

PAIDIKA

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BARA: OF DEATH, DESIRE AND DRUMSTICKS

Morris Fraser

Joseph Bara, boy–icon for several generations of French schoolchildren, was born just over two centuries ago and died suddenly and unpleasantly in 1793, shortly after his fourteenth birthday. Because of the circumstances of his death, Bara has since then been the subject of at least thirty statues, as well as of countless paintings, medallions, poems, songs, and monuments; schools have been named after him, and festivals and pageants have been staged in his honour. But he is probably best remembered because of an extraordinary painting by Jacques-Louis David (Fig. 1), a painting full of mystery and enigma—one that attracts considerable argument, debate, and analysis even today, almost exactly two hundred years after its completion.



Fig. 1. Jacques Louis David. Joseph Bara (1794)

Who was Joseph Bara? He was born to a poor family in Palaiseau, France, on 30 July 1779. His father, a gamekeeper, died when the boy was an infant, and it was natural that young Joseph should follow his two elder brothers into the

revolutionary forces. In spite of his tender years, he was enlisted as a hussar under General Desmarres, and it is recorded that he sent most of his meagre earnings home to help support his mother. In the autumn of 1793, his platoon was ambushed by “Royalists” (more accurately a group of Vendéans, essentially bandits); they demanded at sword-point that their young captive shout “Vive le Roi!” but he shouted “Vive la République!” and was butchered on the spot.¹

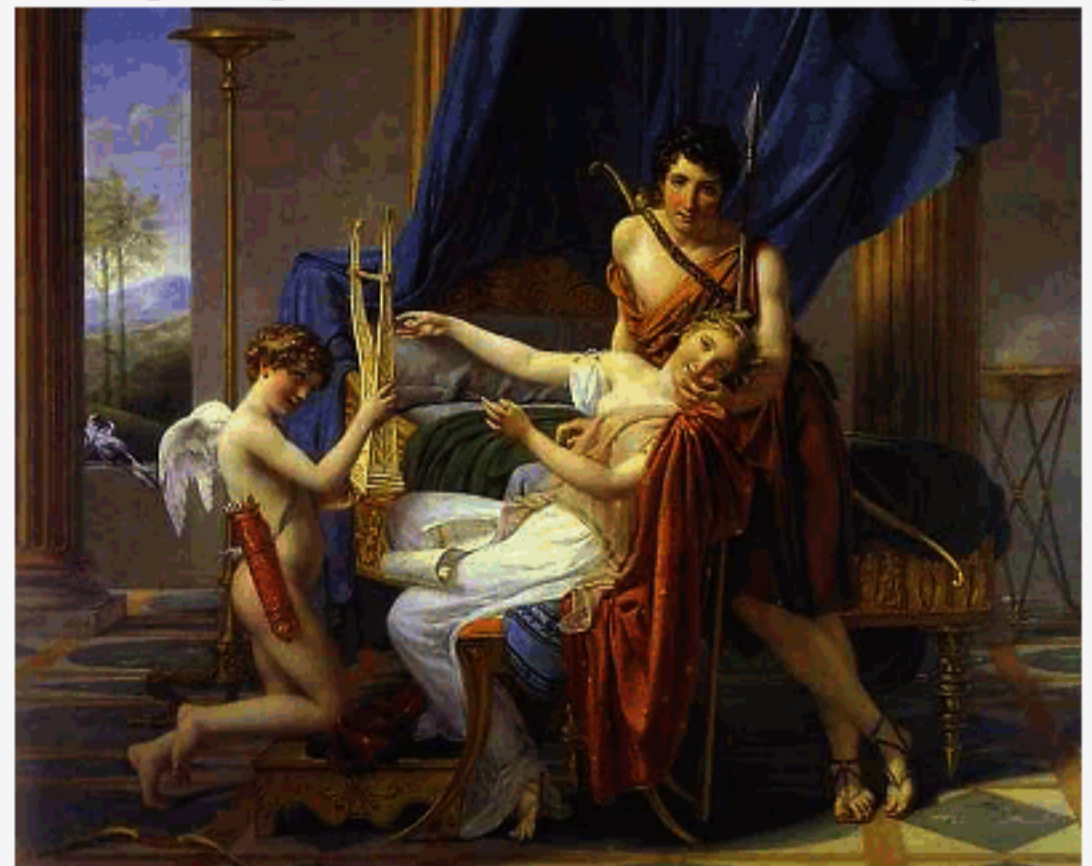


Fig. 2. Jacques Louis David. Sappho, Phaon et l'Amour (1809)

Within days the story had reached Robespierre, then at the height of his power, and it affected his imagination mightily; Joseph Bara, he decreed, should be elevated to the ranks of the Immortals. There would be commemorations, statues, and—at a major festival the following year—a picture of Bara would be carried in procession and a copy sent to every school in France, to be displayed as a stirring example to *les jeunes*.² Naturally, Robespierre sent for Representative J.L. David.



Fig. 3. Correggio. *Ganymede and the Eagle* (c. 1530)

Jacques Louis David, born in Paris in 1748, was one of the first and possibly the greatest of the neo-classical painters. He had studied in Rome, had won the Prix de Rome in 1774, and already he was widely celebrated as artist and teacher; he was known throughout Europe for his classical and allegorical subjects in the grand style, and his successes had included *The Oath of the Horatii* (1785), *The Death of Socrates* (1788), and *Brutus Condemning His Sons* (1789). When the Revolution came, he identified strongly with the Republican cause and became a close associate of Robespierre. He was a representative for Paris in the Convention of 1792, and when, in the Convention of 1794, Robespierre brandished a cup of hemlock and threatened to drink it rather than surrender, the emotional David rushed to his side, offering to be the first to drink the poison with

his leader—a gesture treated with proper cynicism by Carlyle as something a deal easier to say than to do.³

Nevertheless, with Robespierre's encouragement, David devised a number of festivals and set-pieces based on classical and revolutionary themes, and in 1794 he was himself briefly President of the Convention, but after the execution of Robespierre he spent a year in prison, fortunate to escape with his own neck. He was released on the intercession of his numerous pupils and rehabilitated under Napoleon, to whom he became court painter. After Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo, he fled to Switzerland, then to Brussels, where he died in 1825. As a final act of vengeance by the Royalists, Charles X refused an application for his burial in France.⁴



Fig. 4. Damiano Mazza. *The Rape of Ganymede* (c. 1570)

In 1793, however, fired with enthusiasm, David began work on *The Death of Bara* immediately after his interview of December 28th with Robespierre.⁵ Alas, with the fall of Robespierre and the arrest of David in the following year, the planned celebration never took place; during David's imprisonment, one of his pupils, Etienne *Delécluze, recalls seeing a forlorn group of paintings abandoned in his studio, including “a charming sketch of a nude boy, dying with the tricolour pressed to his breast...”⁶ After David's death, the painting passed through a number of private hands, and finally found a home in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, where it remains.

*Delécluze (cf. p.11, note 6)



Fig. 5. Stefano Maderno. Santa Cecilia (18th C.)

The painting is indeed an extraordinary one, in that Bara the boy-soldier presents a virtually girlish appearance, with his long hair, rounded facial features and hips, and—most peculiar of all—his genitals tucked back and almost completely hidden between his thighs. David's artistic style ran generally to muscular soldierly types; from within his huge output, only the round-hipped *innocento* in his *Sapho, Phaeon et l'Amour* of 1809 (Fig. 2) appears to have any kinship with Bara, and only remotely so.

So why Bara's apparent femininity? Why the nudity? Indeed, is the picture finished? Or, had history decreed otherwise, did the artist plan to add other details?

In 1989, as part of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, the Musée Calvet mounted a major exhibition surrounding *Bara*; this also was the occasion for the publication of a number of papers in which these questions were specifically addressed. But, whether the painting is finished or not, the discussion is of much wider interest, because at the very core of *Bara's* symbolism—and the questions it raises—lies the primordial metaphor of the beautiful nude boy, one of the most ubiquitous and powerful images in the whole of art.

The first question about *Bara* has to be, however, whether the painting is complete. The art critic Régis Michel urges that it is; David, he



Fig. 6. Sleeping Hermaphrodite (Hellenistic)



Fig. 7. Anne-Louis Girodet. *Endymion* (1791)

recalls, had had over seven months to finish the work, and the simplicity of the background is not unique in the artist's output; less convincingly, he adds the argument that the painting's sketchy nature is in itself a symbol of the evolving nature of the Revolution, or at least that its simplicity of conception is consistent with the "art for the masses" rhetoric that was to underlie the work.⁷ But Jean-Clément Martin quotes David's own plan for the painting and points out that many elements are missing,⁸ and the art historian Prof. A. Schnapper added more recently that, although David had catalogued all his paintings carefully, he had never catalogued *Bara*.⁹ Further, the picture was destined—on Robespierre's orders—to be copied, for which in its sketchy condition it appears to be unsuitable. (In the event, there is only one copy of *Bara*, by an unknown hand but probably by a pupil of David's, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille). Schnapper, in short, is robustly dismissive of the claims that *Bara* is

complete. Equally, the painting's near-impressionistic style and pastel colouring set it very much apart from the general body of David's meticulously detailed work. Therefore, taking the above evidence as a whole, the indications are that the painting is indeed unfinished; given the events of 1794, one can scarcely blame the artist for having lost heart for the project. However, all sides agree that one element is complete—the boy Joseph Bara himself—and also that the artist did not, for example, intend to add any clothing.

So why the nudity? asks Michel. Even those who insist that the painting is unfinished, he writes, admit that David had intended to paint a nude Bara. Was the boy stripped by his murderers, as several writers have assumed?¹⁰ Not so, writes the historian J. Sloane; in the circumstances of the ambush, the Vendéens would scarcely have had time to escape with their own lives, let alone steal a small Republican uniform, useless to them.¹¹ These arguments are peripheral anyhow; the nudity, declares Michel, has its own polemic; it is



Fig. 8. David d'Angers. *Jeune Berger* (1815)

1816 (see p.9)

the ne plus ultra of classicism, the nudity of a god or a hero, of a Greek kouros, of Michaelangelo's *David*, of a Cupid, an *Amor*; it gives the boy-martyr Bara his own place among the Immortals. It is also, writes Michel, the nudity of *la grâce*. He refers to J. J. Winckelmann, the great German art historian and one of the founders of neo-classicism; Winckelmann expanded on the supreme grace and serenity of the young subject who is neither child nor yet man, neither truly male nor female, and Michel analyses the painting against Winckelmann's distinction of "three orders of grace" within the evolution of antique art—"la grâce sublime", "la grâce aimable", and "la grâce enfantine".¹² Bara, writes Michel, evinces something of all three; the first, the *sublime*, in the boy's agonised facial expression; the second, the *aimable*, in the sensuality of his pose—the crossed legs, the arched hips; the third, the *enfantine*, in his childish innocence, his immaturity, his androgyny.¹³

And why the androgyny? The full meaning of Bara may, in the end, escape the modern-day inquirer, but the most rewarding search will begin from the tradition and imagery within which the artist was working, more familiar in his time than now. To begin with, consider the following:

His is a pose of erotic passivity.... He has delicate facial features, a soft and female body-type, long curly hair and roundly-modelled contours.... [The artist] conceals the boy's masculine-active penis and reveals his feminine-receptive buttocks.



Fig. 9. David d'Angers. Barra [sic] (1838)

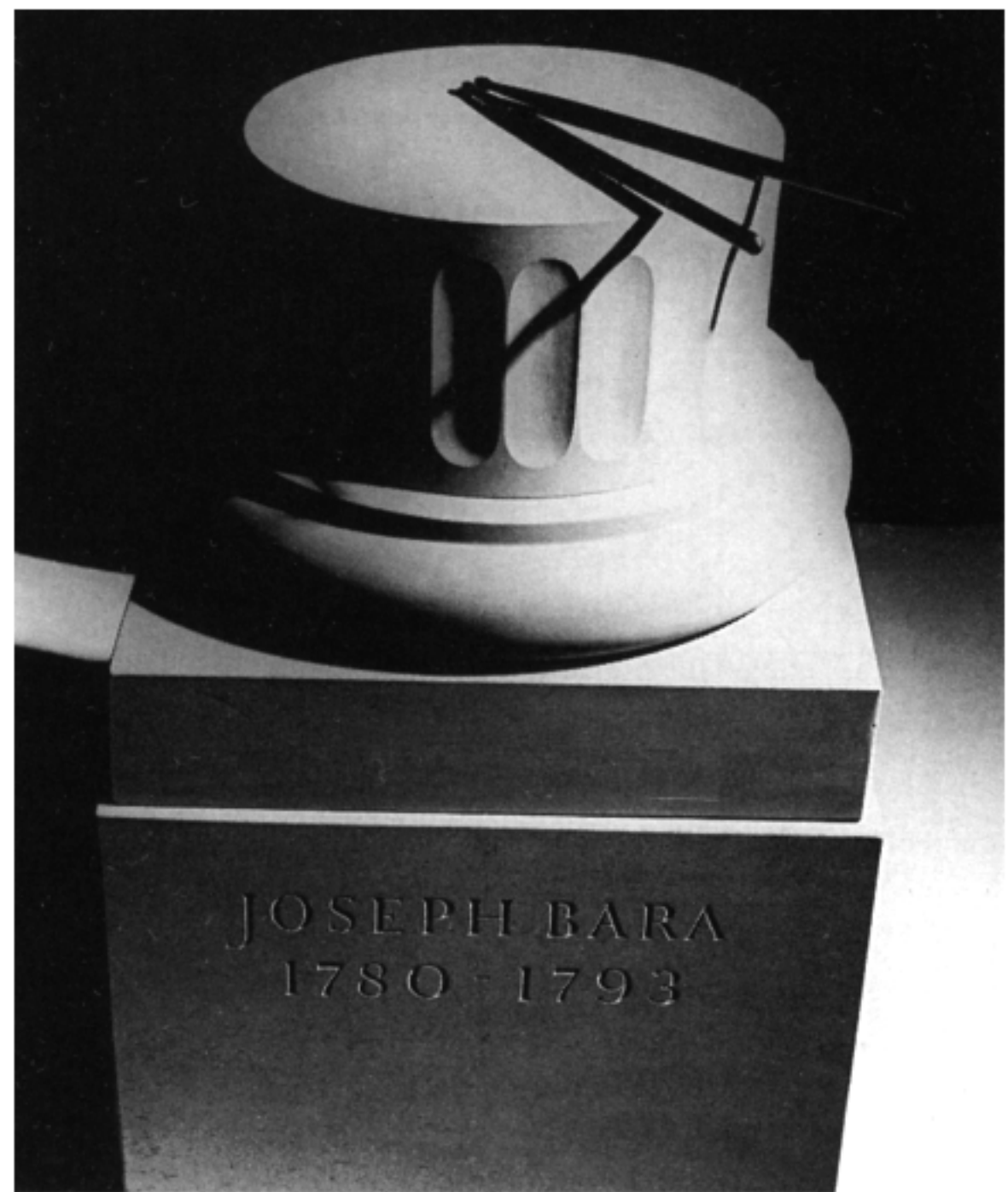


Fig. 10. Ian Hamilton Finlay. Monument to Joseph Bara (1896)

This is certainly a graphic description of the dead Bara, but in fact it comes from *Ganymede in the Renaissance*, James M. Saslow's encyclopaedic examination of the Ganymede myth in art and society of that period.¹⁴ He is describing the Ganymede in Correggio's painting of 1530 (Fig. 3), and, continuing to follow the Ganymede myth from its origins, he adduces a large number of similar paintings that provide the boy with this same feminine body-image, for example concentrating especially on the boy's full, globular buttocks, more so than those of the average prepubescent boy (see also Fig. 4); writing that the Ganymede myth is probably the prime historical metaphor for man-boy love,¹⁵ he shows convincingly how a girlish Ganymede was used by Correggio and others to signify ideal homoerotic beauty.

The same almost certainly applies to Bara, and the erotic element in the painting has by no means escaped notice. In his analysis, Edouard Pommier also quotes Winckelmann, this time on the androgynous Bacchus:

He has the beauty of androgyny, uniting male and female; a male body, but with forms more gentle, limbs more rounded, hips more generous, all animated by a gentler breath than we know.... A beautiful child crossing the frontier between youth and maturity, his childishness still evident in the fluidity of his form, the softness of his elbows, his back, his knees.... The bud of sensuality has already begun to germinate in him as in a tender plant, yet he is still between sleep and waking, still half in his dream....¹⁶

Winckelmann, the high neo-classicist, was one of David's first mentors, and Pommier suggests that, as a formulation for *Bara*, the above could scarcely be bettered. It is impossible to disagree. *Bara* too is indisputably androgynous—perhaps even more so than any of Saslow's examples, and his origin is partially evident in David's more immediate artistic antecedents. David, while



Fig. 11. Jean-Joseph Weerts. *La Mort de Bara* (1883)



Fig. 12. Jean-Jacques Henner. *Bara* (1882)

studying in Rome, would have seen Maderno's *Sainte Cecile* (Fig. 5), also the Borgese *Sleeping Hermaphrodite* (Fig. 6), and Foissy-Aufrère points out the clear resemblances of *Bara* to both, in both the pose and the manifest androgyny of the Borgese sculpture.¹⁷

David was also known to have greatly admired the famous *Endymion* of 1791 by his pupil Girodet, in which a curly-haired round-hipped boy exchanges distinctly coquettish glances with the drowsy *Endymion* (Fig. 7).¹⁸ Here the sexuality is more explicit, but this painting, in its many resemblances, can again be read as part of a contemporary artistic vocabulary upon which David drew alike for *Bara*.

Much of this is now forgotten, but the realm of the androgyne—the mysterious zone between the male and the female—has always been a magical and fascinating one, and still is. *Hermaphrodite* himself was the child of two gods, *Hermes* and *Aphrodite*; and the boy was considered so beautiful that he might have been taken either for a god or goddess.¹⁹ The terms “hermaphrodite” and “androgyne” were frequently used interchangeably by Greek and Roman writers, equally so in old Gnostic texts where the notions of male-female ambivalence were strongly associated with other forms of magical transformation, especially alchemy.²⁰ Some refer explicitly to the magical power of the young nude feminine boy—his youth, freshness and his unique ability to evoke sexual desire. And his power is still undiminished. Camille Paglia writes:



Fig. 13. *Auguste Paris*. Bara Mourant (1883)

The beautiful boy's androgyny is visionary and exalted.... [It is] like the voice of a singing-boy... with an ethereal beauty that no words can describe. The rosy English or Austrian choirboy, disciplined, reserved, and heart-stoppingly beautiful, is a symbol of spiritual and sexual illumination, fused in the idealising Greek manner. We see the same thing in Botticelli's exquisite long-haired boy-angels.²¹

The androgyne, being both boy and woman, available to both sexes, thus possesses magically heightened sexuality. He partakes in the nature of Cupid, that delectable creature eternally hovering between male and female, between child and adult, between angel and human, and, like Girodet's flirtatious boy-pixie, between heaven and earth.

And yet....

The domain of the androgyne is equally a place of danger and death. If there is one common element

in the lives of beautiful human boys beloved of gods it is that all, like Bara, came to sudden and often gruesome ends. Hyacinthus, beloved of Apollo, was killed by a discus blown by a jealous Zephyr. Cyparissus, a handsome boy from the Greek island of Cea, also loved by Apollo, accidentally killed his pet stag and died of grief. Crocus, a beautiful boy beloved of Jupiter, was killed by a quoit from the hand of Mercury. Hylas, boy-companion of Hercules, was drowned by water-nymphs.²² Daphnis, the little cowherd befriended by Pan (in some versions by Hermes) was later blinded and subsequently drowned. Ganymede too, detested by a jealous Hera, was in a sense sacrificed, transmuted by Zeus into a star and set in the constellation Aquarius. Of the mythic brotherhood of androgynes, in fact, only the true gods escaped death—Cupid, Bacchus, Hermaphrodite himself.

The moral is clear: only a god can take upon himself a dual nature, can be both male and female. The human androgyne—the mortal boy



Fig. 14. *Jean Broc*. La Mort d'Hyacinthe (1801)



Fig. 15. Francis Joseph baron Bosio. Hyacinthe (1817)

who would also be a girl—has arrogated to himself the nature of a god, has stolen the magic of a god, and is thus guilty of capital sacrilege; there must inevitably be blood sacrifice.

And *Bara* too is, I suggest, essentially a mythic representation, so far does David's painting differ from what the reality must have been.²³ *Bara* is shown not primarily as a fourteen-year-old soldier, but instead as another of the elect company of mortal androgynes beloved of the gods—in this case the temporal deities of the revolution—and he too is shown ripe for sacrifice.

Whom the gods love do indeed die young.²⁴ Yet all is not death and destruction; the necessary sacrifice of the androgyne is followed by resurrection, or at least by metamorphosis.

We can pursue this theme further by examining *Bara's* successors and the ways in which the painting's themes were developed or replicated.

The Successors of *Bara*

David d'Angers (1788–1856) is probably David's best-remembered pupil; he was so called to distinguish him from his master. He was at the time France's most celebrated sculptor, with a prodigious output; there was probably no notable Frenchman of the time who was not the subject of one of his several hundred statues, busts, or medallions. He had already amply proved his neo-classical credentials with the charming *Jeune*

Berger of 1816 (Fig. 8); on his master's suggestion in 1838 he embarked on a statue of *Bara* (Fig. 9).

As a boy David d'Angers had himself served among the Republican volunteers, and he was deeply attached to the completed statue, which remained in his studio for many years;²⁵ in 1858 it was acquired by Prince Napoleon, and the finished version has been lost, though high-quality casts remain in Angers and Cholet. The image of *la belle morte* is perfectly captured, and the boy holds to his breast a cockade in the Republican tricolour. Clearly the artist subscribes to the view that the boy was roughly stripped by his murderers; *Bara* is near-nude, only a strip of clothing preserving his sexual ambiguity; otherwise nothing but one sock remains, half pulled from his left foot. The boy (erroneously) holds a drumstick in his left hand, indicating that the sculptor had also absorbed the myth of *Bara the Drummer-Boy*. *Bara* first appeared as a drummer-boy in engravings of 1794, and the image has been surprisingly tenacious, resurrected most recently in 1986 in England

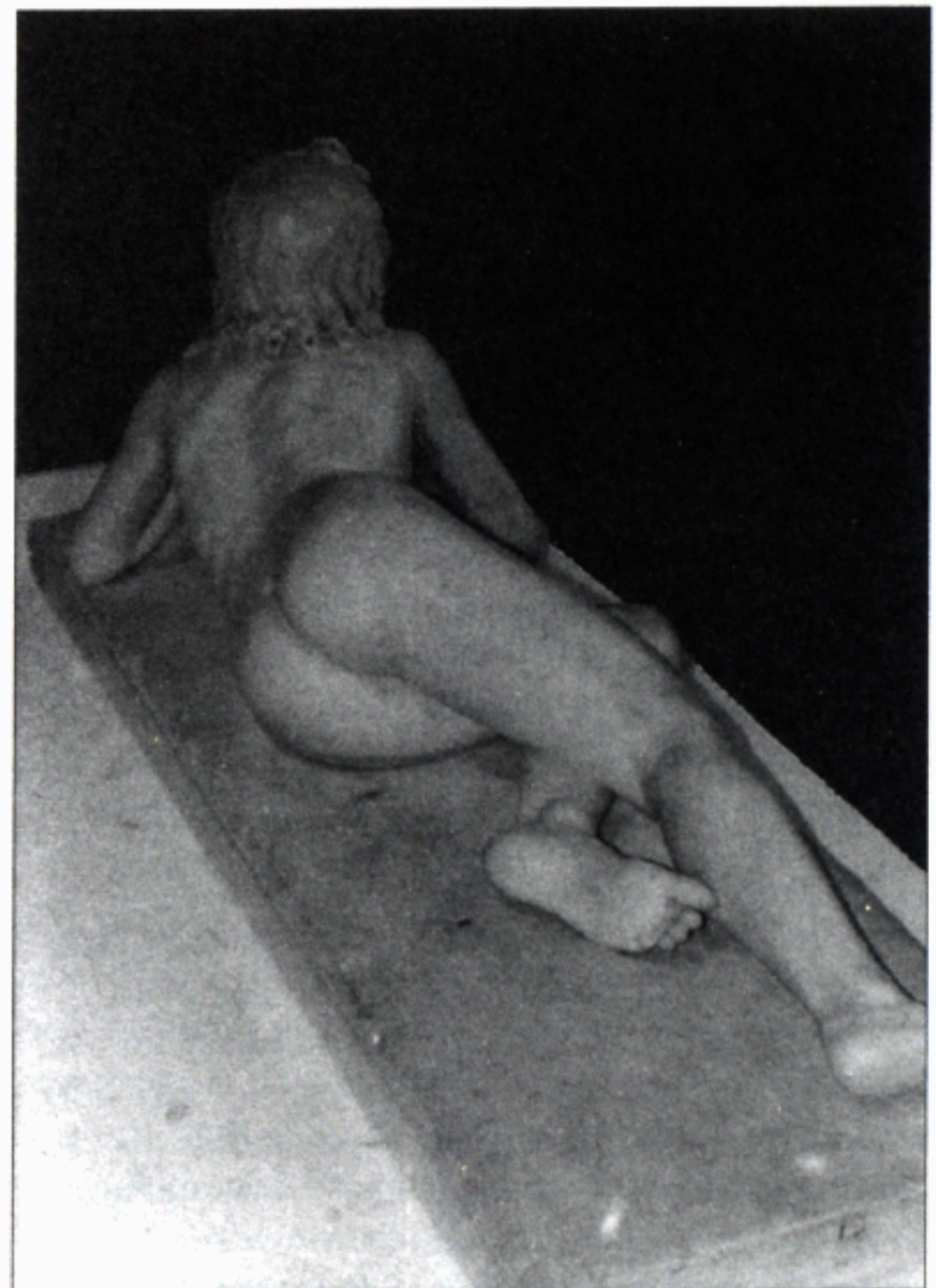


Fig. 16. Francis Joseph baron Bosio. Hyacinthe (1817)



Fig. 17. Alexandre Falguière. Tarcisus, Martyr Chrétien (1868)

by way of a statue by Ian Hamilton Finlay. The theme is nevertheless treated here with beautiful simplicity; a pair of drumsticks is laid across the top of a truncated column, with the words JOSEPH BARA inscribed on its base (Fig. 10).

Still, though there have been a number of heroic French drummer-boys—Darruder, Stroh, Estienne, for example,²⁶—and, though the image of the heroic youngster who rallies the troops to battle with his drum is a seductive one, there is little doubt that Joseph Bara at the time of his death was a hussar; the magnificent life-size painting of 1883 by Weerts (Fig. 11) is probably the one which comes closest to historical accuracy. Harsh realism, however, is also the keynote of Henner's *Bara* of 1882 (Fig. 12). While the boy himself is undoubtedly handsome, and though there is no denying the sensual appeal of his nude body spread-eagled on the grass, there is equally no *belle morte* here. Nor in the striking 1883 bust by Auguste Paris (Fig. 13), an example of many.²⁷

By contrast, Jean Broc's *La Morte d'Hyacinthe* of 1801 (Fig. 14) stands very much in the mythic tradition of the exquisitely beautiful boy, blond locks caressed by the wind, struck down in the flower of his youth. Broc, like David d'Angers, was a pupil of J.L. David and here too, like Bara, the boy dies prettily, clasped in the arms of his lover Apollo. The jealous Zephyr had deflected the boy's discus to strike a fatal blow; his blood drips to the ground where already the hyacinth flower is springing up.

In 1817 Baron Bosio completed his own *Hyacinthe* (Figs. 15 & 16);²⁸ the pose is almost an exact mirror-image of the dying Bara's; in the sculpture, however, the boy is shown still alive, discus in his hand, as if watching the game and awaiting his own turn.

Bara is also considered to be a reference for Falguière's Tarcisus of 1868 (Fig. 17); again the pose is similar and the concept of *la belle morte* is central, though this boy by contrast is very fully wrapped—as thoroughly befits a little Christian.²⁹

The erotic dimension in Broc's and Bosio's works is unmistakable—even more so in Caraglio's Apollo and Hyacinth of 1500-7 (Fig. 18), and in the depictions of the parallel myth of Cyparissus (Figs. 19 and 20). After Cyparissus accidentally killed his pet stag and died of grief, Apollo changed him into a cypress, the tree of mourning.

Bara too is a partaker in this miracle, in the wondrous metamorphosis of the beloved but sacrificed androgyne. He is therefore a Hyacinthus, a Ganymede, a Cyparissus, a Narcissus,³⁰ a



Fig. 18. Giovanni-Jacopo Caraglio. Apollo and Hyacinth (1500-7)

NOTE: the aspect of Fig. 18, shown here as printed in the original article, apparently is a mirror image of the actual artwork



Fig. 19. Alexandre Andreïevitch Ivanov. Apollo, Hyacinth and Cyparissus (1831-4)

Crocus³¹—also a youthful, flaxen-haired Jesus, born too of human flesh but beloved of a god, sacrificed, resurrected, and transfigured. And in the same way, just as Bara's innocent blood was spilt, writes Foissy-Aufrère, from the ground would spring the tricoloured flower of the Revolution.³²



Fig. 20. Giulio Romano. Apollo and Cyparissus (c. 1530) **Giulio**

Editor's Note:

Morris Fraser is a consultant psychiatrist and the author of several books, including a ground-breaking study on the psychological origins of paedophile desire, *The Death of Narcissus*.

