurotic, psychopathic, psychotic, and intellectually defective behavior (Scully et al 2000). Since World War II, a great number of changes have occurred in psychiatry. There has been a great effort to increase the number of psychiatric training programs focusing on neuroanatomy and neuropathology. Still, psychoanalytic theory and practice were seen as the highest goal to be obtained. Most departmental heads of psychiatry departments remained psychoanalysts.

By the late 1970s, however, a reaction against psychoanalysis occurred. Schisms developed in departments between those oriented toward brain and those oriented toward mind. The 1990s were marked by the increased use of medical treatments for mental illness; mental asylums and hospitals themselves were largely abolished in the 1960s and 1970s due to cost efficiency concerns (Ragland-Sullivan 1989). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, many of the severely mentally ill end up in the prison system.

In the 1990s the role of the psychiatrist became less clear so far as managed care programs took over much of the practice previously overseen by psychiatrists. Managed care chose the psychiatrist to be used and specified only a few sessions that would be paid for. Indeed, medical insurance tended to cover only care by psychiatrists—not psychologists or social workers—and only for short-term treatment. Although psychoanalysis always tried to close the gap between psyche and soma (mind and body), the swing of the pendulum toward psychiatry as a specialty differentiated it from the rest of medicine and constantly risked obscuring its foundation, psychoanalysis (Ragland-Sullivan 1988).

The contemporary orientation of psychiatry derived from World War II, the effect of which was to bring medicine and psychiatry ever closer (Lipsett 2000). Indeed, one cannot study psychiatry as practiced in the United States in the twenty-first century without reference to its key manual, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. The disorders listed in the manual have become reality paradigms and inform medical and pharmaceutical recommendations for cure. Yet, cure does not seem to be the goal of the *DSM* system, but rather continued maintenance of stable behavior via medication. Insofar as the *DSM*, like the empirical scientific method on which it relies, opposes variables of behavior (its positive data) to a control (some concept of a correct or normal reality to attain), it is far from psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's (1901–1981) theory that scientific proof itself depends upon the function of exceptionality as structurally necessary to explain a phenomenon after the fact (Ragland 2007). Although psychiatry from its beginnings argued that mental disease was an illness of the nerves (Shorter 1992), Freud's revolutionary find rested on the discovery that symptoms of psychic suffering

could be made to disappear, or transform themselves into “better” symptoms, upon treatment by talking.

The history of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* as created by the American Psychiatric Association reflects the practice of psychiatry itself. The manuals started as a census-taking venture in search of families whose military members could not be found, but to whom compensation was owed. The *DSM* evolved slowly as a manual that listed “disorders,” defined in relation to no particular theory. Rather, the first three manuals were eclectic, even apologetically so. Freudian diagnostic categories, such as obsession and hysteria, remained intact in the first three manuals, alongside object relations theories and various kinds of psychotherapies. But with the *DSM-III-R* (1987), the manual became more aggressive and began to call the myriad disorders cited as themselves the “disease” at issue. The *DSM* goes from the paralysis cited as characteristic of hysterics in the nineteenth century to the “chronic fatigue syndrome” of contemporary medicine (Shorter 1992).

Changing his depiction of psychiatry in *Blaming the Brain: The Truth about Drugs and Mental Health* (1998), Valenstein says that the *DSM-II* and the World Health Organization's *International Classification of Diseases*, eighth edition (*ICD-8*) “were both published in 1968, but it wasn't long before these manuals were widely criticized. The criteria were found to be ambiguous, and several studies made it clear that diagnostic labels were often being used arbitrarily. The criteria for diagnosing schizophrenia, for example, varied between institutions and between countries” (1998, p. 157).

The *ICD-10* manual was published in 1992, and the *DSM-IV* manual in 1994. Valenstein goes on to say that:

All of the diagnostic and statistical manuals have been atheoretical and basically descriptive in nature. The authors were frank to admit that the cause of mental disorders, except for those involving obvious brain damage, were not known... The large group of specialized consultants working on the later *DSM* editions split different symptoms into distinct disorders, which often simply reflected the specialized interests of the consultants, rather than any compelling scientific rationale.”

