

PAIDIKA

The Journal of Paedophilia



Summer 1989 Volume 2 Number 1

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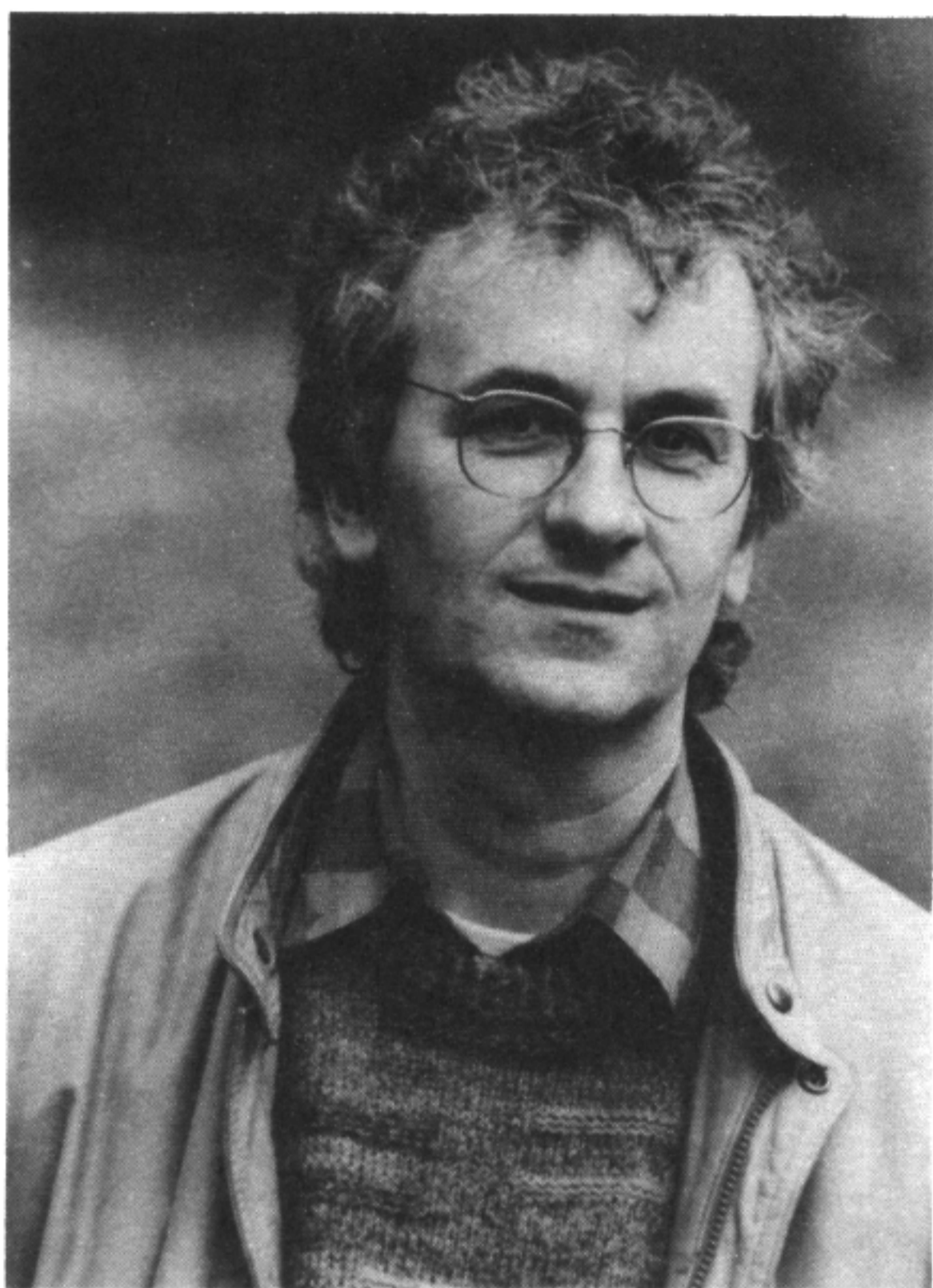
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INTERVIEW: GUNTER SCHMIDT



Dr. Gunter Schmidt is a psychologist, and Professor at the Abteilung für Sexualforschung (Division of Sex Research) at the University of Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany. He is the co-editor of the *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung*. The interview was conducted in English, in the Library of the Abteilung at Hamburg, during February, 1989, by the co-editors of *Paidika*. Dr. Schmidt has been chosen to write the introduction for the forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of Homosexuality* dealing with paedophilia, which is to appear as Volume 20, Number 1.

Question: *In your introduction to the forthcoming Journal of Homosexuality special issue on paedophilia, you refer to paedophilia as "one of the taboo subjects of sex research." What do you believe is the cause of this taboo?*

Gunter Schmidt: The most important reason for this taboo is the cowardice of most sex researchers, and their conformity to the social norms and moral standards of the societies in which they live. It was much easier to fight for homosexual liberation and the understanding of homosexuality than liberation for sexual minorities that are even more under attack. For me, that is the most important reason: the adaptation of most sexologists, even the most liberal, to the social norm.

How do you see that this taboo could be broken in order to bring serious understanding and information about paedophilia into the open?

Speaking of sex researchers, I must say that they have to become more critical with themselves. They must realize that it is not their first duty to preserve the social norms and fight for the morals of their society. When I look at the development of sex research all over the world, and especially in the United States, I am more and more depressed because the way things are developing is just the other way around. Sexology is becoming more and more conservative, more and more established with the other sciences, more and more preoccupied with reputation and a sense of decency. If you look at recent developments you find a very strong impetus toward biological explanations of sexual problems and sexual matters. As compared for example with the 1920's or even the 1970's, sexology and sex researchers have more and more abstained from sexual-political questions. There is a reactionary retreat to the chimera of "pure science".

What pressures are there on sex researchers to make them conservative?

I think there are two reasons for this. The first is that the overall climate with regard to sexuality and to sexual liberty is becoming harsher. The second is that sex research is getting more nar-

row-minded in its view of science and research, so that the only thing which counts is counting, measuring, a drab positivistic approach to our very beautiful and colourful field.

Let me add something to the first point, regarding the difficult climate. AIDS is certainly making some people more conservative with regard to sexuality, but I think that at least in the European countries—I cannot judge it for the United States—AIDS until now has not been the main driving force behind the sexual backlash. I think the issue which is more important here is the debate on sexual violence and sexual power which is under way in the United States and Western countries. It is very lively and exerts great pressure. This debate is very delicate. On the one hand the feminists are right in showing the researchers and public alike that a lot of sexual violence and sexual power is going on all day, and especially all night. This is a problem that many in positions of authority, men, sexual researchers and so on, have closed their eyes to, or have minimized its importance. But there is another side to this coin, a side that is from a sexual political point of view increasingly serious, and which can have really repressive effects. In this debate very often the differentiation of various kinds of sexual power, of sexual aggression, sexual violence, sado-masochistic interactions and so on, has been diminished. All the different expressions of sexual aggression, which according to Robert Stoller are the essence of the erotic, are looked upon as sexual violence.

In the name of sexual violence you can forbid almost everything, starting with pornography, not only really brutal pornography but all pornography, for in all pornography there is some struggle going on between men and women or men and men or women and women. You can forbid and attack paedophilia, you can attack and forbid, yes, in the last instance, heterosexual relationships, because there is a structural imbalance of power between men and women in this society. This necessary but undifferentiated discussion of sexual aggression/violence is perhaps not the reason for this sexual backlash, but is its vehicle. It is very funny to see that many of our conservative politicians try to get on this bandwagon. For example, they don't say any longer, pornography,

or even liberal sex education books for boys and girls, are bad. They don't say that these are immoral, or sinful, they don't argue on moral grounds, but they say that these propagate violence, these cause hostility to women. The moral debate more and more becomes a debate on sexual power and sexual violence. Sexual violence and power are their vehicle to forbid sexuality.

Power Relationships

Now that we have begun talking about power relationships, they were one of the two potential problems in paedophile relationships which you identified in your introduction. Is there anything essentially different about the power balances in paedophile relationships than in other relationships?

If you look at the individual case, you could come to the conclusion that there is not. If you look more abstractly at paedophile sexuality, then I think that there is a problem. To make my point clear let me add the following. My aim is both to reject a simplicistic apologetic point of view, and to abstain from a persecutory point of view. Rather, my aim is to recognize the structural difficulties.

Now, regarding power relationships. If an adult male meets a prepuberal boy—and I am thinking here of paedophilia as an adult man and a prepuberal boy—they have different degrees of experience and education, and possess different degrees of power. For this reason the relationship, and paedophile relationships in general, are defined by structural differences in power. You ask now, is this different from heterosexual relationships. If I were a radical feminist I would say, No. She would say that a relationship between a male and a female is much more defined by power than a relationship between a man and boy, because the relationship between a man and a boy does not cross gender borders. But I am not a radical feminist. For me the power difference between a boy and a man is greater than the power difference between male and female. Personally, that is my view.

Because you define the question of power as a theoretical difficulty, in the abstract, but not as necessarily a problem

present in actual relationships, it would suggest that the issue is not the imbalance of power itself, but the misuse of that imbalance.

Yes, potential misuse of the inequality of power cannot be used as a general argument against paedophilia, because power imbalances characterize many other types of human relationships. But where there is a greater difference in power in relationships, almost by definition the chance that this might be abused is greater. I think this is a potential problem that we have to see if we look at paedophilia. I also know that there are many paedophile relationships where this power difference is not abused. Therefore my plea is that it is absolutely uncivilized and unjust to have a general law against paedophilia, and paedophile relationships.

Potential misuse of the inequality of power cannot be used as a general argument against paedophilia, because power imbalances characterize many other types of human relationships.

I have seen patients here in our clinic, patients who wouldn't have come unless they had a problem with the law, who were living in a paedophile relationship which was satisfying and good for both parties. I often saw good relationships, what I call nurturing relationships. These were mostly with boys who came from a disastrous family background. They were emotionally, intellectually and affectionally hungry, neglected, you know, and this nurturing, extremely nurturing—I think it is a very good term that John DeCecco used in his *Paidika* interview—that these enormously nurturing relationships have a positive, even healing effect because the boys were getting all the things they could not get at home. But what I personally doubt is that the boys in such relationships need the sexual part of such relationships. I believe that they could easily renounce this, and that they participate in the sexual relationship as a gift to the adult because they know it is so important for him. Is it important,

this part of the relationship, the genital sexual relationship, is this part of what the boy needs?

Even if it is not needed, is there any indication that the sexual part of the relationship is in any way damaging?

I think that if it happens without force, without violence, and if the boundaries, the wishes of the boy are respected, then not. I think that sexual relationships with adults, if they are free of force, not only physical force but also psychological force, they are not damaging to the boys. That's my observation.

If the boy is in a love relationship, emotionally dependent because he is getting so much from the man, so much nurturing, love and affection, then I think it is difficult for him to say, 'O.K., I want all the other things but not sex.' He might think, subconsciously, 'I should give it, because he is so unhappy if he doesn't get sex'. To put it in heterosexual terms, you can think of a woman who has not unfolded her sexuality, who is quite inhibited sexually, who has a husband whom she loves very much. She might accept intercourse, not because of what she wishes; she might participate in a sexual relationship because he likes it so much, not because she likes it. And I wonder whether in many cases in a paedophile relationship it is not the same way. I think perhaps there might be a taboo about this in paedophile relationships, because neither party speaks about it.

My plea is that it is absolutely uncivilized and unjust to have a general law against paedophilia, and paedophile relationships.

I believe that in many cases the boy participates in sex without really wanting it, but you never can say it is that way in every case. But I think that in the typical case, if there are typical cases, the interest in sexuality is not the same in the boy as in the man, I mean specifically in genital sexuality. This doesn't mean that boys have no sexual interests. They have indeed. They masturbate alone or with their peers, with little girls they are voyeuristic and exhibitionistic. But for genital relation-

ships I suspect that it is more the man that is interested.

Is this specifically a problem of paedophile relationships, or human relationships in general where one partner is the nurturer and the other person is the nurtured?

I agree. However, in paedophile relationships as we have described them up to now, it is almost a must because of the structure, a man and a boy. Certainly a man can give a lot of encouragement that the boy needs. But I agree that this structure of dependence is a pattern in many relationships, the one giving and the other taking. I have never found, for example, in heterosexual couples, that these kinds of relationships are the happiest ones. But it was in many cases something they could live with, though there is a lot of conflict when there is this pattern.

If you see this in paedophile relationships, do you also see the possibility of correcting it within the relationship?

This pattern is so difficult to change therapeutically in adult heterosexual couples that I think it would be even more difficult to change in paedophile relationships. It is interesting, though, to look at the long term perspective with paedophile relationships. In many cases you see that the pattern changes, that the sexual relationship stops; the boy is no longer attractive as a sexual partner because he has become an adolescent or an adult. In many cases you see that he and the paedophile still have a very good relationship as friends after having separated as sexual partners. Then there might be equality.

However, we can look at the power problem from another point of view, for this power relationship is more complicated than we have discussed it up to now. It contains a special feature, and that is the following: many boys know that what is going on between the adult and the boy is not legal, it is forbidden. This knowledge sometimes is a power position for the boy. I think we all know of cases where a boy is using this against his paedophile lover. At least for many of our patients this is a big problem. They are very anxious that after an argument or separating—or even after a one night stand—that the boy could use this

against him. Sometimes this has brought disastrous consequences for the paedophiles.

Consent

The trend of this discussion indicates that you believe that there is the possibility of consent by the younger partner in a paedophile relationship. What do you see as constituting consent from the child: full foreknowledge of everything that might take place, or simple consent, the ability to say 'no' and to walk out?

That is a typical American question.

Because it is a typical American objection to paedophilia that the child cannot consent!

Certainly not consent in the sense of formal informed consent. Nobody can ask that a paedophile give a boy a written statement of what he is going to do with him, and that twenty percent of the time there is this consequence and ten percent that consequence! No, I think that if the boy is free from psychological and physical compulsion, free to say no without bad consequences, he can exercise consent.

I think that sexual relationships with adults, if they are free of force, not only physical force but also psychological... are not damaging to the boys. That is my observation.

You earlier suggested that the child might think 'If I say no, then love which I find nurturing might be withdrawn.' Is that in your mind compulsion, or are you speaking very literally of physical threats, or compulsion in terms of fear of immediate physical consequences?

No, previously I meant the boy may feel some sort of responsibility, and obligation, to his partner; some sort of nurturing from the boy's side should be given in exchange. But that is not compulsion.

You do not see that as eliminating the possibility of consent? Because the boy feels that obligation, it does not

mean that he is no longer able to say no?

If you were to define compulsion so broadly, then I think that perhaps you would come to the conclusion that paedophile relationships should be impossible.

There are large numbers of law-makers and police who do come to that conclusion. That is why we are asking...

That is not my opinion. Because what is happening between the partners in a sexual relationship is so emotional and so difficult, the relationship has complications and conflicts that are so complex that you cannot march in with legal thinking and make things clear.

Child Sexuality

In the introduction to the special issue of the Journal of Homosexuality, you quote Sandor Ferenczi and discuss his views. One of the statements you make is that, according to Ferenczi, there is "a fundamental difference between adults' and younger children's sexuality." You also cite him regarding the "disparity between the child's tender erotic wishes and the adult's passionate desires," and quote him saying that "children do not crave genital sex." How accurate are these characterizations? What research is there which supports these statements?

I will answer that in a minute, but I want to ask you a question first. What research supports a different point of view?

We don't know much research that supports either point of view. Ferenczi is putting forward a supposition, but there is no support either for or against his supposition.

I cannot prove it, but I have the impression from talking with men who had a relationship with an adult in their childhood, that a genital relationship with the adult was not their fundamental choice. They do have sexual interests, they want to cuddle, but I do not think they desire oral or manual sex or petting to orgasm.

Some of the information that there is, for instance Theo Sandfort's research in regard to what goes on sexually within paedophile relationships, indicates that only a mi-

nority involved anal sex and that oral sex was practiced in two-thirds. In his research, the most frequent activity was cuddling, and masturbation. You are defining masturbation as a genital sex act...

It clearly is. I agree, this is an open question, whether Ferenczi is correct. I think it is important to think about it, to do research about it. If you say, 'I know that boys at age eight, ten, six like to play with their genitals, many of them are able to experience some sort of orgasm, certainly erection', I think that this is much more playful, than in adults who experience orgasm as ejaculation, a fulfillment. I think we have to look at whether there are not really differences in their desires.

But the problem is still more complicated, for we can ask if paedophiles perhaps have a different sexuality from non-paedophiles, from homosexuals or heterosexuals. Is their sexuality much more like that of children, more in this sense of non-genital. I think nobody knows, and this would be very interesting research.

Still another complication is whether we must look at this question differently when we are speaking of homosexual paedophilia or heterosexual paedophilia. I very clearly doubt that it is in the interest of the little pre-puberal girl between four and eight or ten years old to have a sexual relation with an adult. I cannot imagine that it is in her interest.

Ultimately I think that the question is not whether a boy participates in a genital relationship with an adult. The question is rather if he could easily renunciate this form of sexuality in their relationship. That's the question that is interesting.

"Treatment" of Paedophiles

John Money cites the Division for Sex Research here at Hamburg as a pioneer in 1966 in the use of anti-androgens as "therapy" for paedophiles. Is the Division still engaged in using them?

No.

Can you tell us why they ceased?

It is true that this Division was in favour of treat-

ing sex offenders with anti-androgens. We changed this policy early, and we see it in quite an opposite way to John Money. According to our view, the use of anti-androgens only is justified in special cases of sex offenders, for very short time periods, to be able to get the psychotherapeutic contact begun. They have serious side effects, on the bones and liver. Apart from these situations, in the last fifteen years no anti-androgens have been used in our institution.

This Institute has, since the mid-seventies, a history of attacking crude, so-called treatments of sex offenders, including paedophiles, and even homosexuals. For example, there was an operation in which special parts of the hypothalamus were destroyed by an electric current, by putting an electric wire into the brain. This was done in 75 cases over a few years, in West Germany. We opposed this operation and finally won the battle against this barbaric so-called therapy. We have been the first, and among scientists and sex researchers, the most radical in fighting the new prenatal hormonal view of the etiology of sexuality, in view of the potential consequences, when these theories were put forward by psychohormonal researchers.

My point of view is much more radical than lowering the age of consent... I think we shouldn't look at ages at all.

We do have a lot of contact with people who are in prison because of sexual offences, including paedophiles. We work with them psychotherapeutically, but not in the sense of changing their sexual orientation. I think that no one is able to change a fixed sexual orientation because it belongs to his personality, it is part of him, and one would be eliminating part of oneself, eliminating the personality, killing important parts of the soul. Rather, in treatment, we work with them to be able to better come to terms with their special sexual orientation and to help them not be in conflict with the law. I think that every treatment that has in mind changing paraphilic orientations, as Money calls them, that is, directions of sexuality, is inadequate and will not be successful.

Do you have any comments on the issue of medical ethics that is involved in the use of these therapies, particularly on people who are imprisoned?

That was a big issue in the stereotaxic brain surgery discussion. They said people had consented, who were sitting in prison, with a sentence for, say, the next ten, fifteen or twenty years. They could not make a free decision to have an operation of this kind under these circumstances. The men they did these operations on were so eager to get out of the prison that you could have sold them anything.

You know that in Germany until the end of the 1970's many many so-called sex offenders have been castrated. It's barbaric, an attack on the health and the physical integrity of the man. Medical doctors did it, and I must admit that our Institute in earlier times was in favour of castration in special cases, too, and I think that was a big mistake.

Decriminalization of Paedophilia

You end your introduction to the Journal of Homosexuality issue by calling for "decriminalization" for paedophilia. How does your view differ from lowering the age of consent?

I am in favour of lowering of the age of consent. In Germany, the age of consent is sixteen for heterosexuals; for homosexuals it is eighteen. This is more a protection of teenagers from their sexuality, than a protection of teenagers. It "protects"—I use this in quotations!—it is even intended to protect teenagers from their sexuality, and not from seduction or such.

You would favour the lowering of the age of consent to the age of puberty then? Why set it there?

The lower the age the better, but each cut-off point is a crazy thing, because twelve year old boys differ so much that a simple age line does not make sense.