NOTES

1. R. Duvauchel, *Joseph Bara, son Histoire et sa Légende* (Paris: 1881), pp. 431-6; see also F. Wartelle, "Bara, Viala: Le Thème de l'Enfance Héroïque dans les Manuels Scolaires, III^e République" in *Annales Historique de la Révolution Française* (1980), p. 365; and R. Monnier, "La Culte de Bara en l'An II" in *Annales Historique de la Révolution Française* (1980), pp. 321-337.
2. Convention Nationale, 28 décembre 1793, *Moniteur Universel*, 10 nivôse an II, (30 December 1783), p. 403.
3. T. Carlyle, *The French Revolution* (London: Dent Dutton, 1906).
4. P. Borden, *David* (Paris: Nathan, 1988); A. Schnapper, *David, Témoin de son Temps* (Paris: Friborg, 1980).
5. J. David, *Le Peintre Louis David* (Paris: 1880), p. 208.
- * 6. E.J. Délecluze, *Louis David, son Ecole et son Temps* (Paris: 1855; reprinted Paris: Souvenir, 1983).
7. R. Michel, "Du Martyr à l'Ephèbe" in M-P. Foissy-Aufrère et al., *La Mort de Bara: de l'Évènement au Mythe* (Avignon: Musée Calvet, 1989), pp. 43-77.
8. J-C. Martin, "Bara: De l'Imaginaire Révolutionnaire à la Mémoire Nation" in Foissy-Aufrère, *ibid.*, p. 93.
9. A. Schnapper, "David, Peintre Populaire Mal-Aimé" in *L'Estampille—l'Objet d'Art Hors, Série 2H* (1983), p. 12.
10. A. Lenoir, "Memoires: David" in *Souvenirs Historiques, Journal de l'Institut Historique III* (1835), p. 6; E.J. Délecluze, *op. cit.*, p. 160; J. David, *op. cit.*, p. 640.
11. J-C. Sloane, "David, Robespierre and *The Death of Bara*" in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 33, (September 1969), pp. 144-151.
12. J.J. Winckelmann, "De la Grâce dans les Ouvrages de l'Art" in *Récueil de Différentes Pièces sur les Arts* (Paris: 1786; Geneva: 1973), pp. 285-295.
13. The aesthetic theory of "the sublime" was first put forward by Edmund Burke in 1746 (*Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* [London, privately printed]). It referred to works of art that evoked in the viewer strong emotions, such as terror, awe, or pity.
14. James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven and London:

***Delécluze (cf. p.3; other sources corroborate this spelling and placement of the accent)**

Yale University Press, 1986).

15. "Catamite" is the corrupted Roman form of "Ganymede".

16. E. Pommier, "Rêver devant l'Antique en Winckelmann à la Main" in Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., pp. 79-80; see also T. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); J.J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (Edition Darmstadt, 1982), pp. 149-50; J.J. Winckelmann, "Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst," (1759) in W. Rehm, *Vorreden Enwürfe* (Berlin: 1968), p. 152.

17. Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., pp. 11-25.

18. R. Michel, op. cit., p. 70.

19. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, iv.

20. Jean Halley des Fontaines, *La Notion d'Androgynie* (Paris: 1938).

21. C. Paglia, *Sexual Personae* (New York: Vintage, 1991), pp. 115-116. Botticelli was accused in 1502 of sexual misdemeanours with his young pupils, doubtless those same "exquisite boy-angels" who also served as models. Around the same time, however, he fell under the influence of the evangelising Savonarola, at which time he also may have destroyed a number of his paintings on the infamous "Bonfire of Vanities." Whether this is the case or not, it is noteworthy that from that time the boy-angels disappeared from his work, to be replaced by grown females of the species!

22. Hercules could hear Hylas calling from the depths as the envious nymphs dragged him down, but he could do nothing to help. He wandered the earth, distraught, for two years thereafter.

23. See notes 1 and 11.

24. Menander, *Dis Exapaton*, Frag. 125; Plautus, *Bacchides*, 1:816.

25. V. Huchard, *David d'Angers* (Angers: Musée David d'Angers, 1989), p. 29.

26. F. Wartelle, op. cit., p. 365; J. Kryn, *Le Petit Tambour d'Anole, 1777-1837* (Paris: 1987); H. W. Janson, *Sculpture 1848-1870* (19th Century Art, 1984), p. 314; A. Schnapper, "A Propos de David et des Martyrs de la Révolution" in M. Vouelle, *Les Images de la Révolution* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1988), pp. 29-39; Ecomusée de la Vendée, *Les Traces de la Guerre de Vendée dans le Mémoire Collective 18* (La Roche-sur-Yon) (1983); J. Mossay, *Histoire de la Ville d'Avesnes* (Avesnes: 1956), pp. 176-177; G. Ransard & J-Y Herbeuvel, *Maubeuge et le Docteur Forest* (Paris: 1986), p. 78; G. Sivery, *Histoire de Maubeuge* (Maubeuge: 1986), p. 156.

27. M-P. Foissy-Aufrère, "Les Métamorphoses de Bara dans le Souvenir National. Le Mythe du Tambour" in M-P Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., p. 113.

28. G. Hubert, *F. J. Bosio, Sculpteur Monégasque* (Extrait des Annales Monégasques, 1968-9), pp. 27-76.

29. Falguière was nevertheless capable of splendid boy-

nudes, as witness his *The Winner of the Cockfight* (1864), which dominates the foyer of the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. This work also appears, together with *Tariscus*, on the sculptor's tomb in Père-Lachaise Cemetery.

30. See Morris Fraser, *The Death of Narcissus* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1976). This analysis proposes that paedophilia can be understood in terms of the Narcissus myth.

31. Jupiter dipped the dead boy's body in celestial dew, and it was transformed into the crocus flower.

32. Foissy-Aufrère, op. cit., p. 24.

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CONTEMPLATION OF THE UNBEARDED

The Rubaiyyat of Awhadoddin Kermani

Peter Lamborn Wilson

As for these fawns whose proper places
are the pavilions & fountains of paradise
I compare each one with the new moon rising—
& I exclaim:

“My Lord & thy Lord—Allah!”

*Abu Nuwas*¹

“He saw the lightning in the east and he longed for the east, but if it had flashed in the west he would have longed for the west.” The author comments that “he refers to the vision of God in created things, viz. the manifestation in forms, and this causes him to cleave to phenomena, because the manifestation appears in them.”

*Ibn ‘Arabi*²

Some Concepts of Sufism

Among certain Sufis there exists, or existed, a spiritual technique which might be called “Imaginal Yoga,” that is, a technique which usually centered on the contemplation of the beloved.³ It involved the focusing of the mind on a form or an object, in order to transform it into a metaphysical experience through the power of the imagination. Love is important for nearly all Sufis. There is among them the general belief that God’s love and generosity outweigh God’s justice and wrath. Not only, however, do the Sufis equate God with love, but they offer a mystical interpretation of the psychological experience of love, as for example, between husband and wife, master and disciple, or lover and the beloved. Sufism often expresses itself through love poems, and there exists (particularly in the Persian tradition) a type of Sufism which explains itself solely through the use of terms of love and which has been called “The School of Love.”⁴

Imaginal Yoga is more specific than general views or usages of love in Sufism. It involves the deliberate and “alchemical” transformation of love and sexual desire into spiritual attainment, by means of specific meditation practices.

Love imagery in Persian Sufi poetry usually flows from this mystical, symbolic appreciation of love’s spiritual power. In some works, however, the imagery refers also to specific practices, one of which is code-named *nazar ill’al-murd*, or “contemplation of the unbearded,” namely, the unbearded boy.

Poetic terms for love, lover, and beloved may refer to purely spiritual matters such as man’s love of God; or they may refer to a purely human love; as is most often the case, they can also refer to both at once.

For certain Sufis, various Persian words may refer more precisely to the contemplation of the unbearded, as in the term *shahed bazi* [literally, the witness game or play]. “Witness” is the technical term for the beloved in a particular form of meditation, and *bazi* [play or game] is a derogatory term which might also be translated as “playing.” *Shahed bazi* has a scandalous ring to it, and this seems to have been so even in the middle ages. Indeed, in modern Persian slang the term for pederasty is *bachcheh-bazi*, [the child-game]. The Arabic *nazar ill’al-murd* has the same risqué implication and meaning. In both languages the object of contemplation was a young boy, usually between the ages of early puberty and his first shave.

The Witness Game is a controversial subject. Medieval Islamic society in general, the Legalists and theologians in particular, considered it wrong; they called it *kufir* [un-belief] or *bida* [innovation]—which in modern terms would be equivalent to heresy and crime.

Among the early poets who influenced the later *Shahed bazi* tradition, the notorious Abu Nuwas was perhaps the first to write extensively on boy-love. Abu Nuwas was a libertine and rakehell who attained archetypal status as a character in the *1001 Nights*. The Sufis developed a literary self-image of chaste longing and aesthetic appreciation, but Abu Nuwas wrote poems about kissing, masturbation, frottage, and anal intercourse with real live unsymbolic boys. He was occasionally blasphemous but rarely mystical. In the fragment quoted at the beginning of this text, however, he seems to evoke an early medieval heresy, noted for example by al-Baghdadi in his *Firk al-Firak*, where he attributes to one Shaykh Abu Hulman al-Dimeshqī the opinion that prostration before beautiful boys is tantamount to divine worship; or by Ibn Taymiyya, who quotes an anonymous mystic as boasting that when he kissed his slaveboy, he saw God.

Among the early theologians we also find a few devoted to the Gaze, among them Ibn Da'ud, described (in somewhat over-heated prose) by L. Massignon in his classic *Passion of Al-Hallaj*:

We glimpse the precious, ordered setting of Ibn Da'ud's death: still young, lavished with attentions and weary regrets, on a divan, between the light filtering in from outside through the *shahnishin* grating and the empty space that the *tarma* overlooks, before a cage that holds a blinded twittering nightingale. His last remarks show him turning back, restored to serenity, to the renunciations of forbidden pleasures in his past; his body was going to be ritually bathed and buried in a shroud; what was of concern to him was that he was allowed in this way to carry the mental conception of this forbidden pleasure intact, since it was unsatisfied, to the paradise of Uranians.

It is true that if divine transcendence excluded the possibility of God's communicating to Himself and submitting to Himself in His essential life, then the perfection of pure Islam [*Tawhid*] is the proclamation of the Jealous Solitude [*Tafriid*], which the Zahirite theologians, following Ibn Da'ud, analyzed correctly in the pure Uranian love sung by

classic Arabic poets: in the "disinterested" gaze of morose delectation that Ibn Da'ud considered licit, directed at forbidden beautiful faces of beardless youths—*nazarila'l-murd*. For the famous hadith that his father had imparted to him, taught that the amorous one who endures love chastely unto death, dies a martyr. And Ibn Da'ud died for this *shahada*, revived by the only "licit gaze." Ibn Da'ud should therefore be seen as the herald and martyr of the Lonely God. In fact, this was clearly defined in sermons from the pulpits of mosques two hundred years after his death by Umar Samarqandi and by Ahmad Ghazzali. The definition was based on an authentic anecdote from the life of Ibn Da'ud, two recensions of which we present here:

1. From the life of Ibn Da'ud:

One day, Muhammad-b-Zukhruf ibn Jami' went to the *hammam*. After having his face massaged, he veiled himself, and got on his horse to go and meet Ibn Da'ud. But when Ibn Da'ud saw him arrive in this way, he thought it was because of an accident, and he cried out:

"What happened?"

"I have just seen my face in a mirror. I admired it so much that I veiled it, for I wished no one to see it before you."

And Ibn Da'ud swooned [from jealousy].

2. Caliph Muttaqi, according to Sam'ani, questioned Ibn Jami' forty years later:

"Did you notice anything strange about him?"

"Nothing, O Commander of the Faithful, except that one night when I was sleeping in his house, he lifted the veil from my face and said 'God, You know that I love him, and that it is You whom I behold in him.'"

"What was your way of repaying him for his admiration?"

"I went to a *hammam*; and when I was leaving, I looked at my face in a mirror and admired its appearance more than usual. I

veiled it, so that no one could see it before he did. I went to him; he lifted the veil from my face and rejoiced; and filled with joy, he said 'Glory be to Him Who created and fashioned it.' He then recited the following from Ibn Fadl Allah: 'It is He who fashions you in the loins as He likes.'"

3. The following is 'Umar's sermon:

In Baghdad there was a man [Ibn Da'ud] whose *ma'shuq* [beloved] came to his house unexpectedly and was wearing a veil of thin material. He removed his veil and said to him, "Look [*Unzur*] at my face."

And his lover said to him, "Do you wish to disturb me with temptation?"

He responded, "I went to a *hammam*; and when I was leaving, I looked at my face in a mirror. I admired it so much that I wanted no one but you to see it; so look at me."

But the lover looked away from him and said, "I will no longer look at you."

"Why?"

"I looked at you in such a way that no one else but me could look at you; but now you, you have looked at your face inflamed by it; I do not wish to share love."

And the preacher concluded: "Such must be the behavior of the believer vis-à-vis [his] God."⁵

Among early Sufis who wrote in defense of *shahed bazi* were Abu Abdol Rahman and Ibn Taher Maqdisi; but perhaps the best known early supporter of the practice was Ahmad Ghazzali, the brother of the famous "Imam" Abu Hamed Ghazzali. Ahmad was once interrupted in the midst of a meditation by some friends. They found him seated in his cell-retreat, staring at a young boy, with a single rose on the floor between them. "Have we disturbed you?" they asked. Ghazzali replied, "*Ay w'Allah!*" [By God!]. All the company thereupon fell into a "state"; that is, they attained some measure of non-ordinary consciousness or ecstasy.

An early contributor to the theory of *shahed bazi* was also Ruzbehan Baqli of Shiraz. His *Jasmine of the Fedeli d'Amore* is virtually a treatise

on the subject.⁶ Fakhroddin 'Iraqi also wrote an important text which bears on the subject, the *Lamaat*⁷ or "flashes" (in imitation of Ahmad Ghazzali's famous *Savaneh* or "sparks").

The latest "Classical" Sufi to practice *shahed bazi* was Abdur Rahman Jami, the fifteenth century poet and philosopher from Herat. According to his biographer, "At the spiritual gatherings which he held, there was always to be seen, without fail, a boy most fair of face." Jami, a devotee of Ibn 'Arabi, wrote, "For those who believe in and have experienced Unity, the perfect being is he whose physical eye recognizes the beauty of God (may he be glorified!) through the appearances of the palpable world, in the same fashion as his immaterial eye contemplates the spiritual appearances of the perfect splendor of divinity."⁸

Awhadoddin Kermani

The most famous (or infamous) Sufi exponent of The Witness Game was Awhadoddin Kermani (1179-80 to 1238); he was born in Kerman, and died in Baghdad.⁹

Like many Sufis of the time, Awhadoddin traveled extensively. He was in Tabriz in 1195-6; in Anatolia, where he lived in Konya and Kaiseri between 1204-11; he returned several times to Baghdad and visited Aleppo and Damascus as well. In Damascus he met and befriended Ibn 'Arabi, who mentions him in his voluminous *Futuh al-Makkiyya*.¹⁰ In the house of the great Andalusian shaykh, Awhadoddin came into contact with other outstanding mystics such as 'Uthman Rumi, Sadroddin Qonyawi (died 1274)—whom he may have met earlier in Konya—and possibly also with Jalaloddin Rumi (died 1273).¹¹ Awhadoddin spent the last part of his life in and near Baghdad, where he had returned and settled towards the end of 1234. He was honored by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mustansir Billah in 1234-5, who appointed him shaykh of the Merzubaniyya ribat near Baghdad. Venerated by the people of that great city, he probably died in 1238.

Awhadoddin seems to have been the very prototype of a teaching Sufi master, with great experience of the Path and its pitfalls and potential. Many stories reveal him as a guide who warns, helps or comforts his disciples through

charismatic signs (cardiognosis, clairvoyance, bilocation, etc.). Jami' tells us of at least one episode of bilocation, and on another occasion Awhadoddin promises some of his pupils about to set out on a journey, "I am always with you," much as Shibli had once told his own followers, "Go, I am with you wherever you might be."

Asked the number of his disciples, Awhadoddin replied, "They number seventy thousand. Of these three thousand are near the Path, and every night I must read to each of them the Invocation." This may imply a miraculous power of contracting space and time; it does demonstrate the Master's individual care for his disciples.

Awhadoddin was not without his moments of irony, and not only in his verse; he complained once: "I can give evidence of the Fourth and Fifth Heavens, of the Angels and the Atlas-sphere, but Sa'duddin Hamawi asks me only for the reasons for shortening the ritual prayer!"

Many of his quatrains consist of the prudent advice of a severe but sagacious and understanding shaykh. He instructs in the practice and results of the Invocation (that is, the *dhikr* or mantra, repetition of a divine name or formula in meditation or prayer) and explains such customs of his Order as the retreat. Again, certain of his quatrains are the simple but powerful prayers of a pure mystic. Despite the shocking stories told of him, the bulk of his work reveals him as a Sufi of the classical Baghdad tradition and not at all an antinomian type.

Awhaduddin left some collections of mystical expressions and litanies, and poems in the form of ghazals, tarji'bands, nazms, etc., but his favored form was the quatrain [*rubai*], of which he is said to have written about 1700.¹² They are not always of the highest literary quality, but they demonstrate the depth of his experience. They are found in manuscripts together with the quatrains of 'Iraqi and Rumi. Occasionally under Awhadoddin's name one also finds *rubaiyyat* of the school of 'Umar Khayyam. Not everything thus attributed to Awhaduddin is from his pen; indeed, it should be made quite clear that many of his poems are disputed and may not be his at all. They have been attributed to him; that is the only claim that can be made.

Awhaduddin is chiefly remembered for the rather shocking tales told of him; the remarks

about him made by even contemporary Sufis such as Shihaboddin 'Umar Suhrawardi (died 1234) or Shamsuddin Tabrizi, cast him in an unflattering light. Suhrawardi called him an unbeliever [*kafir*] and innovator [*mubtadi*].

When these condemnations reached the ear of Awhadoddin, he commented, "The Shaykh calls me an innovator, but for me it is a great honor even to be mentioned in his discourse!"

A famous story tells of the meeting between Awhadoddin and Shamsuddin Tabrizi: Awhadoddin was already known for his belief that absolute divine beauty could only be contemplated in this world in limited forms—for him, preferably boys—because of our limited human conditions.

Shamsuddin asked him, "What are you doing?"

He replied, "Looking at the moon [absolute beauty] in a bowl of water [in earthly forms]."

Shamsuddin then said, "If there's no boil on your neck, why don't you look at it in the sky?" He meant, of course, to ridicule Awhadoddin for his contemplation of the unbearded.

Another story about the predilection of Shaykh Awhaduddin for sama [an audition, or music]¹³ and shahid dusti [companionship with young beauties]¹⁴ relates that: "When he became excited during the sama, he rent the shirts of the unbearded and danced with them breast to breast." While he was in Baghdad, the beautiful son of the Caliph heard of this practice and said, "He is an innovator and an unbeliever. If he acts in my presence in this way I shall kill him!" When the sama became heated, Awhaduddin realized, by virtue of his miraculous abilities, the hidden intentions of the Caliph's son, and said:

*It's nothing for me
to balance on the
knife's edge,
to lie
beheaded beneath
the beloved's feet.
You came to kill
an unbeliever. But if you
are a fighter
for the Faith,
then must I not be
an infidel?*

At this the Caliph's son bowed his own head upon the foot of the Shaykh and became his disciple.¹⁵

Kermani was one of a circle of Persian Sufis who helped spread the teachings of the great Andalusian Shaykh Muhyi'oddin Ibn 'Arabi to the orient. Ibn 'Arabi is said to have disapproved of the Gaze, and yet he and Kermani were on the best of terms. When Ibn 'Arabi arrived in the East he married the widow of a fellow Sufi with one son, a boy called Sadr al-Din Qonyawi, who became Ibn 'Arabi's step-son. Sadroddin later became a companion of the great poet Rumi, and also taught another great poet (and boy-lover), Fakhraddin 'Iraqi.

According to Ibn 'Arabi's biography by Claude Addas, *Quest of The Red Sulfur*,* when Sadroddin was about twelve years old (around 1223), Ibn 'Arabi

... made the decision to entrust the responsibility for Sadr al-Din's education to Shaykh Awhad al-Din Kirmani. Shaykh Kirmani stayed for a while in Egypt. He and Ibn 'Arabi used to meet and see each other constantly. Shaykh Kirmani wanted to go to the Hijaz. After his intention had been confirmed, and he started making preparations for the journey and his project was taking form, Shaykh Muhyi l-Din took Shaykh Sadr al-Din along with him and went to Shaykh Kirmani. He said to him: "You know the goodwill and affection I feel for Sadr al-Din. He is like a real son to me. What am I saying? He is far dearer to me than a son by the flesh. We are linked to each other by various kinds of kinship, and by a companionship which has spanned several years. First he was a child, then he was a disciple, then a student. I have fulfilled all the proper duties of a father towards his son, of a master towards his disciple, and of a teacher towards his student, and [I have obtained from him] the fruit of companionship and of understanding of such a kind that no further obstacles remain. I have adorned his outer being with knowledge and with virtue; as for his inner being—that also has been well and truly accomplished thanks to guidance and good direction. God has transmitted the fulfillment of

these things to you, and it now depends on your consideration and response to the matter." Shaykh Kirmani responded favorably and accepted Shaykh Muhyi l-Din's request. Accordingly Shaykh Muhyi l-Din confided Sadr al-Din to Shaykh Kirmani's charge.

Claude Addas points out that Awhadoddin's reputation was no secret, but that

Ibn 'Arabi, normally so reserved about these practices... seems not to have held them against him: if he had, he would certainly not have entrusted him with bringing up the boy who in his eyes was "dearer than a real son." Doubtless he considered that in the case of Awhad al-Din it was a question of a genuine mode of spiritual realization.¹⁶

Texts on *shahed bazi* are difficult to find, since in this case, as the Persian saying has it, "The pen is in the hand of the enemy." Little is known of what went on in the circles of Sufis like Kermani, since most of them never wrote, or if they did, were censored. Some of the actual practice of "contemplating the beardless" can be reconstructed from the quatrains [*rubaiyyat*] of Kermani. Although most of them are not very good poetry (at least compared to masters of the form like Rumi and 'Iraqi), they nevertheless give a clear picture of the rite as well as the theory. A selection of some of the better extant quatrains is appended to this article.

The theory behind *shahed bazi*, in the briefest possible terms, is that Reality manifests itself in the form, or forms, of Creation. Since Reality is One, all these forms are, objectively speaking, subsumed in the One. Subjectively, however, the forms are indeed many. To attain the One, he who meditates must meditate on form, since Essence in itself is unknowable. Through the form, the symbol, one comes to realize the Essence, which is the Oneness of Being.

But realizing the Essence, the Transcendent Principle, is only part of "knowing God." For God, in a very real sense, is form. Reality is also Immanent. Each form or symbol on which one meditates is the Beloved. Samsara is Nirvana.

The oscillation or paradoxical harmony between Essence and form is part of the Game. To penetrate the symbol, to “unveil” it or “take it back to its source” [*ta’wil*], is to arrive at God from God by way of God. The Game is a masquerade: love plays all the roles.

The form or symbol to be unveiled in this way is a theophany or heirophany [*tajalli*, literally, “shining through”]. God “shines through” the form. In relation to this form, one behaves therefore as a lover: one desires it, and one may attain from it either “Union” or “Separation,” according to one’s spiritual station, one’s preparedness and receptivity.

Ibn ‘Arabi wrote his *Interpreter of Desires* to celebrate his love for Nezam Ayn al-Shams, the fourteen-year-old daughter of an Isfahani shaykh he met in Mecca. Nezam is for him the focus of a theophanic experience; when she speaks in one of the poems, she speaks as the divine beloved.

*She said, “I wonder at a lover who in conceit of his merits
walks proudly among flowers in a garden.”*

I replied, “Do not wonder at what you see,

for you behold yourself in the mirror of a man.”

(Poem XX)¹⁷

Ibn ‘Arabi comments: “I am like a mirror to you (the beloved), and in those qualities with which I am invested you behold yourself, not me; but you behold them in my human nature, which has received this investiture. This is the vision of God in created things, which in the opinion of some is more exalted than the vision of created things in God.” In other words, the realization of Divine Immanence is greater than that of Transcendence; and this greater vision is attained by seeing God in things, in the world, in palpable matter.

Ibn ‘Arabi cleaves to the phenomena because the divine manifests Itself in them. “I desire the forms only in so far as they are a locus for the manifestation itself. The beloved is unattainable in herself; that is, God in his absolute Essence cannot be known; yet through her manifestation to you all that you have is baptized for you, and your whole kingdom is displayed to you by that Essential form.”

In fact, knowledge of forms is really the purpose of the spiritual life. According to the *hadith qodsi* [a Tradition in which the Prophet reports extra-Koranic words of God], the deity says, “I was a hidden treasure and desired to be known, so I created the world that I might be known.”

Ibn ‘Arabi first quotes this Tradition: “God has seventy thousand veils of light and darkness; if he were to remove them, the splendors of his face would consume all that his sight perceives.” Ibn Arabi then adds his own comments: “He keeps himself veiled in mercy to us, in order that our substance may survive, for in the survival of the substance of phenomenal being the divine presence and its beautiful Names are manifested. This is the beauty of phenomenal being. If it perished you would know nothing, for knowledge of all kinds is divulged only by means of forms and bodies.”¹⁸

For many reasons it is appropriate that the form to be loved and experienced in this way should be another human being. All of these reasons can be summed up in the words, “God created man in his own image.” The human form is the central form of creation; man is God’s vice-regent on earth, and the most perfect symbol of the divine reality.

This beloved human form might exist in the spiritual world but not in the material world per se. Thus the Prophet said, “I saw my lord in the form of a youth, a golden-haired boy with his cap askew, dressed in a green silk robe, crowned with gold, and seated on a golden throne.”¹⁹ The visionary form might also appear as an angel, either in “cosmic form” (immense, winged, radiant) or “disguised” in human form. Or the angel may take the form of a living being. Sometimes Gabriel appeared to the Prophet as Ziya Kalbi, the most beautiful youth among the Companions.

Finally, the beloved may be another human being. The relationship one experiences with this beloved may be sexual (as ritualized in Hindu tantra, or as discussed by Ibn ‘Arabi in his *Bezels of Wisdom*, where he comments on the saying of the Prophet that three things of this world were dear to him: perfume, women, and prayer).²⁰ However, in Islam some love affairs must be by (Legal) definition chaste: all those outside marriage or Legal concubinage. The Law in itself however does not provide the entire reason for

chastity in love. In tantric terms one might say that chastity builds up a psychic energy which can be turned toward spiritual ends, "sublimed" (in alchemical terms) and used in the Transmutation. The Prophet says that he who loves, but does not speak of it, or take any means to consummate it, so that he dies of it, still chaste, will enjoy in paradise the rewards of a martyr. In mystical terms "death" can refer to the extinction of the separative ego, and "paradise" to the state of metaphysical realization.

Some scholars who have written about love in Sufism, and even about *shahed bazi*, have hypothesized a Platonic origin for the ideas and practices in question. Ritter, Nicholson, and others seem unable to believe that "mere Moslems" could come up with such exalted notions without Greek help.²¹ But the Sufis themselves, while they may mention Plato, make different claims: they trace their ideas back to the Koran and the Prophetic Traditions already quoted, among others. Some Sufis may comment in a general way on the universality of these ideas, or even trace their spiritual ancestry to Plato (as does the philosopher Suhrawardi, "the Murdered One"); but their expositions are always carried out in purely Islamic terms.

If *shahed bazi* is chaste, it must consist primarily of looking, contemplating the face and form of the beloved. This is called the Glance [*nazar*]. In support of this terminology, Sufis cite the Koran: "Do they not consider [*yanzurun fi*] the kingdoms of the heavens and of the earth and what things God has created?" (VII, 185). Also, they quote these sayings of the Prophet: "Seek good from those who have beautiful faces"; "Three things cool the eyes: greenery, water, and a lovely face"; "Gazing at a comely face is an act of worship." (The last hadith was so suspect in Traditionalist circles that some jurists claimed one could invoke the death penalty against anyone who quoted it.)²²

Umar Khayyam in his *Nawruz nameh* [New Year's Day Book] says:

The sages invariably regard a fair face as a sign of good fortune, and its contemplation a special privilege. They say that the appearance of a fair face has the same influence

on human affairs as a lucky star in the ascendant. By way of comparison they cite the garment which has been laid away in a perfumed chest, and, being impregnated with sweet odors, diffuses incense all around; or the ray of sunshine on the water, reflected in a sunless place.

The "fair face" is for the philosophers the sign of the perfection of created things; for the initiate it is the reflection which illuminates the truth; for yet others it is the manifestation of truth, which lays bare the truth itself to the eyes of those who seek it, in order that they may be brought back to the true by virtue of its reality.²³

Another Sufi author, Abdol Hasan Daylami, gives two definitions of the Witness. In Islamic jurisprudence a "just witness" [*shahed 'adel*] is one whose testimony cannot be reproached. The *shahed* therefore is someone (or thing) which informs us of the uniqueness of the artisan who made him (or it). So much even the orthodox can accept. Daylami adds however that for the mystic, the beloved is the highest and most perfect focus for this realization; he is one who "testified" that he has "recently been in the presence [*mashhad*] of the Universal Beauty and has been set apart by his maker from the rest of his works."²⁴

In the *Mashariq* of al-Dabbagh, the author stipulates that the path of sacred love is open only to favorably endowed souls, pneumatic types, the elect of the elect. Most men have limited their religious devotions to idols (and it might be added that the pious and iconoclast monotheist can make an idol of his piety). Dabbagh comments that even if many people are prevented by lust from the spiritual contemplation of human beauty, this does not mitigate the fact that the human form represents the highest perfection of divine artisanship.²⁵ As Mahmud Shabestari points out in his *Rosegarden of the Secret*, if this beauty too is an "idol," then if the Moslems understood the matter in its true light, they too would become "idol-worshippers."²⁶

Aside from the Gaze, embracing and kissing were also permitted in *shahed bazi* sessions, at least according to one enemy of Sufism, Ibn Taymiyya, who notes that "a mystic might kiss his beloved

and say to him, 'Thou art God'.²⁷ Music and dance were also essential elements in the Game which were condemned by many orthodox, even certain Sufis.

Not unexpectedly, anti-*shahed bazi* writings were voluminous. There is no need to describe all the moral, theological, and philosophical weapons leveled against the practice. "Say to the believers that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts" (Koran XXIV, 30). The Prophet is supposed to have said that the punishment in Hell for kissing a boy is worse than that for repeatedly raping one's own mother. He is also reported to have said, "Keep not company with the sons of the rich, for verily souls desire them in a way they do not desire freed slave girls."²⁸

In his *Talbis Iblis* [Satan's Lie], the anti-Sufi Ibn al-Jawzi connects *shahed bazi* to the heresy of Incarnationism [*hulul*], the idea that God is especially present in certain avatar figures. Theologians claimed that the Beatific Vision could only come after death, but the Sufis pretend that it can be seen with the eyes; "it is not uncommon for a man to claim that he has witnessed God while gazing at a comely slave boy."²⁹

Such a heretic might quote Hallaj:

*Praise to him whose humanity has manifested the mystery
of the glory of his radiant divinity,
and who, since then, has shown himself to his creature openly
in the form of one who eats and drinks
so that his creature could contemplate him
with his eyes, as if face to face.*³⁰

Aside from any moral, theological or even mystical arguments against the Gaze made by orthodox opponents of the practice, their psychological argument was strong: Gazes lead to kisses and embraces, and finally to union. Such is human nature. If sex between a man and a boy is forbidden by Law, then so should Gazes be forbidden. If there exist saints who can actually surround themselves with temptation and yet remain chaste, the tension involved in such a situation must still be exceedingly dangerous. When Rumi was told that Awhaduddin kept company with Witnesses but remained chaste, he is reported to have said something to the effect that "It would have been better

if he'd slept around for a few years as a youth and gotten over it."