(1998, p. 158)

In the *DSM*, paradigms of disorders to be treated by psychiatry have become medical and pharmaceutical descriptions of behaviors, without addressing the meaning of the symptoms. The point of the medical method of treatment does not, indeed, focus on cure, but on controlling disorders rather than treating their causes. For example, the *DSM* describes pedophilia as involving sexual activity with a prepubescent child, generally thirteen years or younger. The pedophile will be sixteen years

or older and at least five years older than the child. There are exclusive types of pedophiles who are attracted to only one type of child. The nonexclusive type can sometimes be attracted to adults. They believe that the child derives sexual pleasure from them, or that the child is sexually provocative to them. These themes are popular in their pornography as well. Children may be in their own family or outside it. Except for those engaged in sadism, pedophiles usually care about the child's needs to assure his or her affection. This *DSM* description is, then, reduced to diagnostic criteria that merely restate the description given, but in an outline form (*DSM-IV*, pp. 527–528). The *DSM IV-TR* does reference fantasies.

The *DSM* discusses female sexual arousal disorder in two pages, describing it in relation to its onset—lifelong versus acquired. This disorder is, in brief, “a persistent or recurrent inability to attain, or to maintain until completion of the sexual activity, an adequate lubrication-swelling response of sexual excitement.” It is not only a medical condition, but an interpersonal dysfunction (*DSM-IV*, p. 500). Hysteria, which was treated in long sections in earlier manuals, has become in the *DSM-IV* three pages analyzing histrionic personality disorder, which is crossed diagnostically with borderline, antisocial, narcissistic, and dependent personality disorders (pp. 655–658).

Because these categories of disorder are not treated as symptoms, the *DSM* implies that no meaning causes a given disorder, and, thus, cannot be found in order to unravel the symptom and the suffering caused by it. Psychiatry, thus, increasingly treats and allays symptoms, instead of addressing their causes. To speak of a symptom as a psychoanalyst instead of a psychiatrist implies that meaning functions via displacement and substitution.

Lacan, a medical doctor and psychiatrist who practiced psychoanalysis, criticizes the logical positivism lying at the base of *DSM* concepts of disorder. Logical positivism seeks to elaborate and classify knowledge based on positive facts available to the conscious mind and observable in behavior. Gone is the unconscious or unconscious desire as the cause of a symptom that might be unraveled through the language and identifications that produced the symptom in the first place, thus alienating a person in language and by the separations or cuts that make humans lacking, less than whole. Insofar as logical positivism lies at the base of conscious knowledge and of the practice of psychiatry, it provides an inadequate framework for qualifying or quantifying mental health or any other attribution of meaning whose proof lies outside the obvious.

Insofar as suffering from sexuality lies at the traumatic base of human suffering—itself a difficult thing to assume for anyone—one will not be enlightened by the *DSM*, which describes “mental disorder”: “no definition

adequately specifies precise boundaries for the concept ‘mental disorder. . . nevertheless, it is useful to present a definition of mental disorder that has influenced the decision to include certain conditions . . . as mental disorders and to exclude others’” (*DSM-IV*, p. xxii). Each mental disorder is, then, described as a “clinically significant behavioral or psychological syndrome or pattern . . . associated with present distress . . . or disability. . . There is no assumption that each mental disorder is a discrete entity with sharp boundaries (discontinuities) between it and other mental disorders, or between it and no mental disorder” (p. xxii).

Not all psychiatrists have been happy with these new medicalized guidelines of the *DSM* system. Indeed, Don R. Lipsett argues in “Psyche and Soma: Struggles to Close the Gap,” that the respect for the individualistic nature of each patient is abandoned “for the sake of *not merely rapprochement with medicine, but perhaps even absorption into medicine*” (2000, pp. 179–180). Further, Lipsett argues that although the efforts of many neuroscientists and psychopharmacologists have shed much light on the multiplicity of ways in which the brain functions and potentially connects with the mind, we are reminded that any conceptualizing that veers too much toward the brain runs the risk of evolving into a “mindless” psychiatry.