My point of view is much more radical than lowering the age of consent. It is hard for me to formulate because I am not a lawyer, but I think we shouldn't look at ages at all. If the law is to be

sensible, it has to examine the equations of power, and whether there is damage. If you have laws that have this in mind, you don't need age of consent limits, and you don't need special laws against paedophilia even for smaller children below puberty. Instead, you have to look at individual cases if they come to court.

We should abandon age of consent limits. We should change the law so that the only thing that counts is the misuse or the abuse of power.

What are your reasons for calling for decriminalization?

There is an ethical reason and a practical reason. The ethical reason is that I think it is unjust, short-sighted, and damaging to people to make the age difference the only legal criterion upon which to judge a sexual relationship. There is an adult, there is a boy; the adult has to go to prison and he is punished: no discussion! I know it is a little bit more nuanced than that in our courts, but not too much more. We should abandon age of consent limits. We should change the law so that the only thing that counts is the misuse or the abuse of power. That should be the criteria, whether it is with a child or an adult.

There is also a practical reason. We have a lot of people with sexual problems, who come to us to get counseling and help. Many people who would never have chosen to go to a psychotherapist or a medical doctor or a psychologist, come here because of conflicts with the authorities, as, for example, a case of exhibitionism. They are absolutely not dangerous. That includes paedophiles, not only paedophiles who are living in close relationships, but paedophiles who are able only to express themselves, for example, by exhibitionism, showing themselves to girls or boys. This is simply not dangerous. It is absolutely harmless. If they have had the right sexual education, the kids mostly laugh. Most of them are not very interested.

Just yesterday I had a man here who once again was sentenced to eight months without proba-

tion, and the only thing that he did was show his penis in front of boys between ten and fifteen. Usually the boys were disinterested, or said 'Why don't you go away.' Some of the boys tried to get in contact with him, and then he ran away, because that was not the way he wanted it! This man, up to now—he's almost fifty—has been in prison for six years for these very harmless things—six years in prison, and he now is sentenced again without probation! I think this is a scandal! This is a scandal that is brought about by these unjust and crazy laws. That is the practical reason why I am in favour of dropping these laws.

When you advocate decriminalization, you are doing so absolutely, not proposing that paedophilia is a disease that must be "treated" under compulsion?

No, treatment by compulsion is a medical fiction.

No reasonable psychotherapist would attempt that, because he knows that if he wants to change a person the way the person does not want, the patient is stronger than the therapist. It's a good thing that it's that way, too.

There are paedophiles who have so many inner conflicts that they need psychotherapy. Sometimes it is helpful for them to understand more, that they reach an understanding why they are more attracted by children than, for example, adolescent boys or adult males. But paedophilia is one of the sexual variations which is very often ego-syntonic, that is, not a sickness.

If paedophilia were decriminalized, you would see a purpose for laws which would continue to protect against coercion and force?

Yes, for everyone equally.

BOY LOVE IN THE URDU GHAZAL

Tariq Rahman

Urdu is the official language of Pakistan, and in India, where it is spoken by about 30 million Muslims, it is also understood by speakers of Hindi. In fact, the greatest difference between Hindi and Urdu is that of script, the former being written in Sanskrit characters and the latter in Arabic characters. Urdu developed out of a dialect of Hindi when a large number of soldiers in the Muslim armies in India started to use it to communicate with each other. When later Muslims began to write literature in Urdu, they used the Arabic script and borrowed words from Arabic, Persian and, to a lesser extent, Turkish, which has led to further differentiation from Hindi.

The *ghazal* is a verse form which originated in Persia. The word *ghazal* literally means talking to the beloved.¹ Thus, like the sonnet, the *ghazal* is both a lyric poem and, basically, a love poem, though like the sonnet it may deal with other themes. In medieval Persia the great Muslim mystic poets—Rumi, Hafiz Shirazi, Sa'adi, Farid Ud Din Attar and Jami—began using it for mystic utterance.² The *ghazal* is characterized by its fragmentariness, every couplet being a semantic unity and not necessarily connected with the other couplets in theme. Indeed, unlike the sonnet or English lyric poetry, the unity of the *ghazal* is not thematic but purely structural, a regular pattern of rhyming couplets in the same meter.

In addition to love, other themes in the *ghazal* are erotic desire, fate and mysticism. All these themes are expressed through fixed symbols and stylistic devices. One of these conventions requires that both the lover and the beloved in the *ghazal*, whether God or a human being, always be referred to by masculine pronouns. This conventional formula enables the *ghazal* to be read on two planes, the spiritual and the secular. In this convention, God is referred to as *mahbub-e-haqiqi*, or

the real beloved, and the human being as *mahbub-e-majazi*, or the metaphorical beloved, reflecting the contention of Islamic mysticism that only God is real. The physical union of the lover and the beloved can here be read as a metaphor for the union of the poet's soul with an immanent deity. Only if the poet's interest is distinctly prurient can interpretation on the level of mysticism be ruled out.

Further ambiguity and richness is created by the fact that many couplets, although they are interpreted as referring to a human being, do not make it clear whether the beloved is a boy or a woman. Other couplets do contain a reference to an exclusively masculine or feminine physical attribute (such as the down on the cheeks of pubescent boys or a woman's breasts), to masculine items of dress or weapons (such as turbans or swords), to a social behaviour or character trait which is regarded as exclusively masculine (such as wandering in the market, or bloodthirstiness), or even, in a small number of cases, the name of the beloved. In these cases, the sex of the beloved can be clearly established; however, the convention requires that even where some indisputably feminine attribute of body or dress is mentioned, the grammatical forms must still be masculine: "his braids", "his breasts"!

As Muslim civilization spread in India the *ghazal* came to be written in Urdu in the Deccan as well as in the urban centres of northern India.³ All of the imagery and conventions governing the Persian *ghazal* were imported for the Urdu *ghazal*, including the use of the masculine gender in all cases. Because of this some apologists have belittled the importance of the theme of boy-love in the Urdu *ghazal*, arguing that it merely expresses a convention, and not the true intent of the poets.

The History of Criticism

One reason for this was that there was little informed criticism on the *ghazal* until the beginning of the twentieth century. The few anthologies and brief biographical notes (called *tazkaras*) which existed did, however, mention poets' love affairs with boys and also quoted paederastic couplets. However, the common reader had no access to these sources, and university courses in Urdu literature have shied away from erotic aspects of the work. This prudery, to which the ignorance of this aspect of Urdu literature can be attributed, began in the late nineteenth century and has become increasingly strong. It arose in part from the Muslim middle class response to British attitudes, which tended to dismiss Persian and Urdu literature as perverted and licentious. Muslim apologists felt called upon to deny charges of perversion by at least claiming that the *ghazal* was only poetry with a convention of using the masculine pronoun for the beloved, but was not really about boys. Another factor in the denial and denunciation of the erotic aspects of Urdu literature was the rise of religious puritanism in the wake of the preaching of Adbul Wahab in Saudi Arabia, and Shah Waliullah and Shah Ismail in India. This engendered a belief that the Muslims had lost their Indian empire because they had lost themselves in sensuality.⁴ Subsequent developments in the criticism of the *ghazal* must be understood in the light of these developments.

Shibli Nomani, an Indian scholar, has given detailed attention to the development of the theme of boy-love in Persian poetry. He cites Abu Hilal Askari's book *Kitab ul Awwal* to support his assertion that the Arabs were uninitiated in paederasty until they conquered Persia and took handsome beardless youths as their prisoners.⁵ Because the Arab soldiers were away from women they fell in love with their prisoners, and *amrad parasti* (which I have translated as "boy love") started.⁶ After giving this simplistic explanation, Nomani goes on to add that Turkish boys were captured later and were much in demand for their beauty. Because of this the word "Turk" came to be used for the beloved, whether a boy or a woman, in both Persian and Urdu poetry. An example of this is a couplet of Abul Ma'li Razi, a minor Persian poet,

who Nomani quotes:

Ya Rub een baccha Turkaan che butan und ke
hust
Dida murdum nazzara uzeeshan choo bahar.

(O God, how lovely are these Turkish
boys—
To see them gladdens, as the coming of
spring)

Nomani also explains the military imagery of the *ghazal* on the theory that these youths were soldiers and actually carried swords and bows and arrows, and fought in real battles.⁷ Having provided this information, Nomani fulminates against amorous and erotic references to boys in Persian literature, and paederasty in general.

Abdul Haleem Sharar, another critic of Urdu literature, explains the emergence of the theme of boy-love as follows:

In those days there were numerous cathedrals of the Christians in Syria, Asia Minor, Iraq and Armenia, with large monasteries attached to them. Here lived, along with the monks, handsome youths... Before long these youths began to figure as the beloveds of the poets... It was at this time that Persian poetry began. Hence the beloved of Persian poets came to be this monastic youth.⁸

This not only explains the use of the masculine pronoun for the beloved and the description of boyish beauty in the *ghazal*, but also, as Muhammad Sadiq notes, "how words like *kalisa* (ecclesia), *dair* (monastery), *pir-e-mughan* (the old man of the tavern), and *mugh bacha* (the Magian boy) entered the Persian poetic tradition, and were later imported into Urdu."⁹

With all this historical background, one would have thought it difficult to deny the significance of the theme of boy-love in the *ghazal*. However, Altaf Hussain Hali, a moralist and prude, was at pains to do so. He dismisses this theme as based on a "misunderstanding" and not reality.¹⁰ He goes on to prescribe that poetry should be purged of

such themes and the references to the beloved should not reveal the sex. Although he was refuted by some critics, notably Andalib Shadani,¹¹ many others followed his lead and glossed over paederastic references in the works of Mir Taqi Mir (1724–1810 C.E.) and other important poets. In a major article, Shadani provided couplets from Mir's six collections of verse to establish that he was sexually interested in boys.¹² In another article he also suggested that Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797–1869 C.E.), the greatest poet of Urdu, also wrote his *ghazal* as if his beloved was a boy.¹³ In Pakistan two critics, Shamim Rizvi and Saleem Akhtar, have also written about Mir's predilection for boys. Shamim argues that Mir first fell in love with a woman but, since this love affair was frustrated, he turned to boys.¹⁴ Saleem Akhtar agrees with this and calls Mir's interest in boys "a kind of defence mechanism".¹⁵ He also adds that since loving boys was not regarded as an abnormality or a mental illness in Mir's Delhi culture, this taste would have been viewed as normal.

Since the rise of sexual prudery, there have been apologies for the *ghazal*. One such apology was made by the poet Firaq Gaurakhpuri, who is said to have been a paederast himself. Firaq wrote a book on amorous poetry in Urdu in which he referred to Edward Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age* (1896), in support of his theory that homosexuality is a reaction to the suppression of masculine traits in women.¹⁶ Needless to say, Firaq's theory did not explain much, nor was he as influential as Carpenter had been in England.

The literature I have mentioned so far is available only in Urdu. In English, except for the references in Sadiq's book, nothing of importance was available until C.M. Naim published his article on paederasty in pre-modern Urdu poetry.¹⁷ This article is not only informative, but also provides an interesting comparison of the themes of the *ghazal* with those of the English 'Uranian' poets between 1870 and 1930.¹⁸ Another distinctive feature is that Naim is the only critic who has not condemned homosexual desire. It is only fair to add that one reason for including polemics against paederasty in studies of poetry dealing with such themes is fear of public opinion in Pakistan and, to a lesser extent, India. Thus these

polemics are not always to be taken at face value.

What is more interesting about the Urdu criticism is how often the critics use words and concepts borrowed from the West. For instance, they begin with the contemporary Western concept of homosexuality, in which, by definition, the lover and the beloved are both adults. However, the *ghazal* rests on the assumption that the lover is a man (*mard*), whereas the beloved is a boy (*amrad*). The boy belongs, by cultural definitions, to the category of women: those who take the penis in the orifices of their body. When these modern critics write about men's love for boys in the *ghazal*, they use the term *ham jins parasti*, which is a direct translation of homosexuality, and not *amrad parasti*, which is what they are really discussing. They are generally unaware that the concept of "homosexuality" could refer to various forms of sexual relationships between males, and that the self-images of Western homosexuals are quite different from those of boy-lovers (*amrad parastan*) in pre-modern Pakistan and India. In fact, these critics respond to the legacy of colonialism by borrowing Western terms without realizing that the assumptions which they carry are not a part of the Indian Muslim cultural tradition.

The aim of this article is first to describe the underlying assumptions in the Indian Muslim culture which define the homosexuality one finds in the *ghazal*. Second, it will relate the theme of boy-love to some of the distinctive conventions and themes of the *ghazal*.

Assumptions about Boy-love in Indian Muslim Culture

There is considerable evidence to suggest that in Muslim India beautiful boys, like women, were seen as legitimate objects of male desire. According to Sa'adi,

There was a certain youth of exquisite beauty, to whom his tutor, through frailty of human nature, became so attached that he would be frequently reciting these words...¹⁹

It was certainly seen as "frailty" of human nature

not to abstain from sexual acts outside the institution of polygamous marriage. But that made boy-love without sexual acts merely a "frailty", and while sexual acts with boys were regarded as sinful, they were not seen as abnormal in the way they are now in the West. Paederasty was explained not with reference to having a different nature from ordinary men, but in terms of having an inordinately lustful disposition, or just a different taste. This meant that men who loved boys were neither doubtful about their masculinity, nor of their mental health. This self-image and the assumptions which go with it were also found in Arab, Persian and Turkish Muslim cultures.

In these cultures there is a stigma attached to passivity, to taking the female role in sexual acts. For an adult male this is considered inappropriate behaviour, while it is appropriate for women and immature males, who are in the social category of "not men". Poetry mentions kissing and embracing, and hints at anal intercourse, and pornographic images show boys performing fellatio. These are regarded as passive acts, since the criteria of passivity is receiving the penis, or playing the role of the woman.²⁰ The *ghazal* is written from the man's point of view: the man, who is always the lover, the wooer, the pursuer, who proudly declares his desire for the object of his love, who for their part remains honourable only so long as he or she remains chaste.

The common myth in Pakistan explaining the desire to take passive or feminine roles habitually, even after growing up, is simplistic. It is believed that sperm which goes into the anus causes the rectum to itch painfully until more sperm is taken in. Thus passive homosexuals, catamites, eunuchs and women who have had anal intercourse crave it all their lives.²¹

There is no significant body of literature in Urdu concerning mutual sexual relationships between fully grown men, as there is in Western languages. Nor is there any literature expressing a fully grown man's desire to see or handle the genitals of handsome youths, to be anally penetrated, or to commit fellatio, as 'gay' men are shown doing in Western novels. (In Pakistani pornography not men but boys, youths and women take the penis in their mouths.) There is, however, a facetious kind of poetry called *rekhti*,

which was developed in the decadent society of nineteenth century Lucknow by Sadat Yar Khan, Insha Allah Khan Insha, Mirza Ali Beg Nazneen²² and Jan Sahib, among others. In this poetry we find the nearest equivalent to that homosexuality in which men are interested in each other, or in which some profess to feel like women:

Aesi jawan randi ac Nazneen na lo tum
le jae ga tumhara shohar use ura kar

(Do not choose such a lovely whore O Nazneen,

For then your husband will elope with her)

These couplets were mostly meant as frivolous and comic entertainment. The *ghazal*, on the other hand, could express frivolity, but was also for serious and tender themes. Whereas the *rekhti* is unknown except to specialists, the *ghazal* is well known and its assumptions were those of Pakistani and Indian Muslims towards sex, as well as to many other subjects.

Boy-love in Indian Muslim Culture

In the Indian Muslim society in which the Urdu *ghazal* was born, women were segregated and took the veil (*burqa*). In most middle class patriarchal families girls were not supposed to come before men, even cousins, unveiled after the age of twelve, and sometimes even earlier. However, as many accounts indicate, men did fall in love with women despite these cultural prohibitions. Most men, however, loved courtesans (*randi*) or boys (*amrad*, or in vulgar language, *launda*²³), or, at least, mentioned them in their verses as beloveds.

Indian history records the infatuation of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar (1482-1530 C.E.), the first Mughal ruler of India, for a boy called Babari.²⁴ Earlier, King Muizuddin Kaikobad (ruled 1286-1289 C.E.), a grandson of Ghias Uddin Balban, had broken his vow to abstain from drinking and debauchery upon hearing Persian poetry from a boy whose beauty has been described in several lines by Zia Uddin Barni, the author of *Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi*.²⁵ Mystics too were not exempt from this temptation, and Sarmad, whose real name was Muhammad Saeed, fell in love

with "a Hindu boy called Abhe Chand"²⁶ when he came to Thatta in Sind (now in Pakistan) from Isfahan. He gave up wearing clothes, and was executed by the Mughal King Aurangzeb Alamgir (ruled 1658-1707 C.E.) on a charge of heresy. In the reign of the same king, who is known for his stringent puritanism, Maulana Muhammad Akram Ghanimat wrote his famous *Masnawi Nairang-e-Ishq*, which is about the love affair between his patron's son and a boy called Shahid.²⁷ This book formed part of the education of a Muslim gentleman, along with Sa'adi's *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, in which there are many stories about men falling in love with beardless youths (called *sada rau*, which literally means clean or plain faced).

Urdu literature began to develop in the Deccan after the fourteenth century. However, it is Shamsuddin Valiullah (1667-1741 C.E.), known as Vali, who is the greatest name in Deccan poetry. Vali, in common with some other Deccan poets, mentions boys by name as his beloveds in some couplets. For instance:

Garche sub khoob ro hain khoob Vali
Qatl karti hai Meerza ki ada

(Although all pretty-faced boys are wonderful
The coquetry and beauty of Meerza have smitten me.)

The conventions of the Urdu *ghazal*, which had been developed by this time, did not encourage narration of actual love affairs, especially as the *ghazal* was not a narrative form. However, in Delhi, between 1730 and 1830 the *ghazal* did deal with boys and paederasty as much as with other forms of love. The most overt references to boys are found in the works of Mir Taqi Mir (1724-1810 C.E.), Najmuddin Shah Mubarak Abru (1692-1747 C.E.), and certain minor poets, selections from whose works may be found in one of the several *tazkaras* (anthologies with anecdotes and biographical notes). Without reading the *tazkaras*, it is impossible to understand either Urdu poetry or the social life of Indian Muslims.

In those couplets in which the beloved is unambiguously identified as a boy, the tone is generally less high-minded than when the beloved is an

ideal being of ambiguous gender. For instance, although Abru tries to give boy-love a Platonic guise of piety in the following couplet,

Jo launda chor kar randi ko chahe
Vo koi aashiq nahin hai bul havis hai

(He who leaves the boy and loves the whore
He is no lover but only a man of lust.)

it is also Abru who says,

Jo launda pak hai so khuar hai tagre ke tain
aajiz
Vuhi raja hai Dilli men jo aashiq ke tale par
jae

(The boy who is chaste is persecuted by those
who are strong.
He is king in Delhi who lies below the lover.)

This kind of ruthless honesty is rarely found in the rest of the *ghazal*, where strict adherence to convention precludes realistic description of the social situation. These couplets about boy-love, therefore, deviate from the rest of the *ghazal* in giving us some idea of the function of this form of love in a society which forbade women from meeting men openly, yet tacitly allowed men to make love to catamites or "boys of the bazaar", as Mir calls them in his biography.²⁸

The *tazkaras*—*Khush Marka Zeba*, by Saadat Khan Nasir; *Makhzan-e-Nikat*, by Qaim Chandpuri; *Tabqat-e-Shu'ara*, by Quratullah Shauq; *Gulshan-e-Be Khar*, by Nawab Muhammad Mustafa Khan Shefta—contain anecdotal biographical accounts.²⁹ Saadat Khan Nasir (died between 1857 and 1881 C.E.) seems to have been especially interested in boy-love (which he always refers to as *amrad parasti*), and is a mine of information about poets who loved boys. He mentions the love affairs of Sheikh Nasikh (died 1838 C.E.), an eminent poet of Lucknow, of Shaiq and Shuja'at, and Maulvi Muhammad Baksh and Mukarram Ali Khan.

According to Nasir, Nasikh loved a beautiful boy whose name was Meerzai. One day when Meerzai sent his servant to ask for some money from Nasikh, the latter sent the money with the

following Persian couplet:

Che parva uz zar o dinar dari
ke dar ul zarb dar shalvar dari

(What do you care about gold and money
When you have a treasury in your trousers!)³⁰

After Nasikh's death Meerzai inherited his property.