The enemies of the Sufis were convinced that more went on at their meetings than dancing and (at the most) a kiss or two. Like psychologists, they saw sex everywhere, and perhaps not without reason. One Sufi, accused by the arch-puritan Ibn Taymiyya of sexual immorality, replied, "And so what if I did?"

Undoubtedly there existed Sufis then—as now—who were *bisharh*, "Lawless." Some Orders are known for this, such as certain branches of the Qalandariyya in India and Afghanistan. Distinctly heretical sects within Islam, such as the Assassins, the Ahl-i-Haqq, the Qizilbashiyya, Bektashiyya and Hurufiyya, have used sufi terminology and texts without adhering to the Shariah. Aside from these sometimes antinomian movements, Sufism has frequently served as a pose for marginal and even criminal elements within traditional Islamic society.

The defenders of Ahmad Ghazzali, Awhaduddin Kermani, 'Iraqi, and Jami—all of whom are accepted in the initiatic chains of orthodox Sufi Orders—make the assumption that these men were not hypocrites, the "proof" being the spiritual quality of their lives and their writings. Therefore, if they claimed to be chaste, they were telling the truth. Their acceptance as Sufi masters and poets does not depend on their "morals"; it is rather a question of spiritual "taste." Sufism as such is not concerned with morals. Orthodox Sufis accept the letter of the Law and attempt to live in its spirit. Heterodox Sufis maintain that the esoteric spirit abrogates the letter of the Law. But Sufism itself is the Path, not the Law, and from its own point of view takes precedence over the Law.

Psychologically, *shahed bazi* is a kind of madness. Its proponents admit this—boast of it, in fact—as readily as its detractors. Kermani states openly that no argument put forth either by theologians or mystics can deter him from his path, his *amor fati*.

As for their sexuality (aside from the question of chastity) neither he nor 'Iraqi ever apologizes. In fact, even the Islamic moralists seem to assume that the desire for boys is natural; religious Law is not the same as natural law. Pederasty, according to the usual view of Islamic society, has never been considered as grave a fracture of social mores as it

***Awhaduddun Kirmani, for consistency with p.22, note 9 and several external sources; Arabic transliteration is highly variable, of course)**

is in Christian society, even though Islamic jurisprudence condemned it just as harshly as did the Laws of other "Abrahamic traditions."

In societies where women are shrouded and veiled, men tend to give overt expression to bisexual leanings. The homosexuality of medieval Persia, and of so much Persian love poetry, lacks to a certain degree the atmosphere of shame and guilt connected with it in other societies. Even handbooks on manners for princes could discuss casually the relative merits of women and boys.³¹ The emperor Mahmud of Ghazna was not generally scorned as a sodomite because of his love for Ayaz the slave boy. In fact, the pair became a popular romantic symbol, mentioned in the same breath with Layla and Majnun. In his version of the romance (in the *Sawanih*) Ahmad Ghazzali never once questions whether their love was normal or permitted or not.³² He simply accepts it, and uses it as the framework for his mystical message. In short, aside from any religious question, pederasty has been much more "socialized" (in the jargon of modern sociology) in Islamic society than in ours; and in thinking about the Sufi Witness-players we ought not to be blinded by our own society's preconceptions and prejudices.

The ultimate problem for the Islamic moralists and theologians was not pederasty or paedophilia. They dismissed heterosexuals like Ibn 'Arabi and Ibn al-Farid with just as much scorn as they condemned Kermani. The real danger in "sacred paedophilia" was the claim that human beings can realize themselves in love more perfectly than in religious practices. This was Kermani's claim, and this is what turned even many Sufis against him.

For the witness

*we'll stake heart & soul
on a card*

Gamble it all

*give up earth
& heaven.*

In this world

*what could be better
than witness-play?*

Tell me

*that I may renounce it
for love again.³³*

Editor's Note:

Portions of this text appeared in Heart's Witness: The Sufi Quatrains of Awhadoddin Kermani by Bernd Manuel Weischer and Peter Lamborn Wilson (Tehran, 1976); and Scandal: Essays in Islamic Heresy by Peter Lamborn Wilson, Chapter 4, "The Witness Game: Imaginal Yoga and Sacred Pedophilia" (a collaboration with B. Manuel Weischer), (Autonomea, Box 568, New York 11211, USA; 1991.)

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NOTES

For transliteration of Arabic diacritical marks, we have followed rules established by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* published by Cambridge University Press. The smooth-breathing hamza symbol is represented in this article by an apostrophe, and a rough-breathing ayn symbol is represented by a single opening quotation mark.

1. Abu Nuwas, Hasan ibn Hani al-Hakami, *O Tribe That Loves Boys: The Poetry of Abu Nuwas*, trans. Hakim Bey (Amsterdam: Entimos Press and Utrecht: The Abu Nuwas Society, 1993), poem XX.

2. Ibn 'Arabi, Muhyi'oddin, *The Tarjuman al-ashwaq: A Collection of Mystical Odes*, ed., trans., commentary by R.A. Nicholson (London, 1911; reprint, London, Theosophical Publishing House, 1978), p. 65.

3. See P.L. Wilson (in collaboration with B. Manuel Weischer), "The Witness Game: Imaginal Yoga and Sacred Pedophilia," in P.L. Wilson, *Scandal: Essays in Islamic Heresy* (New York: Automedia, 1988), pp. 93-4.

4. For the most satisfactory work on the subject, although limited in period, see Joseph N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam*, (Albany: SUNY Press,

1979). In Persia, nearly every Sufi poet belongs to this "School"; examples may be found in P.L. Wilson and N. Pourjavady, *The Drunken Universe: An Anthology of Persian Sufi Poetry* (Grand Rapids, Mich., Phanes Press, 1987).

5. Louis Massignon, *Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr*, trans., ed., abridged by H. Mason (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982 [1994]), pp. 168-170.

6. See Henry Corbin's French translation of the first chapter, in Ruzbehan Beqli Shirazi, *La Jasmin des fidèles d'amour* (Teheran & Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1958).

7. For Ahmed Ghazzali, see note 32. For 'Iraqi, see his *Divine Flashes (Th Lama'at)*, trans. and intro. by W.C. Chittick and P.L. Wilson (New York: Paulist Press, 1982).

8. *The Witness Game*, p. 95.

9. For sources (editions and manuscripts) of the poetry of ^{Kirmani} Kermāni, see B. Manuel Weischer and P.L. Wilson, trans. and intro., *Heart's Witness: The Sufi Quatrains of Awhaduddin Kirmani* (Tehran: Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 11-13; see also note 12.

10. For Ibn 'Arabi, see T. Izutsu, *Sufism and Taoism* (Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1983); the *Fusus al-hikam*, trans. R.W.J. Austin as *Ibn al 'Arabi: The Bezels of Wisdom* (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1981); H. Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, trans. R. Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge* (Albany, SUNY Press, 1989).

11. Sadruddin's own writings contain evidence of the close relations among Ibn 'Arabi, Awhadoddin, and himself; for instance, he asked to be buried in the cloak of the Ibn 'Arabi and on the prayer carpet of Kermāni. See "The Last Will and Testament of Ibn 'Arabi's Foremost Disciple," trans. with commentary by W.C. Chittick in *Sophia Perennis*, Vol. IV, no. 1 (Spring 1978).

12. After a survey of catalogues of Persian manuscripts in European libraries it is apparent that collections of Kirmani's quatrains are to be found in a manuscript in the India Office in London (16 poems); one in the British library (69 poems) which dates from 1408; and one in the University Library of Bratislava, Slovakia (111 poems). But the greatest part of his work is without doubt to be found in Istanbul, according to H. Ritter and B. Furuzanfar. The latter noted that Aya Sofya MS 2910 contains 1731 poems; and Ritter found that Halet Ef. Ilavesi MS 238 (fol. 87b-103a) which dates from 727 A.H. was devoted to Awhadoddin. Unfortunately of these last two we have been able to make use only of the Halet Ilave collection, but if there is ever to be critical edition of the poet's work, Aya Sofya 2910 must be taken into consideration. The

poems contained in our book *Heart's Witness*, op. cit., some of which are appended to this article, are taken variously from: the India Office manuscript; the British Library source; a few from the Bratislava collection; and some from the Halet Ilave MS. We have also included a few quatrains found in Jami's life of the poet in *Nafahat al-uns*, as well as a few of those included by

* Helmut Ritter in his *Das Meer der Seele. Mensch, Welt und Gott in den Geschichten des Fariduddin 'Attar* (Leiden: 1955), p. 476. We were also able to study a copy and use work from MS Carullah, 736 A.H. from the Suleymaniye Kutuphanesi in Istanbul, under the title *Nuzhat-al-majalis*, folios 41-43. Note by B.M. Weischer. 13. On "audition" or *sama* see Ahmad Ghazzali, *Tracts on Listening to Music*, trans J. Robson (London: 1938), pp. 69-118.

14. See Mir Valiuddin, *Love of God, the Sufi Approach* (Hyderabad, India: 1968), esp. Chapter V, "Sensory Love," pp. 153-191.

15. See *Heart's Witness: The Sufi Quatrains of Awhaduddin Kirmani*, trans. B. Manuel Weischer and P.L. Wilson (Tehran: Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1978), pp. 1-5.

16. Claude Addas, *Quest for the Red Sulphur: The Life of Ibn 'Arabi*, trans. P. Kingsley (Cambridge, UK: The Islamic Texts Society, 1993 [1989]), pp. 228-230.

17. *The Tarjuman*, op. cit., p. 65.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

19. This *hadith* is frequently discussed by Sufis. See e.g., Ibn 'Arabi in Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, p. 120.

20. *Bezels of Wisdom*, op. cit., pp. 269-284.

21. See in general the work of R.A. Nicholson, e.g., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).

22. See J.N. Bell, op. cit., p. 23 *et passim*.

23. See "The Witness Game," p. 101.

24. J.N. Bell, op. cit., p. 140.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

* 26. Mahmud Shabestani, *Gulshan-i raz, The Mystic Rose Garden*, trans. E.H. Whinfield (London, 1880).

27. J.N. Bell, op. cit., p. 142.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

30. *Ibid.*

31. See, for example, Kai Ka'us ibn Iskandar, *A Mirror for Princes—The Qabus Nama* trans. Reuben Levy (London: The Cresset Press, 1951), Chap. XV, "On Taking One's Pleasure": "During the summer let your desires incline towards youths and during the winter towards women." p. 78.

32. See Ahmad Ghazzali, *Sawanih: Inspirations from the World of Pure Spirits*, trans. N. Pourjavady (London: Kegan Paul, 1986)

33. "The Witness Game," p. 109.

POEMS FROM THE RUBAIYYAT OF AWHADODDIN KERMANI

Translated by B. Manuel Weischer and
Peter Lamborn Wilson

1.

In the tavern
we make our ablutions
only with wine.
A reputation
once shot forever
is never reborn.
Our honor's curtain
is ripped to such
ragged shreds
I fear it can never
be made again
untorn.

2.

On the road
to certainty:
no doubt.
Without
that certainty:
no safety.
Seek this world
you'll lose
the other.
My friend
you cannot
have both.

3.

If his love has traced
no cracks
in your heart
you are dust—
lower
than dust.
Don't be a dead-heart—
hold out for
eternal life.
Where the heart lives
there's no fear
of death.

4.

My good sir
playing the chess
of passions
ordering your lusty knights
zig-zag
helter-skelter...
Look:
the dawn of destiny
creeps up a space.
How easily
you have been
checkmated.

5.

My friend
 no one veils you
 but yourself.
 No thorns
 no weeds in your path
 but you.
 Well then
 shall I reach the beloved
 or not?
 Between you and him
 lies nothing
 but yourself.

6.

If your heart
 walks the same path
 with sincerity
 it will gain
 the knowledge
 of above and below.
 Follow desire
 walk round to the
 door of Truth
 feel the sorrow of time
 slip away
 from your soul.

7.

Only this
 can be added to my joy:
 sorrow for you.
 Only in this
 does my soul find rest:
 the search for you.
 The dust on your stairs
 is ointment
 for my eye
 and in my eye
 the emptiness of heaven and earth
 but a speck of dust.

8.

My pain flows
 not from the Kaaba
 but from your perfume
 my drunkenness
 from your attar—
 not wine.
 One sniff of Union
 and I have become
 an idol-temple
 those weird chants
 rising from the sanctum:
 a Song of Love.

9.

Tonight
 no sign
 of joy
 maybe
 in others
 not me.
 The music
 has no taste
 tonight
 the beloved
 is
 away.

10.

In love's sorrow
 my days pass
 for nights
 the heart dissolved
 flows from
 my eyes.
 'How have you been?'
 someone inquires
 and I answer
 How should I pass
 my days and nights?
 In flames.

11.

In a lifetime
 you could never find
 a friend like me...
 it might
 take you
 a whole Age.
 I am your dust:
 why scatter me
 to the wind?
 I fear
 that between us
 a cloud may rise.

12.

When you caress me
 I am your
 beloved servant
 when you spurn me
 I am your
 rejected slave.
 Rejection
 and acceptance
 are equal to me
 so long
 as I am occupied
 with you.

13.

I cannot hide
 my love for you
 from the public
 any more
 than I could find a salve
 for my boundless pain.
 What shall I do?
 I wish I could
 love someone else
 I wish...
 but my heart
 refuses.

14.

Do I see you
 for only a few moments
 in a day?
 No—don't believe it:
 without straining my eyes
 I see you always.
 How can I
 possibly describe
 the joy
 which bathes my eyes
 in my constant sorrowing
 after you?

15.

None blows fire
 into our hearts
 but him,
 none makes short
 the path to him
 but him.
 If all the world
 became our doctor
 still
 no one could cure us
 of him
 but him.

16.

Love for you
 lives in our
 turbulent hearts:
 the merest scrap
 from your hand
 is holy.
 Name your price
 we'll consider it
 a bargain
 so long as we
 may embrace
 your exquisite form.

17.

In a secret language
I spoke
to the beloved:
My heart beats
only with longing
for your face.
True—this business
never follows
my desires
but I will never
take a single step
outside my passion.

18.

Amor,
entire want
of my heart
I believe you
the origin
of all change
but however
I view
our affair
today: only you
tomorrow:
you.

19.

You don't think
I'm dancing to be
'creative'
or to invent
something new
and amusing?
You don't imagine
I believe my choreography
'divine'?
No no I dance
for the sake of a
moonlight boy.

ON BOY-LOVE PAEDOPHILIA

Historical and Scientific Perspectives

O. Bruno

Editor's Note

*The following text is the first translation into English of the Dutch book *Pedofilie*, published in 1960. It was written as a response to a controversy within the gay movement in the late 1950s as to whether or not to remove boy-lovers and paedophiles from the Dutch gay rights organization, COC. The book was published in two editions, Dutch and French: O. Bruno, *Pedofilie* (Amsterdam: C.O.C., 1960) and O. Bruno, *La Pédophilie: L'amour des garçons*, with a preface by Victor Servatius (Rotterdam: Enclave, 1964).*

Introduction

Goethe once said, "The love of boys is as old as the human race, and so we can say that it is a part of nature."¹ He could well have added that this love is as widespread as the human race. In all centuries, in all nations, among all races, among all peoples we find men who feel themselves erotically attracted exclusively to boys, and who desire to have sexual relations with them.

When confronted with this phenomenon, societies have adopted every imaginable attitude. Boy-love has been celebrated as the noblest bond between two human beings; it has been accepted as a self-evident fact; it has been institutionalized according to a set of rules; it has been socially condoned; it has been regarded as the object of good-natured mockery; it has been violently detested; it has been declared to be a severe crime; and sometimes not only the adult man but even the boy with whom he "sinned" have been tortured and put to death.

Whatever the reactions, it has always occupied the human mind, and the related scientific studies, the innumerable poetic and romantic descriptions would fill a small library. Yet, a comprehensive, contemporary study of boy-love, and its role in present day society, is still lacking and might itself fill more than one large volume. The goal of the present work is, however, more modest, namely to arrive at a better understanding of the phenomenon so that the reader will be that much better able to form a judgment.

We shall first have to ask why it is so difficult for any of us to maintain a balanced attitude when the subject is broached. It is clearly necessary to approach the subject with the utmost caution and not to be carried away by our emotions. We shall also have to ask whether or not, and to what degree, the censorious arguments usually put forward are valid. If such arguments cannot be maintained in the face of scientific evidence, we shall then have room to show that there are, in fact, both favorable and unfavorable aspects to boy-love, a conclusion that might have been expected from a phenomenon capable of arousing in mankind's greatest thinkers and leaders a range of reactions from horror to glorification.

The object of this work is, therefore, to assemble facts and information. It is not an attempt to arrive at a comprehensive moral and ethical assessment. We have deliberately not asked whether it is even permissible for a man to approach a boy sexually; such a question can only be decided within the context of a well-defined system of sexual morality, and as long as the reader and author disagree about this system, no rewarding discussion between them is possible.

We have here devoted ourselves primarily to a discussion of the influence on the boy, and possible benefits or harm, of such a sexual relationship. Thus, we do not delve deeply into the many theories attempting to explain how the man's erotic feelings become directed towards boys. For our purposes, it makes no difference whether a person is born a paedophile or acquires this sexual desire through social influences later in life. Neither does it matter whether this tendency is "curable" or unchangeable. It is only the mutual, erotic relationship between the boy-lover and the boy which we shall set out now to describe as clearly as we can.

1. The Terminology of Paedophilia

We have used the words "paedophile" and "paedophilia" because of their classical reference to more ancient expressions of boy-love. We will keep to this terminology, even though we fully realize there are people who do not find these words apt, for example, because of their modern medicalization.

In antiquity the Greeks used the words *paidophil* and *paidophilein* to indicate a man's love for a boy, while *paiderastia*, or *paidoon eros* indicated the behavior and the phenomenon. *Pais* means boy, but also child, and as the inclination we are discussing here is very specifically directed towards boys who are biologically sexually mature and certainly not towards prepubescent children, some authors have proposed to call the inclination towards teenage boys *epebophilia*. I do not agree. The word *epebophilia* is a modern invention. It was unknown to the Greeks.² They would not have used it in their descriptions of the eros between men and boys. In Athens, for example, a young man was called *epebe* when he was between 18 and 20 years of age; in other cities when he was between 16 and 18.³

To be an *epebe* meant to be poised on the edge of adulthood: the *epebe* was marriageable and entitled to vote. Speaking about boy-love, we refer—and the Greeks referred—to a younger age, to boys who had perhaps just reached sexual maturity, but were not yet fully developed.

It is better to keep the word *paedophilia*, even if it has the disadvantage of not clearly distinguishing four distinct phenomena:

- Men desiring small girls;
- Women desiring boys;
- Women desiring girls;
- Men desiring immature boys.

None of these four inclinations, however, has at any time been so widespread or important as the desire for pubescent boys. However, it does seem apparent that father-daughter incest is much more common than the public supposes.⁴

Although Stekel calls the tendency very common, it seems that the erotic preference of adult women for pubescent boys occurs less frequently than it does in men.⁵ Perhaps it is not surprising that Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Lolita*, describing an adult man's love for a 12-year-old girl, became world famous, while Albert Nortal's *Le fruit vert et la chair fraiche*, published about the same time and dealing with a love affair between a woman and various 15-year-old boys, went unnoticed.⁶ A difference of literary quality is not enough to explain this. Louvet de Couvray's *Les amours du Chevalier de Faublas*, also with a 15-year-old protagonist, also failed to gain popularity.⁷ According to some theories, this form of *paedophilia* is mainly found in heterophile women looking for a male love object whom they can dominate; therefore, the boy's clumsiness and inexperience during the first physical contacts strongly excite their lust; they play the role of motherly friend, initiating the boy in new pleasures. These theorists also note that there may be a certain sadistic pleasure in destroying his virgin purity.⁸ As we learn from the dispute between a man-loving woman and a boy-loving woman in *The Thousand and One Nights*, the normal female would find the clumsiness and lack of control of boys in sexual intercourse to be a distinct disadvantage.⁹

According to Kinsey, homophile *paedophilia* is much less common among women than among men. This is easily understood, for physically the difference between a mature girl and an adult woman is much less than the difference between a pubertal boy and an adult man. The male *paedophile* is attracted by properties of the boyish body which are lacking in the adult male;

for these he must address himself to boys. But it must be very exceptional that a woman feels herself erotically attracted to those traits which distinguish the girl from the woman.

What remains to be discussed is the inclination of adult men towards immature boys. Bloch thinks such child-love among homophiles is rare.¹⁰ Premisela says that the widely-held opinion that all homosexuals are boy-molesters is entirely unjustified; according to him, the large majority prefer individuals past childhood.¹¹ According to Hirschfeld, among homophiles only 5% are interested in boys under 14.¹² Giese examined a sample of 220 homophiles; three men preferred boys 12 to 16, but none were attracted to younger boys.¹³ Among 133 cases of boys having had sexual relations with a man for which the man had been convicted by the court, Tolsma encountered one boy of 6, four of 8, three of 9, four of 10, three of 11, four of 12, for a total of 19 children.¹⁴ It must be taken into account that the risk of being discovered by the police is greater in sexual relations with very young partners than with older boys, and so 19 out of 133 is certainly not an accurate figure.

Considering the psychology of the adult partner implied in sexual activities as well as the importance of these activities for the younger partner, it seems necessary to distinguish clearly between the cases in which the boy is sexually mature and those in which he is not. If the boy is immature, not only the natural barrier of belonging to the same sex, but also the absence of sexual equality must be taken into account. In a mature boy the man looks for a partner who has the necessary physical development and the sexual drive to share completely in the union.

The remainder of our study will deal exclusively with this last form of paedophilia, that is to say, the erotic inclination of adult males towards sexually mature but not yet adult males.

2. What Is a Boy?

A "boy" is a sexually mature non-adult. The reader will do well to keep this definition in mind, for in daily speech and in the press, even young fathers of children are often still referred to as "boys."

As always where we are dealing with human development, it is impossible to fix exact age limits. The American scientists Herbert Rowell Stolz and Lois Meek Stolz, authors of *Somatic Development of Adolescent Boys*, made a systematic study of the subject.¹⁵ Their abundantly illustrated book contains the results of their research of over 150 American schoolboys whom they measured and photographed every six months from their 10th to their 18th year.

It is difficult to indicate the exact moment when the boy attains somatic maturity, that is to say, begins to produce fertile sperm. The only definitive method to establish this is through laboratory testing of morning urine, and insufficient research is available up to this writing.

The Stolzes limited their study of maturation to the changes photographically perceptible in the genital organs. Generally the period of accelerated growth in the whole body appeared to coincide exactly with the period of accelerated growth of the testicles and the increase in volume of the anterior part of the penis. The development of pubic hair showed little connection with these other changes and is therefore a less reliable indication of maturity: pubic hair may precede biological maturity, but may also come after it. In this sample, the accelerated growth in size and development of the penis begins at an average age of 12.6 years (in the earliest at 11, in the latest at 14.4), and the testicles at an average of 11.8 (in the earliest at 9.7, in the latest at 13.2). The accelerated development of the penis ended at an average of 15 years (in the earliest at 13.4, in the latest at 16.6) and of the testicles at the average of 16.3 (in the earliest at 14.5, in the latest at 18).¹⁶ The moment of maturation must fall somewhere between these limits. Undeutsch calculated this for boys in Germany at 13.68 years.¹⁷

In the 1930s in Berlin, Dr. Wilfried Zeller examined 414 schoolboys aged 14. In 23 of them, the genitals were still entirely childlike, while in 31 they were already completely mature. The remaining showed intermediate phases.¹⁸ Hurlock indicates 13 and 14 as the age of most rapid development of the genitals.¹⁹

The nature of male sexuality, directed as it is towards expression, would indicate that in most boys the first ejaculation should occur soon after

maturation. Better nourishment and hygiene accelerate development. Kinsey established the average age of first ejaculation of the working class as 14.2 years, of secondary-school pupils as 13.7, and of the university-bound as 13.4 years.²⁰ The most advanced in maturation (0.1%) start in their eighth year, the slowest (0.2%) at age 18. According to Kinsey, in most boys the pubic hair (average 13.4 years), the first ejaculation (average 13.8), and the change of the voice (average 14.4) precede an accelerated growth in height.²¹ In Hurlock's study the order of development is: voice change, development of pubic hair, and ejaculation.²² According to Zeller, the final phase, complete adult male development, is first attained in the maturation of the larynx, then in the appearance of the genitals, the change of color and shape of the nipples, the shape of the whole body, the growth of the beard, the axillary hair, the pubic hair, the remaining body hair, and the timbre of the voice.²³

It may seem superfluous to discuss this matter at such length, but many adults, including those writing and talking about paedophilia, are unfamiliar with these facts; they often discuss the behavior of 14-year-old boys as if they were entirely sexless beings. Such a misjudgment of reality distorts the view of paedophilia.

3. Paedophilia and Boy-love in Antiquity

If we fix the youngest age of a paedophile's object of attraction at an average of 14 years (as early as 12 for precocious developers) and the upper limit at 18 (as late as 20 or 21 for late developers), this corresponds perfectly with what the Greeks of antiquity meant by *paidoon eros*, boy-love, especially if we take into account that boys in Mediterranean lands mature earlier than in The Netherlands. The poetic monument for classical boy-love is found in the twelfth book of the *Anthologia Graeca* (or *Palatina*), prepared by Hermann Beckby in a new edition including a German translation. The 258 epigrams are exclusively love poems devoted to boys and range from tender adoration of their beauty to coarse sensual descriptions of physical intercourse.²⁴ The fourth epigram reads:

*When a boy is twelve he gives me pleasure
And when he's thirteen he'll attract me more
At fourteen he's the sweetest blossom of love
And when he turns fifteen it is keener yet;
Boys of sixteen are for the gods, and I wouldn't touch
A boy of seventeen because he's only fit for Zeus;
If you're looking for older boys the game is off.
It's obvious—you want him to do the same to you.*

Sexual activities with individuals much younger and much older were considered objectionable. Epigram 228 expresses this clearly:

*If a budding boy errs through inexperience
This casts shame upon the friend who seduces him;
If a boy past the proper age suffers a man's love
His willingness magnifies the shame two-fold
But Moiris, my boy, there's a stage when it's no longer
And not yet shameful and that's upon us now, you and me.*

Bloch indicates that Greek boy-love was inspired by boys aged 12 to 18.²⁵ Lucian calls it indecent to have relations with a youth over 18.²⁶ When his beard started growing and the pubic hair became thick, a boy lost his sensual desirability, Bloch says. In epigram 220, Prometheus is held responsible for the horrible growth of the beard and for the hairiness of the boy's legs; that Zeus punished him is only just, the poet sighs. In epigram 195, he complains about a boy's beauty being destroyed by sprouting hair, as a beautiful flower fades away on a hot day. This theme recurs constantly. For instance, in epigram 31: "By Zeus and the wine that inebriated me, you have still little time left for love. Your chin and your legs are already downy and soon love will prefer other subjects. Don't be prudish as long as there is still a spark of fire in you: Eros has his own period." In the same vein, the Roman poet Martialis offers his wishes to his friends that their young slaves will maintain their smooth skin for a long time.²⁷

In this regard the Greeks and Romans of antiquity thought precisely the same as all other peoples among whom boy-love was customary. The Persians, referring to the first growth of the beard, said, "The cheeks are mourning for the beauty that has passed."²⁸ According to Krauss,

the Japanese call the beloved boy *takenoko*, i.e., bamboo shoot. Shoots of bamboo are edible as long as they are young and hairless. A Japanese manual for boy-lovers advises against intercourse with a boy when his arse hairs begin to show.²⁹

The last line of the fourth epigram of the *Anthologia Graeca* (quoted above) points to a characteristic difference between the ancient boy-love which was a popular custom and what we today call paedophilia. Where boy-love is customary, intercourse with boys is sought mostly by heterophiles. For these men, such intercourse is only a variant on the intercourse with a woman, and so in the meeting of their bodies they expect from the boy a female, passive role. In his *Art of Love*, Ovid mentions this explicitly as his reason for preferring a girl to a boy, "Odio concubitus qui non utrimque resolvant." (I don't like sexual relations which are pleasing to only one of the partners).³⁰ In the same vein, see epigram 208 in book 5 of the *Anthologia Graeca*. The sneering final line of the fourth Greek epigram, as well as many lines of the Latin poet Martialis, show it to be indecent and humiliating for a man were the boy to take the active role during intercourse, and especially so if he was exclusively the active partner.³¹

In present-day boy-love this is, of course, different. If the sex contact is inspired by a tendency exclusively directed towards boys, then the man will value the boy as a partner in love in the same way as an adult friend in a homophile relationship; the sexual activities are performed in essentially the same way and with the same variations and interchange of roles. We see this clearly illustrated in most of the 40 love stories of male homophiles collected by George W. Henry in his book *Sex Variants*.³² Insofar as the experiences related here are of youths with adults, all kinds of contacts are mentioned, active and passive, entirely mixed. We will return to this point later in this study.

4. Homophiles Are Not Paedophiles

The majority of heterophiles formerly supposed that every homophile is more or less paedophile. Superficially, everything seems to support this

view. Why should the average male-loving man react differently than the average female-loving man?

In Dutch law, a girl is allowed to marry when she is 16, and, with a royal dispensation, even younger. To have sex appeal at that age is considered normal. In 1959, a Greek newspaper reported the marriage of a 15-year-old shepherd boy with a shepherdess of the same age,³³ reminding us of the 16-year-old Nikolio from Kazantzakis' fine novel, *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Readers familiar with stories of Erskine Caldwell such as *Tobacco Road*, set in the American South, know that even younger marriages occur there. Truman Capote's masterly novella, "My Side of the Matter," in *A Tree of Night and Other Stories*, also treats this subject.