The authors of the *DSM-III* declare that their language does not classify persons, only disorders. By changing the language of the *DSM-III*, which still used adjectives such as “schizophrenic,” the *DSM-III-R* describes, rather, “a person with schizophrenia.” The authors have subterraneously shifted the theoretical bias of the 1980 *Manual*, which still equated a person with his or her kind of suffering, to delineate the person as separate from that which causes his or her suffering. In the earlier formulation, the person is not a suffering being, but is a disorder. In this change of language from that used in the 1980 *DSM-III*, the American Psychiatric Association has changed the assumptions about symptoms by gradually exchanging the concept of “mental disorder” for a concept of physical disorder.

Although psychiatry has become increasingly concerned with gender, including the treatment of homosexuals and lesbians as nonpathological orientations to sexuality, there is no mention of homosexuality or heterosexuality in the *DSM-IV*, although it mentions gender disorder and lists several medical dysfunctions under “sexual dysfunctions.”

The medically based American Psychiatric Association has imputed a largely biological set of causalities to psychological symptoms. This reflects the American Psychiatric Association's long and gradual swing towards more biological, empirical, and medicalized disorder categories. For example, in 1918 the *Statistical Manual for the Use of Institutions for the Insane* had twenty-two categories of

disorders, twenty of them disorders with organic causes. Because nomenclatures used in 1918 no longer applied to the patients being seen who were not veterans, the American Psychiatric Association came up with its new system of nomenclature in *DSM-I*, published in 1952. Many psychiatrists regard the *DSM* as a great advance over the early statistical manual, especially in so far as the word *organic* is not used. Ensuing editions of the *DSM* continued to revise categories and nomenclature, a revision process that has been conservative and driven by empirical research. Removing categories was shunned in favor of adding categories. The issue of what might constitute a category is as large as the question of what *empirical* itself means.

This version of American psychiatry is a world apart from Lacanian psychiatry, wherein psychoanalysis works with the subject as desiring, as *lacking* at the point of desire that first alienated him into the language of the Other, and separated him from partial Ur-objects-cause-of-desire. Here desire is the inverse face of a lack-in-being because the first social desire is to please the other; desire is not only structurally based on lack, but is also creative of alienation into someone else's desire. Lacan's challenge to the *DSM* system is radical and total. He argues that trauma lies in assuming an alienated identity in the first place, one in which the taking on of identity as sexuated is at stake. He argues that the *cause* of dis-order is the cause of suffering itself, which comes from an alienated desire that we take on as our own unconscious language, unconscious language being concrete language that functions as the major tropes of language—metaphor (substitution) and metonymy (displacement). Not only do we suffer from living out someone else's desire, we suffer from the losses that form the subject as itself divided between being and having, between unconscious knowledge and conscious perceptions. The differential categories Lacan evolves are a return to Freud, albeit a radical rereading of Freud. The *DSM-III* claims that "for most of the . . . disorders . . . the etiology is unknown. Many theories have been advanced and buttressed by evidence . . . attempting to explain how these disorders come about. The approach taken in the *DSM-III-R* is atheoretical," say the authors (*DSM-III-R*, p. xxiii).

Instead of seeing categories of disorders as listed in the *DSM*, Lacan taught that the taking on of sexuality as identity involves a trauma regarding being divided from the mother, who is the first Other to both sexes. In learning difference one from the other, each boy and girl is "castrated" or found lacking in terms of being a whole self. This search for completion is a structure that compels humans to search and suffer throughout their lives. This is directly opposite from the *DSM's* lack of a theory of cause. Depending on how one takes on sexual difference, the Lacanian clinic posits four differential categories: the normative masquerade, the psychoses (para-