Shaiq was the nom de plume of Lala Siva Ram, a Hindu poet of Urdu, who loved a beautiful Brahmin boy whose real name was Banke Bahari but who, being a poet himself, called himself Shuja'at. As Nasikh also loved Shuja'at, Shaiq warned the boy about meeting his rival:

Zanahar us ke dam men Shuja'at na aiyo
Nasikh ko sunte hain ke bara launde baz hai

(Do not come in his trap O Shuja'at:
About Nasikh we hear he is a great boy-fucker.)³¹

The love affair of Maulvi and Mukarram, which began when the latter was a boy, is not described. Nasir merely comments that when the Maulvi *sahib* died, Mukarram "completed the days of *iddat*",³² that is, the period of ritual mourning and abstention from sex which Muslim wives observe when their husbands die.

Nasir also mentions that Shaikh Karamat Ali Azhar, Mir Salim Askari, Shah Mazhar Haq Ashaq, Syed Agha Hasan Amanat, Mir Ul Islam Mantazir, and Fidvi Lahori, who were all minor poets about whom little is known, were boy-lovers. One such poet, Qamruddin Ahmad Khan, is said to have boasted about his ability to seduce boys:

Lotion men shuhra afaq hoon
baccha bazi men nehait taq hoon

(I am world famous among sodomites—
In seducing boys I am a great expert.)³³

Another poet, Syed Agha Hasan Amanat, is said to have composed a poem, or collection of poems,

which were sung and recited by very pretty boys. Nasir claims to have attended these recitals and, after describing the beauty of the boys with great relish, he gives his opinion that thousands became sodomites and catamites only because they went to these recitals and saw these boys and heard the verse Amanat had written.³⁴

The author of *Makhzan-e-Nikat*, Qaim Chandpuri (1722-1794), does not refer to such matters in his *tazkara*—he does in verse—but he does write that Fazal Ali Dana, a minor poet, was in love with a boy called Suleiman.³⁵ The poet Abdul Hai Tabaan was himself noted for possessing the boyish beauty of a typical beloved, and indeed was the beloved of the poet Mirza Mazhar Jan-e-Janan (1700-1781),³⁶ and probably of Mir too. In fact, Mir Hasan suggests that "many people had become poets only to gain access to him," and adds that Tabaan himself loved a boy called Sulaiman.³⁷ Tabaan, like Vali and some of his other contemporaries, mentioned this beloved by name:

Sulaiman kya hua jo tu nazar aata nahin mujh
ko
meri aankhon men teri tasveer phirti hai

(What has happened, Sulaiman, that I do not
see you?
Your image always dwells in my eyes.)

Even some mystics understood and apparently tolerated love for boys, though there is no evidence to suggest that they approved of its physical manifestations. Mir writes in his autobiography that Syed Aman Ullah, a mystic, once fell in love with a boy:

Syed Aman Ullah once went to the Juma Bazaar. There he saw a boy of pleasing countenance, who was the son of a seller of dyes. At once he lost his heart to the boy, so that even walking became difficult. After the evening prayers, with his hand on the shoulder of a slave for support, he went to his spiritual guide.

The spiritual guide, Ali Muttaqi, who was Mir's father, recited a Persian couplet about the nor-

malcy of falling in love with the boys of the bazaar, and told his disciple to wait for the "desired person" in his house. After a week, according to Mir, the boy came to Ali Muttaqi, who called Aman Ullah and allowed him to embrace the boy.³⁸ The boy is said to have become a mystic himself.

The claims of the mystics that their love for boys was spiritual notwithstanding, Sa'di remarked,

Gardhe nashnenund ba khush pisar
ke ma pakbaz o ahle nazar

(People sit with a beautiful boy
And claim to be chaste and have mystic insight!)

However, no matter what the relations of the individual mystics and their boy disciples were—not all of them would have had desire, nor would all have been chaste and platonic—these facts do provide evidence that society did accept that men, even pious men, could conceive a virtuous, or erotic, affection for beautiful boys. Less religious men, of course, did love boys sexually, and Mir himself regrets the passing away of his Delhi where lovers would "love the beautiful ones, praise them, and spend time with them."³⁹

The *Muraqqa-e-Dilli*, a memoir of Delhi written by Dargah Quli Khan, a nobleman from the Deccan who stayed there from 1738 to 1741, makes it clear that boy-love was an institution in Delhi at that time. The original text is in Persian, but excerpts are available in both Urdu and English.⁴⁰ According to Dargah Quli Khan, some of the great nobles had seraglios of boys. One of them was Azam Khan, who wanted to procure as many beautiful boys as possible. Another was Wazir Ul Mulk, who gave the office of Procurer of Cata-mites to a man called Meeran, who was himself from the aristocracy of Delhi. Meeran sent his spies far and wide in search of boys. When found, the boys would be purchased for Wazir Ul Mulk, sometimes for hundreds of thousands of rupees. His palace was a sort of "paradise" of beautiful boys. Another of the famous boy-lovers was named Meerza Munnoo. About him Dargah Quli Khan writes:

Many aristocrats learn the art of loving boys from him, and are proud to be his pupils ... And any beautiful boy who is not associated with him can hardly be called a beauty...

He also writes about various dancing boys of Delhi, among them Sabza, Zamurrad, and Hainga *Amrad*. Hainga's dancing is described as being able to mesmerize his spectators.

The voluptuaries of Delhi seem to have considered both boys and women as legitimate objects of their lust. Dargah Quli Khan reports:

Generally beardless youths act as beloveds, but some people prefer women and seek them out. This is not difficult, for there are many such girls and women...

and

When people come to the annual commemoration of the death of Meerza Musharraf, they bring either an adolescent girl or a beardless boy.⁴¹

The attitudes fostered in this society toward boy-love and prostitution linger on to this day. Boys do not dance any more in Delhi, though they do dance as *Lakhtaye* (dancing boys) in Peshawar. Ahmad Faraz, a contemporary Pakistani poet, has written a poem in Urdu about them, suggesting that their dance is symbolic of their exploitation, as they dance for long hours for almost no pay, often dying young. The idea that a man could love boys as well as women is still a part of the South Asian Muslim mindset, and Josh Malih Abadi, writing when prudery is on the rise in twentieth century Pakistan, declares proudly in his autobiography that he has loved two boys and sixteen women.⁴² *Twilight in Delhi*, a novel written in English in 1940 by Ahmed Ali, about life in contemporary Delhi, also illustrates the persistence of these attitudes. One character in the novel, Asghar, is the beloved of men when he is an adolescent boy.

He had just to cast his glance and there

were many who would have given their lives to do his bidding. At the least sign from him they would have done anything. Then he was the bestower of favours; there he was the loved one and not the lover.⁴³

In the Muslim University of Aligarh, as well as in other all-male institutions, it was (and still is) fashionable to speak of good-looking boys as men speak of women. An example of this sort of conversation is found in the biography of novelist E.M. Forster, who was the private secretary of the Maharajah of Dewas (senior) in 1921. Forster, who wanted to make love to a boy called Kanaya, was teased by a courtier called Malarao. On the advice of the Maharajah, Forster retorted by accusing Malarao of jealousy, and this raillery became a part of the life at the court. However, the Maharajah begged Forster to "do nothing that savoured of passivity: a rumour of that would be harmful."⁴⁴

This attitude is changing slowly in Pakistan as the assumptions on which it is based are changing in response to Western influences. But it is not the liberal thinking of the West which is influencing Pakistanis, but the idea that all forms of homosexuality are pathological.

The Ideal Boy-Beloved

Certain physical characteristics which distinguish him from other boys and from men are attributed to the boy who is the beloved of men.⁴⁵ In common with the boy-beloved in Arab and Persian literature, he is given many feminine attributes, without being effeminate or epicene. In a general survey, Maarten Schild comments:

The mystic Ibn Arabi (1165-1245 C.E.) contended that without the similarity between boys and women, boys would be attractive to none. When the face of the boy began to become overgrown and no longer was soft and feminine, attraction and love disappeared immediately.⁴⁶

The light down on an adolescent boy's face is con-

sidered attractive, whereas the black hair of the beard is not. This is a perennial theme in both Arabic and Persian literature. The poet Sa'adi says in *Gulistan*,

Sadi admires the down of youth, and not hairs like packing needles. Whether you allow your beard to remain, or pull it out, still the season of youth will pass away.⁴⁷

In the Urdu *ghazal*, the absence of facial hair, called *khat* or *sabza* ("greenery"), is also the most important attribute of the beloved. While Sa'adi had made the growth of the beard a metaphor for mutability, this couplet from Abru is obviously about physical pleasure:

Sabza-e-khat nahin hai jis lub par
us ke bosa men kutch sawad nahin

(If the light down is not present on a lip
then its kiss does not give any pleasure.)

Mir, who is always superlative in his praise of boys' beauty, says,

Tera rukh-e-mukhattat Quran hai hamara
bosa bhi len to kya hai, iman hai hamara

(Your face with down on it is our holy Quran.

So what if we kiss it: it is our faith!)

Since the down is called *sabza* ("greenery"), there is much ingenious metaphorical verse on this theme. The cheeks, which are fair, are compared to flame, and the facial hair gives a green edge to the bright flame. This does decrease the beauty somewhat, but in order to make the point that it is still very great, the poet Zauq praises the beloved even now:

Khat tere shola-e-rukhsar pe hai mojis-e-husn
varna ho sabze bhala aag pur kyun kar paida

(The down of your flame-like cheek is a sign of beauty,

Or else how can greenery grow on fire?)

And Ghalib writes in a similar vein,

Sabza-e-khat se tera kakul-e-surkash na
daba
ye zamurrad bhi harif-e-dam-e-Afi na hua

(The greenery of your down does not eclipse
your beauty;
This emerald could not rival that serpent.)

The beloved may still continue to be as indifferent
to the lover as he was before, as Mir laments,

Khat aa gaya pur us ka taghafal na kum hua
qasid mera kharab phire hai javab ko

(The beard has grown but his indifference
has not decreased.
My messenger still waits unsuccessfully for
the reply.)

However, as Sauda writes, most boys would lose
their lovers, who will not find them as attractive
as they used to:

Khat ke ate hi chale aksar ghulami se nikal
banda parvar dekhie aage hunuz aghaz hai

(With the coming of your beard, many of
your lovers broke the bonds of their slavery.
This is only the beginning, O Master—think
what the future holds!)

And Mir again,

Khat moon pe aye janaan khoobi pe jaan de ga
nachar ashiquon ko rukhsat ke paan de ga

(When the beard darkens your face you will
learn how virtuous your lovers were;
Helpless, you will have to give betel leaves to
your lovers as tokens of farewell.)

Beardlessness is the most essential feature of
the beloved's beauty, and one which adolescent
boys share with women. The boy-beloveds are
not men, but they are not children either. *Ghazals*

have been written about boys of twelve, and four-
teen seems to have been a favourite age for both
boys and girls, for others as well as Mir, the author
of this couplet:

Us mah-echardeh ki doori ne
do hi din men kiya halal hamen

(Separation from that moon of fourteen
years
in only two days killed me with pining.)

Sometimes the beloved is referred to as a child
(*baccha*, *tiftl*, and *naunhal*, which means baby), as in
this couplet of Atish:

Zahid fareefta hain mere naunehal ke
aashiq buzurg log hain us khord saal ke

(Ascetics are infatuated with my baby;
Reverend old gentlemen are lovers of that
young one.)

It should, however, be kept in mind that exagger-
ation is a part of the *ghazal*, and there is no evi-
dence to suppose that the beloved was a small
child. Generally he was between fourteen and
twenty years of age. However, youth was consid-
ered sexually appealing, and rich old men often
married girls of fourteen or younger. Thus it is
not remarkable that the poets should represent
the beloved as a pubescent boy or girl.

There are other physical features which the
ideal beloved should possess which are shared be-
tween women and boys. For instance, the beloved
should have a pretty face, the lips should be full
and the mouth small, the eyes large and beautiful,
the hair abundant and dark, the waist narrow and
the skin fair and smooth. Nonetheless, the poet
Abru finds an olive-skinned (or in Urdu, "wheat-
complexioned") boy attractive also:

Jab ke aesa ho gundmi launda
tub gunah gar kyun na ho Adam

(When there is such a wheat-complexioned
catamite,
Why then should not a son of Adam commit
sin?)

Arab poets expatiated upon the erotic appeal of rounded buttocks, but the Urdu *ghazal* rarely refers to them. In decadent Lucknow, however, women's breasts, buttocks and vaginas were praised in poetry called *sarapa sukhan*.⁴⁸

The beloved was supposed to behave in a certain manner, which was a mixture of coyness, mischievousness and coquetry. Abru wrote a poem of 250 verses, which indicates the nature of this behaviour.⁴⁹ The poem, which has been mentioned by *Mohammed Sadiq in passing, and discussed by Naim in detail,⁵⁰ is about the poet's encounter with a beautiful boy in Delhi. Abru instructs the boy on how to behave like a *mashuq*—the ideal beloved. In addition to instructing him to use make-up and to be careful about his dress, he also tells him to "be coy and playful, a bit flirtatious, but not overly so. At moments he should be considerate, at other times neglectful."⁵¹ The most important part of the advice is about giving up the role of the beloved at a certain age. To quote Naim,

When the down should begin to appear on his cheeks, the boy should not shave in the beginning, for that is the spring of beauty. So long as the beard remains soft the boy should continue his affairs as before. When it gets tough, he should shave both mornings and evenings. Finally, when the bloom is all gone and his lovers begin to lose interest, the boy should give up the ways of a *mashuq*...⁵²

This is exactly how the boy-beloveds of the Urdu *ghazal* do behave, as the following section will illustrate. However, before we go on to the drama of boy-love in Urdu poetry, it should be recalled that the *ghazal* does not describe actual love affairs in which boys and men may have behaved differently, but is the expression of a highly stylised poetic convention. Even so, the references to boys are more realistic—and to that degree different from the rest of the *ghazal*—than the references to an ideal androgynous or divine beloved, to which we shall come later. Let us now look at the behaviour of the boy-beloved in the *ghazal*.

The Drama of Boy-love in Urdu Poetry

The drama of boy-love was to be seen in many places—the bazaars of the city, schools, the courts of the nobles, the meeting places of the poets, and, of course, in the taverns. Mir, Mazmoon and Mir Soz, respectively, write:

Tifle-e-tahe baazar ka aashiq hoon main
dil faroshi koi mujh se seekh jae

(I am the lover of the boy from the bazaar!
People should learn the art of falling in love from me!)

Mae kade men go sarasar fail-e-na maqool
hai
madrise men dekha to vahan bhi fail o ma-
fool hai

(In the tavern what is done is totally indecent.

But in the school—there too was the "doer" and the "done-to"!)

Gaye ghar se jo hum apne savere
Salamullah Khan ke dere
Vahan dekhe kai tift-e-pari ro
Are re re! are re re! are re!

(One day when I went early in the morning to the house of Salam Ullah Khan I saw many fairy-faced boys.⁵³
O Vow! O Vow! Vow!)

The poet-lovers, like Abru, proudly declare that they are susceptible to boyish beauty and are attracted to boys:

Zabashum ko nehait shauq hai amrad parasti
jahan javen vahan ik adh ko hum taak rakhte
hain

(So I am fond of loving boys...
Wherever I go there are one or two whom I admire.)

The boys, however, are indifferent to the lovers, as Payam laments:

Dilli ke kuj kalah larkon ne
kaam usshaq ka tamam kiya⁵⁴

(The wayward, insouciant boys of Delhi
Have 'destroyed' the lovers who are smitten
with them.)

The lovers know that falling in love with boys
will not bring them happiness, for boys are unre-
sponsive, fickle and cruel. But, despite their bet-
ter judgment, they cannot help being ensnared by
the irresistible beauty of their beloveds. Mir, Be-
dum, and Hairat tell the sad story:

Rafta rafta ye tift-e-khush zahir
fitna-e-rozgar hote hain

(By and by these pretty boys
prove to be menaces to one's livelihood.)

Jafa o jor us afghan pisar ki kya kahiye
vafa ke kaam men un ne buhut qusoor
kiya

(What's left to say about the cruelty and in-
difference of that Afghan boy?
As for fidelity in love, he has sinned a lot.)

Saada roeoon ka dila mehr o muhabbat pe na ja
mun pe deven ge tujhe saaf javab aakhir kar

(O heart! Do not trust to the affection and the
kindness of the beardless!
They will refuse you their favours to your
very face.)

The boy's attitude is not merely a personal re-
sponse, but reflects the social value that a boy or
woman was respected only for chastity, and for
being unresponsive to the approaches of men.
Those who yielded to their lovers found them-
selves reduced to the social status of prostitutes,
even if they did not actually indulge in sexual acts.
Such boys could, however, flirt with men and act
like the professional *mashuq* Abru wrote about. Be
Jaan and Mir write of them,

Us Brahmin pisar ne sari raat
ek bose ko hum ko tarsaya

(That Brahmin boy the whole night through
Kept me pining for just one kiss.)

Larke Jahan Abad ke ek shahr karte naaz
aa jaate hain baghl men ishara jahan kiya

(The boys of Jahan Abad act hard-to-get all
over town,
But make a gesture and they come to your
arms.)

Mir despairs of ever winning the favours of the
boys of Delhi. They even tease the religious schol-
ars:

Aesa hi mugh bachon men aana hai jo Shaikh
Ji
to ja rahe hain jubba-o-dustar aaj kul

(If this is how you will keep coming among
the Magian boys, O Sheikh,
One day your cap and gown of learning will
disappear!)

And Mir knows that the boy, being such a tease,
will probably make a kite out of his letter:

Hum nahin likhte iss liye us ko shokh buhut
hai vo larka
khat ko kaghaz bazi karke bao ka rukh bat-
lave ga

(I will not write him—he is very mischie-
vous, that boy!
He will make my letter into a paper to turn to
the wind.)

Yet, as Mir tells himself, the competition remains
intense:

Aek khoobro ke peeche sau sau talabgar
phirte thay
larke Dilli ke tere hathon kub aae Mir

(Hundreds of lovers in quest of each beauti-
ful boy!
The boys of Delhi can never come into your
hands, Mir.)

These elusive beloveds do not dress modestly.

In fact, they dress up in tight clothes and let loose their abundant long hair in order to attract men. Mir again observes:

Kya pahnavā khush aata hai in larke chispa
poshon ka
mondhe chusse hain, choli phansi hai terhi
terhi kalahen hain

(How the form-fitting clothing of these boys
suits them—
It hugs their shoulders and torso tightly, and
their caps are set at a rakish angle.)

Khol kar baal ye sada ro larke
Khalq ka kyun vabal lete hain

(Letting their hair loose—these beardless
boys—
Why do they take the curses of the people?)

Some, like prostitutes, are greedy and bestow their favours only on the rich. Abru and Tabaan* comment:

Rakkhe koi iss tarha ke lalchi ko kis tarah
bahla
chali jati hai farmaish kabhoo vo la kabhoo ye
la

(How can one please such a greedy one:
He always says: bring this; bring that now!)

Lalchi aese ke jis pas zar ki bu
ja thaeren pahle to peeche ho jo kuch un par
ho

(So greedy, that if there is a smell of gold
They go and stay with him—and whatever
happens, happens.)

Generally the *ghazal* deals with romantic passion but the couplets about boy-love also express opportunistic sexual desire, without tenderness or romantic idealization, as in these examples by Mir:

Bosa le kar sarak gaya main
kuch kaho kam apne kam se hai

(After taking a kiss I slipped away;
Whatever you say, my self-interest comes
first.)

Khencha baghal men main ne jo mast pa ke
raat
kaehne laga ke aap ko bhi ub nasha hua

(When I, finding him drunk last night, drew
him into my arms,
He said, "So you too have become intoxi-
cated now.")

There are also satirical poems on catamites in which indecent words, which are not used in the *ghazal*, did appear. One of these poems, called "Hijv-e-ptang baz" (The satire of the kite-flyer), was written by Qaim Chandpuri. Like the traditional boy-beloved, the kite-flyer teases his lovers:

Apna aashiq hai jis ko pata
unglion pur use nachata hai

(Whoever he discovers to be his lover,
He makes a puppet of the poor love-stricken
fellow.)