Various considerations usually deter an adult man from sexual intercourse with a mature girl of, for example, 14. Nevertheless, it would be decidedly unusual if a beauty of so many (or so few!) springs did not excite an erotic interest in him. So why should this be otherwise for homophiles when it comes to boys? When contact ads in magazines for homophiles indicate 21 years as a minimum age, this is done exclusively to respect the limits fixed by law. As soon as a country lowers the age of consent, the age in contact ads is also lowered immediately. In the Danish monthly *Vennen*, for example, interest is repeatedly shown for 18-year-olds.³⁴

But it is certainly not true that the age limit would be lowered much further if there were no legal limits, or if people simply ignored them. Leonard R., one of the 40 men described by Henry in *Sex Deviants*, is the proprietor of a homophile rendezvous and has an ever-changing stable of 10 young men for his clients. On the strength of his 15 years experience in this business he states, "They always want boys between the ages of 16 and 28."³⁵ It may happen that a homophile, who enjoys gently teasing his paedophile acquaintances about their addiction to urchins—as he calls them jeeringly—nevertheless might show great interest in a publication such as Hajo Ortil's *A Hundred Naked Rebels*, a special issue of the naturist periodical *Helios* entirely devoted to boys and children.³⁶ Should we call this hypocrisy? No, we can honestly believe his assurance that he appreciates a boy aesthetically, but feels in no way tempted

to a sexual contact with him, just as many homophiles admire the well-built body of a girl without desiring intercourse.

The big difference between the situation of the heterophile and that of the homophile is that the body of a mature girl and that of an adult woman are not so dissimilar, whereas the physical appearance of an adult man is considerably different from that of a boy. If asked why they prefer boys, paedophiles mention the smooth, hairless skin, the more rounded forms, the freshness, the slender waist, the ruddy cheeks, the clear eyes, the full red lips, the sheen of the boy's hair. A typical example is the beloved boy, Tazio, in Thomas Mann's "Death in Venice." On the other hand, a male with thick facial or body hair, a particular attraction for quite a few homophiles, will be quite abhorrent to the paedophile, and he might even prefer the body of a woman to that of such a man. A paedophile especially appreciates all those qualities of a boy which a man by nature lacks, qualities which amorous poets have long extolled in girls and women.³⁷ Arab poets, of course, often followed a reverse course and declaimed, when complimenting a girl, that she was as beautiful as a boy!

5. Paedophilia Is Closer to Heterophilia

It should be self-evident that the true homophile, the typical man-loving man, is not fascinated by boys. However, many heterophiles are capable of boy-love. Voltaire, who professed some homosexual inclinations, wrote:

Not rarely a boy, by the fresh color of his face, the shine of his skin and hair, and the soft glow in his eyes, will for two or three years very much be like a beautiful girl; if you fall in love with him, the cause is an error of nature.³⁸

It is inconceivable that androphile homosexuality would enjoy wide popularity, for only a small minority of men can express such desires; however, sexual relationships between men and boys has indeed gained widespread approval in some periods and in some countries.³⁹ It must

be further noted that sexual activities among boys are in all places and times so widespread that no expert will interpret them as an indicator of homophilia. According to Kinsey, 45.4% of high school age boys have experiences of this kind—to orgasm!⁴⁰

When Zeus, in the guise of Amphytrion, stole into Alkmene's bedroom, their meeting pleased him so much that he returned three nights in succession. The result of this exuberance was the superman Heracles. Greek mythology has it that in a single night he deflowered 20 girls, but it also enumerates not less than 14 romantic adventures with boys.⁴¹

In ancient Rome, boys and girls were seen equally as objects of male desire. Petronius described the world in which he lived in his *Satyricon*, just as, centuries later, Louis Couperus in Holland depicted this same world in his novel *De berg van licht* (The mountain of light).⁴² Martialis wrote about the clientele of brothels: the client inspects the cells "where a boy or a girl welcomes you with a smile."⁴³ When his friend Flavius started on a journey to Cyprus, Martialis expressed the wish that he "shall find a handsome boy for himself alone and excite the lusts of a very chaste girl."⁴⁴ And equally, as a matter of course, Horace admonishes an acquaintance:

... tument tibi cum inguina, num, si
Ancilla, aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem
Continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?

... if your blood is boiling, maiden,
why burst with lust, while having in your home
a slave girl or boy, immediately for the taking?⁴⁵

If one accepts the behavior of the mass of mankind as a yardstick, then the paedophile inclination and taste are without doubt more normal than the homophile. The paedophile is nearer to the heterophile, who, isolated in prisons, barracks, or the jungle, frequently takes a boy as a female substitute. Conquering armies used to rape not only woman and girls, but, when these were lacking, boys as well. We have as a reference not only the lively portrayal by Pearl Buck in *Dragon Seed* of such an event during the Sino-Japanese

war; World War I also presented examples; and an anecdote, related by Hirschfeld in his *Sittengeschichte der Nachkriegszeit* is characteristic: When the mayor of a small Bavarian town refused to obey the order of the French commandant to install a brothel for the occupying soldiers, he was warned that in the absence of such an institution no girl or boy would be safe.⁴⁶

Years ago the French *Archives de Criminologie* published the results of an enquiry of Foreign Legion soldiers. In the region where these troops encamped, women were scarce and generally rather unsavory. The men, even those who were entirely oriented to heterophilia, therefore satisfied themselves with native boys. The following are characteristic answers about how they felt:

"In the beginning it seemed disgusting, but I became curious and did it several times. However, I prefer a native girl."

"At first I felt real abhorrence, but one day, far from the village, my sexual drive made me do it. Nowadays from time to time I beg a boy to allow me to do it to him, but only when I'm far away from the camp."

"I never got used to it, the more so because women in the villages are easy to get."

"I don't do it myself, but I can well understand how some might."

"I did it several times, because I wanted to try something new. But to me it remains dirty."

"When there are no women, you have to take what there is."

"It's convenient to take a boy when you are out on an expedition and far away from camp, but otherwise I prefer a woman."

"At first, just after my arrival here, I felt disgusted at the very thought of intercourse with a boy. As an officer of the Legion I gradually got accustomed to the fact that men did it. Finally I was appointed to a lonely post and, moved by curiosity, I decided to give it a try. I then observed that I felt much better when I used a boy from time to time, and that it was a necessity for my health. I found such a pleasure in it that at present I don't desire anything else and prefer intercourse with boys as being by far the most enjoyable."⁴⁷

Sexual intercourse between boys and married men is not in the least exceptional, even under

normal circumstances. Native law in Queensland, Australia states that a man may make sexual use of his wife's younger brothers during her absence.⁴⁸ Burton tells the story of a married Italian fisherman who was asked whether he had ever sinned against nature. He denied this vehemently but shortly afterwards spoke about his sexual activities with boys. "So you lied," he was reproached. He replied, however: "Oh no! You asked me whether I had sinned against nature, but to enjoy myself with boys is as natural to me as eating or drinking."⁴⁹ Among more than one hundred men accused of sexual crimes with minors, Tolsma found 11.6% married and 7% divorced.⁵⁰ Kinsey found among his subjects hundreds of youngsters with stories of homosexual relations with older, socially-successful married men.⁵¹ Boys who have had a great deal of experience with older men quite frequently show a certain pride regarding their conquests of family fathers.

Superficially, we would now suppose that paedophilia, being the most normal deviation (according to works of Moll and Havelock Ellis), situated between the heterophile norm and the homophile deviation from the norm, should meet with some understanding from all sides, and that the average heterophile would demonstrate much less emotional dislike of paedophilia than of homophilia.⁵² Actually, the contrary is true.

6. Appreciation by Women

It must be especially difficult for women to understand the nature and the meaning of sexual relationships between men and boys. In his book *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, Kinsey demonstrates convincingly how very different the evolution of sexuality in girls is from that of boys. The appetite for sexual activities arises spontaneously in boys at the onset of puberty and is usually very strong. Even without anyone stimulating him, a boy generally becomes familiar with sexual gratification and begins to want it early in life. In girls, on the contrary, a longer dormancy ensues, with vague, indeterminate desires; the sleeping beauty usually must be awakened by a kiss from her prince.

It would therefore be difficult for a woman to understand how a boy approached sexually by a man experiences something totally different from what she herself might have experienced as a girl. Apart from what it actually does to a boy (we will discuss this later), it usually does not raise unfamiliar impulses in him but is merely an invitation to experience an already familiar sexuality with a partner. Maternal feelings, or fallacious notions about children's innocence, might incite strong indignation in women against the adult so engaged with a boy.

7. Attitude of Homophiles

The severe judgment of many homophiles regarding paedophile relationships might sometimes ring false but in general springs from sincere feelings. When they set out to demonstrate to the heterophile society the radical difference between a homophile and a paedophile, their arguments often sound hollow. It might be that they think that the problems facing homophiles would vanish if there were no "criminals" molesting children.

The homophile's aversion toward paedophiles can be said to be as real as the society's prejudice towards minorities. It is as "fair and reasonable" as prejudice towards Jews or Negroes or the aversion of heterophiles towards homophiles. Arguments are always invoked to justify such prejudice, more or less cleverly assembled and varying from seemingly reasonable to raving nonsense, but these arguments are not the heart of the matter. The most important point is that only one who is gifted with that rare trait of tolerance accepts with equanimity the fact that some people think differently, look differently, believe differently, judge differently, feel differently, and desire differently. Necessary, if rarer, is the capacity to be conscious of the promptings of one's own soul, and to consider these critically.

Nearly every day, homophiles experience unjust and unreasonable treatment from a society which does not understand their feelings and calls them deviant. It would be most agreeable to paedophiles if this bitter experience of prejudice inspired homophiles to be more open-minded

and sympathetic to the needs of paedophiles, even if paedophile feelings are so different from their own. But this presumes that homophiles have above-average reason, powers of self-criticism, tolerance, and brotherly love.

In an homosexual rights organization such as COC (*Cultuur en Ontspanningscentrum*—Culture and Leisure Center), which has much more to offer homophiles than paedophiles, the number of paedophiles will be very small. Giese researched readers of homophile periodicals, and of the replies received 27% were from men attracted not only to other men but also to boys under 18, and only 2% from men exclusively attracted to boys of this age.⁵³ However, according to Hirschfeld, the number of paedophiles is almost equal to the number of homophiles: among one hundred men whose sexual impulse is directed towards the same sex, there will be 5 attracted to immature children, 45 paedophiles, 45 attracted to adult men and 5 attracted to "grey beards."⁵⁴ The Wolfenden report (1957) states that among 155 males arrested for infringing laws against homosexual activities, 69% preferred adults, 27.7% preferred boys, and 3.3% felt attracted to adults as well as to boys. Whatever may be the truth, the number of paedophiles is certainly not small. In The Netherlands alone there must be thousands. Their situation is extremely difficult. They feel most akin to homophiles, who seldom show any understanding, and they can expect even less from heterophiles. The reason for this is paradoxical: it is exactly because the heterophile is generally susceptible to paedophile feelings that he reacts so emotionally to their every expression.

8. Pure and Impure Heterophilia

I once went with a medical student friend of mine to a swimming pool. He suddenly pointed to an exceptionally beautifully proportioned boy of about 14 standing at the side and said, "Look what a marvelous body that kid has; every detail is nice and so well proportioned." In his voice was a tone of undisguised admiration, perhaps partly inspired by his knowledge of anatomy, but the dominant impression he made on me was,

“This fellow must be one hundred percent heterophile to admire so calmly and openly a naked boy’s body.”

Heterophilia is seldom so pure and simple. The concept of a spectrum of sexual inclination, with as poles the 100% heterophile and the 100% homophile, had been postulated in scientific literature long before Kinsey established that sexual conduct conformed precisely to this notion. In a tabulation of data for 1057 white males aged over age 35 when interviewed, Kinsey arrived at the following figures for American males aged 16 to 35 (i.e., the sexually most active period):

- 0.5% had no sexual contacts at all;
- 76.3% had contacts exclusively with women and girls, and felt exclusively excited by women and girls;
- 3.8% had occasional contacts with a man or a boy, and felt excited by them;
- 5.6% had more than occasional contacts with men or boys and were decidedly excited by them, but were nevertheless mostly inclined to heterosexuality;
- 3.4% were in contacts and feelings about equally heterophile and homophile;
- 2.1% had quite a number of contacts with women or girls and were decidedly excited by them, but were nevertheless predominantly homophile;
- 1.6% had incidental contacts with a woman or a girl and felt excited by them, but had nearly exclusively homophile relations;
- 6.7% had exclusively relations with men or boys.⁵⁵

To understand these figures properly, we must take into account that they were collected in a society where homophilia is officially taboo and where such desires are therefore consciously or unconsciously suppressed. It is quite possible to conjecture that a substantially larger percentage of heterophiles have a significant homophile tendency. The instinct driving males towards females is not as sure and certain as one might wish to believe, and the common occurrence of boy-love in ancient Hellas and Rome, the Chinese, the Japanese, among primitive tribes in Australia, throughout the Middle East, among Indian tribes in North and South America, and both cultured

North-Africans, and black Africans living in the most primitive conditions, proves that the body of a boy, endowed as it is with so many female characteristics, is especially able to provoke erotic feelings in the majority of male heterophiles.

Take several examples from Africa. In the Siwan tribe, most of the men have anal intercourse with boys. Any individual not taking part in this custom is considered abnormal. In the Aranda, every unmarried man is accompanied by a boy who lives with him like a wife until the man marries. Among the Keraki, all young men experience anal intercourse. In the first years after puberty, boys play the passive role, but later on they take the active role with younger comrades. The natives think these relations are necessary for healthy growth.⁵⁶

Where this attitude prevails, nearly every normal man proves himself capable of arousal in paedophile relationships, although this is not permitted in modern Western culture, where it is generally supposed that a man should be inclined to heterophilia. Not only should he not touch men or boys, he is not even permitted to desire such contact. We do not like deviations, things that are different, or people who act differently from the great majority. To call someone a homophile is a criminal insult. Homophilia is not something which someone takes up only for pleasure, even though this is used to justify reprisal.

9. I’m Not Allowed to Be So, Therefore I Am Not

Anyone familiar with the tortuous ways of the human psyche will know how often things are distorted to comply with the prescription, “I’m not allowed to be that way, and so I am not that way.” We are particularly strong in repressing those parts of our minds that we dislike. Homophile desire, and especially paedophile desire, are energetically repressed and kept outside conscious thinking. The more powerful these desires are, the more energy is spent on suppressing them. It is, after all, necessary for the inner peace of every heterophile who does not want to be what he is not allowed to be. He therefore becomes violently agitated when the border between unconscious and conscious is threatened, and this happens

whenever he is confronted with homophilia and paedophilia. He must try not to dwell on these things, for he might then realize how much he has in common with them! He reacts with total and absolute rejection, violent emotion, aversion, and loathing, and as paedophile desire is stronger and more frequent in heterophiles than in homophiles, his reaction against paedophilia is usually all the more charged.

Such a reaction is not in bad faith; it is quite spontaneous. The real motives remain mostly obscure to the persons themselves. Only those who are aware of their innermost being and are at peace with the strange and "deviant" elements in their own minds can calmly judge homophilia and paedophilia.

Goethe wrote a lot of crude, sexual poetry, which for a long time none dared to publish. He was also open to paedophile feelings. In *Wilhelm Meister* he describes the profound emotion he experienced on seeing the splendid body of his young friend swimming naked. In the second part of *Faust*, paedophile sentiments are also voiced. But the most eloquent expression of the inner peace with which this famous woman-lover accepted this other element in his soul is the undisguised confession of anal intercourse with boys and girls in his *Notizbuch von der schlesischen Reise im Jahre 1790* (Notes from a trip in Silesia in the year 1790):

*Knaben liebt' ich wohl auch, doch lieber sind mir die Mädchen;
Hab' ich als Mädchen sie satt, dient sie als Knabe mir noch.*⁵⁷

*I also loved boys, but I preferred girls.
When I'm fed up with a girl, she may still serve me in the way a boy would.*

The pure heterophile can be a balanced judge. A young man once told me how, when he first heard homophilia discussed, he thought it so strange and incomprehensible that he went out and had himself a homosexual adventure in an effort to comprehend these feelings. He confessed that he failed to experience any lust. His research method may not have been the best, and a psychoanalyst might not consider this the most

convincing proof of his heterophilia, but it is a fact that I seldom heard anybody discussing homophilia as calmly and objectively as this man who by his own admission understood nothing about it. On the other hand, when I see an author, a lecturer, a moralist, a judge, or a prosecutor railing against homophilia and paedophilia, lacking words to express sufficiently his disgust and aversion, I always think, "Poor chap, did you get such a big dose of it yourself?"

10. The Art of Forgetting

It is surprising how well a person can hide his real tendencies from himself and how well he can forget his own past! Stekel tells of a young woman with a pathological fear of losing her virginity.⁵⁸ She was afraid to stand between men in a tram, or to walk beside a spiked iron fence. A medical examination showed that she had been deflowered years before. Through psychoanalysis she revealed that this had taken place in a painful and extreme way while visiting an uncle when she was 17. She had completely blocked out the terrible facts. Was this pathological?

Consider also the following true story. During a stay as a guest with acquaintances of his parents, Peter, a student, shared a bedroom with John, the 14-year-old son of his host. One night John's father entered their room unexpectedly and found the two boys naked together in bed, in an unambiguous position. Big scandal and much ado! John's father telephoned Peter's father, very excitedly, saying it was unheard of and that he had never seen the likes of it. He demanded severe punishment for Peter and threatened to call the police. He was convinced that his son was headed for moral ruin. The following conversation ensued:

Peter's father: "What do you mean, you don't know anything about such things! Then what do you call what you did to me when I was 15 and you were 20?"

John's father: "What are you talking about?"

Peter's father: "Don't you remember, in our tent on the beach on Texel?"

A long silence on the other side, a stifled curse, the phone call broken off. That's how it goes.

11. The Real Arguments

Of course such stories do not prove that all objections and arguments against paedophile relations are nonsense or arise solely from prejudice. Until now we have not really discussed these objections and arguments; we have only talked about how difficult it is for most people to arrive at a level-headed judgment concerning a subject so threatening to the balance of their souls.

The principal argument made against paedophile relations, and the basis for criminalization, is that they prematurely awaken and pervert the sexual impulses of the boy, and make him homophile. Experts have refuted these allegations.

Paedophiles like to point out the favorable pedagogical influence the loving adult may exert on the young partner. They point to the lessons of Greek boy-love, which included sexual intercourse, extolled by the noblest classical philosophers. However, I think that this appeal to the Greek tradition is insufficient. We need a completely new understanding. In addition to positive aspects, we must also consider those negative possibilities which render most paedophile relationships suspect. We need to look at the question raised by homophile critics: can real love exist between a man and a boy? Are the partners too unequal; is the youth too young to be truly united in a love in which sexual contacts are lifted above a pursuit of purely physical pleasure?

12. The First Argument Against Paedophilia

a. It Arouses Latent Sexuality

The first reproach to the paedophile, especially if he has physical contacts with his young friend, is—as formulated by Tolsma—that he awakens the sexual impulse in the young pubescent boy.⁵⁹

This is all the more resented because our society regards nearly every sexual expression in young people with disapproval. It is a problem in our western societies that education and instruction preparing youth for full-fledged citizenship demand more and more of the young person's life: marriage is further delayed while the onset of puberty has been advanced by one or two years, possibly because of improved nourishment

and hygiene. Nobody has come up with a solution for the sexual difficulties for young people that this raises. Adults ignore them, indeed shift the full burden onto the shoulders of the youth. But when youth tries to sexualize, adults get very angry. On this point our civilizations are backward compared to the majority of primitive tribes. There, every boy receives information and a solemn initiation; the sexual problem hardly exists because a boy is considered a mature tribesman and a prospective husband as soon as his body is mature. In our world, however, these phases of development pass without notice. The average marriage age for males in The Netherlands, at this writing (1960), is nearer 30 than 20. It is officially assumed that adolescents and young men should not begin sexual activities until they are married. Expressions of sexuality inconsistent with this official supposition are generally disapproved of, the more so the younger the transgressor.

The effect of this hypocritical situation is that most adults, blissfully ignoring their own youth, are blind to reality. They abandon themselves to the strangest illusions about a boy's experience of his growing sexuality. When it comes to light that a particular boy has had sexual relations with a man it is thought to be extraordinarily shocking.

It drives people—such as the author of a letter to the homophile monthly *De Schakel*—to describe 14- to 16-year-old adolescents in such bizarre terms as “children unfit for sexual consumption.”⁶⁰ It evidently completely escapes this writer that he is casually asserting something which really needs proof, for his words flatly contradict the convictions and experiences of most of mankind.

Kinsey concluded that even today nearly all primitive peoples still allow boys to have intercourse as soon as they are physically mature.⁶¹ Most of these peoples see this premarital sexual activity as desirable, and sometimes establish a specific location where boys may train for the sexual act without disturbance. Roman law fixed the minimum age of marriage for boys at 14, and this was the same under the old Dutch legal system.⁶² Marriages at what to us seems an extremely young age were not at all exceptional in Western Europe just a few centuries ago. Louisa

of Savoy, when she was only 13, complained that she had been married for a year and was still not pregnant. In 1506 she accepted as her lover the 16-year-old Charles de Montpensier, who had already been married for some time. In 1437 the French king Louis XI, while a crown prince of 14, conquered Chateau-Landon from the English. Having thus proved his virility, he then demanded that his parents allow him to sleep with his even younger wife, Margret of Scotland. He made such violent use of his marital rights that the girl was confined to bed for several days. At age 15, the son of Francis I married the 15-year-old Catharine de Medici; the king came at night to their bedroom to watch them have intercourse. Francis I said that any boy over 14 who had not yet had sexual intercourse was a sad spectacle.⁶³

Today we find boys of this age too immature for marriage, but the difference is not due to slower physical development. The reason resides in the much higher spiritual and intellectual demands our society imposes on a husband and father. Childhood, the period of instruction and subjugation to parental authority, is considerably longer. The human being, however, is such a mental and physical unity that all these changes also have a decided influence on the sexual life. The 15-year-old American or Western European of today may be more childish in his emotional reactions to sexual intercourse than his age-peers were a few centuries ago or are still today in more primitive societies. He is, at present, certainly too childish for married life with all that it entails. But that he should also be too emotionally immature for sexual activities not involving the heavy responsibilities of family life seems impossible to believe. There is simply no proof to the assertion that present-day 14- to 18-year-olds in the industrialized nations differ sexually so completely from their age-peers several centuries ago, or even from primitive peoples today.

The main cause of misunderstanding is without doubt the fact that very few adults have good insight into the sexual needs and desires of youth. On both sides there is a conspiracy of silence. The novelist Han B. Aalberse has one of his characters observe with some humor:

I saw that adults could discuss their pleasures with adults and then say "Hush!" if children should overhear them. And that children could discuss their pleasures with other children and that they'd say "Hush!" if adults could hear them! And each group pretends to the other that these pleasures don't exist.⁶⁴

Knowledge of the at times raw facts of life should teach us that boys arriving at puberty are not as sexually dormant as Dr. Tolsma and most parents seem to suppose. Is seduction by an older person really needed to awaken the impulse? Some reflection on the biological meaning of sexual maturity, on the psychological meaning of male sexuality, and on the characteristics of boys arriving at puberty should make us suppose quite differently.

b. The Biological Meaning of Sexual Maturity

Observing nature, we are ever impressed by the enormous drive for life which dominates the earth. The desert lives, eels swim in the eternal night of deep caves, and organisms squirm under the polar ice. In mankind and the higher species of animals there are two instincts that promote the conservation and propagation of life: the self-preservation instinct, and the sexual drive.

Nature makes a boy's body start producing seed when he is about 12 to 14 years old. If it were up to parents, pedagogues, or the guardians of morality, this would, without doubt, occur many years later, but nature is apparently ill informed! Bent on her own purposes, she equips the body with the impulse to release this seed, preferably where it can fertilize. Whether the activities resulting from this impulse conform to man's laws and are in harmony with real human relationships is not nature's concern—that is another matter entirely. Abandoning the body to intercourse has an element of mystery in it, inspiring a kind of shyness. Everywhere we observe traces of this shyness, in the naked savage as well as in the man of culture. The sexual impulse must therefore be strong and powerful, strong enough to overcome this barrier of shyness. Otherwise the young man would not be able, at a certain age, to perform this remarkable mating act.

Uninvited and indiscreet as nature tends to be, the sexual impulse presents itself as soon as, or even before, the production of seed has started, and usually with great intensity. At the same time, nature does everything in its power to direct the boy's attention to the body's new capacity: the quick growth and the changing shape of the organs, coupled with the greatly increased excitability and flow of blood, provoking long-lasting erections; the sudden appearance of pubic hair; and in many individuals, erotic dreams accompanied by ejaculation. No wonder that nearly all boys spontaneously discover masturbation, if friends have not already taught them this practice.

It must be added that freshly-ripened boys are sexually potent to a degree only equaled by adults in a few exceptional cases. A boy of 15 told me that, twice a week, he used to pick up his girlfriend, walk with her for half an hour to a cinema, and after the film walk for an hour to an isolated spot where they had intercourse. From the moment he saw her until the climax he was continuously erect—a period of about four hours. According to Kinsey, many teenagers can maintain their erection for hours, even if stimulation is only slight, and even at times after two or three ejaculations.⁶⁵ Adult males with the capacity to reach orgasm four or five times during a single encounter are rare, but on the eve of and at the beginning of puberty considerably higher figures (up to 10, 20 and even more orgasms within the space of a few hours) have been noted.⁶⁶

c. *Psychology of Male Sexuality*

The collection of essays *Persoon en Wereld* (Person and World), in honor of the Utrecht University psychologist Professor Buytendijk, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, includes an articulate treatise by Dr. J. Linschoten, the man who succeeded Buytendijk.⁶⁷ In the study, "Aspecten van de seksuele incarnatie" (Aspects of Sexual Incarnation), Linschoten examined the significance of the body in sexual intercourse and formulated the thesis that the nature of the intercourse becomes evident in the manner in which it is expressed by the body. The psychological sense of male sexuality is therefore to be understood from the meaning of the penis, the pre-eminent male organ.

"The penis," claims Linschoten, "is in the theories of sexuality usually considered to be an instrument, and an aggressive, invasive instrument at that, a quality which characterizes the whole of male sexuality." Linschoten rejects this view and considers the penis psychologically as a part of the body expressing something, namely the desire for unification. The erection expresses the willingness to be absorbed in the other. During copulation the penis cannot be considered to be an instrument because it does not depend on the will, nor has it any muscles—it is only set in motion by the male moving his whole body. Likewise it is not an organ of sense because the sensation of lust is not a means for perceiving the partner. In the orgasm born from love, only the outpouring of surrender to the beloved is experienced, and a total union; it is an ecstatic overstepping of one's own limit, an experience of the other in one's own body. As the penis is neither an instrument nor a sense organ, Linschoten can view the erection as the unmistakable expression of an immense, but at the same time helpless, tenderness.⁶⁸

These profound speculations doubtless provide a valuable broadening of our understanding, but they are certainly somewhat one-sided. The argument against the instrumental character of the penis is, when examined more closely, not very convincing. It is not accidental, but a fact of highest importance for the psychology of male sexuality, that the popular names and the descriptions of the male sex organ in literature are so often taken from instruments—especially from the most aggressive instruments, weapons. One need only consult the lists furnished by Krauss in his *Anthropophyteia*⁶⁹ and by Forberg in his *Manuel d'érotologie classique*,⁷⁰ or look at Vorberg's *Glossarium eroticum*⁷¹ or Pierrugue's dictionary with the same title.⁷² **Pierrugues' (or Pierrugues's)**

It is not only "an immense, but at the same time helpless, tenderness" that is expressed by the penis. If Linschoten limits himself to this, he is in conflict with his own prior statements, for he also quotes, while agreeing, from Sartre's *Le Mur* (The Wall), "It begins to move like an animal, it then gets stiff; it makes me afraid when it stiffens and stands wholly erect, brutally..." Referring to Sartre, Linschoten argues:

In its detumescent state the penis is certainly not the focal point of the naked male body. The eye will certainly not skip over it entirely, and is even arrested by the penis in the flowing motion of observation, but it will disregard this obstacle for the sake of the whole. One views the classic Greek statue so: the penis is an accidental appendage, an innocent part of the body of which we admire the force, the muscularity, the balance and the attitude, the act and the expression. With the erection, however, all these qualities are joined in this one part of the body. It destroys the aesthetic value of the whole, as it absorbs too much the attention and moreover sexualizes the body unambiguously. The figure's centre of gravity shifts to this obvious centre, this erect and tender member, behind which the male stands with all his power. It is the unmistakable sign of potency in every sense. If it has an aesthetic value, then it resides in its horrifying and imposing beauty. As Jules Romain expressed it: a kind of tempestuous, frightening beauty.⁷³

Active power and aggression, the impulse to conquer and to penetrate are equally a part of male sexuality as helpless tenderness and vulnerability are. We find these qualities everywhere, starting with the mobile, striving spermatozoon, boring its way towards and into the female egg. They belong to male sexuality from the first moment it awakens in the boy.

d. Characteristics of the Boy

We need only mention some traits of boys important to this discussion. They certainly want to act grown-up, and like to engage in activities nominally reserved for adults, such as sexuality; without much deliberation or resistance they let themselves be carried along by their whims; they are unruly and like variety and adventure; they like to boast about what they know and experience sexually, and also about their physical development. In her authoritative work, *Adolescent Development*, Hurlock observes that experimentation is the best way for the child to acquire knowledge, and encourages

boys to experiment sexually.⁷⁴ They are intensely interested in everything which has to do with the body and its development, and their curiosity in sexual matters is enormous, more passionate than for any other subject, even food. This often results in an exchange of knowledge and information, and a sharing in experimentation. Boys let themselves be carried along by their friends, even when unwilling; fear of being considered a spoil-sport or a coward weighs more heavily at this age than moral objections or shame.

e. What Do They Know?