noia, schizophrenia, manic-depression), the perversions (sadism and masochism), and the neuroses (hysteria and obsession). Each one is tallied by an individual's response to sexual difference that is not gender based, but based on an interpretation of a given masculine or feminine that marks their experience with the lack of being whole. The normative person represses the sexual difference; the neurotic denies it; the perverse subject repudiates it; the psychotic forecloses it. Given these broad categories, each subject, then, goes his or her own very particular way in living out his or her sexuation. The order of the particular is Lacan's fourth category of knowledge, the other three being the real (trauma and sexuality), the symbolic (language and culture), and the imaginary (identifications and narcissism). The fourth is the symptom or *sinthome*. This order is that of the Oedipal paternal metaphor, rewritten since Freud, to include one's interpretation of the mother's unconscious desire vis-à-vis the Father's name signifier, which is a *function* that acts as a third term in separating the early mother-infant symbiosis, not a person per se. Thus, cognitive or undifferentiated somataform disorders are not at issue, but the unconscious formations of an Ideal ego, of a fundamental fantasy, of loss at the start of being, of desire as interfaced with lack. And sexuality and sexuation lie at the center of being, not some disembodied disorder that is not even labeled as a symptom.

SEE ALSO *Eating Disorders*; *Krafft-Ebing, Richard*; *Lacan, Jacques*; *Pedophilia*; *Psychoanalysis*.

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Ellie Ragland

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis is both a theory of the psyche and a method of treating psychological disorders. The word *psyche*, a term borrowed from the Greek *psyche*, meaning soul, refers to the human mind. Most psychoanalytic theories understand the mind as a dynamic, organized system that connects to the entire body. The psyche is a complex, multilayered apparatus that operates according to certain processes that react to and reflect an individual's

experiences and environment. The psyche is often envisioned as a space with layers, one of which—the unconscious—an individual cannot directly know. The techniques of psychoanalysis are designed to reveal the contents and operations of the unconscious, many of them sexual, to cure physical and nervous symptoms that have no physical cause.

The basic premise of psychoanalysis is that certain mental conditions are the effects of the mind repressing memories, experiences, sexual wishes and desires, and traumatic events. When such material is repressed—or kept away from consciousness as if it had never happened—the mind finds other ways to express and react to such material. These other ways constitute *symptoms*, which represent indirect, often symbolic or metaphorical, responses to the repressed material. The goal of psychoanalysis is to stop such symptoms by tracing and revealing the repressed material that such symptoms express. The theory is that when repressed material is brought to light, the symptoms by which it is otherwise expressed will stop.

Psychoanalysis also conceives of the mind as having multiple layers, some of which are conscious and accessible and others of which are not. It also assumes that the body often reflects through symptoms what the mind hides from itself, that the layers of the mind and the body work together in certain predictable ways, and that experiences and traumas will partially contribute to shape an individual's psyche. Concepts of how the layers of the mind work together are often mechanistic and dynamic, but they also interact with and are formed by relationships and events from the outside world, such as the family, encounters with other people, and traumas.

Methods for discerning and understanding the unconscious have included mesmerism; hypnosis; categorizing hysterical states as revealed by the body; listening to and analyzing what a patient says (the *talking cure*); analyzing dreams, slips of the tongue, and other manifestations of the unconscious; and analyzing stories and case histories of psychotic behavior. Psychoanalysis began as an offshoot of medical practice, but it operates in the early twenty-first century more as an aspect of psychological treatment as opposed to medical interventions made by psychiatrists, which often include the use of drugs.

PSYCHOANALYSIS BEFORE FREUD

Although Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) is probably the most famous as well as the most influential psychoanalyst, psychoanalysis as known in the early twenty-first century started a century before Freud began his work. In the late eighteenth century, Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), a Viennese medical doctor, believed that individuals had

what he called *animal magnetism*, which was quite literally a magnetic fluid in the body. If the fluid became disorganized, individuals suffered symptoms that could be cured by using magnets or the *laying on* of the physician's hands to realign the magnetic elements of the fluid. Mesmer believed that for healing to occur, patients needed to have an intense rapport with the doctor, who, by stimulating crises in a patient, could understand and control the symptoms.