However, this boy who fools his lovers and teases them is also sexually promiscuous:

Ye bhi ik taur ka khilari hai
her khilari ne iss ki hai

(He too is a kind of player,
For every other player has)⁵⁵

These are the kind of boys about whom Arzoo wrote:

Laundon ka jo taraona dekho to ye kaho
randi bhi kya hove gi nazzara

(When you see the way boys walk conceit-
edly,
Not even prostitutes would show)⁵⁶

The *ghazal* normally does not despise the beloved in this manner, nor does it usually identify

him or her. Couplets about boys deviate from this convention of the *ghazal*, and are more realistic to the extent that they portray actual behaviour, make negative value judgements about it, and identify actual persons. Names are rarely used, though references to family profession, religion, ethnic group and caste are common, as in these examples by Be Jaan and Kabir:

Khara shikan nigah firangi pīsar ki aaj
sangeen ki tarah meri chaati pe sil gai

(The stone-breaking glance of the English
boy today
Like a dagger penetrated deep into my
breast.)

Vo Rohile ka pīsar jab se gaya aankh lara
tab se nahin soojhta juz nala-o-faghan mujh
ko

(Since that son of Rohila has gone after look-
ing into my eyes,
I can't think of anything except crying and
complaining.)

In Mir, whose six collections of verse mention boys many times, there are references to almost all classes, professions, and the major religions of Delhi, whose boys the poet professes to have loved or desired.⁵⁷

Such concrete references, as I have indicated, are the exception rather than the rule in the *ghazal*. In most couplets—they constitute the bulk of the *ghazal*—the beloved is addressed as *dost* or *yar* (friend), *but* (idol), or *kafir* (pagan), and is of ambiguous sex. These couplets belong to the realm of high romance or mysticism. The attachment of a man to a boy, a woman, or to God can be expressed with varying degrees of passion, piety, jealousy and ecstasy. All these are also part of the drama which unfolds itself in the Urdu *ghazal*.

Mysticism and the Conventions of the *Ghazal*

The *ghazal* is a bridge between the world of eroticism and romance and that of mysticism and philosophy. Some of the ideas which animated the

Islamic mystics of the eleventh century C.E. derived from the Greeks.⁵⁸ Thus it is possible that the idea that love for boys is intrinsically more noble than that for women, expressed in Plato's *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium*, could have influenced the Muslim *sufia* (mystics).⁵⁹ However, there is no conclusive evidence for this, although it is known that the diction of the *sufia* was influenced by the Neoplatonic "Theology of Aristotle", and that Platonic idealism and the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation did influence the evolution of sufism.⁶⁰

An important development from these doctrines was the mystic theory of *Wahdat ul wujud* (unity of being). According to this theory, phenomenal existence is merely a manifestation of an underlying divine reality. When taken to its logical extreme, this theory dismissed the world as illusory, and, as in Vedantic monism, the distinction between object and subject ceased to exist.

Whadat ul Wujud is associated with Ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240 C.E.), an Arab born in Murcia (Spain), and a great mystic philosopher. He also called himself the disciple of al-Khadir (the green man) or al-Khidr (the green).⁶¹ Al-Khidr is identified with the servant of God and the guide of Moses in the Quranic verse (xviii: 59-81). He is also taken as the mystic guide to the esoteric and real (*haqiqi* or *batini*) knowledge which the mystics desired. Although Henry Corbin translates Khidr as "the Eternal Youth,"⁶² he is referred to as an immortal old man, called Khwaja Khizar in Urdu, in the *ghazal*. It could not, therefore, be this figure which contributed to the use of the symbol of the youth for divine Beauty in this form of poetry.

Ibn al-Arabi's valuation of *mahabbah* (love) rather than *ma'rifah* (thought) as the summit of mysticism could, arguably, have led to a similar valuation in Persian mystic poetry, especially since Ruzbehan Baqli Shirazi (d. 1209 C.E.), one of the precursors of Hafiz's *ghazal*, was his contemporary. But Ibn al-Arabi's symbol for divine Beauty in his book *Tarjaman ul Ashwaq* (The interpreter of longings) is the figure of a young girl called Nizam 'Ayn ash-Shams, whom he met in Mecca in 1201 C.E. How this symbol changed into that of a youth can only be conjectured. The explanation offered by Muhammad Sadiq is as follows:

*² Beqli in *Paidika* 12:22, note 6, and elsewhere

According to the mystics, God is the living principle of the universe and has revealed Himself to man in human beauty. Hence, the mystic who sought union with God was taught to use human beauty as a stepping stone towards the perception of divine beauty. To this effect love was necessary; but as the love of women was likely to sidetrack the seeker after God into sensuality, the mystics preferred to see divine beauty in youths, in order to avoid sexual complications incident to the love of women. These young men who were deemed to incarnate divine beauty were called *mazhars* or manifestations of divine beauty.⁶³

However, Sadiq does not explain where the idea that God had “revealed Himself to man in human beauty” came from in the first place. It probably owed its origin to a tradition in circulation among some *sufia* and considered Apostolic by many. According to this tradition, attributed to the traditionist Hammad ibn Salama (d. 774 C.E.), God revealed Himself to the Prophet of Islam in human form (of a youth) in a vision.⁶⁴ This tradition is also referred to in the *Akhhbar al-Ashiqin* of Ruz-behan Baqli, who was one of the shapers of the Persian *ghazal*. The tradition itself is not considered authentic by many traditionists because it was first told in a *sufi* establishment in Ubaddan on the Persian Gulf, and because the philosophy of the *Quran*, as traditionally interpreted, is anti-iconographic as well as anti-anthropomorphic. However, according to Ibn al-Dayba (d. 1537 C.E.), it was common among *sufi* circles during his lifetime.⁶⁵ In other words, this tradition, whether apocryphal or authentic, was in circulation in *sufi* circles roughly from 774 C.E. (when Hammad first told it) until at least 1537 C.E. (when al-Dayba died). This was the period when the Persian *ghazal* developed its poetic conventions, and some of the mystics developed the ideas mentioned by Sadiq above. There is, therefore, the possibility that in their search for a symbolic representation of God in poetry the *sufia* found this image congenial, especially because in their

view the image of a woman could suggest sensuality.

Some of these conventions have been mentioned in passing, but they can now be given more attention. We have seen how the realistic couplets of the Urdu poets about boy-beloveds dwelt on their indifference. This is also the most important convention of the mystic *ghazal*. Like the boys of Mir's Delhi, the divine Beloved is unobtainable; being God Himself, he is beyond human reach. A similar convention operates in the *ghazal* about women, where the woman is either a woman in *pardah* (behind the veil), or a prostitute. In the former case she is unobtainable to her lover; in the latter case she is obtainable, but could hardly be expected to form a lasting and ultimately satisfying relationship with any one of her lovers. This makes the *ghazal* a poetry of yearning rather than of fulfillment.

Themes of separation (*firaq*) and union (*visal*) are major motifs of the *ghazal*. Since separation was an integral part of love when the beloved was God, the *sufi* poets celebrate the union which will come with death. In the terminology of mystic poetry *urs* (marriage) is used for a *sufi* saint's death, and the celebration of the anniversary of his death is called marriage (*urs*). Earthly life is considered a burden or an imprisonment, as in these verses of Mir Dard and Bulleh Shah:

Joon sharar hai hasti be bood yaan
bare hum bhi apni bari bhar chale

(Like a spark, our life is without real Being here;
At last we [meaning 'I'] too have completed our turn here.)

Shara kahe Shah Mansoor noon suli utte cha-
riya si
ishq kahe tusaan changa keeta bue yar de va-
ria si

(The Law of Islam said: “Remember! We crucified Shah Mansoor!”
Love replied: “You did well, for you pushed him into the door of the Beloved!”)⁶⁶

The mystics give an asexual, spiritual interpre-

***Beqli in Paidika 12:22, note 6, and elsewhere**

tation to the love of human beings. They did not write about women, and when they appear to be writing about boys as the beloved, they would insist upon a spiritual interpretation of the emotion. Khwaja Mir Dard (1719-1785 C.E.), a famous mystic *ghazal* poet of Delhi, says the following about love:

Ishq-e-majazi is not the same thing as carnal passion. This kind of *majaz* does not lead to the apprehension of reality. The only right type of *ishq-e-majazi* is the love of one's *pir* [spiritual guide] which leads one to God.⁶⁷

This love of the spiritual guide could be expressed in the imagery of human love in the *ghazal*. Amorous and erotic allusions and images were conventional metaphors for mystic absorption of the self in the object of love. This annihilation of the self was to be accomplished in three stages: annihilation in the being of the spiritual guide (*Fana-fil-shaikh*); annihilation in the being of Muhammad the Prophet of Islam (*Fana-fil-Rasool*); and annihilation in the Being of God (*Fana-fil-Haq*). This concept of love influences the *ghazal* so that it becomes anti-individualistic and self-effacing rather than self-fulfilling.

Love occupies an important place in the *ghazal* since it is also the antithesis of the law (*shariat*). This concept of love was probably introduced by Rabiah Basri (died 801 C.E.), a female saint of Basrah in Iraq, who "formulated the *Sufi* ideal of a love of God that was disinterested, without hope for paradise and without fear of Hell."⁶⁸ This idea, as we have seen, was supported by Ibn al-Arabi and his followers. Gradually the idea that the theologian followed the way of the law and the mystic poet the path of love emerged, with the added implication that the former was merely ritualistic and therefore insincere. This "path of love" was also called *tariqat*, and some mystics used it in the sense of following the spirit of Islam rather than the letter alone. Others included practices which are considered forbidden by religious scholars and even by other mystics.

In the *ghazal* there is much antagonism to the strict follower of the letter of the *shariat* (*Zahid*,

Maulvi and *Sheikh*), and he is made fun of and abused. All this is done because the follower of the *shariat* disapproves of drinking wine and love. Since the mystics also used wine as a metaphor for the intoxicating quality of God's love, this tradition too is capable of different interpretations. It can either mean forgetting all earthly interests out of love of God, or it can mean the drinking of alcohol. The cupbearer (*saki*) is a beautiful boy, though in *sufi* symbolism he stands for the spiritual guide, or indeed for any source of spiritual fulfillment such as the Prophet of Islam. However, in cases where the mystic interpretation seems unlikely, the cupbearer may be a woman or a boy, though, as with the beloved, the *saki* is always referred to by the masculine pronoun, and in fact is sometimes identical with the beloved.

Very often the poet complains about the rival (*ghair*, *raqueeb* or *dushman*), who is favoured by the beloved. This can be interpreted mystically, though in most cases such an interpretation does not fit the facts. As mentioned earlier, it was often the situation that boy-beloveds and courtesans could favour the poet's rich rivals, and give cause for complaint.

The *ghazal* is melancholic, since its conventions do not allow it to express the happiness of finding love reciprocated. The imagery of boy-love is especially suited for this, for the boy can hardly live in union with the lover forever. In mystic terms, union comes after death and life remains the state of longing for the beloved, the Friend who never comes. E.M. Forster, possibly on account of his own frustrated homosexuality and the alienation from his society which he felt on account of it, understood this very well. In his novel *A Passage to India*, his protagonist Aziz recites the *ghazal* of Ghalib, and Forster says:

The poem had done no 'good' to anyone, but it was a passing reminder, a breath from the divine lips of beauty, a nightingale between two worlds of dust. Less explicit than the call to Krishna, it voiced our loneliness nevertheless, our isolation, our need for the Friend who never comes yet is not entirely disproved.⁶⁹

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ture from the University of Sheffield, and his previous publications have included articles on E.M. Forster and Edward Carpenter. His book *A History of Pakistani Literature in English* is now in press.

NOTES

1. See Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Second Revised Edition; Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 19-36. For a good introduction to the *ghazal* in translation, see Ahmed Ali, *The Golden Tradition: An Anthology of Urdu Poetry* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1973).
2. See Reuben Levy, *An Introduction to Persian Literature* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969).
3. Sadiq, op. cit., Chapter IV. See also, T. Grahame Bailey, *A History of Urdu Literature* (Lahore: Book Traders, 1932), pp. 30-7.
4. M. Mujeeb, *Indian Muslims* (Delhi: Manoharlal Publishers, 1985), Chapter XVIII.
5. Shibli Nomani, *Shair Ul Ajam* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 1970), Vol. 4, pp. 155-60. Originally published in 1912.
6. *Amrad* means a beardless boy; *parasti* literally means worshipping. The term refers to men's aesthetic, emotional or erotic response to adolescent boys who have not yet developed adult masculine physical features. The term could also be translated as *ephebophilia* since the boys who are referred to as

- "beloved" in prose and verse are generally not pre-pubescent children but adolescents and young men who still retain boyish beauty. However, since younger boys are mentioned in the *ghazal*, and the verses make no distinction between adolescents and pre-pubescent boys, I have used the term boy-love throughout. For details about the term *ephebophilia* see my article "Ephebophilia: The Case for the Use of a New Word," *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, XXIV:2 (April 1988), pp. 126-41.
7. Nomani, op. cit., p. 160.
 8. Abdul Haleem Sharar, "Hamare Shu' ara ka Mahbub," *Mazamin-e-Sharar*, Vol. II, English translation quoted from Sadiq, op. cit., pp. 25-6.
 9. Sadiq, op. cit., p. 26.
 10. Altaf Hussain Hali, *Muqaddama-e-Shair-o-Shairi* (Lahore: Kashmir Kitab Ghar, 1971), p. 112. Originally published in 1893.
 11. Andalib Shadani, "Mahbub ke liye fail-e-muzakkar ka istamal," *Tahqiq Ki Roshni Men* (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali & Sons, n.d.), pp. 187-220.
 12. Andalib Shadani, "Mir Sahib ka ek khas rung," *Tahqeeqat*, Bareilly, 1946, pp. 135-77.
 13. Andalib Shadani, "Iran ki amrad parasti ka asar Urdu shairi par," *Tahqeeqat*, April,

1946, pp. 193-221.

14. Shamim Rizvi, "Mir ka Ishq," *Barg-e-Gul* (Urdu College, Karachi, 1953-4), pp. 100-29.
15. Saleem Akhtar, "... Shair mera Iran gaya," *Takhliq aur la-shauri muharrikat* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1983), p. 192.
16. Firaq Gaurakhpuri, *Urdu ki Ishqia Shairi* (Karachi: Javed Press, 1966), p. 34.
17. C.M. Naim, "The Theme of Homosexual (Pederastic) Love in Pre-Modern Urdu Poetry," *Studies in the Urdu Gazal and Prose Fiction*, ed. M. Umar Memon (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1979), pp. 120-42.
18. For the English boy-lovers see Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1884 to 1930* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970).
19. Sheikh Musleh Uddin Sa'adi, *Gulistan*, translated from the Persian by Francis Gladwin (Islamabad: National Institute of Folk Heritage, 1980), p. 184.
20. See Maarten Schild, "The Irresistible Beauty of Boys: Middle Eastern Attitudes About Boy Love," *Paidika: The Journal of Paedophilia*, 3 (Winter, 1988), pp. 37-48. Also see E.

Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," *Studia Islamica*, 13 (1960). Regarding Turkish attitudes toward passivity see Alan Dundes, et al, "The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes," *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. J.J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).

21. According to Schild, op. cit., p. 46, "...in the Middle East there exists a strong superstition that sperm contains miraculous power. It is also thought that power and masculinity can be transferred to a boy by allowing the sperm of the man to flow into the body of the boy." As support he cites Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan, 1926), Vol. 1, p. 198. However, I doubt if this can be considered as a shared belief in all the Arabic speaking countries, and I am quite certain that this belief is not shared by most other Muslim cultures.

22. Nazneen is the *takhullus*, or pen name, of this poet, which is added to the name. Only the *takhullus* is used when quoting from the work of a poet in Urdu, and that practice will be followed in this article as well. All translations are by the author of this article, unless otherwise indicated. The translation of the poetry is not strictly literal, and aims at giving the general sense and conveying something of the spirit of the original. The translation of the prose passages is as literal as

possible.

23. Other words for boys were also used: *larka* (boy); *bacca* (male child); *pisar* (son).

24. Babar, *Tuzk-e-Babari*, translated from the original Turkish by Annette S. Beveridge as *Babar Nama* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979), p. 120.

25. Zia Uddin Barni, *Tarikh-e-Firoz Shahi*, in several paragraphs of the original Persian, describes the seduction of the king by a beautiful youth, and dwells upon the youth's beauty. However, the English translation of this source in Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India*, Vol. 3, p. 32, says only "one day a lovely girl met him on the road," and omits all details of the incident.

26. Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, *Raud-e-Kausar* (Lahore: Idara-e-Saqafat-e-Islami, 1986), p. 454.

27. Shadani, "Iran ki amrad parasti ka asar Urdu shairi par," op. cit., pp. 201-2.

28. "Suaneh-e-Mir," biographical note based on the Persian *Zikr-e-Mir*, in Urdu in the introduction to *Kullyat-e-Mir*, ed. Kalb-e-Ali Khan (Lahore: Majlis, 1976), Vol. 1, p. 47.

29. Saadat Khan Nasir, *Tazkara-e-Khush Marka Zeba*, ed. Mushfiq Khwaja (Lahore: Majlis-e-Taraqqi-e-Adab, 1970), 2 Vol.; Qaim Uddin Chandpuri, *Tazkara Makhzan-e-Nikat*, ed. Iqtidar Ahsan (Lahore: Majlis, 1966); Quratullah Shauq, *Tabqat-e-Shuara*, ed. Nisar Ahmad Farooqi (Lahore: Majlis, 1968); Nawab Muhammad Mustafa Khan Shefta, *Gulshan-e-Bekhar*, ed. Kalb-e-Ali Khan Faiq (Lahore: Majlis, 1973). The

publishing dates are for modern editions. The dates for the writing of the originals are estimated as 1845-7(?), 1760-2(?), 1775 and 1833-5, respectively.

30. Saadat Khan Nasir, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 57.

31. Ibid., p. 58.

32. Ibid., p. 380.

33. Ibid., p. 298.

34. Ibid., p. 231.

35. Qaim Chandpuri, op. cit., p. 73.

36. Sadiq, op. cit., p. 107.

37. *Tazkara-e-Mir-Hasan*, quoted in Shadani, "Mahbub ke liye fail-e-muzakkar ka istamal," op. cit., p. 192.

38. "Suaneh-e-Mir," op. cit., p. 8.

39. Ibid., p. 47.

40. For excerpts in English see Muhammad Umar, "Glimpses of a Dying Culture from a Personal Diary," *Journal of Indian History*, 1965, pp. 667-91. The excerpts given here are from Shorish Kaashmiri, *Uss Bazaar men* (Lahore: Chattan Publishers, n.d.), pp. 63-7.

41. Loc. cit.

42. Josh Malih Abadi, *Yadon Ki Baarat* (Lahore: Maktaba Shair-o-Adab, 1975), pp. 644-720.

43. Ahmed Ali, *Twilight in Delhi* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 23.

44. P.N. Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 85.

45. For translations of Arab and Persian descriptions of boyish beauty, see Schild, op. cit., pp. 40-2, and references there, particularly Marc Daniel, "Arab Civilization and Male Love," translated by Winston Leyland, *Gay Sunshine*, 32, 1977.

46. Schild, op. cit., p. 42.

47. Sa'adi, op. cit., p. 191.
48. Mohsin Ali Mohsin, *Sarapa Sukhan* (Lucknow, 1852) contains some examples. Others are scattered through the works of the poets of Lucknow.
49. Najmuddin Shah Mubarak Arzu, *Diwan-e-Abru*, ed. Muhammad Hasan (Aligarh, n.d.), pp. 240-ff. The poem is called "Dar Mau' az-e-Araish-e-M'ashuq" (Advice for adornment to the beloved).
50. Sadiq, op. cit., p. 99, and Naim, op. cit., pp. 125-6.
51. Naim, op. cit., p. 125.
52. Loc. cit.
53. Beautiful boys and women are called "fairy" or "fairy-faced", "moon" or "moon-faced", and are also compared with Joseph of the Old Testament, who is considered a paragon of beauty in Persian and Urdu literature.
54. Shefta, op. cit., p. 93, says that this verse of Payam has been erroneously included in the collection of Mir's verse.
55. Shauq, op. cit., p. 196-8. The editor has omitted the tabooed word, but the sense is clear: that everybody has sodomized him.
56. Chandpuri, op. cit., p. 42. Here the word deleted from the published version of the *Makhzan-e-Nikaat* cannot be determined. *
57. Shadani, "Mir Sahib ka ek khas rung," op. cit., pp. 170-4.
58. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 581.
59. *Sufi*, plural *sufia*, refers to the mystics of Islam. *Sufis* wool in Arabic, and the *sufia* are said to be so named because they

wore woolen garments. See R.A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (London: Bell, 1914), and A.J. Arberry, *Sufism* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1950). See also *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1913-38), under *tasawwuf* and *sufism*.