On the basis of various studies, Hurlock determined that boys become conscious of their sexuality at an average age of 12.5 years.⁷⁵ In 1943 G.V. Ramsay questioned a large number of pupils in secondary schools regarding their knowledge of the facts of life and the age at which they had acquired such knowledge. His research dealt with high school boys belonging to a social group in which conversations in the home were more forthcoming about sexuality than in less educated milieu. That babies grow in the mother's body was known to 95% of the 12-year-olds and to 100% of the 14-year-olds, intercourse was known to 91% and 99% respectively, masturbation was known to 80% and 96%, prostitution to 67% and 97%, ejaculation to 57% and 93%, contraceptives to 56% and 87%, wet dreams to 40% and 73%, menstruation to 23% and 38%, venereal diseases to 21% and 57%. All 15-year-olds knew about prostitution, all 16-year-olds about ejaculation, masturbation, and intercourse.⁷⁶ Referring likewise to pupils of secondary schools, the Dutch pedagogue Professor Perquin wrote in the monthly *Dux* that "not a few boys know quite well that it is easy to meet homosexuals everywhere."⁷⁷

Where do boys acquire their information? Are all these things told to them by adult seducers? Ramsay examined sources of information under various topics. For example, as for masturbation, the most suspect theme of conversation between an adult and a boy (and even there the discussion can be quite acceptable!), Ramsay established that 44.2% were told about it by age peers, 30.7% discovered it themselves, 21.2% had seen friends doing it, 2.1% read about it, 1% were informed by

their parents and 0.4% heard about it from other adults. For the remaining percentage the source could not be ascertained.⁷⁸ Friends gave information about prostitution (93%), contraceptives (92.1%), intercourse (90.9%), wet dreams (68%), ejaculation (67.4%), venereal diseases (65.5%).

Those who consider this kind of information absolutely undesirable for those of such tender age should not therefore protect boys against paedophiles but rather keep them from their friends!

f. Boys' Sexual Activities

If we take all of this into consideration we will not be surprised by the figures Kinsey established for the sexual activities of boys.

Sexual activity and the age of biological maturity are evidently related. According to Kinsey, the earlier a boy matures, the more intense remains his sexual activity during the whole span of his life.⁷⁹ Another investigator, Lutz, discovered a relationship between precocity and intelligence.⁸⁰ The most intelligent group matures at an average age of 12.5 years, the normally intelligent at 13.5 years, and the least intelligent at 14.5 years. Kinsey's figures confirm this phenomenon. Intelligent boys stand a particularly good chance of considerable early experimentation, the more so because precocious boys often face life in a more self-assured and resolute fashion and are, therefore, more enterprising.

We have seen already that boys of 14 are quite well informed; frequently they are not as innocent as many adults like to believe. Kinsey found that 72% of them had masturbated, 43% had petted with girls (leading to orgasm for 5%), 28% had already performed intercourse (3% with prostitutes), 25% had wet dreams, 21% had experienced orgasm in homosexual relations, and 8% had climaxed while having sexual contacts with animals.⁸¹ Of sexually mature boys through age 15, more than 94% are sexually active in one or more of the aforementioned ways; 0.3% had experience with all six methods, 2% with five, 8.3% with four, 22% with three, 36.7% with two, 25.3% with only one, and only 5.4% with none.⁸²

In the remaining years of boyhood the activity and the variety of experimentation continue to increase. Of 18-year-olds, 92% had masturbated,

84% had petted with girls (21% leading to orgasm), 68% had performed intercourse (37% with prostitutes), 71% had wet dreams, 37% had attained orgasm in homosexual relations, and 15% had reached orgasm through contacts with animals.⁸³ Of the 16- to 20-year-olds, over 99% were sexually active in one or more of the aforementioned practices; 0.6% had experience with all six methods, 6.1% with five, 22.3% with four, 34.1% with three, 27.5% with two, 8.6% with only one, and not more than 0.8% with none.⁸⁴

g. Conclusions

The sexual impulse manifests itself very powerfully during puberty; our society grants it, on the whole, no other safety valve than wet dreams, although a minority of pedagogues, including Vaessen, consider masturbation a normal or even healthy phenomenon.⁸⁵ The other practices are officially taboo. The awakening of the sexual impulse thus puts every boy in the difficult position of conflict between desire and what is permitted. An adult who by his seduction accelerates and causes this awakening is acting against the basic norm of morality which holds that we should render happier and better the existence of those persons we meet in life. We should not be increasing their burden.

However, it is evident that the chance that a paedophile might awaken the sexual impulse in a maturing boy is extremely slight. At the age under discussion here, sexuality is already conscious and very much alive, and 94-99% of boys are sexually active.

It will not do to denounce paedophilia because it is supposed to awaken the sexual impulse; the paedophile meets boys whose sexual impulse is already active. But does he not, through his contact, lead this impulse in the wrong direction? This is the question which we shall consider next.

13. The Second Argument Against Paedophilia

a. Can a Boy's Sexuality Be Changed by His Experience?

In his book *La Puberté*, the French physician Guy Laroche discusses the indeterminacy of sexual desire in the years of maturation:

From a biological and social perspective the most important fact is that the as yet indeterminate nature of the sexuality creates a condition that is essentially open to seduction. The sexual impulse of the child, not yet directed to a fixed object, adjusts itself easily, depending on the influences it is subjected to, to the normal sexuality or equally to its perversion. Most fortunately, these influences are usually normal; it is rather exceptional that the child gets perverted suggestions strong enough to suppress the normal ones. But these years of inter-sexuality in maturation are without any doubt a critical period, decisive for the sexual future of the individual. In the life-stories of homosexuals we are very frequently told about some incident in childhood or in puberty which provided an impulse in an abnormal direction. In the years of adolescent development, such a perverse influence is more frequent than in childhood, because the shape of the body with its characteristics of both sexes, floating between masculine and feminine, has at that time the strongest attraction for the large majority of homosexuals. What I have here remarked upon makes it quite clear that the majority of cases of true homosexuality one meets at this age are cases of homosexuality provoked by seduction by other adults, or elderly homosexuals.⁸⁶

The author believes that inborn homosexuality is a very rare phenomenon.⁸⁷ The book I am quoting here was published in 1938, and there is perhaps no respectable author today willing to take responsibility for such an accumulation of false allegations. I cited Laroche so extensively because this apparently closely-reasoned and reasonable-sounding argument is still widely circulated and constitutes the foundation for much of the criminalization and condemnation of paedophile activities.

In the Renaissance, Pacificus Maximus wrote: "I'm that way entirely because of the teacher to whom my father and mother imprudently entrusted me. He was a first-rate boy-lover; no boy

escaped his hands, so artful was he. I learned from him many things I would have been better off never learning."⁸⁸

As recently as 1948, the psychiatrist Dr. F.J. Tolsma declared in *Homosexuality and the Homosexual* that the young adolescent boy "under the influence of suggestive powers develops a belief in his own homosexuality, a belief which is rightly often called immutable."⁸⁹ Tolsma believes that, during the rest of the development of the youth, male homosexual experiences could leave their mark, and the evoked emotions could "be activated at any time and disturb the normal bond to a heterosexual object." We see how paedophiles, "moved by their own lust, commit acts with the young boys entrusted to them, with possibly disastrous results for the rest of their lives." Their influence is all the more dangerous because prepubertal boys "easily adopt the views of other people, including the despicable one of homosexuality." Tolsma concludes: "A homosexual should never be allowed to guide youngsters of the same sex. Experience shows that he will always commit homosexual sins. Such a person radiates an influence which may radically damage young lives."⁹⁰

After writing these dreadful things with such assurance, Dr. Tolsma sat down to study the facts. In 1956 he read a paper before the Forensic Psychiatry Association about "the importance of seduction in the evolution of homophilia," and what he now has to say is completely different. To his surprise, he had discovered that ethnological data flatly contradicted his theory that seduction was a cause of homophilia. He cites the following example: In the northern region of Malecula (New Hebrides) there is a tribe called the Big Nambas, where every man has a boy who must be totally submissive to him, including sexually. This *paederastia* is motivated by the belief that it strengthens the penis, that is, that the penis becomes bigger and stronger. Paederastia is well organized among the Big Namba. Heterosexual relations *before* puberty would weaken a male. Boys masturbate by themselves and with each other. Every chief has a number of boys at his disposal. Some chiefs are known to have infrequent sexual relations with their wives. The adult

man, called *Nilagh Sen*, has total control over the boy, the *Mugh Vel*. The boy is not allowed to have sexual relations with another man without the permission of the *Nilagh Sen*, who may, nonetheless, sell his rights to another man. The *Nilagh Sen* and the *Mugh Vel* are always with each other, and the death of one of them is deeply mourned by the other. The sexual activity is only allowed with a boy not genealogically related to the man. The *Nilagh Sen* is known to be very jealous. Once the boy has passed through the very painful and frightening rites of initiation, he is entitled to choose a friend himself.⁹¹

Tolsma took these facts from A.B. Deacon's *Malekula*, published in 1934.⁹² These boys, subjected to intensive homosexual practices from a very early age, do not become homosexuals and do not suffer any harmful consequences. Tolsma was forced to reconsider his position. In a later study he called the widespread rejection of paedophile relations with boys both "naïve and pointless." Listening to life histories of some homophiles he was inclined to attribute some importance in their evolution to early seductions, but he was unsure of it. A study of the life histories of 133 adolescents and men who as boys had been involved in sexual relations with men later indicted by the authorities brought Dr. Tolsma to a new thesis, "If a seduction occurs, this does not mean that the individual will evolve in a homophile direction." He added, "We should take care not to dramatize these situations beforehand." The seduced boys later married and fathered children in the same proportion as their peers. Tolsma concludes "that the seduced persons, after their experiences with seduction, may well attain normal heterosexual relations."⁹³ He does add, however, that further research is necessary.

b. The Accusation Refuted

Such an opinion is not new. At the beginning of this century the *Archives de Criminologie* had already declared that homosexual activities leave only a slight impression on heterosexual boys. Nearly all boys engage in sexual activities with their comrades, while only a small percentage become homophiles.⁹⁴ In his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Havelock Ellis declares it "highly unlikely" that seduction by itself could awaken

homosexual desire.⁹⁵ Any influence conflicting with one's true disposition has no power. He cites in this connection the words of Albert Moll, "One can only divert someone to the extent that his nature makes him susceptible to it." Placzek asserts in his *Freundschaft und Sexualität* (Friendship and Sexuality): "It makes no difference how boys come to have a homosexual relationship. If they are by nature sexually normal, they will sooner or later find the way to normal sexual intercourse, and youthful digressions will leave no impression. They may also lead to a lasting friendship in which sexual activities no longer occur."⁹⁶

Dr. O. Schwarz writes similarly in his *Sexual-pathologie*:

The importance of seduction in the origin of homosexuality in youth, and for further sexual development, is not very great. There are enough boys who are completely unaffected by all these activities around them, and others go along with it for a while without it being of real importance to them. They soon stop.⁹⁷

The German physician Esser, even though he favors criminalizing homosexuality, is forced to admit, "If a boy after having relations with a homosexual becomes a homosexual himself, then he would have become one even without these relations."⁹⁸

Another section of the *Archives de Criminologie* quotes the German sexologist Näcke, "I don't believe that books, seduction, or suggestion will ever turn a heterosexual into a homosexual, just as it is impossible to convert a real homosexual by suggestion to heterosexuality."⁹⁹

Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld agrees completely with the previously-mentioned opinion of Havelock Ellis.¹⁰⁰ He refers to the view of Krafft-Ebing, who declares in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* that he is not acquainted with a single instance of a man "perverted" by "deviant" sexual acts to deviations in his sexual desire. He further quotes Moll, who also doubts whether frequent homosexual activities could result in a homosexual impulse in heterosexual individuals.¹⁰¹

The question was discussed extensively by the official British Home Office Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution chaired by Sir John Wolfenden. The Committee concluded, "We are not convinced that homosexual behaviour is a decisive factor in the production of the homosexual condition."¹⁰² The committee later returns to this theme:

We have found no convincing evidence in support of this contention. Our medical witnesses unanimously hold that seduction has little effect on inducing a settled pattern of homosexual behaviour, and we have been given no grounds from other sources which contradicted their judgment.¹⁰³

An article in the anthology *Homosexuality* edited by Dr. Charles Berg states:

I have seen many cases of boys seduced, even by adult men, who although they apparently behaved like homosexuals were at the most pseudo-homosexuals; after puberty they showed no homosexual desires. In normal persons the heterosexual pattern is shaped long before puberty, at least in the subconsciousness.¹⁰⁴

This last observation is the decisive point: by the time of puberty the real sexual tendency of the boy is already fixed. He may experiment, sometimes passionately and intensely, in various directions, but in the end he arrives where he belongs in accordance with his disposition. Whether this disposition is inborn or acquired is a question of no importance here, because, even if the disposition is acquired, it is definitive long before puberty, probably before the age of six, and according to Bleuler, even before the fourth year.¹⁰⁵ Here we are only discussing mature boys. Thus a heterosexual boy will not be "perverted" by relations with a paedophile any more than a homosexual boy can be "cured" by heterosexual intercourse performed during youth. I quote now some striking examples from the literature to illustrate this thesis.

c. Some Case Stories

1. A boy of 14 is seduced by a servant girl. For a year he greatly enjoys regular intercourse with her. From age 15 his impulse is exclusively homophile.¹⁰⁶
2. An English boy of seven is kidnapped by Pacific islanders and trained to satisfy men orally. He does so for five years and after some time gets violent erections during the activity, a priapism lasting continuously for days. To rid himself of these erections he practices until he is supple enough to perform auto-fellatio. He marries at the age of 16. The spasmodic erections disappear when normal satisfaction becomes possible, and he begets children.¹⁰⁷
3. A boy is seduced by his teacher at the age of 14. He is delighted with this relationship and has, until age 21, very passionate sexual contacts with several adult men. He falls ardently in love with them but tries in vain to find harmony, security, and a steady relationship with them. He is disappointed to discover that these men apparently are chiefly moved by their desire for his handsome body and the sexual pleasure. He concludes that only a woman will be able to meet his needs and thereafter becomes exclusively heterosexual.¹⁰⁸
4. A child is judged at birth to be a girl and is raised as such, marrying at age 17. In the beginning she is completely satisfied by intercourse, but after a few years feelings of indifference become dominant, gradually changing to aversion. Her affection for her husband is undiminished, but during intercourse, fits of hatred and disgust gain the upper hand. Medical examination establishes that she is really a male with deformed genitals. Notwithstanding a life-long suggestion to the contrary, her/his heterosexuality asserts itself. This 17-year-old boy had fully enjoyed intercourse with a male person—as so many normal boys do—but once he attained adulthood he became heterophile.¹⁰⁹
5. A girl aged seven is persuaded by a 14-year-old boy to have intercourse. She relates: "I believe that it hurt, but I was not afraid. I did it again with him two or three times. During the next five years I had intercourse with all the neighborhood boys and with all my cousins. They were all about my age or a bit older. I was crazy about having intercourse." This girl grew up to be a lesbian.¹¹⁰

6. A case from French history, told by Guy Breton:

King Charles IX indulged in the most scandalous excesses, and together with his brother the Duke of Anjou (the future Henry III) and Henry of Navarre (the future Henry IV) he threw very enjoyable parties. Someone familiar with the court said: "I know that on certain occasions these fine gentlemen were served by stark naked women with whom they afterwards amused themselves. The Duke of Anjou usually picked someone from among his mother's charming ladies-in-waiting, as they were easily persuaded and not inclined to make a scandal because they had the permission of Catherine de Medici to allow themselves to be used by her sons. Indeed, one of these ladies had initiated him when he was 15. This same lady also initiated Charles IX at age 16. According to the Queen Mother, the Duke of Anjou was 'a good stud.' However, in later life he turned out to be homophile, and as King Henry III he surrounded himself with young men, his mignons. When the king met a man, a page boy, or a soldier and was overcome by lust, he summoned two muscular mignons, who threw themselves upon their prey and held him in the right position."¹¹¹

The American sexologist George W. Henry collected the case histories of 40 homophile males in his book *Sex Variants*.¹¹² Of these, 34 also reported intercourse with women. One subject performed his first intercourse at the age of 5, one at the age of 7, two at 8, two at 10, one at 13, and four at 17, but all finally became homophiles.

In his research Giese found among 392 homophiles no fewer than 203 subjects who also had heterosexual experiences.¹¹³ One did so at the age of 12, 23 between age 13 and 16, and 83 between 17 and 24. None of them ultimately became heterophile.

Finally, it may be observed as a well-known fact that most boys involved in male prostitution are

and remain heterophiles.¹¹⁴ In the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, van der Choven reports that every Asian city is teeming with boys trained since childhood to be prostitutes through massage of their buttocks and enlargement of their anus with instruments.¹¹⁵ They are most in demand from the age of 12 to 16. When their beard appears they lose their value. Many become honorable citizens, found a family, and keep a harem.

Of Alcibiades, Socrates' favorite pupil, it was said by Diogenes Laertius that as a boy he had lured away the husbands from their wives and, as a young man, lured away the wives from their husbands.¹¹⁶

d. The Facts Belie the Accusation

The widespread fear that boys will be turned into homophiles through sexual relations with a man is based upon an odd twist of reasoning. Is it not curious indeed that someone who considers himself heterosexual also views homosexual relations as so intensely pleasant that he believes that a boy, having once tasted the forbidden fruit, will henceforth and forevermore wish to repeat this treat? If the word "unnatural" is appropriate in any connection, then this view is unnatural!

Perhaps this opinion could still be defended when people as naïve as Guy Laroche, the physician previously quoted, imagined homosexual experiences in boyhood to be quite exceptional. Today we are better informed. Kinsey established that about 60% of all boys had engaged in homosexual activities prior to puberty.¹¹⁷ In the same study he quotes the findings of Ramsay, whose extensive research among pupils of secondary schools showed that 30% of them had pursued homosexual contacts to orgasm.¹¹⁸ Another researcher, Finger, arrived at the figure 27%.¹¹⁹ In Germany, Hoffmann and Stern concluded that, among boys in secondary schools, homosexual activities are more common than heterosexual, because many of the boys were averse to going all the way with a girl.¹²⁰ These boys have quite normal feelings and their evolution is also perfectly normal. From statistics about schoolboys discovered in homosexual activities, boys 14-16 are most frequently involved; in the following year the incidence goes down, only to increase again from the age of 17 on. The younger

boys are mostly passive; among the older are more who are active, but in the majority of cases the active partner was an adult. Hirschfeld in *Die Homosexualität* quotes an expert who claimed that more than 50% of all Italian boys between the ages of 15 and 18 have sex with men.¹²¹

Considering these statistics, it is impossible to claim that boys are turned into homophiles by paedophile relationships; if this were true then at least a third of all males would be homophiles. And that the life stories of so many homophiles include homosexual experiences during youth, well, what a surprise! They share this experience with the majority of men, though it cannot be said that it was this influence that made them homophiles.

e. What about Bisexual Boys?

What remains to be said is this: mankind is not to be divided into two groups, heterophiles and homophiles, because there are a variety of intermediates between them. Every human being has something of both; what matters is which one dominates. Now, it is evident that a boy in whom both tendencies are present with about equal force, might be pushed in the direction of homophilia through the influence of a pleasant paedophile relationship, while a heterophile evolution might also have been possible.

Some authors tend to see this as rather an advantage for society.¹²² They follow the same reasoning as Hans Rau developed regarding sadism in his book *Die Grausamkeit* (Cruelty). Having argued that an abnormal tendency can never be bred by seduction, Rau says:

It makes, of course, a big difference whether an abnormal feeling slumbers somewhere secretly in a human being and remains unconscious, or whether this feeling is stirred up and compels action. But even this awakening of a deviant impulse... cannot be considered a disaster... It is much better for society if such a victim of heredity becomes conscious of his urges and thus is prevented from marrying, instead of leading an inconspicuous life and begetting children with a thoroughly perverse nature.¹²³

I disagree completely with this view! We know far too little about heredity, and especially about inherited sexual traits, to make such peremptory assessments. The existence of a homophile is, in our societies, made so difficult that it certainly should be considered unfortunate were a boy to be moved through relations with a paedophile to ignore his heterophile side and become preponderantly homophile. But do such things really happen in practice? The evidence indicates that the real bisexual is usually not a person who at any given moment can perform intercourse with either a woman or a man. Rather, he is usually a person whose sexual impulse more or less requires him to alternate between the sexes.¹²⁴

Most probably, cases in which heterosexuality and homosexuality are nearly balanced are extremely rare; perhaps they are even purely theoretical. And apart from these extremely rare or even theoretical cases, the charge that the paedophile leads astray the sexual evolution of his young friend is untenable.

These arguments against paedophilia, at least, cannot be sustained. The real objections are to be found on quite a different plane.

14. Songs of Praise for Paedophilia

Not a few paedophiles look back with nostalgia upon the height of Greek civilization, when legislators and philosophers not only tolerated boy-love, but even extolled it. In some localities sexual intercourse with a boy was part of a religious ritual. Poems and stories treat boy-love as a custom; it was a recurrent theme in comedy; vases and dishes were decorated with—at times highly realistic—erotic images; sculptors preferred young naked males as models. So open-minded were they towards boy-love that the sculptor Phidias, having created the great statue of Zeus for the temple of Olympia, added a small statue of his lover, the boy Pantarkes, beneath the throne of the god. On one of the divine fingers he engraved, in characters legible to every worshipper, "What a beautiful boy is this Pantarkes!" Near the terrace of the temple to Hermes on the island of Thera, where each September nude ephebes performed ritual dances (*gymnopaideia*),

inscriptions in the rock give the names of boys and men, noting that they had their first sexual intercourse on this spot.¹²⁵

In the sixth century B.C., Athens' great legislator Solon advised boys to have relations with men as the most suitable means for them to obtain sexual satisfaction, by which means they could also gain adult friends as mentors and educators. "Only a good boy-lover can be a good pedagogue," it was said at that time.¹²⁶ Athenian law allowed free citizens to have sex with boys as an honorable occupation; adult slaves were prohibited from doing the same, at least not with free-born boys.¹²⁷ Boys who had won the love of a man were permitted to wear a robe of honor and were given the best seats at festivals. Plato observed in the *Symposium* that it was the best and most capable boys who liked to share their bed with a man, and in the *Republic* he awarded the most courageous warriors the right to embrace the nicest boys.¹²⁸

On Crete it was traditional for the boy to make a mock show of being kidnapped by his lover. The staged abduction was arranged with the boy's parents three days beforehand. It was a disgrace for the lover if the parents refused to collaborate and hid their son. But if the parents had no objection to the man, they only pretended to oppose the kidnapping. The man and his young friend wandered about for two or three months, hunted together, and held banquets. At the end of the period, the boy returned to his parents with a big gift. Once home, the boy must either declare publicly that he had enjoyed the sexual intercourse with his lover or maintain that he had been raped and so demand punishment. It was a great disgrace for a boy if he was never abducted by a man.¹²⁹

Krauss, in *The Sexual Life of the Japanese*, reports the opinion of sober-minded experts: "In those provinces where boy-love is common, people are more masculine and energetic. In regions where there is no paedophilia they are on the contrary softer, weaker, and more frequently debauched."¹³⁰

In all nations where paedophilia is part of the culture, its favorable influence is highly praised, as it was in Ancient Greece.

15. We Aren't Greeks

Nothing entitles us to use, without further consideration, such declarations as a justification for paedophile relationships in our present day world. We live in a society where paedophile relationships provoke intense reactions. This may well be wrong and unfair, but it is a fact. It certainly does color these relationships and may generally frustrate or repress the inherent benefits.

With his lack of experience and inability to see the situation in all its aspects, a boy enters into a relationship with an adult which is characterized by criminalization and prohibition, and the perpetual fear of discovery. Almost unavoidably this renders the whole affair somewhat unhealthy.

At this age is it then so terrible for the boy to do something which he must hide from his parents? One of the tasks of the pubertal male is attainment of independence, and so it is normal if he is no longer open towards his parents about all aspects of his life, especially the sexual. If parents insist on being informed about everything, at this age that would be meddlesome and unhealthy for the child. Stekel reports a case history in which the father fitted condoms onto his 15-year-old son and accompanied him to a brothel. No wonder this boy turned out to be completely impotent.

It is not the secrecy that is unhealthy, but the fear of the consequences of discovery. Some members of the Wolfenden Committee rightly observe that the young "victim" of paedophile relations is often more damaged by the agitation of his parents, which is typically disproportionate to the true importance of the events, and by the uproar surrounding the prosecution of the offender.¹³¹ Hirschfeld notes in his *Geschlechtskunde* that the physical examination of the boy by the police and judge inflicts a much more severe and lasting psychic trauma on the boy than the fact that some adult touched him in a way which was not objectionable to him, and in which he routinely touched himself.¹³² In The Netherlands, Ms. A.A. Schwartz, a police official with the Department for Juvenile Affairs and a deputy juvenile judge, also mentioned the psychic trauma almost always inflicted by judicial

interference on the minor testifying in a sexual abuse case.¹³³ The paedophile therefore exposes his young friend to a serious risk and brings him into an unhealthy atmosphere of fear and secrecy. This is often underscored by the location where such intimate relations occur. With the 133 boys studied by Tolsma, the sexual activities in only 80 cases happened in quiet surroundings—59 in a room and 21 in bed. The remaining were: 11 boys at a roadside stop; 9 in a warehouse; 7 in a park; 6 in a shed; 5 on the street; 3 cases each in a cabin and a boat; 2 cases each in a lavatory, on a porch, and in a public convenience, and one case each in a stable, a car and a railway compartment.¹³⁴

Of course the situation is very different, more like those in Ancient Greece, if the parents tacitly or expressly consent to the relationship. There are, however, not so many fathers such as the one described by Pacificus Maximus in his fourth elegy, where a certain Etruscus brings his son to the schoolmaster and says, "If you bed him down and use him, he will learn better."¹³⁵ Nevertheless, even in contemporary Holland, it happens that parents approve of the relationship between their son and a paedophile and recognize its benefits. Then the risk of discovery and the fear of exposure nearly disappear and the benefits blossom.

16. The Power of Physical Contact

I am speaking here about possibilities. It would certainly be hypocritical sentimentality to assume that every paedophile is always motivated by the highest pedagogical ideals towards his young friend. Many are simply bent on seeking their own pleasure with an attractive boy. But if he wants more and better things, then the man undoubtedly has a remarkable opportunity, because during adolescence physical contact has such an enormous power and influence over the boy. Especially the person who engages in sex with him has a powerful influence over him. When people reproached Socrates for not keeping young Alcibiades under better control, the wise man replied, "I can only guide the boy by his ears and so I cannot compete with the man who also caresses his tongue and genitals."

A striking case of bonding through sexual contact is presented by Stekel. A boy of 13

developed a violent hatred for his stepfather, whose attempts to win the boy's affection failed repeatedly. By chance, they had to share a bed during a trip. When lights were out, the man began to play with the boy's penis, and fully satisfied him. From that night forward, the boy's hatred was replaced by great affection.¹³⁶

Several individuals with wide experience in this field advance the thesis that boys who have an enduring relationship of this kind with a truly affectionate and caring adult grow through the adolescent years in a remarkably harmonious way, without the usual tempestuousness and misery of maturation. While we lack sufficient data to prove this theory, there is good reason to think that it is correct. Giese mentions a man who, for a period of a year, engaged in sexual activities with a 15-year-old student 6 to 8 times a month. He reports that the boy's grades improved and that he even stopped being ill-mannered.¹³⁷

17. Sexual Openness

An important factor in bringing about these changes is undoubtedly the sexual openness which the boy enjoys, and which, for the most part, is out of the question for most. In considering the traumas inflicted by adults upon the sexual development of boys, sex with a paedophile should not be the foremost cause. Rather, nothing confuses the young person more about his sexuality than the perplexity and confusion brought to it by well-meaning parents, educators, and other adults, no sooner than the subject is broached. Such attitudes cause him to equate sexuality with smut; he becomes ashamed of his unquenchable thirst for it, and feels compelled to pursue it in complete secrecy. Many pubertal tantrums should probably be seen as deflected expressions of frustrations and unnatural tensions.

In *Adolescent Development*, Hurlock mentions the anguish that physical development causes for many boys.

The boy is afraid that his penis, which has grown rapidly in a short space of time, will show through his clothing. Furthermore, erection frequently occurs without his voli-

tion and this disturbs him. Nocturnal emissions, which leave a tell-tale stain on his pyjamas or bed-clothes, frighten and shame him. But if he does not have frequent discharges through nocturnal emissions, tension develops and causes discomfort.¹³⁸

No wonder that so many boys at this age are difficult and restless and that their behavior is unpredictable. Shakespeare called boys and women sheep of the same color: changeable, longing and liking, proud, fantastical, conformist, shallow, inconstant, full of fears, full of smiles.¹³⁹ When a boy has a friendship with an adult friend who makes no secret of his sexuality, all reticence regarding sexuality is quickly dropped. Even to those adults he truly loves and trusts, a boy will never tell one percent of what he tells the man with whom he is having a physical relationship. With everyone else, he feels, suspects, or fears rejection, even if the person approaches him with great understanding. At this age, when nothing is so important as the physical, only physical contact can break down isolation completely. If somebody really wants to be open towards another person, he must feel certain of being accepted for what he is. In relations with a paedophile the boy enjoys the certainty of having found an adult who accepts and appreciates him completely, including his sexual desires and their concrete expression. He can talk about the secrets of his heart, express his anguish, pose his burning questions, and freely tell of his experiments and adventures.

Several paedophiles told me similar stories, and two of them showed me their journals detailing their experiences with boys. What they heard from well-regarded errand boys and clerks, pleasant high school pupils with a good reputation, sturdy football players, and strapping boy scouts about their opinions and experiences would leave most parents, teachers, and authorities in a state of shock. Often it is strikingly similar to the confidential observations of neglected youths.

18. Good and Bad Possibilities

It is not only the boy's need for an uninhibited discussion of sexual matters with an older and

more experienced friend that is satisfied in a paedophile relationship, but it is also his burning curiosity. Kinsey observes that boys show a much stronger interest in the structure and functioning of the mature male sexual organ than most adults would believe.¹⁴⁰ Frequently, such curiosity drives boys to make sexual contacts with adult males.¹⁴¹ Most boys, particularly younger ones, find it fascinating to observe an adult's sexual activities.

I have tried throughout this work to state things as facts. If a boy is completely open about sexuality with a man, shares with him physically and spiritually his sexual life, and is liberated from obsessive questions and desires, it will put him at ease and save him from many pubertal miseries. But this is not necessarily to say that it is a good thing. It demonstrates the enormous power the paedophile has over the boy, but whether this power is ultimately a salutary or an unfavorable influence on the youth depends entirely on the personality of the paedophile.