Mesmerism seems a far cry from the more sophisticated theories of psychoanalysis, but Mesmer's ideas opened up a field of inquiry in which the mind and body are linked and disorders are treated through the relationship between doctor and patient. Two French physicians, neurologists Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) and Pierre Janet (1859–1947), continued to develop modes of defining and analyzing patients with physical symptoms that seemed to have no physical cause. Having been assigned to the Salpêtrière, an old Paris hospital crowded with impoverished patients—many of them prostitutes and women afflicted with *hysteria*, or various uncontrollable symptoms thought to be caused by a wandering *womb*—Charcot began working to categorize his patients' maladies. He determined that the illnesses of some of the patients were mental rather than physical, and he used hypnosis to alleviate symptoms. Charcot also took photographs of female patients with hysteria to demonstrate what he thought were definitive stages of the disease. Janet, who followed Charcot at the Salpêtrière, further developed modes of analyzing patients, providing empirical proof of the existence of the unconscious, and beginning to theorize that hysteria and other conditions were effects of the flow of psychic energies. The idea of the psyche as a system that worked around the disposition of energy provided the basis for Freud's ideas about repression, symptoms, and the treatment of psychical disorders.

FREUD'S THEORIES

Freud, who began as a neurologist and studied with Charcot in Paris, offered what became the most far-reaching and influential model of psychic functioning. Beginning his studies with hysterical female patients, Freud developed a talking cure, in which patients talked to him, narrating dreams, feelings, and experiences. By listening to and analyzing how a patient related thoughts and feelings, the analyst could deduce what the repressed material was that produced symptoms. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), Freud suggested that dreams represent not only the expression of unconscious thoughts but also wish fulfillment, and that dream expressions follow specific rules—a dream grammar—which also indicates the general ways the unconscious itself works. According to Freud material in dreams is often condensed; that is, figures and events are

combined in a composite figure. Or they are displaced—that is, they are expressed through material typically associated with other material in the unconscious. By tracing these logics back from the dream material, the analyst could discern the basis for the dream.

Freud believed that sexual impulses and desires constitute much unconscious and repressed material, including both the idea that children have sexual feelings and that their relations with others are formed through desire and prohibitions enforced in the family. The Oedipus complex results from the father's prohibition of the son's desire for his mother. The prohibition takes the form of a threat of castration. Freud believed that many of his hysterical adult female patients were reacting to an early seduction by adults, a theory he later altered by suggesting that fantasies of such seduction might function in a similar fashion.

Freud also developed a theory of mental functioning that worked around desire, the libido (or sexual energy), and the alleviation of excitement. Believing that the psyche seeks levels of lowest excitement, Freud saw mental functioning as an effort to balance and discharge the various excitements that occur in the course of living. The psyche also works as the interrelation of different functions such as the ego, which is formed in relation to others, as a defense against prohibitions, and as a sense of agency for the individual. For Freud most people are neurotic, which means their behaviors in some way constitute a symbolic expression of early childhood psychical conflicts.

OTHER THEORISTS AND FOLLOWING FIGURES

Freud's work was joined by a burgeoning number of analysts, including Alfred Adler (1870–1937), who developed an *individual psychology*, a radically different set of assumptions that derive from the individual's relation to the community. Adler's thought developed in contradistinction to that of Freud. Although Adler agreed that infantile experience is important to individual development, he thought that psychology is derived from two opposing drives: the desire for community and belonging and a desire for individual superiority. Adler's emphasis on interpersonal relationship would form the basis of a psychoanalysis based on the analysis of the effects of those relationships. This mode of analysis, which de-emphasized the sexual in favor of the relational, was later known as object relations analysis. Its practitioners included Harry Stack Sullivan (1892–1949), Karen Horney (1885–1952), Erik Erikson (1902–1994), and Erich Fromm (1900–1980).