60. Gibb and Kramers, op. cit., p. 581.

61. Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, trans. from the French by Ralph Manheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 64-6. Corbin quotes from Ibn al-Arabi's *Kitab al-Futuh* (Cairo, 1911), Vol. 1, pp. 186-7.

62. Corbin, op. cit., p. 56.

63. Sadiq, op. cit., p. 25.

64. Corbin, op. cit., p. 376, calls this the "Hadith of the vision", and gives a translation of one version of the purported Apostolic saying. The English translation of this text is available to me (Corbin, p. 272), but I have not quoted it because, due to my ignorance of Arabic, I am unable to compare it with the original version of Hammad ibn Salama. For the sources of this tradition see Helmut Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele* (Leiden: Brill, 1957). → 1955

64. Corbin, op. cit., p. 376.

66. Bulleh Shah (1680-1758 C.E.), considered a great mystic, enjoys wide popularity in the Punjab. It is written in Punjabi, the language of the province of Punjab, which has been divided between India and Pakistan since 1947. Shah Mansoor (Ibn e Mughis al Husain bin Mansoor al Hallaj, 858-922 C.E.) was a mystic who was excommunicated and killed in

Baghdad on the charge of heresy. Mansoor believed that the duties prescribed by the *shariat* (Islamic Law) could be replaced by good deeds, done in perfect union with God, and as a consequence, that the mystic saint was the living witness of God. He expressed this in the formula "*Anal Haq*" (I am the Truth). This was considered blasphemous, since for orthodox Islam God was Truth. Mansoor was later canonised by *sufi* poets, and the verses refer to a well established tradition. See R.K. Lajvanti, *Punjabi Sufi Poetry* (Karachi: Indus Publication, 1977), pp. 12-26.

67. Muhammad Habib-ur-Rahman Shervani, "Foreword" to *Divan-e-Dard*. Quoted from the English translation of Sadiq, op. cit., p. 140.

68. "Islamic Mysticism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

69. E.M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 119.

Hellmut
(*Paidika* 12, p.22, note 12 has "Helmut"; most other sources have "Hellmut")

**Nikat* (see p.15; other sources corroborate)

MAN-BOY SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Robert Bauserman

The diversity of sexual behavior in a cross-cultural perspective is amazing to those who assume that their own society's moral standards are somehow laws of nature. Yet it is a fact that almost every sort of sexual activity—whether homosexual or heterosexual, whether among adults, adolescents or children—has been considered normal and acceptable in some society at some time. Ford and Beach documented cross-cultural differences in behaviors and beliefs for all sorts of sexual activity.¹ They reviewed such areas as child and adolescent sexual behavior, oral sex, homosexual activity, premarital and extramarital sex, and many others. Currier discussed in more detail the range of social attitudes toward child and adolescent sexuality and the variety of sexual behavior that occurs among youngsters in these societies.² Other authors have reviewed the predominant types of homosexual behavior existing in different societies around the world and noted that they nearly always consist of man-boy relationships or institutionalized transvestism rather than homosexual behavior between two masculine males.³

Man-boy relationships are no exception to this rule of diversity in behavior and belief. Although they are roundly condemned by many segments of Western society as inherently abusive and exploitive, there have been (and still are) many societies that do not share this viewpoint. Cross-cultural data show that many societies, from small preliterate hunting-gathering tribes to complex civilizations, accepted or even encouraged "boy-love". Attitudes toward man-boy sexual relationships have ranged from open encouragement to complete rejection. Examining how these varying attitudes developed would be

beyond the scope of this article. Rather, this paper is an initial attempt to examine the social and individual functions that man-boy sexual relationships seem to have played in those societies which accepted or encouraged them. The societies examined will include tribal societies in Africa and the Pacific, and the civilizations of Islamic North Africa, Japan, and classical Greece. Then, we will review studies of man-boy relationships in present-day Western society and the functions these relationships seem to perform for the individuals involved. Next, we will compare and contrast man-boy relationships in Western society with those in the other societies reviewed in order to locate similarities and differences in meaning and function. In short, we will try to answer these questions: first, why do some societies accept or even encourage such relationships and what functions do they perform (or are believed to perform) in these societies? Second, what functions do these relationships perform for the participants in modern Western society? Third, what major similarities and differences exist between the functions of man-boy relationships in these different settings? Finally, we will consider possible directions for future research into the individual and social functions of man-boy relationships in different societies.

One brief aside on terminology is necessary: "man-boy sexual relationships" and "man-boy relationships" are used here to refer to ongoing relationships involving sexual contacts on a repeated basis, which are not based on threats, coercion or actual violence. Thus commercial sexual relationships (i.e., boy prostitution), one-time sexual encounters, contacts between strangers, contacts involving force or threats

(i.e., rape), and father-son incest are not included in the man-boy relationships discussed in this paper.

A Problem: Interpretation of other Cultures from a Western Viewpoint

Before beginning the cross-cultural review, some problems associated with anthropological and historical study of man-boy relationships must be noted. Most anthropologists are from European and American culture, with its tradition of centuries of intolerance for sexual behavior that violated the standards of heterosexuality and marriage. Scientists, just like everyone else, are socialized into the values of the society in which they grew up. As a result, until recently most anthropological commentary either ignored discussion of sexual customs aside from marriage or referred to it in extremely biased fashion. For example, one English writer of the late 1800's dismissed child sexuality in the tribes of the British African colonies by noting that "...the children are vicious...the boys outrageously so...", and hinting darkly about "the depravity prevalent among young boys of the Atonga tribe...of a character not even to be expressed in obscure Latin."⁴ A later author, speaking about institutionalized man-boy sexual relationships among the Keraki of New Guinea, stated that "sodomy" was a universal custom of the tribe, that "unnatural practice" was believed necessary to the boy's growth, and that after initiation at puberty every man and boy constantly played both parts in "this perversion."⁵

While issues such as homosexuality and pederasty are still usually ignored in anthropological research, those references which do appear have become less and less judgemental over time. In addition, works have begun to appear which focus entirely on the forms and meanings of such relationships in different societies.⁶ Also, more recent research foregoes dismissal of such relationships as "perversions" and instead gives the peoples being studied the opportunity to explain for themselves what such relationships mean to them. In those societies with their own written literature, such as Japan, valuable insight can be gained into the meaning of such relationships

within the culture itself. This survey will avoid the older and more judgemental literature in favor of sources which come to terms with the views of the people being studied and, where possible, the literary tradition of the society in question.

The Meaning and Function of Man-Boy Relationships: Some Non-Western Societies

Our cross-cultural survey begins in Africa with the Azande, an African people living in the southern Sudan.⁷ Before European rule began in the 1890's, Azande society was divided into a number of small kingdoms periodically at war with each other. A portion of the men aged between 18 and 30 were organized into military companies, with separate units for married men and bachelors. Members of the bachelor companies customarily took boy-wives, and company commanders might have several. The boys were 12 to 18 years old. The relationships were actual marriages formally recognized by the society. The man and boy would address each other as "my love" and "my lover". The boy was expected to assist the man by getting water and firewood and carrying his possessions while traveling. The man, in turn, took responsibility for teaching the boy military skills. Sexual activity was usually restricted to interfemoral intercourse. When the boy turned 18 and joined the company as an adult warrior, the man would give him a shield, spear and other equipment. He also had a close relationship with the boy's parents. He would give them a bride-price just as if he had married their daughter and would address them as mother-in-law and father-in-law. He would help them to build a hut and would work for them in their garden, tending their crops.

The Azande did not idealize man-boy relationships as some other societies did. Rather, as Evans-Pritchard reports, they were viewed as a matter of convenience for men when women were not available. Married warriors would take boys with them on campaigns since their wives were not allowed to accompany them. Even after the European rulers disbanded the native military, the tribesmen regarded it as perfectly acceptable to sleep with a boy although such rela-

tionships were expected to take a secondary role next to heterosexuality.

Evans-Pritchard's research indicates that the primary social function served by the Azande man-boy relationships was to gradually initiate the boys into their adult roles. The man's responsibility to train the boy in military skills and to provide him with his equipment indicate a sort of mentor relationship. The man had to act as the boy's teacher to prepare him for his adult role. The long-term relationship between the two insured that the boy would have the skills and knowledge to take on his role as a warrior when he reached the appropriate age. At the same time, the relationships appear to have created friendships between men and boys. The terms of endearment between the two and the close relationship with the boy's family indicate that the relationships brought about close emotional bonds and social alliances, with all the advantages that lasting friendships can bring. Although justified in terms of providing a convenient sexual outlet for unmarried young warriors, the Azande man-boy relationships served the social function of indoctrinating boys into their adult roles and the individual function of creating friendships and social alliances.

The next area to be considered includes New Guinea and the Melanesian islands in the South Pacific. In this area, anthropologists have reported on many societies where man-boy relationships were institutionalized. In southern New Guinea, man-boy relationships among the Marind-Anim were described by van Baal.⁸ Here, the relationships began when a boy's first pubic hairs began to appear at age 12 or 13. He then was placed under the supervision of a married couple, usually a maternal uncle and his wife if such were available. There ensued a sexual relationship in which the boy's uncle had anal intercourse with him. The boy and his uncle would work together in gardening and hunting and the boy would perform other small services for his uncle and aunt. In turn, he received instruction in hunting and gardening and his aunt and uncle would help him make his ornaments and hairdress needed for social purposes. The relationships usually lasted about seven years until the youth married at age 19 or 20.

Once again, the man played the role of mentor to the boy, teaching him the skills he would need as an adult in that society. And again, there is a strong emotional bond created. Van Baal notes that "The bonds uniting mother's brother and sister's son are the closest imaginable. Their homosexual contacts may contribute to a further emotional strengthening of their relationship."⁹ Thus, the relationships served the social purpose of training the boy in adult skills and also encouraged affectionate emotional relationship between man and boy.

In other New Guinea societies, man-boy relationships were thought necessary even for the boy's physical growth. Among the Etoro, from about age 10 up to the early 20's, youths would regularly have oral sex with older men, swallowing their semen.¹⁰ The Etoro viewed not just the physical growth of the boys, but also the development of adult skills such as hunting ability and character traits such as courage in battle as a direct result of insemination. Among the neighboring Kaluli, a similar belief regarding physical growth was held.¹¹ Here, when a boy reached the age of 10 or 11, his father would select a man to inseminate him for a period of months or years. However, it was possible for some boys to choose their own inseminators. The boy's physical growth was seen as a direct result of insemination. In addition, ceremonial hunting lodges would periodically be organized, in which boys could voluntarily form relationships with other men who would also have sexual relations with them. The boys and men would also regularly hunt together so that the boys could master this skill.

Among the Etoro and Kaluli, then, insemination through man-boy sexual activity was socially recognized as a necessary stage in the boy's growth. While the ritual interpretation of such activity was the transformation of boys into men, these relationships apparently also served the purpose of bringing boys together with men to learn adult skills needed for their society.

Many of the more technically advanced civilizations of the world have accepted man-boy relationships as well. In some areas of the Islamic world paederastic relationships were accepted and sometimes even idealized. One such area,

where man-boy relationships were considered to serve useful purposes, was Morocco. Edward Westermarck, an anthropologist who wrote one of the first cross-cultural surveys of homosexual behavior, reported

...it is a common belief among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco that a boy cannot learn the Koran unless a scribe commits pederasty with him. So also an apprentice is supposed to learn his trade by having intercourse with his master.¹²

Other authors also have noted sexual relationships between tradesmen and their apprentices and between teachers and their students.¹³ For a more modern example Rossman relates the story of a European man, working as a teacher in Morocco, who was enticed into sex play by his pubescent pupils at the public bath in the village where he worked. Soon his students regularly came to his house to have sex and sleep with him—and one day the chief of the village asked the teacher why he had not yet slept with the chief's son, saying that "of all the boys in the village my son loves you the most." Even after he left Morocco, his former pupils often invited him back to visit them and their families.¹⁴

Man-boy relationships were not viewed as shameful or abnormal until the infiltration of European opinion with French colonial rule.¹⁵ Even then, the French were not very successful in changing public opinion. One French colonial official in the early 1900's lamented the difficulty of stopping practices "the dishonorable character of which completely escapes the Moroccan mentality."¹⁶

Again, we see men serving as mentors or teachers to the boys with whom they have relationships, providing them with education and the skills they will need to live as adults in the society. The belief that apprentices and students actually needed to have sex with their teachers in order to learn well indicates the importance this society attached to the educational aspect of such relationships. Again, we also see the formation of close and long-lasting personal friendships.

Another culture where man-boy relationships

were a readily accepted phenomenon was that of feudal Japan. Here, boy-love was idealized by some classes of society. Among the Samurai it was regarded as more manly and heroic to love a boy protégé. Samurai would seek out young adolescents as pages and train them in the ideals of Samurai behavior and in military skills. The man served both as role model and teacher to the boy.¹⁷

• Among the Buddhist clergy, boys who decided to become monks or priests often began training before puberty. Relationships would often develop with the older priests, who like the Samurai served as role models and teachers to their young apprentices.¹⁸ For those sects where priests took vows of chastity—as far as women were concerned—boy-love offered an acceptable outlet for sexual needs. Man-boy relationships in both groups were idealized in Japanese literature. The novelist Saikaku Iharu wrote many short stories in which youths aged 12 to 18 became the apprentices and lovers of older Samurai.¹⁹ Paederastic relationships between Buddhist priests and their apprentices were also idealized in traditional stories that sought also to convey Buddhist beliefs and ideals.²⁰ Finally, among the aristocratic classes, attractive boys were often taken into court service as entertainers, servants and sexual partners. Boys in these positions could advance far in rank and wealth through patronage of court members.²¹

Man-boy relationships were accepted by particular social classes in Japanese society because they were seen as supporting social institutions and performing necessary social functions. The men acted as role models for the boys, showing them the sort of behavior expected when they assumed their adult roles. The men also acted as educators, giving the boys the knowledge and skills they needed for their adult roles. In addition to these socially defined elements of the relationships, on a more individual level the men and boys could form close emotional ties, gaining the emotional support and strength such relationships bring.

A final example of a society accepting and supporting man-boy sexual relationships is that of Classical Greece. Although Greek society is often invoked as an example of a society that idealized homosexuality, in fact the Greeks idealized paed-

erasty. The most accepted form of homosexual relationship in Greece involved an adult man and a younger male who could range in age from 12 or 13—at or about puberty—to a full grown youth who had not yet begun to grow a beard.²² The Greek ideal was the adolescent male. Adult men were expected to be moved by the beauty of these boys.²³ Greek vase art depicts scenes of boys and youths being courted by men and having sexual relations with them. Greek poetry and literature include many verses and passages referring to the beauty of boys and youths and their sexual desirability. Such relationships were apparently common and widespread. The classical scholar K.J. Dover bluntly states:

It was taken for granted in the Classical period that a man was sexually attracted by a good-looking younger male, and no Greek who said that he was 'in love' would have taken it amiss if his hearers assumed without further inquiry that he was in love with a boy and desired more than anything to ejaculate in or on the boy's body...²⁴

Many social rules governed man-boy relationships. Boys were expected to respond to a man's advances with shyness and modesty, and could expect disapproval from family and friends if they took the initiative in seeking an adult lover.²⁵ This was intended to weed out those men who were only interested in sexual relations with the boy. The man had to demonstrate through his perseverance that he was interested in the boy as a person and not just as a sex object. Using threats, blackmail or force to gain a sexual relationship was regarded as an extremely serious crime that could be punished by death.²⁶ Although the man had relatively greater status and power, such relationships could not be begun or ended at his whim.

Paederasty was idealized in Greek society for its educational and pedagogic value. The man was expected to serve as a role model for male behavior and masculine ideals. The boy also gained education in various fields. He could expect gifts and some social status from his relationship with the man. The relationship was expected to teach the

boy the ideals of his society and prepare him for his role as an adult citizen. The man was also held responsible to a certain extent for the boy's behavior. Sexual relations were a normal part of the relationship, but the relationship was supposed to be based on mutual devotion and a pedagogic interest in the boy by the man.²⁷ Thus, society expected the relationship to fulfill various social functions but also expected it to rest on close emotional ties of friendship and devotion. One author summed up the place of paederasty in Greek society by writing, "In its traditional (and idealized) expression, pederasty... served a very real social need of the Greek male: it provided the youthful male beloved with a good, responsible role model to emulate, as well as someone who could initiate him into the ways of becoming a man."²⁸ In addition, although Greek society of the Classical period did not have formal initiation rites involving paederasty, Bernard Sergent argues from his study of Greek mythology and beliefs involving paederasty that the Greek customs derived from an older form of initiatory paederasty.²⁹ If so, the ancestors of the Greeks may have attached ritual meanings to man-boy sex similar to those of the Melanesians in more recent times.

What conclusions can be drawn about the meaning and function of man-boy relationships in these societies which accepted, encouraged or even required such relationships? Are there common threads which can link all of these different interpretations of man-boy relationships?

A common theme of the social beliefs regarding man-boy relationships in the societies described above is this: man-boy relationships were seen both as a transition from boyhood to manhood and as aiding in this transition. Since the relationships were limited by these societies to a specific age range, and the boy's status in society changed from that of a child at the relationship's beginning to an adult or some other higher status at its end, the relationship itself was a kind of transitional stage. The societies discussed also regarded these relationships as helping to bring the boys into adult society by imparting to them the knowledge, skills and values they would need in their society. Thus they also played an important instrumental role in aiding the transition from

boyhood to manhood. The different societies, however, emphasized different roles or "functions" of man-boy relationships in this transition.

The first of these functions could be called a "Role Model" function; the man was expected to serve as a model of appropriate adult male behavior for the boy. This aspect is particularly clear in both the Greek and Japanese man-boy relationships. In both cases, the man's role as a model for the boy to emulate was a clearly defined part of the philosophical rationale for such relationships. Sexual activity, ideally, strengthened the emotional bonds between man and boy and thereby aided this function.

A second major function was the "Pedagogical" or "Teacher/Student" relationship. Boys were expected to learn the appropriate skills for their adult place in society. This function was clearly defined in Greek and Japanese society. In North Africa, it was this perceived educational aspect of preparing the boy for his adult role in society upon which Westermarck and other observers commented. Among the Azande of Africa this also seems to have been the primary function served by such relationships. As in the role model function, sexual activity ideally aided this process by strengthening the emotional bonds between man and boy, thereby increasing the importance of the relationship to both.

A third function of such relationships was initiatory. The boy moved out of childhood and into a period of transition to adulthood when a relationship began with an adult man, sometimes as part of a formal initiation ceremony. This "Initiatory" function seems to have been most developed (or at least, most thoroughly studied by Westerners) among the tribes of New Guinea. Here the first contacts most often took place in the context of initiation rites symbolizing the end of the boy's status as a child and his entrance into the adult male group. The belief in the magical potency of sperm and the necessity for boys to receive sperm in order to become men appears to be a central element in these societies' perception of man-boy sexual relationships. The less well developed belief in sperm's mystic power in Moroccan society seems part of the justification for man-boy relationships there as well, although it did not play a central role as in Melanesia.

Of course, these different functions are not exclusive and all seem to have had some role in the relationships that took place in the societies reviewed. The basic differences lie in large part in which of these functions were emphasized by the society as the justification for such relationships. More than one of these elements could be recognized as playing a role.

The elements of friendship and of sexual pleasure were also a clear part of the relationships in many of these societies, but these individual functions do not seem to have received the attention and elaboration that the more social functions described above did. Nevertheless, many of the authors cited above noted these aspects of the relationships in addition to the social functions. Van Baal's recognition of the close emotional nature of the man-boy relationships of the Marind-Anim, Rossman's account of the lasting friendships between the teacher and his Moroccan students, and Greek society's emphasis on the mutual devotion and individual respect expected in such relationships, all indicate the importance that individual friendship could have within these socially recognized relationships.