The boy will certainly take as his example the image of adult sexuality he experiences in his relationship. The openness of the relationship means that he will be easily influenced. Years of sex with a paedophile will not make a homosexual of a heterosexual boy, but he may learn from a paedophile that all that matters about sexuality is lust and pleasure, and so he may develop into a Don Juan or Casanova. By his example and influence a paedophile may corrupt a boy irreparably, and indeed this sometimes happens; it would surely be hypocritical to deny this.

However, we must also reject the opinion that such corruption is the inevitable result of every paedophile relationship, as is so frequently claimed. This is refuted by the fact that intercourse with an older friend belongs to the finest early memories of many an eminent and prominent man. One university graduate, married and father of several children, an important public functionary, who is very religious and of strong opinions and moral convictions, still receives with great cordiality and affection the visits of his now elderly friend, with whom he had a sexual relationship from his 14th to his 17th year. This is not at all exceptional.¹⁴²

Likewise, it is not unusual for a boy who is becoming more interested in girls and feeling he is getting too old for such a relationship to introduce a younger brother to take his place by the side of his adult friend. He wants to help his friend while also securing for his brother the same advantages he has enjoyed.

An example is also to be found in Giese's book.¹⁴³ A company director, aged 40, had a relationship with a mechanic, then 22, which had lasted for six years. The man is married and had had heterosexual intercourse for 20 years. They were introduced by the mechanic's older brother, who had a similar relationship with this man until his marriage. The director's wife and the parents of the two young men are fully aware of the nature of the relationship. They have sex twice a week, which is an important but not the most significant part of the relationship.

19. Transitory Nature of Paedophile Relationships

With this last case story we also touch upon a very delicate point: the transitory nature of the relationship.

From the beginning it is clear that, for the paedophile, the beloved boy will eventually lose his erotic attraction. The turning point is commonly the appearance of the beard. Even if the original erotic relationship is then frequently transformed into a lasting, non-sexual friendship, the situation changes fundamentally. Does this not rule out a true love relationship?

Taken objectively, this undoubtedly marks the relationship as somehow incomplete, but we must remember that love is blind to time and place and simply desires the other as he now is. The paedophile seeks, and if he is lucky will find, "the eternal boy" in his friend. It is noteworthy that the word most often used by the Greeks to denote the beloved boy was simply *ta paidika*, literally, "the boy-like."¹⁴⁴ The image of the man who is later to grow from this lad hardly arises in the paedophile's mind: he loves what is boy-like. Perhaps the boy sees the real situation more clearly than the man, for the boy's mind is much more directed towards his becoming an adult.

This may be precisely what makes possible the complete surrender of the heterosexual boy in paedophile intercourse: more or less consciously, he understands this to be a transitory phase, a form of sexuality only fitting to this particular age. His body is now attractive in the man's eyes and contact with a man can still excite his highest pleasure. He may very well surrender himself to these feelings because his body will lose its attraction and he will lose his ability to enjoy himself in this way, but by then he will be ready for heterosexual activity, for which he knows he is still too young.

This might also explain the curious fact that heterophile boys are usually much more easily involved in relations with a paedophile than the predominantly homophile ones. In the life stories of homophiles it is often striking to observe the strength and emotion with which they had opposed approaches by a paedophile.¹⁴⁵ It seems they knew intuitively that for them homosexual contact would have a much more decisive, lasting, and deeper significance than for their heterophile peers. For instance, the American homophile author Sherwood Anderson told in his autobiography how he had worked at a race track in Chicago when he was 16. One night he returned from work drenched to the skin. He undressed completely and lay down in the straw covered with just a blanket. He had hardly fallen asleep when some older colleagues returned very drunk; they pulled his blanket from him and, seeing him stark naked, wanted to rape him, "Don't be afraid, we won't hurt you." In panic he fled stark naked across the fields until he found shelter in a sheepfold. He returned the next day in his birthday suit to the mocking laughter of all the stable boys. He resigned immediately.¹⁴⁶

Table 1

<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Number of Boys</i>
12 or younger	41
13-16	148
17-21	111
22-28	63
29-35	21
35 or older	8

In *De homosexueelen*, Dr. B.J. Stokvis collected a number of autobiographies.¹⁴⁷ There are several accounts of homophile boys feeling anguish when approached by a man. Berg and Krich tell the story of a 16-year-old, grabbed by a man in a lavatory, who fled in terror. But he returned repeatedly to the spot, hoping that the opportunity would present itself again. Legludic rightly says that nothing is as unpredictable as a boy's reactions when he realizes that a man is approaching him sexually.¹⁴⁸ Statistical data makes it apparent that on average homophile boys arrive later at homosexual relations than heterophile ones. Among 392 homophiles examined by Giese, their age at the first homosexual activity was as shown in Table 1.¹⁴⁹

The age at which a boy becomes definitely conscious of being a homophile is also rather high. Giese cites the following statistics, as shown here in Table 2.¹⁵⁰

Table 2

<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Number of Boys</i>
15 or younger	61
16	39
17	37
18	58
19	40
20 or older	156

20. Distinction between Love and Sexuality

One of the tasks to be accomplished during puberty and adolescence is the integration of sexuality and love. Usually, in a boy just past puberty, they are separate. He may adore a girl but feels he would debase her by desiring her sexually. During masturbation he fantasizes about a girl who excites him but whom he does not venerate.

The integration of sexuality into the love life, ultimately rendering sexual intimacy the most profound expression of love, should occur gradually over several years. According to experts, a man accomplishes this completely only in a successful

marriage, and even then not immediately.¹⁵¹ However, many succeed only partially and some not at all. These are men who, for instance, are potent with a prostitute but cannot get an erection with the woman they love. In the depths of their being they never escaped the boyish notion that sexual activities are essentially dirty.

Authorities on puberty agree that it may be very dangerous for the psychic evolution of a boy if this is rushed. If a 15-year-old, impelled purely by his sexual desire, has intercourse with a girl, this does not impede the healthy growth of his love life. However, matters become very dubious if he does so with a girl whom he really loves; being immature it is harder for him to link love and sex.

The paedophile who does not understand and respect this may distort something in the boy. When the man is bent on expressing through sex his deep affection for the boy, it may at times trouble him to see his young friend generally so little interested in tender foreplay. The boy may unexpectedly, and sometimes in very coarse words, insist on the sexual act, without any preparation or, frequently, engaging in it through rough-housing. It all takes place in an atmosphere of play and laughter, even if the final orgasm is usually experienced in deepest earnest.

Hirschfeld claims that healthy peasant boys in Austria are ready for relations with a paedophile, provided they are approached tactfully.¹⁵² The paedophile should abstain from acting like a lover, for this makes them shy. The best manner is not to say anything and just act like a good comrade. In a village with no more than 3000 inhabitants a dentist won more than fifty of the handsomest boys by his hospitality and musical talent. The boys competed to gain his favor and hardly ever asked for money, or even refused it when offered. They abandoned themselves with passion.

Another paedophile was acquainted with a farmer who had three sons aged 14, 16 and 18, all sleeping in the same room. When he visited them, each boy wanted him to share his bed. They knew full well what the others were after. What Hirschfeld says may be applied to boys in general: friendship draws them towards a paedophile, romantic love makes them shy away.

21. It Is Still Real Love?

If we compare paedophilia with the idealized abandonment in love between husband and wife or between homosexual adults there is certainly something lacking. We must concede this, even while refraining from asking how many adult couples actually attain this ideal unity. But is this sufficient reason to deny the possibility of a real love relationship between man and boy? Outsiders often declare that they cannot imagine it; adults and non-adults are too dissimilar, so real mutual love would be impossible.

Table 3

<i>Age (Years)</i>	<i>Number of Boys</i>
11 or younger	64
12	51
13	38
14	53
15	52
16	46
17	29
18	26
19	9
20 or older	23

Perhaps it is true here, as it so often is in human emotions, that a person must experience something himself in order to understand it. Many paedophiles are convinced that their love is real, and often the boy, having matured into an adult, will look back and affirm that what he felt for the man was real love. Boyish love, perhaps, expressed in boyish ways, but no less real for all that! We must not forget that maturity means much more than just the capacity to produce sperm. Maturity expands the capacity to love. At puberty, the capacity to be impressed by beauty in art and nature grows and becomes more complex, as does the faculty to enter into a true encounter with another human being, to love. But hardly anyone aware of the actual data con-

cerning the sexual life of boys can doubt that this age is also characterized by intense lust. We may apply to boys an observation by Fritz Leist, a well-known author on marriage relations, that lust is an expression of a much deeper desire for an all-embracing love.

In Giese's research it is certainly striking that the first deep affection for someone of the same sex comes so much earlier than the awareness of a homophile inclination (see Table 2, above).¹⁵³ Deep affection for another male manifested itself as shown in Table 3.

Placzek quotes one of his correspondents as follows:

A look at homosexual literature and art, as well as consideration of reality, shows us that in boy love the same eternal feelings may blossom as in normal love. With the same strength we also find desire, fidelity, devotion, and the willingness to sacrifice. And just as much here as there, overwhelming feelings urge performance of the sexual act as their ultimate completion.¹⁵⁴

Placzek advises, albeit for other reasons, legalization of sexual activities with boys of 14 and over.

Plato's Socrates describes the boundless joy that overcomes a man as he looks at the beautiful body of his young friend. Speaking of the boy, Socrates says:

He no longer feels sad when his older friend is with him; he also feels desire when his friend is far away. For he carries within himself the shadow of love, which is love in return. Now, the boy may say and believe that this is not love but friendship, but meanwhile his desire is just as strong, though perhaps not felt as often, to see him, to touch him, to embrace him, and to share his bed. And this he shortly does, as might be expected. As they lie together, the man's ungovernable horse starts to bother his owner, demanding a little bit of pleasure for all his trouble. The little horse of the beloved boy still has nothing to say, but filled

with a vague, rutting desire he embraces his lover, kissing and caressing him as his best friend. They share a bed, and he is quite willing not to refuse his body and to give in to his friend if he asks for it.¹⁵⁵

The sexually mature boy is capable of real love, just as he is able to create real art and be truly religious. Of course, everything should continue to grow and ripen, but the heart of the matter is already present.

22. Image of the Adult

It might be said that, precisely because the boy is growing and ripening, the paedophile relationship is also capable of causing terrible harm. At the age at which a boy starts to become independent from his parents, but at which he is not really capable of being independent, he experiences love from a man. This is enormously important to him.

Of course, I am putting the case as favorably as possible. For it may be that the boy does not experience the man's attitude as loving at all. The boy may be aware of exercising through his physical charms a mysterious, all-encompassing power over the man. This situation obviously may have disastrous effects on pedagogy.

But assume that the boy finds real love in the man. Then he clings to him; his need for guidance and affection is satisfied; his craving for attention, his need for someone to take him seriously, are abundantly fulfilled. To the heterophile, the pubertal boy generally appears as a human being at his most disagreeable and unattractive. Consequently, a boy is accustomed to being snapped at by adults, to being pushed aside, and to being ordered about. He is the last to be considered. Then, all of a sudden, he meets a man who finds him important, admires his accomplishments and his body. He may freely express his sexuality, which he must hide from all other adults. Sexual gratification is more satisfying with his friend than lone masturbation, and at the same time much less risky than with a girl, where pregnancy and a commitment he is not ready to make may threaten him.

Is it then a surprise if the boy is inspired by his adult friend and that the paedophile becomes for the boy the ideal adult, the mentor, a model? This is fine when the paedophile really is a good example. But how often is this not the case?

In the *International Journal of Psychiatry*, S. Toobert and E.S. Jones sketch a picture of the typical paedophile "offender" from the records of 120 men examined.¹⁵⁶ According to them, the characteristic paedophile is a sexually unsatisfied individual with strong religious interests who relates badly to others, has a sense of guilt, and is excessively sensitive to the judgment of others. His weakness and low self-esteem find a resolution, the authors believe, by identifying with the physically weak and emotionally uncorrupted child. Even if these authors are describing men who occupy themselves more with immature children than with mature boys, we may ask whether the paedophiles I am discussing here do not frequently show similar traits. If it is true that many homophiles can only arrive with difficulty or not at all at establishing a deep "existential" contact with a fellow human being, then it seems reasonable to suppose, from a psychological perspective, that such traits are present to a much greater degree in males who can only abandon themselves to a non-adult. One might say that the paedophile seems to be someone who drops his social reserve, and abandons himself body and soul to his partner, when he is sure that as the senior partner he can dominate the boy. Is not this need to dominate, even if unconscious, the basis for many homophiles' and paedophiles' preference for less educated, working class friends?

23. Men with Many Boys

Many paedophiles who share this will to dominate and prefer the many to the one, despite their best intentions, will not cut the ideal figure suited for the best moral formation of a boy. However, there are certainly other paedophiles who are excellent pedagogues, though it is impossible to ascertain their number. There is truth in the saying: every good educator must be part paedophile. And further: no one would become a youth

leader unless he, consciously or unconsciously, has paedophile urges.

But the inability to establish deeper contacts makes many men, heterosexuals and homosexuals, flit from partner to partner, from adventure to adventure, seeking only sexual experiences. Kinsey says:

In both heterosexual and homosexual relationships, promiscuity may depend, in many instances, upon the male's anticipation of variation in the genital anatomy of the partner, in the techniques which may be used during the contacts, and in the physical responses of the new partner.... Male promiscuity often depends upon the satisfactions that may be secured from the pursuit and successful attainment of a new partner. There are some heterosexual males, and an even larger proportion of the homosexual males, who may limit themselves to a single contact with any single partner. Once having demonstrated their capacities to effect sexual relations with the particular individual, they prefer to turn to the pursuit of the next partner.¹⁵⁷

In the study by Kinsey of males who had homosexual relationships, the number of partners is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

<i>Number of Partners</i>	<i>Percentage of Sample</i>
1	35%
2-5	35%
6-10	8%
11-20	6%
21-30	2%
31-50	3%
51-100	3%
more than 100	8%

There are reasons to suppose this tendency to promiscuity to be rather common, especially in paedophiles. A boy frequenting such a man may

well conclude that he is only one in a series and that the caresses he gets today will be given tomorrow with equal passion to another youth. Generally, a heterophile boy does not object to this, and will even think it understandable, because for him the sexual contact belongs to the world of play and is not yet linked to a loving union. But the great risk is that the boy may acquire a distorted image of adult sexuality and remain fixed in this phase of mental immaturity in which the genitals are merely organs to experience lust, and not instruments for uniting in love. The number of boys with whom a single paedophile may have relations during a rather short period may amount to a number nearly unbelievable to outsiders, and easily add up to tens or even hundreds.¹⁵⁸ The layman is tempted to see this as impossible, because he greatly underestimates the willingness of boys to engage in sex. He expects to find his own horror of paedophilia in every healthy, spirited boy and thinks that only weak or morally corrupted boys will be inclined to do such things. Experience shows that this is absolutely not true and that boys who do not respond to a paedophile's approach might be the exception rather than the rule.

The criminal statistics regarding paedophiles give no indication of the number of contacts per adult. In The Netherlands in 1956, 124 adult males were sentenced for offenses against section 248 bis of the Penal Code, dealing with activities between men and boys aged 16 to 21, and 1034 for offenses against section 247, dealing with activities committed with both boys and girls under 16. In the Dutch population of 11,000,000 (as of 1960), the number of adult males under age 65 can be estimated as 3,030,000. According to Kinsey, the average number of orgasms for a man during the course of a week is 2.74.¹⁵⁹ This yields a total of 8,302,200 male orgasms per week and 431,714,400 orgasms per year. Of these, 6.3% or 27,198,000 are due to homosexual contacts (Kinsey's ratio).¹⁶⁰ Hirschfeld's research indicated that 45% of homosexual relationships are paedophile, and this would account for 12,239,000 male orgasms.¹⁶¹ Thus, in the course of a year, more than twelve million adult male orgasms arise from sexual contact with a boy, more than 34,000 times

daily. This figure might be too high because there is more restraint on paedophile contacts than in relations between adults. On the other hand, if we consider that often only the boy attains orgasm and furthermore that sexual activities such as caressing a knee, patting the buttocks, or a kiss may be deemed punishable by the courts, then it appears that the number of illegal activities committed by paedophiles with boys during the course of one year in The Netherlands may even amount to several times these twelve million.

Applying Kinsey's data to The Netherlands, there would be over 135,000 boys between 15 and 19 years old who were brought to orgasm by homosexual activities.¹⁶² Not all of these contacts would be with paedophile adults; age-mates are also among the partners. It is clear that these figures are open to criticism; the actual figures may be lower or much higher. It is the intention of these calculations only to demonstrate the scale of what we are considering. We may in any case be sure that the police are informed of only a small fraction of the occurrences, as the police criminologist C.N. Peyster conjectures.¹⁶³

Our initial surprise at these high figures soon disappears if we realize that paedophilia is certainly not unnatural in the sense of colliding with the nature of the sexually mature boy; rather the opposite. Not only in his physical appearance but also in his erotic feelings, the boy who has just reached sexual maturity has female traits. It is not unreasonable to discuss a bisexual phase. The sexual impulse is often still more or less passive and receptive to an active, typically male, approach. Havelock Ellis notes that in homosexual relationships there is generally a clear preference for a strongly contrasting partner: the more feminine types seek the more virile ones—intellectuals looking for workmen, the older looking for the younger, and boys or adolescents preferring relations with adult men to those with age-mates.¹⁶⁴

The English Wolfenden Report states that among 524 boys under sixteen who were complainants in criminal proceedings against paedophiles, only 42% objected to, or showed any indignation for, what the paedophile did to

them.¹⁶⁵ Obviously, a considerable number of boys, subjected to pressure by policemen, judges, and parents, will be tempted to feign indignation and to pretend that everything happened against their will; the real percentage of the truly offended may be much lower.

A student giving extra lessons to secondary school pupils once told me that he had met, in the course of five years, only one boy among a hundred who was unwilling to be masturbated by him, and that boy, aged 17, explained his unwillingness by the fact that he already had intercourse with a girl.

It is also not unusual for the boy to take the initiative. Dr. B.J. Stokvis quotes an article by Amsterdam police officer J. van Opijnen in the police journal, *De Politiebode*, "It is the general opinion that the minors are the victims, but experience has taught us that very frequently the younger person seduced the older one."¹⁶⁶ Among the 393 subjects of Giese's research there were 300 who had their first homosexual contact before they were 21. Only 84 of them had been "seduced"; 81 took the initiative themselves and in the remaining 135 cases the initiative came from both partners equally.¹⁶⁷

In the same study by Giese, the director of a reformatory reports on his first contact with a 16-year-old schoolboy: "My young partner undressed in my presence and then stood in front of me with an erection. Thus he offered me his friendship."¹⁶⁸

In a most characteristic way the French author Jean Genet described such a scene in his *Funeral Rites*, a book dedicated to the memory of his friend Jean, killed fighting the Germans during the liberation of Paris in 1944. When Genet first met him, Jean was 16. From other details it is clear that Jean was a heterophile boy who later had contacts with women. Jean understood quite well that Genet desired him, but he had never given in. One night he came to visit Genet, who invited him to stay. The boy hesitated and said, "You're going to bother me if I stay over." Genet promised not to do so. But in the ensuing conversation, Genet felt clearly that Jean not only intended to stay, but also to have sex with him, to abandon himself to his friend. When Jean had

Table 5: Mutual Masturbation

<i>By a boy aged</i>	<i>With a boy</i>	<i>With a man over 19</i>
12	10	—
13	8	2
14	8	4
15	5	5
16	3	3
17	2	5
18	1	4
Total	37	23

undressed and climbed into Genet's bed, he already had an erection. "You promised not to trouble me, but suppose I allowed it today?" And after the act, the boy declared, "I love you even more than before."¹⁶⁹

24. The Nature of the Sexual Contact

If one remembers that a normal boy is still open to expressing all kinds of sexual behavior, and gradually becomes oriented exclusively towards girls, it is easier to understand the situation.

In any case, we distort reality by imagining that boys only more or less unwillingly lend themselves to sexual activities with a man. The kind of activity the man desires may, however, be important.

In Athenian Greece, for example, nearly all of the men involved themselves in boy-love; the majority of them were heterosexual. In all times

Table 6: Interfemoral Intercourse

<i>By a boy aged</i>	<i>With a boy</i>	<i>With a man over 19</i>
12	1	—
13	—	—
14	1	2
15	1	1
16	1	1
17	2	1
18	—	1
Total	6	6

and places where this is the case (that is, among heterophile soldiers, sailors, prisoners, and men living in overseas colonies who have intercourse with boys because women are absent), the usual practice is that which most closely imitates coitus, namely the insertion by the man of his penis in the anus or between the compressed thighs of the boy. The Greeks called the adult lover *eispnelês*, the "inspirator," as they were convinced that he implanted the good and the noble into the receptive soul of the boy not only through his pedagogy but also implanted his virility, soul, and spirit through insemination.¹⁷⁰

In sexual activities between homophiles, anal and interfemoral intercourse may be much less common. Lenz, for example, concludes that anal intercourse between men is less frequently performed (20%) than between men and women (25% of the cases).¹⁷¹ Oral contacts also are more frequent in heterosexual intercourse (42-45% of the cases). According to Hirschfeld, only 8% of homosexual intercourse is performed anally, against 12% interfemoral, 40% oral, and 40% manual activities.¹⁷² Redhardt was even told by boy prostitutes that real homophiles only use their hands and that those insisting on other practices were always bisexual.¹⁷³

However this may be, in any case anal intercourse is very unusual in contemporary paedophile relationships. Tolsma did not find a single case in his study of 133 subjects.¹⁷⁴ The erotic practices he found were: in 42.1% mutual masturbation, in 22.5% the man only touched the boy's body, in 21% the boy was masturbated by the man; in 1.5% the man was masturbated by the boy; in 6.8% interfemoral intercourse; in 11.3% oral contacts. The remaining 9% consisted of sado-masochistic practices.

A heterophile readily permits himself to be masturbated by another male, because this is often merely a welcome variation to what he is accustomed to doing by himself, and so it is not especially remarkable to him. He is also willing to permit a man to perform oral or interfemoral sex. To the contrary, the suggestion of other practices frequently meets with strong resistance: taking a man's penis in his mouth is revolting; receptive anal intercourse is thought to hurt, and

Table 7: Oral Intercourse

<i>By a boy aged</i>	<i>With another boy</i>		<i>With someone over 19</i>	
	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
12	4	4	—	—
13	3	3	2	5
14	5	3	2	2
15	2	2	3	5
16	2	3	2	3
17	3	2	5	10
18	—	—	7	9
Total	19	17	21	34

often does hurt considerably. (However, especially at the time of puberty, a number of boys can be brought to orgasm by anal intercourse.)

We might suppose that boys who are by nature inclined to homophilia would be more willing to participate in more extreme practices. Some insight is provided by George W. Henry who collected the youthful experiences of forty homophiles in *Sex Variants*.¹⁷⁵ Tables 5 through 8 summarize his findings.

25. Inconsistency of the Boy's Sexual Drive

The inconsistency of the sexual impulse in boys, even those whose later evolution is normal, sometimes drives them to have intercourse with both female and male partners during the same

period. The visit of the beloved boy to a girl, sometimes with the consent of his lover but usually to his great displeasure, is a well-known theme in Greek and Roman poetry.

A typical example, involving a 48-year-old merchant, is also to be found in Giese's study.¹⁷⁶ When this man was 11 years old and not yet sexually mature, his 14-year-old brother began to have anal intercourse with him. This continued regularly for two or three years. He submitted to this without giving it much thought and considered it "... an amusing game. I always teased him by tensing my muscles. I found it more agreeable than disagreeable." When he was 13, a 20-year-old soldier billeted in his family's home forced the boy to masturbate him. Shortly thereafter a paedophile accosted him in the street

Table 8: Anal Intercourse

<i>By a boy aged</i>	<i>With another boy</i>		<i>With someone over 19</i>	
	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>	<i>Active</i>	<i>Passive</i>
12	2	2	—	—
13	2	2	2	3
14	2	2	—	3
15	—	—	2	4
16	2	—	3	5
17	1	1	2	5
18	—	—	3	1
Total	9	7	12	21

and they practiced mutual masturbation. He experienced his first orgasm and went several times, on his own initiative, to visit the man "who had aroused this delightful feeling." He finally discovered that he could arouse himself and stopped visiting the man. He was 16 when he met a 30-year-old paedophile with whom he permitted anal intercourse. This relationship continued for two to three years. He meanwhile began, at age 17, a sexual relationship with his 34-year-old female teacher, which continued for four years. Intercourse with the paedophile continued until he was 19; after the age of 21 he had intercourse exclusively with *women. He considered it a welcome supplement to his heterosexual relations, which he could not enjoy as frequently as he desired. His last homosexual contact was at age 22.

Some males exude a mysterious attraction, and boys literally run after them, forcing themselves upon them. A correspondent of Giese reported:

Curiously, as a young man, it often happened to me that boys fell madly in love with me, had nervous complaints when I left their homes, cried, took my pillow into their bed, and were only to be completely soothed when I caressed and kissed them.... Later in the East I had a chance to have boys as servants. To my surprise, they all assumed I would have sexual intercourse with them, mostly in the mouth. Then, too, this rather mysterious attraction I exerted on boys and adolescents revealed itself. An extraordinarily handsome boy came to visit me and begged to become my servant. He did.¹⁷⁷

All in all, this man had relations with about sixty boys.

In many paedophile friendships in which the boy later evolves into a completely heterophile individual, once the contact is established, it is the boy who repeatedly solicits the intimacies.

26. The Danger of Generosity

Hirschfeld enumerates the man's kindness, willingness to give someone pleasure, friendship, sympathy, gratefulness, and affection as frequent

motives for a boy to enter into a paedophile relationship.¹⁷⁸ I believe sexual curiosity and especially the flattery demonstrated by the intense interest of the adult also play an important role. Regrettably there is often yet another factor, one which is a dark aspect in many paedophile relations: the material advantages to the boy.

In comparison to his young friend, the man is not only stronger and wiser, but also usually has much more money at his disposal. In giving presents and paying for treats it is, of course, the man who gives and the boy who receives.

This may well remain innocent and pleasant to both, but with surprising ease an element of prostitution may, consciously or unconsciously, introduce itself. Particularly when a boy knows, or suspects, that a man also does the same things with other boys, and the more so if the man clearly expresses a desire for physical contact, the boy begins to feel he should be paid for his sexual favors. It is quite possible that the man does not intend this at all and only wants to please his young friend. But the young friend sees it differently.

Even in the oldest Greek and Latin poems we hear the bitter complaint of boy-lovers that boys have been corrupted by exaggerated generosity and so have learned to exploit their erotic charms. Thus we read in the *Anthologia Graeca*: "In former times boys could be made happy with small gifts: a bird they could play with, dice, a pretty ball. Today they ask for more: hard cash and fine clothes. Please, give them other things if you really love boys!"¹⁷⁹

There is also an eloquent scene in a play by Aristophanes (444-385 BC):

Karion: The boys no longer do this kind of thing to please their man friend, but to get money out of them.

Chremylos: That's only the boys who sell themselves, but there are also the better ones who don't accept money.

K: What do they want then?

C: One wants a couple of hounds, the other a fine horse.

K: Perhaps they are ashamed to actually accept money, but in truth they hide their low character behind fancy demands.¹⁸⁰

Of course only a small minority of boys openly prostitute themselves and make themselves avail-

able to any man for a fixed sum. On the island of Pantellaria where the Italian police interns troublemakers, the village boys pursue the exiles, calling, "For one lira I'll milk you."¹⁸¹ In Naples even today (1960), boys of ten and older accost foreigners in the street, and sometimes ask outright, "Do you want to have me?" Such things may even still happen in The Netherlands. In his book *Sexuele Misdadigheid*, Professor E.A.D.A. Carp relates the story of a 36-year-old man who had always successfully fought his paedophile tendencies until he met a 12-year-old boy in a public lavatory, who exposed his penis to him, and asked, "Will you jack me off for ten cents?" He then masturbated the boy.¹⁸²

Even rougher tales are told about New York, where, according to an expert, it is easier for a man to get a boy than a girl, and where, according to another author, many secondary-school pupils "earn" their expensive sporting equipment from paedophiles.¹⁸³

Worse possibilities also exist. Tardieu mentions a husband who employed his wife to seduce boys in order to abuse them himself afterwards.¹⁸⁴ This recalls a similar episode from Apuleius' "Golden Asse," in the version rendered by Boccaccio in his *Decameron*. Hoffmann and Stern mention a man who offered a boy the chance to visit his home and have intercourse with a prostitute, so that he might abuse the boy immediately afterwards.¹⁸⁵ Late at night, the director of a boarding school used to fetch a boy from the dormitory to his room, offer him a glass of beer, and masturbate or penetrate him anally. He used his authority to persuade the boys, and rewarded their willingness with good grades.

These are extreme cases. In general there is a friendly fulfillment of desires and interests which the boys cannot adequately satisfy at school or at home. Many a boy is more or less willing to "earn" a treat—a film, a trip with the car, or a boat trip—through granting sexual favors, which also give him a certain pleasure, especially in the beginning. In this way his sexual life takes a questionable direction, and there is the risk that he will continue physical relations with a man even after his desire has turned entirely to girls, solely for the benefit of the material rewards.

Adolf Brand, a paedophile German poet, speaks quite openly in his "Inseln des Eros" about this curious combination of candy and love:

ISLANDS OF EROS

*Always glad
Joyful, joyful!
Take off your coat, my boy,
Out of your trousers!
You may sneak around
With that sweet tooth of yours
And fill your empty pockets
With chocolates and cakes;
Hurry up, you wild lout
And don't laugh, you rascal!
Your looks, your curls
Would drive gods to a frenzy!
Off with your clothes! Handsome lad,
All fire and motion!
From your eyebrows to your knee
The least movement is graceful!
Every line a mystery
Every dimple a question mark.
Put your arm across my shoulder,
So I can carry you to bed!
Your member is shining,
Glowing like a pale rose
Under your white shirt,
Pure as a dove.
You drop from the sofa,
Nestle like an Adonis
Upon the soft purple carpet,
Your sweet charms
Like green ivy wind round me;
Drunk and hot as from Falerian wine
With erring hands,
I silently strip off your shirt,
From your hips, tender as lilies.
Now you are uncovered, lovely miracle—
Bashful, you're warding off my desire;
Exultant I embrace.
Blissful and profoundly anxious,
Alluring, you tremble with lust.
And from my mouth
You steal sweet gifts with yours—
I'm kissing, kissing you tenderly,
My lovely boy.¹⁸⁶*

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to bring to light various aspects of paedophilia, and to point out how difficult a phenomenon it is to assess. It must again be stressed that before we are able to discuss the moral aspects, it is necessary to agree on both the circumstances of paedophile relationships and the principles of sexual ethics as a whole. That is still a long way off.