At the same time, another acquaintance of Freud's, Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961), developed his own

complex system of psychoanalysis. Called analytic psychoanalysis, Jung's theory set out the ideas of psychic totality and energism as the basis for the organization of the psyche. He invented the concepts of introverted and extroverted personality types. For Jung the unconscious had two aspects: a personal dimension and a dimension comprised of archetypes derived from a *collective* unconscious. The goal of Jungian psychoanalysis was wholeness composed of a harmony between an individual's consciousness and the two aspects of the unconscious. Because of Jung's insistence on the collective character of the unconscious and his rejection of sexual trauma as the basis for mental disease, he and Freud parted ways.

Followers of Freud and Adler continued to develop the precepts of psychoanalysis, some such as Otto Rank (1884–1939) and Anna Freud (1895–1982) working through Freudian ideas, and others such as Melanie Klein (1882–1960) and D. W. Winnicott (1896–1971) developing Adler's insights about the importance of an infant's early relations with other people. Rank worked closely with Sigmund Freud but focused on early infancy, including birth trauma. Rank explored the various cultural manifestations of what he dubbed the *pre-Oedipal*, or the period of separation before the Oedipus complex. He differed from Freud in that Freud believed all neuroses derived from the Oedipus complex.

Freud's youngest daughter, Anna Freud, focused on a study of the ego as it struggles to navigate through desires, conflicts, and the necessities of living, forming defense mechanisms. She concentrated her studies on the psychology of children, developing techniques for treating them, and showing that children manifest similar personality traits and disorders as adults. Child psychology was also the field of Klein, an object relations analyst who adapted Freud's idea that life is governed by the opposing dynamics of the desire to live and the desire to stop living.

Object relations psychoanalysis continued to evolve with the work of Winnicott, a British psychoanalyst who further developed Klein's theories. Focusing on the idea that the psyche is formed in its relations with other people, particularly the mother, Winnicott theorized that a mother who functions as a *good enough mother* must allow the infant to use her to gain a sense of its own omnipotence. This *holding environment* enables the infant to become autonomous. Infants without good enough mothers develop frustrations and *false self* disorders. Like Adler, Winnicott de-emphasizes the sexual in favor of the relational.

Winnicott's work anticipates Heinz Kohut's (1913–1981) later formulations of *self psychology*, which emphasize *self states*, such as one's sense of worth. Kohut thought that to combat the emotional costs of others'

negative judgments, individuals continue to need positive and nurturing relationships throughout life.

THE THEORIES OF JACQUES LACAN

Perhaps the most influential of Freud's followers, however, was Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), a French psychiatrist who took up Freud's ideas. Working with psychotic patients, Lacan reinterpreted Freud's work through the insights of philosophy and more contemporary theories of language. Lacan saw the individual as a flexive system that, inevitably suffering the trauma of separation from the fullness of its pre-Oedipal existence, develops language, desire, and drives as ways to fill in for the lack-in-being precipitated by the inevitable recognition that one is separate and alone. Lacan used the analogy of the insight of individual separateness gained by seeing oneself in a mirror to characterize the stage at which infants begin to understand that they, too, will become separate human beings.

Lacan theorized that individuals are formed in relation to how they process this separation or symbolic castration, part of which becomes the process by which individuals take on a sex. He showed that all individuals are formed by prohibitions deriving from the recognition that they are not whole. This lack produces desire, which is itself temporarily fulfilled by objects or people in the world. If individuals have not internalized this basic prohibition, they may become psychotic, which means that they know no limit. As did Freud, Lacan worked through a transference relationship between the analyst and the analysand (the person being analyzed) in which the analysand projects feelings about others onto the analyst and thereby works through the problems. Lacan also formulated such concepts as the *gaze*, or the sense individuals have of being seen, as well as the idea that all existence occurs through the knotted registers of the symbolic, or the realm of law, language, and rules; the imaginary, or the realm of images and representations; and the real, or the realm of unmediated material existence.

CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES

Psychoanalysis continues as a practice in the early twenty-first century, no longer necessarily attached to the medical practice of psychiatry. Different schools of analysis are practiced throughout the Europe and America, though one mode or another may dominate in specific places. While still practiced in the United States, psychoanalysis has increasingly given way to the psychiatric medical treatment of mental illness; by contrast, in Europe and South America, psychoanalysis is a more often practiced alternative to psychiatric care. Psychoanalysis has become an intrinsic part of literary

and cultural criticism, especially in the ways some psychoanalytic theories such as those of Freud, Lacan, and Jung emphasize the importance of literature, myth, and visual representations and provide a language by which critics can understand the operations of desire and sexuality.

SEE ALSO *Freud, Sigmund; Lacan, Jacques; Psychiatry.*

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Judith Roof

PUBERTY

This article addresses the social construction of puberty, or adolescence, and the role rituals and customs play in gender identity.

Puberty refers to the physiological, anatomical, and hormonal changes in sexual maturation. Puberty begins with menarche in girls and the first ejaculation in boys and marks the beginning of adolescence, a complex psychological and developmental process that spans the years roughly from eleven to twenty. Sexual maturation starts this process, but the process of puberty occurs in the context of a social life and is thus influenced by these forces: it is socially constructed. Peter Blos (1979) views adolescence as the *second individuation*. The first individuation is completed toward the end of the third year of life, with the development of self and object constancy. Both periods share the vulnerability of the personality, and there is also urgency for maturational progress. It is hoped that three transformations occur in adolescence: disengagement from the infantile ties to the parents, discovery of orgasm and sexual desire directed away from the parents, and primary identification with one of the parents as an adult. For heterosexuals the primary identification is with the same-sexed parent; for homosexuals the primary identification is with the opposite-sexed parent. These transformations begin with the onset of adolescence, which many writers agree is a recapitulation of infancy. Infantile sexuality, repressed during latency, is revived in adolescence with the reappearance of Oedipal con-

flicts: the threat of attraction to the opposite-sexed parent and the wish for the disappearance or death of the same-sexed parent.

Puberty is the result of the interplay between the individual experience of physiological changes and the cultural milieu in which the individual is developing. Just as nursery rhymes and fairy tales express the developmental needs of the preschool child, the popular European and North American culture of music, fashion, and movies serves as agent of expression for adolescents' age-specific conflicts, fantasies, and defenses. Children enter adolescence with the mandate to grow up, "an obligation that inspires ambivalence" (Rosenblum, Daniolos, Kass, et al 1999). Themes of loneliness and insecurity are evoked in popular music, fashion, and movies and serve roles for expressing and facilitating the transformation from adolescence to adulthood. One such musical example is: "I can't get no . . . satisfaction" (Jagger/Richards, 1964). In fashion magazines clothes project a distinct image of estrangement and preoccupation. And in movies different narratives express adolescent feelings, conflicts, and fantasies. The immensely popular *Harry Potter* series of books and movies is a story reflecting universal feelings that are part of adolescence: an orphaned child, mistreated by an aunt and uncle who resent him, escapes to a school of witchcraft and wizards, and becomes a wizard himself. This is both enjoyable escapist fantasy as well as a narrative for adapting, changing, and maturing.

The successful completion of adolescence results in new modes of dealing with the exigencies of life. Behavior, attitudes, interests, and relationships are more predictable and stable. Specifically, gender roles become established with some degree of comfort, less conflict, and more satisfaction. Family function and dysfunction, as well as cultural values and norms, interact with the adolescent's development of a sense of felt and expressed sexuality. A family and/or culture that facilitates the adolescent's challenges assists in a successful second individuation. A family and/or culture that inhibits the three transformational challenges of adolescence—the lessening of infantile ties, an acceptance and understanding of individual sexuality and gender, and a primary identification with a parent—will see adolescents who fail to grow up.

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PUBIC HAIR

SEE *Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

Michael Bieber

PUBIC AREA

SEE *Genitals, Female; Genitals, Male.*

PULP-FICTION (ROMANCE NOVEL) SEX

SEE *Media.*