Man-Boy Relationships in Contemporary European and American Society

Contemporary European and American society, of course, tends to view man-boy sexual relations as exploitive and abusive regardless of context. However, studies of men and boys who have been the younger partners in such relationships reveal a much more complex picture. Generally both sexual and non-sexual aspects of the relationships are valued by the younger partners. And, in a pattern similar to that found in accepting societies, the men often serve as a role model and mentor as well as a friend and lover. Studies from the United States, England and the Netherlands have all reported very similar findings.

Tindall reported on case studies of nine boys he had encountered in his career as a school counselor.³⁰ All had had sexual relationships with adult men beginning around age 13 or 14 and lasting for several years. Tindall followed all the boys from adolescence well into adulthood, looking at their

adult adjustments and how they, as adults, viewed their earlier relationships. The nine cases were drawn from a larger pool of 200 with less complete follow-up information. Tindall's findings show the relationships to serve a number of important functions for the boys involved.

For example, one boy of age 13 who was very interested in machinery and mechanics began spending spare time at a service station where he became acquainted with a mechanic. The two began participating in recreational activity together and on a fishing trip, while talking about sex, they engaged in fellatio and masturbation with each other. For the next five years they regularly engaged in mutual fellatio with each other; even when the sexual aspect of the relationship ended they remained close friends until the mechanic's death.

At age 44, the mechanic's former lover was married with two grown sons and had held a supervisory position as a mechanic for many years. He credited his relationship with his older friend as having helped him reach his goals and said he would have approved of a similar relationship for either of his own sons if he had become aware of the situation.

Tindall found that "in most instances in this study a very close friendship appeared to develop," so much so that the boy sometimes selected the career of his adult friend, or a closely related one.³¹ The adult served as a model for the boy in non-sexual areas of behavior and as a close friend. As for the sex, Tindall found that with the right combination of circumstances—mutual arousal, being close together, etc.—it occurred as a result of mutual desire. Usually the activity consisted of mutual fellatio and mutual masturbation. The finding that the men served as role models for their younger partners emphasizes the importance of the non-sexual aspects of the relationship to the boys involved.

The world-famous sex researcher John Money recently presented two case reports of boys who had been involved in ongoing sexual relationships with men who had voluntarily presented themselves for treatment for paedophilia at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.³² Both boys were first seen at age 14 and were followed through college age. The first boy, Andy, began a

sexual relationship at age 12 with a man who lived with Andy's family through a rent-sharing agreement. The sexual activity usually consisted of the man performing fellatio on him, and he sometimes reciprocated by masturbating the man. Andy received help with schoolwork, advice on contraception when he began intercourse with girls at age 15, and advice against using street drugs. He also noted that his family could afford better housing and a higher standard of living because of the rent-sharing agreement with his adult partner. The sexual relationship ended when Andy was in late adolescence, although the two remained in close contact. Andy said of his adult friend that "He is like a second father to me."³³

The second boy, Burt, also began his sexual relationship around age 12 with the coach of his football team. The boy began staying overnight at the man's house on weekends and soon the coach initiated sex with the boy, whom he had earlier told of his attraction to boys. Burt was surprised and curious, and enjoyed the sexual contact, which, as in Andy's case, usually consisted of the man performing fellatio on him. Usually the man initiated the activity, although Burt did on occasion. The two made an explicit agreement that the boy was the one who would decide when the sexual relationship would end. The two participated in a variety of other activities together, such as going out to movies or playing pinball, doing photography, or working around the man's house. The sex finally ended when Burt left for college. From the vantage point of young adulthood, he reflected on the relationship as follows: "To describe the relationship? Fabulous ... To me, there was never any harm, physically or mentally ... As a matter of fact, it's probably the best relationship I've ever had with anyone outside my own family."³⁴

Money notes that in both these relationships the older and younger partners developed a strong affection and devotion for each other. In addition to the close emotional bond, both of the men acted as teachers or role models in some way—helping their young friends, giving information and advice when they needed it, or instructing them in sport or hobby activities. The relationship, including the sexual aspect, was

viewed as very positive by both younger partners.

In England, Ingram reported on 92 cases of prepubescent boys who had single or multiple sexual contacts with an adult man.³⁵ Most of the cases were boys who had been referred to Ingram for counseling by their parents; others were discovered by counselors and youth leaders overhearing conversations in a club or at camp.

The sexual activities most often involved masturbation of the boy by the man and less often of the man by the boy. In cases where fellatio or interfemoral or anal intercourse occurred, the activities were mutual. Although much of the sexual activity was simply horseplay, Ingram noted that 63 of the boys engaged in more intimate sexual contact or "lovemaking" that continued over a period of several months, though rarely for more than a year. However, a non-sexual relationship in some cases continued for years after the sexual activity ended. One clergyman was asked to perform the marriages of two boys with whom he had been involved, and a youth leader became the godfather for the children of three boys with whom he had had sexual relationships.

In regard to various of the cases, Ingram characterizes the relationship with an adult that they provided for the boys as "loving" and "affectionate".³⁶ Many of the boys had abusive, absent or rejecting mothers or fathers, and were attracted to the men in large part for the love and affection they provided. Ingram argues that many of the boys may have been better off for having a loving relationship outside the family. The men performed many other legitimate roles in the boys' lives; they included clergymen, youth club leaders, social workers, and others working to help youngsters. It would appear that the relationships began with the adult acting as a teacher, leader or role model for the boy, with sexual activity coming later.

In the Netherlands, Frits Bernard examined the question of how children react to sexual relations with adults by finding a "convenience sample" of adults who had had such contacts when they were children.³⁷ This was done by sounding out professional and personal contacts for subjects. Subjects were then asked to write biographical accounts focusing on their relationship with the adult and were given the Amsterdam Bio-

graphic Questionnaire, a test standardized on the Dutch population, to look for evidence of trauma.

Results of the ABV test showed that the subjects were not more neurotic than the average Dutch population. Even more interesting are the accounts given by some of the men of their relationships. One man of 25 had his first sexual contact with a man at age 14—a quick, impersonal encounter. After this he reported taking the initiative repeatedly in looking for more such contacts. As an adult, he stated that his only regret was not having found an older man with whom he would not just have sex, but who would also have been a friend and teach him about "everything". Another man, aged 23 and engaged to be married, reported that his first contact had come at age 12. He found the sexual contacts "wonderful". He reported feeling sorry for the man as his understanding of the sexual relationship grew, because he realized they would not be able to stay sexually intimate with each other. As an adult, he still regarded the man as one of his best friends.

Bernard concluded from the self-reports that children could experience such relationships as positive and were looking for love and affection in addition to the sexual aspects. The subjects developed strong friendships with the men with whom they were involved, and often these friendships continued well into adulthood, long after the sexual aspect had ended.

A more recent Dutch study was carried out by Theo Sandfort. Through paedophile workgroups in the Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform he was able to contact 25 boys aged 10 to 16 who were engaged in ongoing sexual relationships with adult men. Private interviews were conducted with the boys. The research method involved having the boys state the different activities and people that were important in their lives and describing the occurrence and frequency of positive and negative feelings and behaviors in each of these areas. Follow-up interviews focused on aspects of the boys' relationships that had not been discussed fully in the earlier interviews.³⁸

The research found that in both the boys' overall relationships with their adult partners and in the sexual contacts themselves, positive feelings and behaviors strongly predominated. Positive

feelings such as "nice", "happy", and "free" were the most frequently associated with the sexual activity, and positive behaviors such as "paying attention to" and "cooperating with" were more frequently noted than negative behaviors such as "coercing" and "domineering".

The first initiative for the sexual activity came from the older partner in most cases, but as the relationships developed both the boys and men reported that the boys began taking initiative more frequently. The most common sexual activity was masturbation of the boy by the man, followed in frequency by fellatio on the boy and anal intercourse. In all cases where the boy masturbated or performed fellatio on the man or agreed to anal intercourse, the man did the same for the boy. "What the younger did to or for the older partner was always equal to or less than what the older partner did to or for the younger."³⁹

All the relationships had been going on for months or years at the time of the interviews, and the partners participated in many activities together. Some shared the same hobbies; others enjoyed the same sports together; many played games, went to movies, or stayed together on holidays. These shared activities were an important part of the relationships for the boys.⁴⁰ The boys also valued the older partner as someone they could talk with easily, someone they could confide in and with whom they could discuss problems. Finally, some of the boys also spoke of the older partner specifically as someone from whom they could learn things.⁴¹ In short, the boys interviewed found their relationships enjoyable and rewarding due to many factors: the friendship and affection of the older partner; the shared hobbies and recreational activities; what their adult friend could teach them; and the sexual activity itself. The men apparently served the functions of teachers, role models and mentors for the youths, as well as offering love and affection.

The sexual aspects of the man-boy relationships described in the above studies obviously do not play any recognized social function because of the negative and condemnatory attitudes of contemporary European and American society. The relationships themselves seem to be based on personal factors of close friendship and trust. The adult appears to play a role as friend and confidant

for the boy, someone the boy can talk with openly, go to for assistance and rely on for support. Bernard and Sandfort both note the importance of affection, friendship and love in the younger partner's views of the relationships. Tindall noted that in most of the relationships he studied a strong and deep friendship developed, and in the cases studied by Money the boys involved emphasized the friendship, trust and support they found in their relationships.

At the same time, some of the roles played by man-boy relationships in European and American society seem very similar to those played by such relationships in accepting societies. Tindall in particular notes the extent to which the boys used the men as role models. Sandfort reports how some boys looked to their older partners as people from whom they could learn. Ingram notes how many of the men were already playing a socially recognized role in the boys' lives such as teacher or youth leader. However, these elements seem clearly secondary to the emphasis placed by the younger partners on the aspects of friendship and trust present in the relationships.

Comparison of Man-Boy Relationships: European/American Society vs. Accepting Societies

Now we must consider the similarities and differences between man-boy relationships as they occur in contemporary European and American society and as they occur in societies which openly accept, encourage, or even require them. One significant difference lies in the relation between the sexual and other aspects of the relationship. In accepting societies the men and boys are conforming to social rules; in European and American society, they are forced to realize that they are violating these rules. For those in the latter, this requires that the sexual aspect of their relationship must be kept secret from parents, peers and authorities, except for a fortunate small minority who have very understanding and supportive parents and friends. The necessity of deceiving family and friends can cause complications, guilt and regrets for both the men and the boys, and the social and sexual aspects of the relationship are forced apart from each other.

In contrast, men and boys in accepting societies have social sanction for the sexual aspect of their relationship and are provided by society itself with justifications for it. Sexual contacts are seen as an integral part of the relationship. As a result there is no conflict between the sexual and the social aspects of the relationship, and no need for the same sort of deception or secrecy concerning the sexual activity which the partners must maintain in contemporary European or American society. The forced artificial separation of sexuality from other aspects of the relationship which takes place in condemning societies does not occur in the accepting societies.

A second major difference lies in the relative importance of social versus individual factors in beginning and maintaining a sexual relationship. As noted above, man-boy relationships in European and American society can have some of the same functions as man-boy relationships in accepting societies. In fact, sexual relationships may grow out of relationships in which the man is playing a socially recognized and approved role toward the boy (i.e., teacher, boy scout or youth club leader, etc.). However, the sexual aspect of the relationship must grow out of individual emotional ties since society does not recognize it as a legitimate part of such relationships. Individual choice, rather than social expectation, becomes the primary element in determining whether or not a sexual relationship takes place. There must be "mutual attraction and desire," as Tindall phrases it, and this most likely will arise in the course of an ongoing relationship which begins in a non-sexual fashion. The survival of the sexual relationship is entirely dependent on the ability of the partners to integrate sex with the other aspects of the relationship, while recognizing that the relationship would be ended by public exposure and that most people would strongly condemn it.

By contrast, in the accepting societies reviewed above, there is a specific period of time during which such sexual relationships are expected or regarded as appropriate. In some societies, such as Melanesia, all social expectations dictated that boys have sexual relations with men, and in others, such as Greece, under certain circumstances boys were expected to do so and

might face social disgrace if they did not. In these cases, the man-boy sexual relationships arise from the demands of the wider society. Certainly individual choice played some role (for example, among the Kaluli of New Guinea where the boy could choose men to "inseminate" him); however, those choices were severely circumscribed by the demands of social requirements surrounding such relationships. The particular social justification offered for the relationships included restrictions on the ages at which such relationships were appropriate, with whom they might take place, and what sexual acts and roles were appropriate for both the men and the boys. Certainly, love and trust between men and boys did grow in these relationships. However, it would be fair to say that these grew out of a relationship mandated by society rather than forming the basis of the relationship.

In the area of the sexual activity itself, a third significant difference becomes clear. In accepting societies, the social regulations surrounding man-boy relationships include definite restrictions on what acts are acceptable. In Melanesian societies, for instance, the belief that sperm was necessary for boy's growth was expressed in the social requirement that boys receive sperm either anally or orally from men. However, this was the limit of acceptable sexual activity. In Greek and Japanese society, the boy was expected to play a passive role in sexual relations and the man the active role; the reverse was not recognized or approved as a possibility by rules surrounding man-boy relationships. In short, there was little room for reciprocity. In actual practice, this resulted in a situation where the men gained pleasure from orally or anally penetrating the boys, while the boys had little opportunity to gain comparable pleasure from the men. This does not mean that the boys never gained pleasure from these contacts or that the men made no effort to stimulate or please the boy; it does mean that the relationships in these societies emphasized the active role of the man and his pleasure, and consequently limited the boy's possibilities of pleasure. By contrast, man-boy relationships in contemporary European and American society, such as those described by Sandfort and ^{*}Tindale, involve much more reciprocal activity; in both studies, the sexual activities

described were overwhelmingly reciprocal and focused on mutual pleasure, or with the balance upon the boy's pleasure. Since these relationships rely on mutual friendship and desire in order to survive, this reciprocity is by no means surprising.

Despite these fundamental differences, a clear overlap exists between man-boy relationships in contemporary European and American societies and in the accepting societies reviewed. In the former, it is clear from the research reviewed above that the man can act as a role model to the boy or as a teacher. The man may play these roles in a formal way (as a youth leader, etc.); alternatively, a close friendship may develop with a boy and these functions arise informally within that relationship. The same functions occur in man-boy relationships in accepting societies; although in these the functions are formally recognized by the society in a way that they are not in European and American society, for the individual they are much the same. As for the element of interpersonal attraction and desire, this also plays a role in relationships in both contemporary European and American society and accepting societies. In the former, this element is circumscribed by the difficulties that social condemnation creates in beginning and maintaining such a relationship; nonetheless, these interpersonal elements form the basis of man-boy sexual relationships in this society. In the case of accepting societies, this element is circumscribed by the social rules regulating the ages at which such contacts were acceptable, with whom they can take place, and what sexual activities are appropriate. Nevertheless, the evidence presented indicates that interpersonal factors could and did play a not insignificant role in relationships there as well.

Directions for Future Research

To gain a better understanding of the meaning

and function of man-boy relationships for those involved, both in contemporary European and American society and in those societies where such relationships are accepted, much can be done. Researchers should continue to examine the social justifications for such relationships in the accepting societies. It is also important, however, to gather information directly from the men and boys participating in such relationships about their attitudes toward the relationship and what they feel they gain from it. In this way a better comparison can be made between the social "theory" and the individual "practice" of such relationships.

In contemporary European and American society, more research is needed that focuses on what the men and boys feel is important in their relationships and what they gain from them. This obviously means less of a focus on the sexual aspect of the relationship, and more of a focus on the other activities and how the partners relate to each other. In countries where studies of boys currently involved in such relationships are not possible, this could be done through retrospective studies with men who had such relationships as boys. In other countries where studies done directly with such boys are possible, further research along the lines of Sandfort's study in the Netherlands should be done.

In both cases, studying the meaning of the relationship for the men and boys involved provides a much needed shift in focus—away from the sexual aspect of the relationship, and toward its overall meaning as a common human experience.

Editor's Note:

Robert Bauserman received his B.A. in Psychology from the University of Pennsylvania in 1988, and will be entering graduate school this autumn.

NOTES

1. Clellan Ford and Frank Beach, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).

2. Richard Currier, "Juvenile Sexuality in Global Perspective," in L.L. Constantine and Floyd Martinson, eds., *Children and Sex* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), pp. 9-19.

3. See J.M. Carrier, "Homosexual Behavior in Cross-Cultural Perspective," in Judd Marmor, ed., *Homosexual Behavior: A Modern Reappraisal* (New York: Basic Books,

1981); Paul Gebhard, "Sexual Behavior in a Cross-Cultural Perspective," in William Masters, et. al., *Human Sexuality* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1985), p. 684; Edgar Gregerson, *Sexual Practices: the Story of Human Sexuality* (New York: Franklin Wats, 1983), pp. 295-7, and "Human Sexuality in Cross-Cultural Perspective," in Donn Byrne and Kathryn Kelley, eds., *Alternative Approaches to the Study of Human Sexuality* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986), pp. 93-4; Randolph Trumbach, "London's Sodomites: Homosexual Behavior and Western Culture," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 11(1), 1977, p. 2-9. All of these authors note that man-boy sexuality and transvestic homosexuality are the predominant forms of socially accepted male homosexual behavior in societies around the world.

4. Harry H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London: Methuen, 1897), p. 409.

5. F.E. Williams, *Papuans of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1936), p. 158.

6. See, for example, Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

7. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "Sexual Inversion Among the Azande," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72, 1970, pp. 1428-34; Charles Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London: Routledge, 1932).

8. J. van Baal, *Dema* ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1966).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 845.

*Methuen

10. R. Kelly, "Witchcraft and Sexual Relations Among the Etoro," in P. Brown and G. Buchbinder, eds., *Man and Woman in the New Guinea Highlands* (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1976), pp. 36-53.

11. Edward Schieffelin, *The Sorrow of the Lonely and the Burning of the Dancers* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976). See also Schieffelin, "The Bau'A Ceremonial Hunting Lodge," in G. Herdt, ed., *Rituals of Manhood: Male Initiation in Papua New Guinea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp. 155-200.

12. Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan, 1926), Vol. 1, p. 198.

13. Carleton S. Coon, *Tribes of the Rif* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931) p. 110. For reports of man-boy relationships in the late Ottoman Empire, see Paul Näcke, "Die Homosexualität im Oriente," *Archiv für Kriminal-Anthropologie*, Vol. 16, 1904, pp. 353-5, where he notes the frequency of relations between men and boys of 12 to 18 years of age in Constantinople, and R. Olegna, "Il Catechismo Turco e l'Omosexualita," *Rassegna di Studi Sessuali*, Vol. 2, 1922, pp. 354-6, where he discusses the frequency of sexual relationships between Turkish officials and young boys in Asia Minor and Thrace.

14. Parker Rossman, *Sexual Experience Between Men and Boys* (New York: Association Press, 1976), pp. 117-8.

15. Rom Landau, *Moroccan Jour-*

nal (London: Robert Hale, 1952), p. 181; Gavin Maxwell, *Lords of the Atlas* (London: Longmans, Greene, 1966), pp. 286-7. *

16. P. Remlinger, "Les Maladies veneriennes et la prostitution au Maroc," *Annales d'hygiene et de medecine legale*, ser. 4, vol. 19, 1913, pp. 100-106.

17. Suyewo Juwaya-Tokio, "Nan sho k' (die Paderastie in Japan)," *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Vol. 3, pp. 265-71; Friedrich S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben der Japaner* (Leipzig: Ethnologischer Verlag, 1911), p. 160; Noguchi Takenori and Paul Schalow, "Homosexuality," *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), pp. 217-8.

18. Juwaya-Tokio, op. cit.; Takenori and Schalow, op. cit.

19. Saikaku Iharu, *Comrade Loves of the Samurai*, trans. by E. Powys Mathers (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1972); Takenori and Schalow, op. cit.

20. Margaret H. Childs, "Chigo monogatori: Love Stories or Buddhist Sermons?," *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 35(2), 1980, pp. 127-31.

21. Donald H. Shively, "Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, the Genroku Shogun," in Albert Craig and Donald Shively, eds., *Personality in Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 97-8.

22. Kenneth J. Dover, "Classical Greek Attitudes to Sexual Behavior," *Arethusa*, Vol. 6, 1973, pp. 59-73, and *Greek Homosexuality* (New York: Random House, 1978); Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven: Yale University

Press, 1975); Hans Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1932); John R. Ungaretti, "Pederasty, Heroism, and the Family in Classical Greece," *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 3, 1978, pp. 291-300, and "De-moralizing Morality: Where Dover's Greek Homosexuality Leaves Us," *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 8, 1982, pp. 1-17.