Aside from the question of whether or not sexual activities between boys and men will ever win ethical acceptance, I believe, as expressed in the preceding pages, that paedophile relationships do exist which are largely or wholly lacking in favorable aspects and therefore destined to exert a bad influence on the boy. But I also believe that the importance of harm is exaggerated, and the bad effects very often are not the result of the usually mentioned causes.

It has surely been proven by various experts, from ancient Greece onwards, that there are paedophile sexual relationships which either totally, or almost totally, do no harm. If it becomes possible to accept these ethically as positive relationships or at least, making an analogy with pubertal masturbation, as a more or less harmless practice, then it is also possible to argue that they could be a source of happiness and benefit to both man and boy. I do not presume to answer the questions I have raised, or even to suggest the answers. I only hope that I have succeeded in opening the discussion.

NOTES

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*Sexualleben (cf. *Paidika* 10, p.52, note 30; p.56)

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RECENT LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Jan Schuijjer

A New Political Constellation

A number of interesting political developments have taken place in the Netherlands in the last year. In the summer of 1994 a cabinet was formed without the center-right Christian Democrats (CDA) for the first time since 1918. According to recent surveys (September 1995), this unique coalition of Social Democrats and Liberals enjoys widespread support among the Dutch population.

The presence of the CDA has always been the most significant obstacle to the passage of liberal legislation on social issues such as abortion, pornography, prostitution, euthanasia, and anti-discrimination reform. The CDA used its position as a power broker between the other parties to prevent legal reform. Often, the resulting legislation became a confused and contradictory muddle, leaving central points open to interpretation in jurisprudence. In recent years, the most important legal reforms regarding social issues, concerning euthanasia and discrimination against homosexuals, had become difficult compromises between CDA on the one hand and the Social Democrats and Liberals on the other. It is disappointing that, at the time of the first coalition without a religious party, few social issues remained high on the political agenda. Looked upon in this way, the so-called Purple Coalition—a coalition of labor (red) and liberals (blue)—came too late.

Review of the Morals Laws

An Evaluation

The absence of the CDA may still play a role in a decade-long process which has not yet reached fruition: the comprehensive reform of the morality laws. Since 1970 these laws have been

adapted *ad hoc*, but a comprehensive and coherent reform has not been achieved. An attempt in 1985 failed. The intended legislation at that time included a proposal to replace the prohibition on sexual contact with 12- to 16-year-olds by a prohibition on abuse arising out of a position of authority or power. The proposal gave rise to so much protest that the government never introduced the legislation to Parliament for debate.

Instead, in 1991, the morality laws were patched up. An amendment introduced at the last moment of the debate specified that sexual relations between and with 12 to 16 year olds should only be prosecuted on the basis of a complaint from the alleged victim, his legal guardians, or the Child Protection Board.¹ This so-called "complaint provision" did not apply to sexual contacts within dependent relationships, such as between parents, teachers, or social workers, and the youths in question. The aim of this provision was to guarantee that voluntary contacts among and with youths would be respected by the Justice Department. The CDA Minister of Justice, Ernst Hirsch Ballin, did not agree with the calls by the non-religious parties for a comprehensive revision of the morality legislation. However, by way of compromise with these parties, the Minister agreed with the last-minute amendment and committed himself to an evaluation which would be made a number of years after its introduction.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute, a private organization, carried out the evaluation and reported early in 1995. Their main conclusion was that further legal reform was not necessary, thus ignoring the wishes of the non-religious parties. However, they had also not succumbed to the wishes of some law enforcement authorities for an abolition of the complaint provision of 1991

concerning sex with youths 12 to 16 and for a return to the old civil prosecutorial policy.

According to their mandate, the Verwey-Jonker Institute was supposed to investigate both how effectively the revised law protected individuals against sexual violence and abuse and how it protected the right of individuals, including adolescents, to sexual self-determination. They unilaterally decided to investigate the first question only, not the second, claiming "that would require another kind of investigation in which [groups of] citizens would have to be questioned about their experiences under the new law."²

However, the argument they gave for only partly fulfilling their mandate is not convincing. The questions that could be raised would not have needed a special investigation: "How is the right of a youth to make a complaint and the right to be heard applied in practice? Do the law enforcement agencies attempt to apply the new law so that voluntary sexual contacts are respected?" These questions could have been posed to the parties involved in the criminal cases investigated. The right to make a complaint, which was intended to promote respect by the Justice Department for a young person's right to enter into a voluntary sexual relationship, and the question of whether that had indeed occurred, were not answered by their investigation.

The apparent bias of the investigators may have been brought about by the fact that their advisors comprised only the parties on one side of the debate. Of the 26 attorneys interviewed, 20 represented investigative and prosecutorial authorities. Of the other six lawyers who were interviewed, four of the six represented victims of sexual abuse (p. 87). Also, the members of the two expert commissions were drawn exclusively from law enforcement agencies and victim organizations (p. 193).

The Labor Party Report

At about the same time that the Verwey-Jonker Institute brought out its report, the Labor Party, the senior party in the government coalition, published its own report, entitled "Sexual Integrity and Legal Protection."³ It was prepared by a party commission chaired by a Member of Parliament, Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal. The

commission had been formed a number of years before with the aim of reanimating those political processes aimed at a comprehensive revision of the morality laws. The report made many recommendations to the government in the interests of protecting the sexual integrity of all individuals. Among its recommendations, the report drew attention to the need to protect citizens from undesirable government interference. It argued that the high level of attention to prevention of sexual violence and abuse should not lead to prevention of, or intervention into, voluntary and desired sexual relations. In addition, more effective protection of the rights of the accused was deemed necessary.

In The Netherlands, where criminal cases are based almost exclusively on documents collected in an investigative dossier, the accused does not automatically have the right to see the evidence against him, let alone the right to analyze all the documents. It is very unusual in Dutch criminal courts for witnesses to appear on the stand to give testimony. Witnesses are rarely cross-examined; at most, questions may be posed by the president of the court. Juries do not exist. Generally, depositions are collected by the police or by independent agencies charged with investigating the matter. Depositions may also be taken in closed sittings before a junior magistrate. The defense lawyer may give the junior magistrate a list of written questions to put to the witness; however, the magistrate is not compelled to ask these questions. Often, no cross-examination arises from the answers given. In addition, reports by social workers, psychologists, and other professionals giving an account in their own words of things that witnesses are alleged to have told them are also included; hearsay, therefore, is admissible, and such documents may become valid pieces of evidence in the file. On the grounds of protecting the privacy of the alleged victim, the accused may be refused access to transcripts of interviews with the alleged victim or to reports about the interviews when transcripts are not available. Of course this severely limits the right of the accused to confront his accuser. According to the Labor Party, the accused should have the right to inspect the documents and to appoint a

counter-expert of his own choice to analyze the material. The report of the counter-expert should then also be included in the dossier.

The Labor Party report also concluded that the complaint provision in the case of sexual contacts with youths was not being adequately considered in practice. In a case where sexual contact with a minor between age 12 and 16 is suspected, the Officer of Justice is required to give the minor a chance to express his or her opinion about the desirability of prosecution. However, in cases where this has been neglected, the case is not automatically dismissed by the courts. Furthermore, the Officer of Justice, even if he has heard the minor, may ignore his or her opinion. The absence of a complaint does not mean that the contact is not punishable by law; it remains a punishable offense, albeit one that technically cannot be prosecuted. The Labor Party pointed out that this was illogical.

The report offered the following recommendations for strengthening the minor's right to determine whether or not prosecution should occur:

1. Sexual contact with a youth above 12 would no longer be a punishable offense as long as there had been no complaint by a person entitled to lodge such a complaint (child, parent or legal guardian, or, as proposed in the Labor Party report, the Child Protection Board).
2. The state would not be able to prosecute a case in which the minor had not been given an opportunity to express an opinion with respect to the desirability of prosecution.
3. The Officer of Justice would no longer be able to ignore the wishes of the minor, unless he could show in specific terms why the interests of the minor would be better served by pursuing a prosecution against the wishes of the minor.
4. The right to lodge a complaint would apply to all sexual contacts with youths above 12 years of age, except in cases where contact has been with the minors' parents, guardians, or those overseeing them.
5. The right of the Board of Child Protection to lodge a complaint would be limited to incest cases.

In a discussion between members of Parliament and the Minister of Justice in June 1995, Mrs. Swildens-Rozendaal pressed for further in-

vestigation into the functioning of the complaint provision in cases of sex with young people. Evidence existed to show that the complaint provision was not having the desired effect. Police investigations into suspected sexual contacts with young people had occurred even when no request for prosecution has been lodged, and prosecutions had taken place against the explicit wishes of the youths involved. The police have been able to conduct their investigations under the pretext of investigating other crimes, such as assault, for which no complaint provision has been made, in order to operate without having received a complaint. Mrs. Marian Soutendijk, speaking for the opposition Christian-Democrats (CDA), supported such police actions, asserting that the complaint provision had never been introduced to create more room for paedophile contacts. This opinion, however, is not supported by the history of the law. Rather, it appears that the CDA had not fully understood the consequences of the legal revision of 1991.

The Minister of Justice expressed sympathy for the concern about the functioning of the complaint provision. At this moment the Labor Party is considering the best way in which to carry out the proposed evaluation. The absence of the CDA from the coalition could mean that agreement between the government parties for a more liberal law is possible. Other forces, such as victim lobby groups, are still attempting to dismantle the complaint provision. Only time will tell whether the complaint provision becomes strengthened, or eventually scrapped as unworkable.

Child Pornography Laws

In the meantime, under the Purple Coalition, a legislative proposal was accepted that can have significant consequences for sexual relations among and with youths. This is the revision of article 240b in the Dutch Penal Code, an article introduced in 1986 that set a three-month term of imprisonment for "the dissemination or public exhibition of images of sexual behavior in which a minor apparently not yet 16 years old is involved." In more popular terms this is the "child pornography law."

An analysis of the parliamentary debate is needed to understand precisely what the new law

contained. In The Netherlands it is not only the text of the bill, but also the written and verbal exchange of ideas between the government and the parliament, that make up the law and guide the courts in their interpretation. The government is comprised of the Queen and a cabinet of ministers she appoints on the recommendation of Parliament, but who are not themselves members of Parliament. The government is therefore the politically appointed body of executive heads of the civil service. During question and answer sessions between Parliament and the government ministers, the intentions of Parliament are often made clear in ways that are not obvious from reading the text of the bills. The debate of the proposed revision of 240b in the Lower House of Parliament led to only one change in the text of the law. However, the meaning of the law was changed by the discussion which determined the interpretation to be given to it, especially a five-fold taxonomy of child pornography outlined by the Minister of Justice, Mrs. W. Sorgdrager. Before examining the revisions, however, it is necessary to understand something of the history of the law.

Early History of the Child Pornography

Possession Law

During the mid-1980s, a number of high-profile child pornography raids and the agitation in the American Senate over the alleged child pornography trade from the Netherlands led to the introduction and passage of article 240b. A conviction under the new law carried a maximum penalty of only three months, and was thus not considered a serious crime. Between 1986 and 1990, 25 people were sentenced under this law.

The text of the law referred to child pornography as depictions of "sexual behavior," although the Dutch expression "seksuele gedraging" [sexual conduct or behavior] carried with it a certain ambiguity and was even a new term in Dutch law on sexuality. The Lower House of Parliament resolved that this term did not refer to images that were "innocent"; that is, to photographs of young people under the age of sixteen that only depicted nudity. The meaning of the term, however, has been extended, largely because of a remarkable interpretation of "sexual

behavior" that resulted from the efforts of the Amsterdam Prosecutor's Office to obtain a conviction in the now-famous Mader case.

In 1987, in Gallery Intermale, an annex of a gay book store, Donald Mader had exhibited photographs of youths showing their physical development over a number of years. The photographs were seized by the police, and Mader was charged with having breached the new child pornography law. During the course of the case the Supreme Court accepted that the Ministry's definition of child pornography could include images of youths posed in such a way that "the stimulation of sexual arousal was evidently intended." Although Mader was eventually acquitted in 1992 on appeal, the new definition remained intact.

The Supreme Court has been criticized by the academic legal community for accepting this definition, which is so vague that many kinds of photographs can be included under child pornography. The fact that the definition was based on the effect of the photograph on the viewer, as was the case with the old (repealed) pornography legislation, was also criticized. The law was intended to protect youths from sexual abuse, and not to protect individuals from offensive moral behavior. The effect of this broad interpretation became apparent when customs officials seized a shipment of calendars from Germany. The local court, supported by the Supreme Court's definition, approved the seizure on the grounds that the calendars contained child pornography. In fact, the calendars contained only a photograph of a naked adolescent male, standing on the beach. This case caused hardly a ripple in the public debate, unlike the process against Mader in which the lower court judges were ridiculed by the media after sentencing Mader in 1990 in the first round of the case.

A New Law Is Proposed

In the summer of 1993 the Amsterdam police started a media campaign against child pornography. They produced a video which used a collage of adult and child pornography to shock the viewer, and invited members of the press to join the police in enforcing child pornography legislation. There were repeated calls for a sharpening of the child pornography laws and increase

of police powers to conduct investigations in such cases. This resulted in the then-Minister of Justice, Ernst Hirsch Ballin, proposing a new law on behalf of the government which would alter the existing law as follows:

1. Prohibition against all manufacture, import, export, transport, and holding in stock of images of youths involved in sexual behavior. The old law only prohibited these activities when the intention was to distribute or display the images in public.
2. The maximum prison term would be increased from three months to four years, or a fine of 100,000 guilders (\$US 60,000). In cases where the accused professionally or repeatedly commits the offenses, the maximum sentence would be six years (the same as the penalty for sex with a person below 16 years).

It was not proposed to further clarify the definition of "sexual behavior."

The higher sentence would have resulted in the police obtaining special powers to conduct investigations, powers not generally available under Dutch law for the investigation of offenses having less than three-year maximum terms. For example, the suspect could be held in interim custody during an investigation, but not under the old legislation. Although never explicitly stated, the Justice Department was undoubtedly thinking of conducting undercover operations.

Minister Hirsch Ballin justified the prohibition of simple possession on the grounds that it is sometimes difficult to prove that possession was intended for distribution or public display. He also argued that the possession of child pornography was built upon and profited from moral crimes against children. Therefore, he argued, the intrusion into the private life of the possessor of child pornography was not contrary to Article 8 the European Community treaty governing human rights and freedoms.

It was never clear why the police conducted such a vigorous crusade. They pointed out that the number of cases in which child pornography had been found had significantly increased in the preceding years. The figure of 240 cases allegedly involving child pornography in Amsterdam alone was cited; however, it is impossible for outsiders to check that claim. Since the introduction of article

240b in 1986, private ownership of video cameras in The Netherlands has greatly increased. Privately made videos can be viewed without the intervention of any developing laboratory. This may be a factor in the increased private possession of child pornography, not much of which was ever intended for distribution or public display.

The Proposal Is Amended

After the general elections of 1994, the Lower House came to its initial conclusions. Despite the verbal violence of the Amsterdam police, and the sycophantic echoing of their crusading by the media, there was a quiet opposition to the proposals among members of Parliament. The Labor Party Commission mentioned in the previous section produced an alternative proposal. The Dutch sexual reform associations, the NVSH and the Dutch Association for Gay Integration (COC), produced a critical commentary that did not go unnoticed in the Lower House of Parliament.

The Labor Party Commission and the NVSH/COC report rebutted Hirsch Ballin's arguments. The problems involved in proving that possession may have been intended for distribution do not necessarily lead to the conclusion that possession should be criminalized. The law could set out such a criterion as establishing the number of copies needed to indicate "holding in stock for commercial reasons," and which would clearly imply an intention to distribute. (Three or more, according to the Labor Party Commission; five or more, according to the NVSH/COC).

In addition, it was pointed out that under the following circumstances the images might be legitimate:

1. The images might have been made in the context of a relationship for which no complaint had been lodged, in which case the right to prosecute on the basis of the images would contradict the principle that the initiative for a prosecution in these cases should be left only to those with the legal right to lodge a complaint.
2. The images might serve a serious scientific, artistic, therapeutic, or educational purpose. A prohibition on possession might deprive social science of a relevant source of information on youth sexuality.

3. Possession may have come about in cases where the models have, as adults, given permission for dissemination or public exhibition of the photographs, as was the case in the Mader affair, for example.

The Labor Party and NVSH/COC reports both agreed with the increase of penalties for distribution of child pornography to four years' imprisonment and accepted the argument that distribution and exhibition could be viewed as a form of child abuse independent of any abuse that might be implied by the making of the photographs. They both rejected the continued use of the over-broad term "sexual behavior," which they wanted to see replaced by "sexual acts." However, while the Labor Party Commission wanted the definition to comprise *all* images of sexual acts by and with youths, the NVSH and COC wanted the definition limited to images of *punishable* acts. The latter was a serious misjudgment, since the distribution of an image of a minor engaged in solitary sexual activity could in certain circumstances be seen as abuse, or at least exploitation, even while it depicts no demonstrable punishable offense. The supporters of Hirsch Ballin's proposal were able to argue just that, and thereby dismiss the NVSH/COC proposal as radical and unrealistic.

Criticism of the NVSH and COC proposals was echoed in the written reactions of the non-religious parties of the Lower House of Parliament. But these parties also stated that the government had not demonstrated that the trade in child pornography had recently increased, as had been claimed by the police and the Ministry, and asserted that a blanket prohibition would be in conflict with article 8 of the European Treaty on Human Rights. Retention of the extended definition of child pornography adopted by the courts in the Mader affair was rejected. The grounds for criminalization must rest on abuse of the child, and not the question of arousal of the viewer. Consideration was also given to exclusion of images that have scientific, artistic, therapeutic, or educational purposes.

In the meantime the Christian Democrats had lost the general election and Minister Hirsch Ballin had had to make way for the more liberal Mrs. Winnie Sorgdrager. Apart from the critical position of all parties in the new coalition, there were ample

reasons to expect a revision of the Hirsch Ballin proposal. On the other hand, government policy in the Netherlands is strongly determined by the senior civil service, which is not replaced when a government cabinet of a different political persuasion comes to power. Mrs. Sorgdrager herself was drawn from the ranks of the civil service where she had been one of the six Attorneys General of the Netherlands. It was not clear in which direction and how far the revisions would ultimately move.

Sexual Behavior

In a comprehensive written reply, Minister Sorgdrager defended the proposal of her predecessor, but on a number of points she compromised with the critics. It appeared, however, that concessions she had made were qualified or withdrawn further in the course of the text of her reply. For example, she rejected the Supreme Court's definition of "sexual behavior" and wrote: "It is not the fact that the pose of a young person can cause sexual arousal... that causes 'sexual behavior' in the sense intended under 240b. In my opinion that goes too far. That would mean that any depiction of a naked child could be criminalized since there exist people who, because of their orientation, would be sexually aroused by such pictures." However, at another place she said that the jurisprudence in relation to the term "sexual behavior" had not stretched the definition too far. It was only during the parliamentary debate of the proposal that she took definite distance from court decisions in the Mader case.

In order to clarify the debate around the notion of "sexual behavior" Mrs. Sorgdrager produced a five-fold taxonomy of images depicting sexual behavior:

1. Images of sexual acts with youths that were punishable under the law.
2. Images of youths engaged in explicit, but not punishable, sexual behavior. Youths needed to be protected from being depicted in both cases 1 and 2.
3. Images of youths in sexually provocative poses. This category could not be included under "sexual acts," according to Sorgdrager, but had to be criminalized, so the broader term "sexual behavior" had to be maintained. She refused to offer further criteria.

4. Straightforward photographs of naked or partly naked children. In general, such images should not be considered to show sexual behavior, unless there were "unnatural elements" in the photograph whereby the images took on a sexual connotation which would have to be considered damaging for the child.

5. Artificial child pornography, in which computer techniques had been used to create images of non-existent persons or events which in reality had not taken place. In these cases there should be no prosecution. When there was doubt about the reality of the images then interviews with the accused and other facts would have to be used to determine the origin of the images.

With these definitions, the meaning of the law hardly seems to be more clearly defined than before. Future jurisprudence will be concerned with the definitions of "sexually provocative pose" and "unnatural elements." Prosecutors will no doubt attempt to stretch these definitions as far as possible. The prosecution of "innocent" nude images may or may not be less likely due to the Mader case, but that is hardly because of anything in the new law.

In the end it was only a minority of two parties (the Green Left, and the largest Liberal party) which argued for criminalization of only the first two categories, i.e., images of "sexual acts." A majority feared that the exclusion of the third category, the "sexually provocative pose," would limit the application of the law too much, and they therefore agreed to retention of the term "sexual behavior."

No Prohibition of Possession

A real limitation of the original proposal to criminalize possession of child pornography was achieved:

1. An absolute prohibition of possession was rejected. Possession would only be punishable in cases of "external connotation" and possession of two or more copies of each example. "External connotation" was intended to refer to dissemination or public display of the images.

2. An exception was specified for possession of stocks of material which could be shown to have scientific, educational, or therapeutic purposes, as recommended in the NVSH/COC proposal.

The first change was not introduced by means of an amendment, but by changing the Dutch

words meaning "to have in possession." The Dutch language makes a distinction between having something for private possession and having something "to hold in stock." Whereas Hirsch Ballin had defined holding in stock as equivalent to any possession, Mrs. Sorgdrager explained, with a reference to a Comprehensive Dictionary of the Dutch Language, that holding in stock implied multiple copies and, furthermore, implied an external connection. Indeed, almost the entire Lower House of Parliament rejected the absolute prohibition of possession, including the Christian Democrats, on the grounds that "such a far reaching step is not desirable because of the compromise to individual privacy that would be implied." Accordingly, the new definition of "holding in stock" was accepted.

The second change was achieved by an amendment that came from Parliament and was supported by all the non-religious parties. The Lower House of Parliament was unhappy about a recent attempt by the police to seize a number of video tapes that were in the possession of the Homodok Trust, a non-profit academic archive associated with the University of Amsterdam. An exception for works of artistic value, however, was not accepted by the Parliament. Neither Parliament nor the Minister of Justice found it acceptable that a child pornographer could defend his products by reference to artistic intentions.

However, it is necessary to note a number of things regarding the fact that no absolute prohibition on possession was introduced:

1. It is not clear how "external connotation" will be interpreted. In the Upper House of Parliament debate, a member of the Social Democratic Party asked whether this actually meant that keeping materials would be punishable only if the intention to distribute or to exhibit the material in public could be demonstrated. It was a valid question. After all, the qualification "external connotation" does not seem meaningful unless it is meant to indicate "having the objective of dissemination or public display," precisely the elements removed from the old law. The minister in fact dodged the question, reiterating only that "having in stock" implied a plurality and, hence, was not the same as "possessing."

2. The police have now been empowered to do a house search in the event of any indication that child pornography exists, even if there is no indication of "external connotation." This is a strange violation of the principle of probable cause, and also does not coincide with the desire of the Parliament to avoid unnecessary violation of individual privacy. The minister introduced this right of the police by mentioning it in passing, a reference which was not challenged by any member of the Parliament. Apparently no one was alert enough to notice the significance of her passing comment.

3. The prohibition against *making* images has not been restricted in any way. The prohibition applies even in the absence of an "external connotation." This is not logical. The law has already determined that sexual contact with youths between age 12 and 16 can only be prosecuted upon complaint. It appears that someone can be prosecuted on the basis of possession of images of a youth made by himself, but not for the possession of the similar images made by someone else, even when the sexual contact itself cannot be prosecuted. The Christian Democratic Party had proposed: "It shall be clear that in the case of voluntary and desired contact, and therefore also voluntary and desired images, prosecution under article 240b shall not take place." That, however, is not guaranteed. As explained above, the police often get around the complaint requirement by using other articles of the law for which such a requirement is not included in the legislation. In other words, the new version of 240b has created another possibility for the police to circumvent the complaint provision.

4. The application of the law will be subject to guidelines produced by the Ministry of Justice. These are as yet unknown.

5. Finally, the new law would be subjected to evaluation within five years of coming into force, which could lead to further amendments, none of which can be predicted at this time.

Concluding Remarks

The absence of the CDA in the governing coalition has created space for a more liberal policy

with respect to sexual contacts by and with youths. The space is not large, however, for several reasons:

1. All parties harbor a great fear of giving paedophiles too much room to operate, while the fear of giving police excessive power is much less pressing.
2. The policy is only partly determined by the political process. For a large part, executive power is retained by the civil service, which is not generally accountable to the political process.
3. The police, especially in Amsterdam, have discovered the media as a propaganda instrument with which to influence the lawmaking process. The submissive way in which the media have echoed the police version of facts in this case is both notable and disturbing.

On the other hand, it has emerged that the possibility for steering the political process in a more liberal direction has not entirely vanished. During the Parliamentary debates over child pornography, no notable animosity towards paedophiles per se was expressed. Indeed, the Minister was required to acknowledge that no special priority would be given to prosecution of paedophiles.

The political discussion, influenced in part by the Labor Party Report, may have slightly increased the public awareness for vigilance against measures that would lead to prosecution of voluntary sexual relations with youths. This much must be taken as encouraging.

Editor's Note:

Jan Schuijjer is a member of Paidika's Editorial Board.

NOTES

1. Under Dutch law, the term "complaint" implies a request for prosecution, which, furthermore, only the victim is allowed to lodge. In the case of crimes against children, the parent or legal guardian also has that right. In the case of sex crimes against children, the Child Protection Board also has the right of complaint.
2. J. Soetenhorst-de Savornin Lohman, *Betere en adequate bescherming door de nieuwe zedijkheidswetgeving* (Utrecht: Verwey-Jonkerinstituut, 1995), p. 19.
3. J.W.C. Swildens-Rozendaal, *Seksuele integriteit en rechtsbescherming*, (Delft: Eburon, 1995).

BOOK NOTES

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

BOOKS

Albach, F. *Freud's verleidingstheorie: incest, trauma, hysteric.* Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1994.

Thorough study of the history of Freud's childhood abuse theory of neurosis, including a discussion of his ultimate rejection of his own theory.

(Atatürk) Macafie, A.L. *Atatürk.* Harlow, England: Longman, 1994.

This new biography does not supersede the extraordinary work by David Kinross published in 1964, which first revealed the attraction of the "founder of modern Turkey" to young boys.

Avery, Gillian. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books, 1621-1922.* London: Bodley Head, 1995.

An interesting approach to the history of childhood via children's books, especially the "boy book" and autobiographical accounts of boyhood. (See also entry for **Jacobsen**, below.) One caveat. The book is printed in two columns and seven point type, which makes it nearly unreadable.

Ball, Alan M. *And Now My Soul is Hardened: Abandoned Children in Soviet Russia, 1918-1930.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

The World War, epidemics, and famine left millions of Soviet children homeless. What was the strategy of the government to cope with the situation? Fascinating study.

Beachy, Stephen. *The Whistling Song.* New York: Norton, 1991.

Road novel involving two 11-year-old boys in '80s America.

Blüher, Hans. *Family and Male Fraternity: A Theory of the Eros.* Trans. Heinrich Hoffstiepel. Paris: Les Dioscures, 1994.

Bory, William. *Orpheus in His Underwear.* 1993. Poetry extolling, among other things, beautiful boys. [New York: Cythoera Press]

Boswell, John. *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-modern Europe.* New York: Villard Books, 1994.

There are scattered references to unions involving boys. Especially interesting is a discussion of sodomy laws (pp. 243-244), and also a passage by the Abbot Eutropius (p. 247). Unfortunately, Boswell often fails to give the ages of the partners, though he sometimes hints that the union ceremonies bore comparison with adoption contracts!

Brodkey, Harold. *Profane Friendship.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1994.

Novel, set in Venice, about the sexual relationship between a 16-year-old Italian boy and a 14-year-old American. The American is a reluctant partner in the sometimes forced sexual act. Written in a taut, aphoristic, and philosophical style—it reminded this reader of Pascal—that some reviewers found profound and others pretentious.

Calasso, Roberto. *Cadmus and Harmony.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1994. Translated from the Italian by Tim Parks.

Novel of the various Greek god myths with a few scattered, but new and interesting, insights into boy-love.

(Caravaggio) Longhi, Roberto. *Caravaggio.* A new biography of the painter, translated from the Italian. [to German by Brigitte Schönert. Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1993]

Cole, Alison. *Children in Art.* London: Studio Editions, 1994.

Although somewhat superficial, it does present some interesting material regarding the iconography of childhood.

Comfort, Alex. *Power and Death*. London: Freedom Press, 1994.

Anarchist essays, with a chapter entitled "The Russian Attitude to Child Sexuality."

Dierichs, Angelika. *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands*. [Mainz: von Zabern, 1993]

Disch, Thomas M. *The Priest*. London: Millennium, 1994.

Novel about a priest who is having sex with boys and the attempt of his church to cover up the matter. The sex is handled more sympathetically than the cover-up. Later on, however, the novel becomes a science-fantasy work and the boy-sex theme drops out.

Dische, Irene. *Een gevoelige snaar of variaties op een Duitser*. Amsterdam: 1994.

Novel about a German doctor who adopts a seven-year-old Russian boy.

Dowling, Linda. *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Has a well-argued chapter on Socratic eros and some discussion of the Uranian writers, though nothing that is not already in D'Arch-Smith's *Love in Earnest*.

Gannett, Lewis. *The Living One*. 1993.

A Gothic novel with the usual complicated plot, including the twist that the main character, Baron Spoor, discovers that his son is obsessed with young boys. Gasp! [New York: Random House]

George-Murray, Richard. *Yes Is Such a Long Word*. Amsterdam: Entimos Press, 1995.

Poetry with two main themes: boys and cats. Simple, but moving, as for example: "My life is feverish, dry:/ my thoughts are chilled-/ doctor me/ with your body."

Geuter, Ulfried. *Homosexualität in der deutschen Jugendbewegung*. Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp, 1994.

One of the most thorough studies of homosexuality in the pre-war German youth movements; recommended.

Haddad, Nasr al-. *Neunundsechzig Nächte aus Tausendundeiner Nacht*, Vol. I. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1994.