23. Licht, op. cit., pp. 416-9; Ungaretti, 1978, op. cit.

24. Dover, 1973, op. cit., p. 65.

25. Ibid., p. 67; Dover, 1978, op. cit., pp. 81-3; Henderson, op. cit., p. 206.

26. Susan G. Cole, "Greek Sanctions Against Sexual Assault," *Classical Philology*, Vol. 79, 1984, pp. 97-113; Dover, 1978, op. cit., pp. 34-9.

27. Catherine Johns, *Sex or Symbol: Erotic Images of Greece and Rome* (London: British Museum, 1982), p. 101; Dover, 1978, op. cit.; Ungaretti, 1978, op. cit.

28. Ungaretti, 1978, op. cit., p. 295.

29. Bernard Sergent, *Homosexuality in Greek Myth*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986).

30. Ralph H. Tindall, "The Male Adolescent Involved with a Pederast Becomes an Adult," *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 3(4), 1978, pp. 373-82.

31. Ibid., p. 380.

32. John Money, "Juvenile, Pedophile, Heterophile: Hermeneutics of Science, Medicine and Law in Two Outcome Studies," *Medicine and Law*, Vol. 2, 1983, pp. 39-54.

33. Ibid., p. 42.

34. Ibid., p. 47.

35. Michael Ingram, "Participating Victims: A Study of Sexual Offences with Boys," in Constantine and Martinson, op. cit., pp. 177-87. Reprinted from *British Journal of Sexual Medicine*, Vol. 6, 1979, pp. 22-6.

36. Ibid., pp. 183-4, 186.

37. Frits Bernard, "Pedophilia: The Psychological Consequences for the Child," in Constantine and Martinson, op. cit., pp. 189-99.

38. See all of the following works by Theo Sandfort: *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations* (Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus, 1981); "Paedophile Relationships in the Netherlands: Alternate Lifestyle for Children?" *Alternate Lifestyles*, Vol. 5(3), 1983, pp. 164-83; "Sex in Pedophilic Relationships: An Empirical Investigation Among a Non-representative Group of Boys," *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 20(2), 1984, pp. 123-42; *Boys on Their Contacts with Men* (Elmhurst, NY: Global Academic, 1987).

39. Sandfort, 1981, op. cit., p. 53; 1984, op. cit., p. 131.

40. Sandfort, 1983, op. cit., pp. 172-3; 1987, op. cit., pp. 51-62.

41. Sandfort, 1983, op. cit., p. 175; 1987, op. cit., p. 55.

JÉRÔME DUQUESNOY THE YOUNGER: TWO STUDIES

The first article reprinted here was originally published in French in Magnus Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Jahrgang II, 1900. The author, Georges Eekhoud, was born in Anvers, Belgium, in 1854, and by the turn of the century was one of Belgium's most prominent writers, having produced poetry, popular naturalistic novels about working class life in Antwerp and rural life in the Campine, literary essays and art criticism. He had also edited literary magazines, been appointed professor of literature in Brussels, and had described himself as "le plus flamant" writer in French. This reputation was born out by the explicitness with which his work dealt with "sexual questions", including homosexual relations, the subject of his 1899 novel *Escal-Vigor*—for which in 1900 he was tried (and acquitted) on the charge of corrupting public morals—and which figure also in the stories in *Le Cycle Patibulaire*. The question of his own sexuality is less clear. In 1909 the German sexologist Iwan Bloch included Eekhoud's name in a list of prominent homosexuals, an identification against which Eekhoud strongly protested. However, a recent French critic suggests this denial was a tactical maneuver, like Whitman's denial of his homosexuality to Symonds, and remarks that Eekhoud's readers have always found that he dealt with homosexuality not with 'disinterested generosity' but with a 'profound sensibility'. Eekhoud died in Brussels in 1927.¹

When Eekhoud wrote his article, Jérôme Duquesnoy's reputation had been suppressed, no less so than today. The sculptor had been eclipsed by his brother, François, also a sculptor, and his artist father, Jérôme Duquesnoy the Elder, though he was no less talented than either. It is Eekhoud's thesis that this was due to the sodomy charges on which Jérôme was convicted and executed. The lack of recognition, he believed, was due to his "crimes" and was not a reflection of the quality of his work. With the *Jahrbuch* as his forum, Eekhoud

proposed to resurrect his reputation before a sympathetic audience.

By 1900, the intentions behind the word "homosexuality", influenced as they were by the medical discussion, were different from the understanding given to the word "sodomy" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was this understanding of, and reaction to, sodomy that shaped the trial of Duquesnoy, and it is important to understand the distinctions if we are to understand the strategy of Eekhoud's defense.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, sodomy was understood as specific acts, and not as a psychological category or identity. It referred to any acts that did not lead to procreation, including anal and oral sex, masturbation, bestiality—and could even be applied to sex between Christians and Saracens or Jews, the latter being regarded as less than human, making sex acts with them a form of bestiality. There is evidence to support the view that in the Low countries in this period specific sexual activities between adults and children were not treated differently than similar acts between adults.² Specifically, neither consent of the partners nor their ages seem to have been extenuating or aggravating circumstances in sodomy charges. By Hirschfeld's time, with the change to "homosexuality", and debate about "age of consent" laws, these factors could influence both attitudes and punishments. In the 17th and 18th centuries the punishments were very severe, and as in Duquesnoy's case often resulted in execution by barbaric means. It was, then, the acts themselves which were thought to be so horrific and threatening as to warrant maximum punishments.

Eekhoud makes a noble attempt to redeem Duquesnoy, but it is interesting to reflect on certain discrepancies in his article. It must be understood that in 1900 Duquesnoy still stood in disgrace. Though attitudes about sodomy were now converted into attitudes about homosexuality,

the courts and general populace were no less antipathetic. Eekhoud uses his opportunity in the *Jahrbuch* to present the artist's death as senseless and unjust, and his execution itself as a crime. While public hostility remained, punishments had become less severe, and Eekhoud was in a position to point up the relativity of attitudes and its consequence to human lives. The readers of the *Jahrbuch*, themselves very much still a persecuted minority, were exactly the audience needed for the process of redemption to begin. If Duquesnoy's death could be seen in a different light, and the onus removed, the reevaluation of his artistic career could also take place.

In order to accomplish this, Eekhoud uses certain facts which he either knew were incorrect, or did not bother to check. The court records were available in the Ghent archives, and in summary form in Brussels. He writes that the boys Duquesnoy was convicted of seducing were "two of his young pupils or apprentices, not children but adolescents."³ In actuality, the trial records clearly show that Constant de Somere was 8, and Jacobus de Sterck was 11. Was this ignorance on Eekhoud's part, or was it a dissemblance directed toward public feelings, or more particularly to Hirschfeld and other readers of the *Jahrbuch*, who for political reasons disapproved of and condemned sexual acts, consenting or not, between men and young boys?

There is also dissembling as to the actual details of Duquesnoy's offences. Here again the records make it clear that the court went out of its way to accuse the artist of the worst possible deeds, that would necessarily carry the death penalty. Why the authorities wanted to prosecute him to the utmost—whether it had only to do with the attitudes about sodomy at the time, or whether Du-

quesnoy had incurred their disfavour in other ways, or that they hoped with such a famous person to show their own power and make an example of him—we can only speculate. The authorities used torture to extract statements, not uncommon, but they also refused the petitions of the sculptor's influential family, and his patron Bishop Triest, which was unusual. Although they had the option of life imprisonment, they went ahead with the execution. The details of the indictment are glossed over by Eekhoud, who merely quotes an earlier source which said that Duquesnoy was accused of "misusing two boys". In his desire to present his subject in the best possible light, did he omit certain facts that might have seemed repugnant to the *Jahrbuch's* readers, or perhaps Hirschfeld himself?

Within the last decade a thorough study of the trial record by the Belgian gay scholar Geert Debeuckelaere appeared in Flemish,⁴ which remedies the omissions, and commissions, of Eekhoud, and also raises pertinent issues about the changing concepts of sodomy and paedophilia. His article is the second of those translated here.

The caveats about Eekhoud's glosses aside, his article is a courageous attempt to resurrect Duquesnoy. That a reassessment of Duquesnoy's reputation still has not occurred⁵ suggests that the narrow attitudes of which Eekhoud complained are still with us today.

Editors' Note:

The Eekhoud article was translated from the French by Leo Adamson; the Debeuckelaere article from Flemish by G.-J. Cobelens. The introduction was written by Joseph Geraci. Research assistance by D.H. Mader.

NOTES

1. The "official" view of Eekhoud's career, which ignores the episode of *Escal-Vigor*, can be found in standard works such as the *Dictionnaire biographique des Sciences, des Lettres et des*

Artes en Belgique (Brussels: l'Avenir, 1935), pp. 434-5. As an art critic, Eekhoud was the first to discuss the fascination the St. Sebastian image has for homosexual sensibility: see Wayne R. Dynes, *Homosexuality, a Research Guide* (New York: Gar-

land, 1987), entry 1600, p. 242. *Escal-Vigor* was first issued in Paris (*Mercure de France*, 1899), and has been reissued with an introduction by Jacques Brenner, which discusses its importance in French homosexual literature (Paris:

Persona, 1982). The novel has also appeared in English, both under its own title (Brussels: Gutenberg Press, 1909) and as *Strange Love* (New York: Panurge Press, 1930). The account of Eekhoud's controversy with Bloch, and Brenner's own assessment of Eekhoud's homosexuality, are found on pps. 10-11 of his introduction to the 1982 French edition.

2. For the history of the concept of sodomy, see the comprehensive study *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, edited by Ken Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York: Haworth Press, 1989); in particular see

the essay "The Persecutions of Sodomites in Eighteenth Century Amsterdam: Changing Perceptions of Sodomy" by Theo van der Meer, pp. 263-310. Regarding the role of age and consent, see also van der Meer's *De Wesentlijke Sonde van Sodomie en Andere Vuyligheeden* (Amsterdam: Tabula, 1984).

3. The original French text reads, "deux de ses jeunes élèves ou apprentis, non des enfants mais des adolescents."

4. *Tijdschrift voor Homogeschiedenis* 1:5-22, 1984.

5. Recent studies are at least mentioning the "crime", as in Manfred Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes* (Washing-

ton, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1986), p. 275, where the author acknowledges that a sculpture by Duquesnoy was not attributed to him "perhaps... in view of the scandalous circumstances" of his death. This is scarcely a reevaluation. Mention of Duquesnoy is also made in Herbert Keutner's *Sculpture—Renaissance to Rococo* (Greenwich, Ct.: New York Graphic Society, 1969), pp. 327-9. An illustration of the tomb of Bishop Triest, on which Duquesnoy was working at the time of his death, can be found there on page 328, illustration 205.

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A Distinguished 17th Century Uranian: Jérôme Duquesnoy: Flemish Sculptor

Georges Eekhoud

Jérôme Duquesnoy, born in Brussels in 1602, died in Ghent, 28 September 1654, under circumstances of exceptional atrocity, was one of the greatest sculptors of the 17th century, equal if not superior to his brother François Duquesnoy, whom vulgar critics, moved by that narrow-minded puritanism with which our own age is still cursed, feign to prefer because Jérôme admitted himself guilty of the so-called crime that led to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Like his elder brother François, Jérôme was taught by their father, Jérôme Duquesnoy the Elder. In 1621, at the age of just 19 years, he joined his brother François in Rome, where the latter was studying with fervent enthusiasm the great masters of the Renaissance, and there acquired that harmony of form needed to round off his robust, hearty Barbançon¹ talent. Up until then the younger brother had been a simple apprentice in his father's workshop but, endowed with dauntless spirit and a taste for adventure, he set off full of ardour, intent on perfecting himself in his chosen profession, in which one of his immediate family had already excelled, and another promised to distinguish himself in turn. Guided by his brother's advice, he began by making copies of the masterpieces of Antiquity and the Renaissance. But soon he felt himself strong enough to try his own hand at original work, and at carving wood, ivory and marble, at the contours of flesh, at the play of muscles and joints, at the joy of motion, at the expressiveness of feminine beauty, but most of all at the innocent brightness and chubby gaucheness of putti. He was destined to equal and even to surpass his brother François, creator of the delightful Manneken Pis in Brussels,² so much so that there has often been confusion between their baby Jesuses, their little Saint John the Bap-

tists, their angels and their cupids.

Much as they were alike in their aptitudes and artistic tastes, and even in the conception and execution of their work, just as much, or so it seemed, did they differ in mood and character. Frequent quarrels arose between them. According to some biographers whose partiality is slightly suspect for reasons which I touched upon briefly as I was beginning, Jérôme's character was stormy, quick-tempered, envious and grasping. Legend even has it that finally, revolted by his bad morals, his brother drove him out, and that later on, to gain vengeance and also to appropriate his estate, the younger brother poisoned the elder. But there exists no evidence of such hatred nor of such a crime.

Whatever the reason, the two Duquesnoys parted some time after the visit to Rome by the celebrated Antwerp painter Anton van Dyck.³ Rubens' favourite disciple struck up as good a friendship with Jérôme as with François. Their concern for grace and truth was pleasing to him, and he must have valued the talent in each. The details of their friendly relations would be of the greatest interest to us; sadly we know almost nothing about van Dyck's time in Rome. It is claimed that he hastened from the Eternal City shocked by the Flemish artistic colony's triviality and villainy. Everything—not least the nobility of their art itself, not to mention van Dyck's esteem—leads us to suppose that like the supreme aristocracy's future portraitist, the Duquesnoys were an exception in this world of drunks, thugs and low tricksters. Indeed, van Dyck painted his two friends: he shows François Duquesnoy holding in his hand an antique faun's head, while to Jérôme he gives as attribute the contemporary bust of a beautiful child.

The same lacuna which appears in van Dyck's biography occurs at this point in what has reached us concerning the life of the younger Duquesnoy. While the elder brother remained in Rome and entered friendships with Nicolas Poussin and Algardi and even shared their house, we lose all trace of the younger up to the point where we find him in Spain, where he has been summoned by Philip IV, who granted him his favour and showered him with commissions. But, once again, we do not know what events marked his life during this Spanish period.

Our sculptor returned from Madrid around 1641, and spent nine months living in Florence at the house of a compatriot, the Brussels goldsmith André Ghysels, when in 1642 news reached him of the serious illness of François, still in Rome. Jérôme hastened to his brother's side and, as the doctors had prescribed for the invalid a more temperate climate than that of Rome, the two brothers left together to return once more to the North. But at Leghorn they were obliged to stop: the invalid had a relapse, the fever had taken hold once more with renewed violence, the illness was getting worse, and three weeks later *Francesco il Fiammingo* succumbed in the arms of his younger brother and their friend Ghysels.

Jérôme longed to reach his home country, most of all at the time when he had lost that person who to him symbolised and embodied the best. So he busied himself gathering the deceased's works and effects and set off for the Low Countries by way of France.

He settled in Brussels, the fine city of his birth, and after some time spent in legal strife with his brother's other heirs, he obtained judgement in his favour: all the cartoons, drawings, castings, works in ivory, marble and polished wood in François' collections were made over to him as "material to his profession." He set resolutely back to work and displayed not only a prodigious level of activity but also an impulsive and incomparable talent. In his brother's passing, Jérôme had lost his only rival. From now on he is considered the most skilful sculptor of the Low Countries. The complete artist, from this point of view like his masters the Renaissance Italians, he was not only a sculptor but also a medallist, engraver, goldsmith and architect—in short, a Flemish Cellini.⁴

Overwhelmed with commissions, he worked ceaselessly, but also without diminution of his standards, never contenting himself with improvisations or rough drafts. This is not the place to draw up a catalogue of his works. Let us restrict ourselves to citing but a few: the four great statues of the holy apostles Paul, Thomas, Bartholemew and Matthew in the nave of Ste. Gudula's collegiate church in Brussels; the Christ on the cross, carved from a single piece of ivory, at the Béguine convent at Mechlin; the statues of saints commissioned by the Abbey of St. Michael of Antwerp; and finally the celebrated *Ganymede and the Eagle of Jupiter*, which Jérôme offered to his fellow artist, the sculptor Luc Faid'herbe of Mechlin, and which was involved in an accident that is quite remarkable, especially considering Duquesnoy's reputation and his tragic and infamous end.

Luc Faid'herbe gave Duquesnoy's *Ganymede* to his son. In 1704, the sculpture fell on the young Faid'herbe, causing his death. Those whose minds inclined to superstition and the supernatural found in this event—which was, to be sure, out of the ordinary—a parallel with Swedenborg. They attributed to this *Ganymede*, as a masterpiece of the brilliant Uranian, a malign and expiatory influence. Had the wretched Jérôme bestowed a soul upon his creation, or at the very least a mission? Did the sculpture bear a grudge against Faid'herbe? Or was this statue of Jupiter's beloved, having become a sentient idol, taking its opportunity to avenge upon the son of a Christian the abominable treatment inflicted upon any pagan straying into our centuries of intolerance and guilty of imitating the lord of the gods in his passion for ephebic mortals...?⁵

However, during this period, Jérôme Duquesnoy, who was at the apogee of his talent, was also reaching the summit of honours. Archduke Leopold William of Austria, at that time Governor General of the Low Countries under King Philip IV of Spain, appointed him sculptor to the court. His style was pure and correct, but its elegance and grace in no way impeded a natural electric movement; even a touch of the pleasantly morbid and vaguely sensual, which is set free in his most highly praised works, led to Jérôme Duquesnoy being known as the Albanus⁶ of sculpture. This

was the period when he created his suave and impish goatherd boys, and his no less gentle *Children and the Young Faun*.

He was prepared to rise to even greater heights by executing a masterpiece, the mausoleum of Antoine Triest, bishop of Ghent, which was erected in 1654, during the prelate's lifetime, in the choir of St. Bavo's cathedral. The venerable bishop's statue lifesize, half-reposing on a black marble sarcophagus, lifts its eyes to the Christ, who shows him His cross. Opposite the Redeemer appears the Virgin Mary. Six little angels or spirits, delicately treated, bearing torches or water-clocks, support the frame of the monument.

"Jérôme Duquesnoy arrived in Ghent on July 6th, 1654," says Edmond de Busscher, one of the great Flemish sculptor's more interesting and impartial biographers.⁷ "He set himself up with his assistants in one of the cathedral's chapels, there to lay out and prepare the sections of this tomb, which could have been for the master the finest jewel in a new sculptural crown, had he not come to a sad end. In the last days of the month of August a strange rumour circulated in the city of Ghent: the sculptor Jérôme Duquesnoy was incarcerated in the Castle, accused of misusing two young boys in the chapel where he was working."

Nothing was truer than this imprisonment upon this accusation, the most sinister there could be in those days when bloody and ferocious penalties sanctioned the power of iniquitous prejudice. Was the accusation justified, and to what extent? Was there violence and abuse of authority? Did it really involve acts of sodomy, brutal assault on children? The indictment in this lamentable prosecution, written in Flemish, preserved in the Ghent city archives and marked Hieronimus Quesnoy, keeps reproachful and scandalised silence on these delicate but essential points. Nonetheless it falls to us now to focus upon the extent of the alleged erotic abuse for which a great man was strangled. It seems to be established that the accused had not committed any sadistic or malevolent act. What is more, there is no guarantee that he was not the victim of some cowardly revenge, some trap, some machination of those who hated and envied what he had made of himself by his independence of character, his singular and non-conformist life, and above all his genius and his

glory. So many points of uncertainty, or rather so many probabilities!

At his first two interrogations, on 31 August and 1 September, he vigorously denied the transgressions with which he was charged, despite the admissions of the others involved. The latter were two of his young pupils or apprentices, not children but adolescents. Duquesnoy claimed he had only received them in his workshop in order to draw a pencil study of their arms and breasts. The poor wretch did not even dare mention their hips and legs! Yet had not these parts too, like all the others, claimed his attention and his admiration as an artist, not to speak of any other ardour? One mystery continues to hang over these young favourites. Who knows whether the young figures decorating the bishop's mausoleum do not record the features and beauty of shape of the two enigmatic models?

Unable to wrest from him any further confession, for the third interrogation on 3 September the judges (civil judges, a common court, not inquisitors) fell back upon torture, and naturally, the investigators obtained his word of agreement—or rather, his cries of suffering—to everything they needed to send him to his death.