Boy-love and androphile selections from the Arabian Nights tales.

Hanawalt, Barbara. *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Harvey, Jonathan. *Beautiful Things*. London: Duke of York's Theatre, October 1994.

Play that ran in London's West End. Deals with the sexual relationship between two 15-year-old boys. Very well received and trumpeted as the work of a "major new playwright." His earlier play, *Babies*, was described as an "Orton-style black farce" where "homosexuality is treated as normative," the homosexuality being the relationship between a 24-year-old man and a teenage boy.

Hoffmans, Gert. *Die kleine Stechardin*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1993.

Novel about the German scholar Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and his love for a 13-year-old girl.

(Hughes, Richard) Graves, Richard Percival. *Richard Hughes*. London: Deutsch, 1994

Biography of the author of *A High Wind in Jamaica*; treats his sexual attraction to young girls.

Inglis, Janet. *Daddy's Girl*. London: Constable, 1994.

Explicit novel about a 13-year-old girl's sexual affair with an older man.

Jacobson, Marcia. *Being a Boy Again: Autobiography and the American Boy Book*. Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 1995.

Can also be read as a history of American boyhood, through what came to be called the "boy book." The genre flourished in the late 19th century.

Kertzer, David I. *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.

Adds important information to Boswell's book on the same theme.

Krausman Ben-Amos, Ilana. *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Better-than-usual history of childhood work, focusing on the 16th and 17th centuries.

Kröhnke, Friedrich. *Dieser Berliner Sommer.* Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1994.

Boy-love travel stories.

Laumann, Edward O., John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, and Stuart Michaels. *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Latest American national survey; surprisingly positive on child and youth sexuality.

(Lawrence, D. H.) Maddox, Brenda. *The Married Man: A Life of D. H. Lawrence.* London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994.

A recently-released biography that contains references to Lawrence's sexual attraction to small girls. Lawrence was visiting friends who had two small daughters. The exact passage from the biography is: "... he began to look at the two little Jones girls in increasingly sexual terms, letting one of them sip his beer and playing 'larking' games with them."

Lighter, J. E. (ed.). *Historical Dictionary of American Slang (Volume I, A-G).* New York: Random House, 1994.

Surprises await one while perusing these pages. We find, for example, under the listing for "grommet" the information that in 1935 in the United States the phrase "Knight of the golden grummet" meant "a male sexual pervert whose complex is boys." Now the modern paedophile could do worse than be called a "Knight." The reader might well look up "grommet" to understand the full, obscene meaning of this phrase. See also: "chicken."

Marquez, Gabriel Garcia. *On Love and Other Forms of Madness.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1994. Comic, fantasy novel about a 12-year-old girl who dies after being bitten by a rabid dog. Through magic she turns into an after-life Lolita, seducing among others a cleric.

Martinson, Floyd M. *The Sexual Life of Children.* Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1994.

(Maxwell, Gavin) Botting, Douglas. *Gavin Maxwell: A Life.* London & New York: Harper Collins, 1994.

Biography of the famous author of *Ring of Bright Water*. The biographer, however, only alludes to the fact that Maxwell was a boy-lover, because of strictures laid down by Maxwell's literary trustees. As a recent review stated, "Enough is said to show that some, at least, of the adolescents with whom he fell in love benefited from the association (not financially), and remained friends when its nature changed."

McGrath, Eamonn. *The Fish in the Stone.* London: Blackstaff, 1994.

Novel about an incestuous affair between a father and his young teenage daughter. Received bad reviews because of the subject, it seems, not because of stylistic flaws.

Mulcaster, Richard. *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children.* Edited by William Barker. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

This is a reprint of a treatise on educational theory first published in 1581. It has long been unavailable and was for its time and the following century one of the most influential works on educating children. It also offers us important insights into 16th-century concepts of the child. The editing, notes, and introduction are all excellent.

Nicholls, Bron. *Reasons of the Heart.* Sydney, Australia: Penguin Books, 1993.

This is a rather touching boy-love novel. However, it seems that only an Australian edition was published, and, as this is not available in other countries, it is nearly impossible to find.

Patroni Griffi, Giuseppe. *La Morte della Bellezza.* Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1992.

Novel in which two Italian teen-aged boys try to understand the physical and emotional attraction they have for each other. A German edition titled, *Der Tod der Schönheit*, has also been published.

(Phoenix, River) Robb, Brian J. *River Phoenix: A Short Life*. London: Plexus, 1994.

Picture biography of a cult boy figure.

Porter, Roy & Lesley Hall. *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Discussion of anti-masturbation tracts for boys and regulation of childhood sexuality.

Rawson, Beryl (ed.). *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Information on abandonment. Useful study.

Robinson, Christopher. *Scandal in the Ink: Female and Male Homosexuality in French 20th Century Literature*. London: Cassell, 1995.

Chapter 6 is entitled "Pederasty and the Cult of Youth." The age of consent in France was 11 from Napoleonic until 1942. What is progress?

Napoleon

Röling, H. Q. *Gevreesde vragen: Geschiedenis van de seksuele opvoeding in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994.

History of Dutch sex education programs for children through the year 1970. Social history of Dutch sexual attitudes about and for children.

Rosen, Michael (ed.) *The Penguin Book of Childhood*. London & New York: Penguin Books, 1994.

The thesis of the anthology is "to show both the ways in which children have been controlled... (and the) ways in which they prove their capabilities." Surprisingly more entries on child sexuality than one would have supposed.

Rutschky, K. and R. Wolff (eds.) *Handbuch Sexueller Misbrauch*. [Hamburg: Klein, 1994]

A generally positive approach, with a criticism of the child abuse industry.

Schippers, Arie. *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Includes information about and translations of some of the boy-love poems in this tradition.

Sternweiler, Andreas. *Und alles wegen der Jungs: Pfadfinderführer und KZ-Häftling: Heinz Dörmer*. Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1994.

Part biography, part history. German youth movement of the '20s and '30s.

Trubulas, Lamoral V. *Le Linge Propre*. Paris: Éditions du Colisée, 1993.

Fifteen-year-old boy has an affair with an adult.

Vernon, Frances. *The Fall of Doctor Onslow*. London: André Deutsch, 1994.

Takes as its plot an incident mentioned in the memoirs of John Addington Symonds, whose father blackmailed the Headmaster of Harrow (1844-1859), Dr. C. J. Vaughan, into resigning because of his sexual liaisons with his boy pupils. A study in hypocrisy

Violet, Bernard. *Mort d'un Pasteur*. Paris: Fayard, 1994.

Thorough study of the murder of Pasteur Doucé. Thesis is that Doucé's death was a political assassination motivated by right-wing hostility to dissident sexualities.

Visconti, Luchino. *Le roman d'Angelo*. Trans. René de Ceccatty. Paris: Gallimard, 1993.

French translation of a novella written in the '30s about a young boy's life and early sexual experiences. No English translation yet available.

* **Vogelaar, Jacq.** *Weg van de pijn*. Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 1994. ***pseudonym of Frans Broers**
Novel about an 11-year-old boy on a mysterious quest in east Europe with his adult male guide.

Weiermair, Peter (ed.). *Guglielmo Plüschow. Erotische Photographien*. Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1993.

Includes a representative sampling of his young boy photos. Very reasonably priced.

Williams, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*. Three volumes. London: Athlone, 1995.

A useful reference tool. However, the price is £350.00, or about \$525.00.

Winsloe, Christa. *The Child Manuela*. London: Virago Press, 1994.
Reprint of *Maidens in Uniform* (1931).

ARTICLES AND STORIES

Allen, M. C. "Boy Scouts Win Anti-Gay Ruling." *Frontiers* 12:26 (1994), pp. 17, 22.

Ceci, Stephen J. and Maggie Bruck. "Suggestibility of the Child Witness: A Historical Review and Synthesis." *Psychological Bulletin* 113:3 (1993), pp. 403-439.
Exceptionally thorough, critical article.

Centlivres, Pierre. "Le Jeu des Garçons." In: J. Hainard & R. Kaehr (eds.), *Les Femmes*. Neuchatel, Switzerland: Musée d'Ethnographie, 1992, pp. 55-80.
Study of dancing boys in modern Afghan societies.

Clegg, Sue. "Studying Child Sexual Abuse: Morality or Science?" *Radical Philosophy* 66 (Spring 1994), pp. 31-39.
Feminist patriarchy theory. Here is one particularly strong argument: "Patriarchy theory commits its advocates to a research program which is designed to demonstrate how much child sexual abuse there is and how much there has been. It is resistant to any redescription of events since any redescription will involve incorporating other factors into the theorization, and disturb the category of 'child sexual abuse' as yet another example of timeless male power."

Edwards, S. H. "Pretty Babies: Art, Erotica, or Kiddie Porn?" *Historical Photography* 18 (Spring 1994), pp. 38-46.

Hacking, Ian. "The Making and Moulding of Child Abuse." *Critical Inquiry* 17 (Winter 1991), pp. 252-288.

Argues that what has come to be determined as "child sexual abuse" has been determined by political and moral discourses outside of the realm of science. He is especially critical of the fact that "abuse" has become a category applied to any sexual relationship between an adult and child.

Nelson, Claudia B. "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature." *Victorian Studies*. 32:4 (1989), pp. 525-550.

Rind, Bruce & Robert Bauserman. "Biased Terminology Effects and Biased Information Processing in Research on Adult-Nonadult Sexual Interactions: An Empirical Investigation." *Journal of Sex Research* 30: 3 (1993), pp. 260-269.

Schéerer, René. "On a Minority Complex." *Journal of Homosexuality* 25:3 (1993).

Sergent, Bernard. "Paederasty and Political Life in Archaic Greek Cities." *Journal of Homosexuality* 25:3 (1993).

Sharif, Genie. "Docility, Zeal and Rebellion: Culture and Sub-cultures in French Women Teacher-training Colleges c. 1860-c. 1910." *European Historical Quarterly* 24: 2 (April 1994), pp. 213-244.
Lesbian teacher-pupil relationships.

Smit, Daan W. "Paiderastia, a 'Greek' Practice Reconsidered." *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society*. Vol. XXIV-XXV (1992-1993).

Smith, L. "Take Back Your Mink: Lewis Carroll, Child Masquerade and the Age-of-Consent." *Art History* 16 (Spring 1993), pp. 369-385.

Trifonov, Gennady. "Two Ballets by George Ballanchine." *Index on Censorship* 24:1 (1995), pp. 45-54.

Short story about two early adolescent boys discovering their sexuality with each other. Unusually good. In the same issue, a superficial section on sexual laws in various countries, which we found inaccurate, and cannot recommend.

Wakefield, Hollida. (ed.) *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations* 7:1 (Spring, 1995).

A good source of more tempered, anti abuse-industry information. Published by the Institute for Psychological Therapies: Northfield, Minnesota.

REDISCOVERIES

Amis, Kingsley. *The Riverside Villas Murder.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1973.

The central character in this murder mystery is a 14-year-old boy. A man in his neighborhood is murdered and he becomes embroiled in the investigation. The novel is written in a lightly comic way. There is a sub-text about the boy's sexuality and many remarks about his masturbation habits, and mutual masturbation with a 15-year-old friend. Chapter IX describes the boy's seduction by a neighbor woman. She confesses to him that, "I've been with a couple of other boys, you know." (p.140) Her attitude about her attraction is guilt ridden, although the boy experiences the seduction as an altogether positive experience. Her sexuality is a clue to solving the mystery. Admirably written.

(Leadbeater, Charles Webster) Tillet, Gregory. *The Elder Brother: A Biography of Charles Webster Leadbeater.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.

Leadbeater (1847-1934) was the spiritualist leader Annie Besant's right hand man. He was also a boy-lover, and was forced to leave India because of his sex practices with boys. His favorite activity was the instruction of 12-year-old boys in "methods of washing themselves properly." He considered masturbation to be a necessary release of tension which not only "relieved" boys but also helped them concentrate on their spiritual studies. This is the only place we have read such an argument! There is a great deal of information about his sexual affair with the pubescent Krishnamurti. The book is exceptionally well researched and written. It certainly deserves to be reprinted.

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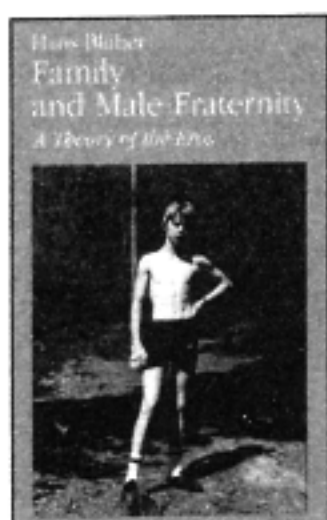
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BOOK REVIEWS

An American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk 1851-1870, B.R. Burg, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 218 pp. Reviewed by Vern L. Bullough.

Philip Van Buskirk (1834-1903) enlisted in the Marine Corps as a drummer in 1846 when he was twelve years old. He deserted three years later and wandered throughout the South until he returned to duty in 1851 (apparently without any punishment). In 1851 he was assigned to the East India squadron and among other things was on the first Perry expedition to Japan. He returned to the United States in 1855, and served until 1857, when he was denied reenlistment and given a pension because of ill health. He then established a school for boys but never got enough pupils to make it worthwhile. With the outbreak of the Civil War he joined the Thirteenth Virginia Volunteers (Confederate Army) from which he soon deserted; he then took an oath of loyalty to the United States. At the end of the war he reenlisted in the Marines as a drum major, only to be discharged two years later after being demoted. He joined the U.S. Navy as a mate, where he served until he retired in 1896. He died in 1903.

These facts are not what is important about Van Buskirk. What is important is that he kept a diary. The diary began with his marine enlistment, and though various versions were periodically confiscated, and occasionally destroyed, he tried to protect his writing by carrying only part of it with him, making separate copies so if one were lost, he had another, and adopting various other subterfuges. Some of the diary was later reconstruction, but most of it was immediately committed to writing. The surviving diaries begin in 1851 and continue thereafter with some breaks until his death. The end result was 36 volumes which are now lodged in the archives at the University of Washington, Seattle. This book is based on the first six volumes.

Burg has labeled them "erotic diaries," which in a sense is a misnomer. They do give a lot of information about homosexual sexual activities on board ships but do so either matter-of-factly or with a degree of condemnation. In fact, Van Buskirk regarded his diaries as a spiritual account, a taking of his moral pulse. He wrote of his virtue when he was virtuous but gave much more attention to his failures, often with considerable wailing, breast beating, and denunciation of sin.

As a young boy on board ship, he noted that there was widespread masturbation, and admitted that he himself engaged in it. One chapter in Burg's book is entitled "The Solitary Vice," an activity which Buskirk regarded as despicable and depraved but something he and his companions could not avoid. One of his early barracks mates was an older man who spent evenings with the boys holding forth "on the mysteries of having to do with women and doing for yourself," and who argued that all the pleasure a woman yields by her embraces could be obtained through masturbation. He demonstrated his own ability to masturbate and the boys often engaged in group masturbation. Masturbation, in fact, was a way of filling time on ships and apparently most of the crew, young or old, masturbated a good part of the time. Van Buskirk once lamented that his only pleasures in life were liberty ashore and "self-pollution."

As he matured, Buskirk became increasingly moralistic about masturbation by young boys, and adopted several protégés in order to save them from the immorality all around them. Such protection usually involved sleeping with them, guarding them, and ultimately either engaging in mutual masturbation, or perhaps even penetration of them. He rationalized and justified his love as part of his protection of boys. He never specifically said he had sex with them, but he occasionally admitted to engaging in forbidden conduct with them, but he refrains from giving details in his diary and often condemns himself.

He had many love affairs with boys (never with any of his peers) in his ongoing efforts to raise their moral standards. As he aged, he also increasingly fantasized about women, about whom he knew little. He contemplated visiting houses of prostitution to extend his knowledge but ultimately did not. Though he contemplated marriage, he continued to pursue young girls and boys as companions with whom he often fell in love.

Though he was often indiscreet in his love affairs with boys and girls, and was regarded as childish by many of his contemporaries, he was rarely reprimanded for it. He recorded once setting out to pursue a "little fellow" who turned out not only to dislike him but made no secret of it. When Van Buskirk continued to force himself on the boy, the youth objected and threatened to inform the authorities. Van Buskirk coped with this rejection by threatening the boy with violence, which helped end the relationship. He continued to fall in love with young, beautiful boys with intimations of precocity, and to amuse them he took them swimming in the river, treated them to ice cream, cakes, candy, and kissed them, although only rarely did he go further. When he did, he felt guilty. In writing about an eight-year-old who was his bedfellow, he confessed that "to my shame, I have the last two nights opposed no check to his taking just what liberties he pleased with me."

Readers of these excerpts will certainly gain greater insight into the homoerotic love affairs of the time, and come to realize that the armed forces, particularly the marines and navy, were tolerant of same-sex activities. Burg earlier had written of homosexuality among pirates, and it is now obvious that men did not have to turn to piracy to engage in sexual conduct officially disapproved by the establishment of the time.

Editor's Note:

Dr. Vern Bullough is SUNY Distinguished Professor, Emeritus; author; and sex researcher. His most recent book is Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research (New York: Basic Books, 1994).



First Do No Harm: The Sexual Abuse Industry.
Felicity Goodyear-Smith. (New Zealand: Benton-Guy Publishing Ltd., 1993). 167 pp.
Reviewed by Bruce Rind.

The author of this book, as outlined in the foreward, was originally part of the growing child abuse establishment in New Zealand in the early 1980s. While practicing medicine in Auckland, Dr. Goodyear-Smith became involved with a sexual assault center. Although initially her participation at the center consisted solely of examining adult female rape victims, within a short time most of her work there came to involve examining children in sexual abuse cases and women who claimed to have been sexually abused when they were children. This shift in clients reflected the burgeoning public concern with child sexual abuse in New Zealand in the early 1980s. Dr. Goodyear-Smith, however, became increasingly concerned about the possibility of false allegations, which she considered to be more and more likely because of the strong political beliefs of other staff persons. These beliefs held that rape and adult-child sex were abuses of male power in a patriarchal society. Protocols were developed to ensure that the center was politically correct with respect to feminist, racial, and sexual orientation issues. Troubled by these factors, she eventually resigned from the center. Shortly thereafter, she met the man whom she would soon marry, John Smith. Marriage to this man eventually led to the author's critical examination of the child sexual abuse industry and the writing of this book.

Smith, from the latter part of the 1970s, lived in a community known as Centrepont, which was headed by his father who was the spiritual leader. The community, in an atmosphere of sexually permissive values that characterized the 1970s, encouraged intimate sexuality, open relationships, and even condoned for a short period of time the occurrence of sex between underage teenage girls and adult men. By the end of the 1980s, however, as attention to child sexual abuse

increased, a number of former community members, who were now grown-up women, began to complain of being terribly damaged by people with whom they had been friends until not long before. Eventually, five women laid charges against eleven men and two women, including the author's husband, father-in-law, and mother-in-law. The author herself soon fell into legal problems. She was accused of perjury by one of the ex-members of the community after she testified at the trial of her father-in-law, and was subsequently arrested by six policemen during a dawn raid at her home, but was acquitted in 1993. The author's personal crisis of being subjected to the wrath and fury of the child abuse industry, in conjunction with her participation as a member of this same industry in its early days, gave her unusual insights into this movement as well as the determination to make a statement about it. These factors, combined with an extensive research of the relevant psychological, sociological, and historical literatures, resulted in the writing of this book.

The book, consisting of eleven chapters plus an appendix, addresses the issues of how the child sexual abuse industry developed, what it has turned into, and what can be done about it. In short, regarding the last two issues, the author argues that the industry, guided by myths and false assumptions, has been busy to an ever-increasing degree inflicting abuse, rather than ameliorating abuse. In part, she concludes, this iatrogenesis (harm caused by therapists and abuse workers whose job it should be, above all, not to harm) has resulted from the conflict between forensic evidence-gathering and therapy. She comments that, "It is not possible to serve Hippocrates, the Healer, at the same time as Hammurabi, the Law-giver" (p. 38). From her own training in medicine, she argues that therapists and abuse workers must be guided by the basis of the Hippocratic oath, which is also the title of her book: "first do no harm."

The author begins by pointing to the bombardment of messages in the English-speaking world over the past two decades, which has essentially altered public perception of reality in line with the basic assumptions and assertions of

the child abuse industry (e.g., all sexual activity between adults and children is inevitably harmful; children never lie about sexual abuse; when sexual abuse is suspected, it almost certainly has occurred). Using examples from psychology and sexology, as well as drawing upon historical changes in the West over the past 2000 years, the author argues that this current perception of reality is constructed. One poignant example that the author uses to make it clear that negative reactions to sexual behavior depend so largely on an individual's interpretation of the behavior is a story by the early sexologist Havelock Ellis, who recounted the tale of a turn-of-the-century woman who was a leader in the social purity movement, advocating chastity. After reading a booklet on "solitary vice," she discovered that she had been unwittingly practicing masturbation for years. Ellis noted her reaction: "The profound anguish and hopeless despair of this woman in the face of what she believed to be the moral ruin of her whole life cannot be well described." (p. 19)

Goodyear-Smith proceeds by drawing connections between the masturbation hysteria of 100 years ago and the child abuse hysteria of today to support the argument that current views about sexual abuse have been constructed. She notes that during the masturbation hysteria a massive public campaign occurred to stop this "dangerous" behavior, which included restraining devices, surgical techniques such as circumcision and castration, guilt and fear inductions, and inventions of antimasturbatory foods such as Kellogg's cornflakes and the Graham cracker. She points out that the list of "indicators" of masturbation developed by Dr. Kellogg is virtually the same as that currently being used to identify sexual abuse (e.g., nightmares, trouble with school work, overeating, bedwetting, shyness, fearfulness or excessive boldness). The author concludes that the vacuum left by the depathologizing of masturbation has been filled by sex abuse, and she attributes this event to the unlikely coalition of the liberal left and the fundamentalist right, each group having its own particular political agendas which have converged in this one area to create a common cause. The anti-pornog-

raphy, anti-male feminist left emphasizes secret sexual victimization, while the religious right focuses on Satan's campaign of corruption. Both groups agree on the widespread terrible evil and advocate severe punishment for offenders. The result has been the creation of a new moral panic, with sex offenders serving as the politically correct scapegoat.

This initial approach by the author to deconstructing the Western world's newly constructed sexual reality is tactically a good approach, because to convince the lay public and professionals that their belief system concerning abuse is faulty, it is probably necessary first to undermine the foundation of this system. Understanding that the current views on sexual abuse have numerous historical parallels and have resulted from various political agendas of the anti-sexual counter-reformation of the 1980s and 1990s is invaluable to becoming skeptical about the scientific validity of the child abuse industry's widely accepted assumptions and assertions. Having set the stage with this deconstructionist background, the author proceeds to examine the validity of these basic assumptions and assertions.

First she reviews some of the literature and a variety of disclosure interviews to show that children are highly suggestible and old memories of past abuse can readily be created under the influence of interviewers and therapists who are guided by the industry's assumptions. It will be insightful to review one of the author's examples to highlight some of the consequences of these assumptions and practices: a videotape reveals the events of the last of 10 disclosure interviews between a psychotherapist and a four-and-a-half-year-old girl whose mother believes she has been sexually abused by her father. In the first nine "disclosure" interviews, the girl has denied any contact. The videotape shows the therapist repeatedly encouraging the girl to undress an anatomically correct doll and show her the "naughty touching" that took place. The therapist ignores the girl when she gives the wrong answer or wants to talk about something else. The therapist continually promises the girl that they will soon be finished, telling her that when she shows what happened, they will go and get a

drink and a biscuit and see her Mummy. After two and a half exhausting hours of denying any inappropriate behavior, finally the girl yields to one of the therapist's many leading questions, phrased with two alternatives, each of which indicates abuse. The therapist has gotten the girl to agree that she was kissed by her father. At this point, the therapist showers the girl with praise. She gets the girl to position the dolls in suggestive ways after she first models these positions for the girl. The therapist concludes that the father has been performing oral sex on the girl on an ongoing basis, and uses the fact of continual denial by the girl of this "finding" as evidence of its traumatic nature, so much so that it cannot be admitted. As the author later documents in detail in the book, citing many of the high-profile day care abuse cases, the psychologically coercive nature of this disclosure interview has become a common practice among abuse workers, and has created untold misery for those at whom fingers have been pointed unjustifiably. False allegations are being molded through the use of leading questions, modeling, and selective reinforcement.

Dr. Goodyear-Smith takes an additional step that other critics of the child abuse industry have been reluctant to take: addressing the issue of actual adult-child sex and its consequences. This approach is central to resolving the issue of false allegations because such allegations have increased in proportion to the perception of the extent and inevitability of trauma resulting from actual sexual contacts, be these insignificant or intensive. Before directly reviewing research on these contacts, the author debunks current cultural misconceptions involving the sexuality of children. She argues that the view of children as asexual is a social construction dating back to the 18th century, and she supports this argument by reviewing two classic works: Ariés' treatment of the development of conceptions of childhood in history, and Ford and Beach's cross-cultural survey of sexual behavior. Her argument that children by nature are sexual is important, because it means that their sexual contacts with adults cannot be assumed a priori to be damaging as a consequence of violation of "childhood innocence." She then reviews a number of studies that

indicate that sex per se is not in fact damaging. Again, the connection between this research and the increasing occurrence of false allegations cannot be overemphasized. The false assertion—and a central assumption of the child abuse industry—that actual contacts are invariably highly traumatic has led to panic behavior. In such an atmosphere, an inquisitorial mentality has taken over. For example, the author quotes a court psychologist in Auckland in 1989 who said, “I would rather see ten fathers wrongly accused than one child sent back into what could be an abusive situation.” This kind of thinking harkens back to the early days of the Inquisition, in which the first Inquisitor General in Germany asserted, “We would gladly burn a hundred if just one among them were guilty.”

One recurring theme and highly important emphasis in this book is the phenomenon of iatrogenesis. In her review of the high-profile day care cases, she presents evidence for a consistent pattern of iatrogenesis. This pattern begins typically with a child attending a day care center who presents some sort of problem behavior. Because nearly every problem behavior is now an “indicator” of sexual abuse, an “expert” probes the child for just this event, using the coercive techniques described previously. With further interrogation, the tale becomes more and more bizarre, often including satanic rituals in which the child was forced to drink urine, eat feces, and watch animals and babies being sacrificed. The interrogation then spreads to the other children at the center. Most of these children, however, in contrast to the original child, show themselves to be well-adjusted. It is only after these events are “disclosed” that many of these children begin to develop signs of emotional distress such as nightmares and aggression. The children and their parents come to believe that something terrible has happened to them, a belief that remains even when the alleged offenders are acquitted. The author provides a valuable service by reviewing these clear-cut cases of iatrogenesis, because attention to this effect of the practices of the child abuse industry needs to be raised over and over again until it is taken as seriously as the assumed effects of abuse. The leading child abuse profes-

sionals in the United States have recently been emphasizing post traumatic stress disorder as one of the likely consequences of adult-child sex. However, although their interpretation resonates with the American public and most professionals, it is debatable because the traumatic behaviors attributed to the actual or fabricated sexual contact may instead have been induced by the interview tactics of the therapists and child abuse workers, as outlined above. In fact, iatrogenesis in the cases described in this book is clearly the most parsimonious explanation for observed behavior problems.

The author discusses various payoffs in being identified as a victim. Under the prevailing ideology of victimology, being a victim of sexual abuse can be an excellent scapegoat, on which the victim can now blame all his or her social and psychological problems, and consequently become absolved of all responsibility for his or her current behavior. The author is critical throughout the book of the branch of feminism that promotes this kind of thinking, asserting that this world view represents a maladaptive decline from the original feminist goals, which were towards equal opportunity rather than finding someone to blame. Most striking and illuminating in her discussion of payoffs is the example of the financial gains that alleged victims have accrued in New Zealand under a government-operated program of compensating people who have suffered accidents. Until recently, sexual abuse victims were awarded a lump sum of up to \$27,000 per claim. To qualify, all individuals had to do was believe they were abused and get a therapist who also believed this happened. The program has accepted 98% of such claims. Because claims increased dramatically in the early 1990s, the government announced that claims after a cutoff date in 1993 would yield only weekly payments subject to periodic review. As a result, 100,000 new claims were lodged just before the cutoff date—a huge number of new claims given that the population of New Zealand is only four million.

The author concludes her book with a series of recommendations for stemming the tide of problems being created by the child abuse indus-

try. These include: the need to base social policies and procedures on scientific rather than moral or political grounds; the need to understand population characteristics of children who have sexual contact with adults; the need to evaluate these characteristics in a manner which permits acknowledgment of positive cases; the need for all disclosure interviews to be videotaped, not just the final one; the need for the media to act more responsibly in their coverage of this issue because, up to now, they have been the chief means by which the faulty assumptions and assertions of the child abuse industry have saturated the public mind; increased penalties for false accusations; the need for therapists not to insist to clients that sexual experiences seen as nonnegative were negative, because negative perceptions are associated with negative outcomes. One of the most important recommendations is that all therapies should be subject to the same kind of effectiveness evaluations to which medical treatments are subject. Therapies need to be evaluated not only for benefits, but also for costs (e.g., iatrogenesis). This way of thinking is integral to the practice of medicine; it seems unconscionable that these standards do not apply to the therapeutic field.

In summary, the book presents a broad-based analysis of the rise of the child abuse industry, and it presents a compelling case that this industry is creating its own abuses. This account is an important one because the book is not a historical novel about excessive zeal and its destructive conse-

quences in the remote past, but is a description of an unfolding modern-day social pathology which has not yet reached its peak in terms of scapegoating sex offenders, destroying families, creating iatrogenic victims, misdirecting huge amounts of taxpayers' money, social attention, and legislative action to a social problem much less serious in size and scope than an unwitting public has been led to believe, and finally in creating an anti-sexual atmosphere for children which is likely to have a negative influence on nonsexual parent-child and adult-child relations for generations to come.

This book was written with the lay reader in mind; it is an excellent introduction to all the important areas of thinking and research that are relevant to this phenomenon. But the book is also useful for professional researchers because of its attempt to account for the development and excesses of the child abuse industry in terms of historical and cultural factors. This latter contribution is the key to the book's value, because such a perspective is needed to facilitate the undermining of the widely accepted but faulty basic assumptions and assertions of the industry and to replace its pseudoscientifically constructed reality with a scientific reality. As such, the book is recommended for lay and professional readers alike.

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