Meanwhile, on 2 September, the artist had addressed a petition to the King of Spain and his Privy Council of the Low Countries, presided over by the Governor General. In this application Jérôme Duquesnoy, entertaining (and with good reason, one can believe) more confidence in the discernment and wisdom of a court of the elite than in the competence and fairness of an assembly of narrow-minded, vulgar bourgeois, rejected the municipal jurisdiction of Ghent under whose auspices he had been apprehended and was being interrogated. But these crusty bourgeois, whom the poor wretch had every reason to distrust, had no intention of letting go of this audacious worshipper of masculine beauty. On 10 September the Grand Bailiff and the sheriffs of Ghent sent the Privy Council an unfavourable opinion regarding their prisoner, along with extracts from the prosecution's case, and a request for the right to pronounce sentence.

On the other hand, the sculptor's parents, friends and admirers did not abandon him in his distress, and addressed a petition in Latin directly

to Archduke Leopold William, in which they pointed out the scandal which would ensue from the unfortunate artist's condemnation, because the shameful deeds with which he was charged would have to be disclosed. They also begged the Archduke to consider the family's honour, until then unblemished; they deplored the blot which would reflect upon a name distinguished by others in addition to this great transgressor; but foremost, and with most reason, they emphasised Jérôme Duquesnoy's high artistic worth, and the loss that sculpture would suffer in the person of this artist, whose morals might be eccentric but whose genius was rare, if he was abandoned to the mercy of the honest but unbending city magistrates of Ghent. In consequence, they implored the Archduke to rescue Jérôme from his prison in Ghent and have him brought under escort to Brussels, and there let him appear before the Privy Council. Finally they beseeched the Archduke, in the last resort, should the necessity arise, to use his absolute power to commute the death penalty to detention in perpetuity. In this manner, the petitioners concluded, even while atoning for his transgression the sculptor could continue to produce masterpieces.

Against the expectations of Jérôme and his friends, the great lords of the Privy Council proved to be just as prudish and implacable as the ignorant and ponderous merchants on the municipal bench of Ghent. They did not even delay their pronouncement so that the accused might be brought before them, but, having taken note of the dossier sent by Ghent, they hastened to reject the signatories' observations in the petition to the Archduke, and in their "Advice" to him they approved the original judges conclusions and asked that it should please him to let justice take its course.

They also declared themselves against the accused's petition, because "even though the artist has the right to decline the jurisdiction of the Ghent magistracy, there is sufficient matter in terms of justice to declare him forfeit and unworthy of that right..." They concluded, "Therefore, as it is proper and needful to subject him to exemplary chastisement in order, were it possible, to sever at the root this evil which goes creeping and worming its way through the

world, it has seemed to us that Your Highness would do well to refuse the pardon that is requested and, what is more, to leave the whole matter to the discretion of the Magistrates of Ghent, where the crime and the slander were committed, and the proceedings instituted."

This ruthless opinion was approved by the Archduke in the following peremptory terms: *me conformo in tutto*.

Alas, Jérôme Duquesnoy was no longer under the clement and radiant sky, counsellor of tolerance, help-meet to every passion, of magnanimous Italy! Moreover, the age was already far distant from that of the princes and popes, philosophers and artists, powerful heterodox patrons, or even protestant absolvers, accomplices of passionate lovers of all Beauty. Long past and finished was the century of Leo X and Julius II!⁸ Europe had become orthodox and austere once more and especially Flanders, in thrall at the same time to Spain and to protestantism, under the government of a sanctimonious and narrow-minded prince whose greatest artistic admiration was for the grotesqueries of Teniers the Younger!⁹

Nonetheless, it must be said to the glory of the true Christians of the time and the shame of the city magistrates, so-called guarantors of freedom, that the venerable Bishop Triest stood by his artist and was first to sign the petition addressed to the Governor!

But nothing would have had any effect. The rabble, the prejudice, the will of the majority, prevailed.

Following the sovereign assent, the Privy Council, at its meeting of 22 September, set out in a decree its definitive resolution, with confiscation of goods to the profit of the Crown. To start with, an inventory was made of everything Duquesnoy possessed in his sumptuous residence in the Place de Wallons in Brussels. A Brussels goldsmith even went, on 26 September, to Ghent Castle with a delegation from the Marshall of the Court, to lay claim to the mould for an image of Our Lady which Duquesnoy was to cast in silver for his Serene Highness.

Finally, on 28 September, 1654, the sentence of death was pronounced at a special assembly in the Ghent Hall of Justice. Jérôme Duquesnoy, convicted of sodomy, was condemned to be bound to

a stake in the Grain Market of said city, strangled, and his body reduced to ashes. The execution took place the same day, with the usual trappings. The Bailiff of Ghent, two delegated sheriffs and the Mayor presided, along with the Prosecutor, the Clerk of Blood, various judicial functionaries and municipal secretaries. The Officer of Public Works, Gerard van Wassenburgh, with his staff, acted under the protection of the Bailiff's halberdiers.

The Ghent historian Dierickx maintains that a pardon for Jérôme Duquesnoy arrived the day after his ordeal, with the result that the confiscation of his goods was not carried through. But Dierickx is wrong. Documents show that Duquesnoy's heirs pleaded for long afterwards for said goods to be restored to them, and for access to the arrears due to their unfortunate kinsman for Bishop Triest's mausoleum.

A portrait of Jérôme Duquesnoy after van Dyck, engraved in chiaroscuro by the English ar-

tist Richard Brookshaw¹⁰ in 1779, bears this inscription:

*Hic ille est quondam fratri vit dispar in arte,
Felix! In felix altamen igne perit.
Non perisse, abisse scias; sua foma celebris
arte, manet: redit; nam redivimus adest!*

Indeed, the tortured and tainted artist's glory shines purer and purer in spite of all reticence, prudery and pharisaic conspiracy.

The time is near when, far from considering as a work of infamy and cause of anathema the acts for which he was brought to his death, we shall see in them evidence of that perfect love of beauty which, to a judiciary of rude bourgeois like that of the Low Countries in the 17th Century, would earn the stake for the noblest artists of the Renaissance, starting with Sodoma, da Vinci and Michelangelo!

NOTES

1. The artistic school of Brussels, which takes its name from the province (formerly duchy) of Brabant, in which Brussels is situated (*ed.*).
2. Eekhoud is incorrect in this attribution; the "Manneken Pis" was first cast in bronze in 1619 by Hieronymus Duquesnoy the Elder, to replace an earlier stone fountain; his original has been recast three times following damage or theft. However, to this day, art historians refer to François as the "King of the Putti" (*ed.*).
3. Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) was Rubens' most famous pupil, and one of the most significant portraitists of his age (*ed.*).
4. Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), Italian goldsmith and

sculptor. As Eekhoud clearly knew in citing him, the parallel was more than just in their talents; see the discussion of Cellini's work and sexuality in James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), Chapter 4 (*ed.*).

5. Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), Swedish mystic, posited that material objects were imbued with spirits. Lukas Fayd'herbe (or Fay d'Herbe; 1617-1697), was a regionally important artist of the time; his son and pupil, Jean-Lukas Fayd'herbe (1654-1704) was an artist in his own right, though less important. Though it is curious that Jean-Lukas should have been born less than a month before Duquesnoy's execution, the imputation that the sculpture attacked a youth

is an example of Eekhoud's novelistic heightening of the story; the younger Fayd'herbe was 50 when killed by the falling artwork (*ed.*).

6. Francesco Albani (or Albano) (1578-1660), Italian painter. His "St. Sebastian" was one of his best known works (*ed.*).
7. *Bibliographies Nationales* (l'Académie de Belgique), Vol. II. (This reference, as given by Eekhoud, is not to the same de Busscher article used by Debeuckelaere and others, nor have we been able to verify it, leaving open the question of whether it is a second article on the same subject by de Busscher which has escaped research, or an error on Eekhoud's part. *ed.*)
8. Julius II (originally Julian de la Rovere, 1443-1513), Pope from 1503 to 1513, was the builder of St. Peter's in Rome

and patron and protector of Michelangelo. His successor, Pope Leo X (originally Jean de Medici, 1475-1521), reigned from 1513 to 1521, was famous for his fondness for beautiful youths (*ed.*).

9. David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), Flemish painter, influenced by Breughel, who painted caricatures of peasants, and interiors in a grotesque, comic manner (*ed.*).

10. Richard Brookshaw (fl.

1767-1804), English mezzotint engraver who worked in London and Paris. This engraving is reproduced in the *Tijdschrift voor Homogeschiedenis* with Debeuckelaere's article (*ed.*).

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“For the reason that thou, Hieronymus Duquesnoy...”

Geert Debeuckelaere

These are the opening words of a court judgement regarding sodomy accusations, pronounced by the Ghent sheriffs' court. The sentence was carried out on 28 September, 1654, and none other than Hieronymus Duquesnoy, one of the foremost representatives of Flemish Baroque sculpture, was led towards the stake.¹ His masterpiece, the mausoleum of Bishop Triest in the Saint Bavo Cathedral, had not yet been completed.²

In the Treaty of Munster in 1648, Spain finally recognized the Dutch Republic and accepted the closure of the Schelde river, which was detrimental to the prosperity of Southern Netherlands.³ However, the districts that later became Belgium were past their greatest calamities. Because of the wars and emigration caused by the Reformation and the Counter Reformation, the economy now had to provide the necessities of life for fewer people. For some cities—and Ghent was one of them—one might even speak of a certain economic recovery, thanks to the luxury textile industry.⁴ The Saint Bavo Cathedral would enjoy this relative prosperity, thanks to the foundation of a special redesign fund, established by Bishop Triest.⁵

The Duquesnoy Family

Hieronymus Duquesnoy was the youngest of three sculptors from the same family. Hieronymus senior was the creator of the well-known “Manneken Pis”. His son François, the most talented of the three, rose to fame in Italy under the name “Il Flamingo”, and died in Leghorn while setting off to France to work at the French Court.⁶

For a long time his biographers have wronged the younger Hieronymus. It is obvious that his

death at the stake affected their evaluations of his life. While accusations concerning his murder of his brother have been refuted for over a century, biographers still try to discredit the quality and originality of his work. Both E. Dhanens in *De Sint-Baafskathedraal*⁷ and M. van Roose in *De Beeldhouwkunst in de 17de eeuw*⁸ reach back to this tradition, disproven since 1949, suggesting that he merely completed a work originally commissioned from his brother François.

Hieronymus Duquesnoy was born in 1602 in Brussels, and grew up in his father's atelier. Hieronymus, like his brother François, was very much attracted towards sculpture. Though he did not receive any specific training, he made rather swift progress. Around 1621, his brother having established some reputation in Italy, Hieronymus himself decided to go there. He started to work under his brother's guidance. Their early works show so much resemblance that experts still tend to confuse them, and simply call them “works by Duquesnoy”. Their personalities however were very dissimilar, causing occasional frictions. Sometime after Anton van Dyck's stay in Rome, where he painted their portraits, the brothers decided to split up, and we lose track of Hieronymus. For several years he lived in Rome, and travelled from there through Italy. Various times he went to Spain as well, receiving assignments of Philip IV. But the specific dates are doubtful. He was back in Italy around 1641, living in Florence with a fellow countryman, the goldsmith André Ghysels from Brussels. In 1642 Hieronymus got a message that his brother, preparing for his journey to France, had fallen seriously ill. The doctors claimed that François was in desperate need of a different climate and subsequently, in June 1642, the brothers began their journey to the north. In

Leghorn François was once more attacked by the fever. He died there on 12 July, 1642, and was buried in the Franciscan Monastery.

One tradition, based on a letter of Aydama to Mariette⁹ written in 1766, accuses Hieronymus of poisoning his brother out of jealousy. This accusation was repeated by a number of biographers, and finally refuted by Edmund de Busscher in 1877.¹⁰

Hieronymus sent his brother's luggage and four chests containing various works of art to the Netherlands; he himself traveled through France. Arriving in Brussels, he refused to share the legacy with his half-brothers and -sisters. He claimed that the four chests merely contained professional materials. Since Hieronymus was already an "elderly bachelor" (40 years old), his family renounced all further claims. After all, they could expect to receive his inheritance as well.

In the Netherlands

Once settled in Brussels, Hieronymus, by now recognized as an important sculptor, received one assignment after another. In 1645, when Jacques Franquart, court architect of the Governor General, fell ill, Hieronymus was appointed as his assistant. He succeeded Franquart after his death in 1651. Between 1643 and 1654 his talents flourished. His works from this period can still be seen in Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent.

On 8 August, 1651, Hieronymus signed a contract with Bishop Triest, concerning his mausoleum. This makes it clear that the assignment was given to Hieronymus, and not to François, as the Aydama-Mariette tradition claimed. The work had to be carried out within two years, starting on 1 January, 1652.¹¹

Antonius Triest, the seventh bishop of Ghent, was a fascinating character, containing many contrasts. As a patron he provided the Saint Bavo Cathedral with entirely new furnishings, paid for out of personal donations and the establishment of a special fund. He was a benefactor of the Counter Reformation Baroque style.¹² As a prelate he was a diplomat and a politician. As a philanthropist he was the founder of the "Berg van Barmhartigheid" (Mountain of Mercy).¹³ In the last

years of his life he attempted to deprive the Jesuits, the preeminent propagandists of the Counter Reformation, of the confirmation classes, and refused to publish the papal denunciation of Jansenist principles.¹⁴

On 6 July, 1654, Duquesnoy arrived in Ghent and hired a room at the "Reep". During the next two months he and his assistants would be working on the construction of the mausoleum. The not yet fully completed statues were put up in a side chapel of the choir. The chapel was separated from the church by a curtain.¹⁵

Constant

Shortly after his arrival in Ghent, Duquesnoy, while working alone, met Constant de Somere.¹⁶ The boy, eight years old, was the son of a cobbler. Hieronymus took him to the chapel and bared the boy's arms in order to draw them. He handed him some small change as well.

The next morning Constant returned. Duquesnoy led the boy's hand to the front of his pants, "ordering him to grope and fumble the afore-mentioned sculptor's thing with his little hand, which he did, and that afore-mentioned sculptor touched and groped his thing as well...". Further, Duquesnoy asked Constant to take down his trousers and bend forward, and sodomized the boy. When the boy complained about the pain, Duquesnoy told him that it wasn't that bad. Before the boy left, he gave him three pennies and asked him to return the next day. He also told the boy not to speak about the occurrences of that morning.¹⁷

For a period of five weeks Constant was able to guard their secret, and returned regularly to the Saint Bavo Cathedral. He ran little errands for the artist, and often the boy himself made the first move toward sexual contact.¹⁸ About a dozen times the boy allowed himself to be sodomized by the artist. Once he even joined Duquesnoy in his lodging, where they had sexual contact as well. As a rule he collected two or three pennies each time.¹⁹

Jacobus

After five weeks Constant brought a young

friend along: Jacobus de Sterck, eleven years old and a choir boy at the Saint Niklaaskerk. From now on the boys regularly visited the chapel together, but they paid separate visits as well. Duquesnoy, it would seem, preferred his contacts with Jacobus, as indicated by the wider variety of sexual activities listed in the complaint, but also by overt displays of affection as, for instance, French kissing. Jacobus is cautioned to silence even "if he should be put in a dark well or whipped or hanged on the gallows."²⁰

One time Duquesnoy put both boys over a bench and sodomized them in turn,²¹ but most of the time he sodomized just one boy, even if they visited him together. If by chance someone came into the church, he would hide the boys in a large closet.²² During a period of three weeks both boys continued to visit the artist, either alone or together.

How the whole matter came to light isn't quite clear yet, though some indications seem to point in the direction of Constant's mother. She was well informed about her son's financial transactions with the sculptor. The boy told her, however, that he got the money for permitting himself to be drawn by the artist. By 30 August, however, she was completely convinced that Duquesnoy had had sexual contact with Constant. Preceding her statement to the court, the archives inform us that she had been directed by the pensionary Van De Vijvere to "examine the dirty vests that her afore-mentioned little son Constant wore on his body three or four months ago," and returned with the report that "among the afore-mentioned vests, two vests, in my judgement, appeared to show spots of human sperm on their backtails ..."²³

However, since Duquesnoy had been arrested on 31 August, and since the interrogations for which she was asked to provide this evidence had already begun, it is not clear if Constant's mother was the only complainant.²⁴ Considering the conditions under which the sexual contacts with the boys had taken place (in a side chapel, only shut off by a curtain), other regular attendants of the church might have detected them. Both curate Jan Van de Velde and canon Robert Vander Muelen paid daily visits to the cathedral.²⁵ Constant's statement also shows just how easily they

could have been found out by others. Before the arrest, the boy said, he had often visited the chapel and witnessed Hieronymus' and Jacobus' sexual activities, without being noticed by either of them²⁶.

The Trial

On 31 August, Constant and Jacobus were interrogated. They confessed immediately. Thereupon the two boys were confronted with one another, to determine whether their statements agreed. During his first interrogation on 31 August, at nine o'clock in the evening, Duquesnoy categorically denied all sexual contacts. He only admitted to once having asked Constant to take off his jerkin, in order to draw his chest. On that day statements of a doctor and Constant's mother were also recorded.

On 1 September, 1654 the second interrogation of Constant and Jacobus took place. During his second interrogation Duquesnoy continued to deny all accusations. Confronted by the artist, both boys accused him of having sodomized them. During the third interrogation on 3 September, Duquesnoy finally confessed under torture to all the charges.²⁷

Duquesnoy sought to question the jurisdiction of the Ghent sheriffs' court. As His Majesty's architect, he took the view that he should be summoned before the Royal Magistrate in Brussels. Subsequently, on 2 September, 1654, he sent a similar request to the King by way of his Privy Council. On 4 September, he renewed his appeal and complained about the Ghent magistrate, who had confiscated all of his furniture and other belongings. The Privy Council ordered the Ghent magistrate to officially release the artist's possessions, but then the Privy Council itself confiscated all of them, including his chest in Ghent.

On 10 September, the Ghent magistrates sent a counter recommendation to the Privy Council, stating that such a crime could not possibly remain unpunished, even if it was just to set an example. But Brussels' decision was not forthcoming, so a delegation from the Ghent sheriffs' court set off for Brussels to speed the matter, with a request to be allowed to proceed with the sentence.

Meanwhile, on 4 September, some of the sculptor's friends appealed directly to Archduke Leopold, the Governor General, in a letter, to ask him to have Duquesnoy brought before the Royal Court. On 17 September they renewed their request in a second letter, supported by Bishop Tricast. But this time they acknowledged his guilt, and asked the Governor General that, after a verdict from whatever court had proper jurisdiction, "his deserved death penalty would be commuted to life imprisonment, so his crime would be kept a secret, without remaining unpunished, and that the talent of this extraordinary artist would be saved for Art, and that he would be in service of His Serene Highness for the long period of his imprisonment."

Regarding jurisdiction the Privy Council returned an unfavourable opinion to Archduke Leopold. Because of the heinous nature of his crime, they advised that Duquesnoy be denied access to the Royal Magistrate. Furthermore the Council recommended that the Archduke not relieve the artist, and allow the Ghent sheriffs to have their own way. The Governor General approved their recommendation. On 25 September, the official decree arrived in Ghent: the Ghent sheriffs' court was allowed now to carry out the sentence and to confiscate Duquesnoy's property for the benefit of the King.

On 28 September, the sheriffs' court pronounced judgement: "... and, considering all, doing justice, we sentence you to be tied to a stake and to be burned to ashes in the Corn Market of this town, seizing and confiscating all your goods, wherever they may be, without any exception, all costs of the process of justice to be charged against the same." The artist was executed the same day, somewhere around noon. Hieronymus Duquesnoy was strangled at the stake. They burned his body afterwards. The Franciscans celebrated twelve requiem masses to secure the repose of the victim's soul.²⁸

Sodomy and Paedophilia

In a previous article²⁹ we have seen that, in earlier centuries, the term 'sodomy' referred to a much wider concept. It meant, among other things, any sexual activities between two persons

of the same sex, and not just anal sexual intercourse. Even if Duquesnoy had not had anal intercourse with the boys, he could have been charged with sodomy and sentenced anyway.

Nowadays we would describe the occurrences in terms of paedophilia or paedosexuality. In the 17th century, however, such terminology was utterly unknown. It was between the 16th and 18th centuries that the idea of separate age groups, each possessing special qualities, began to emerge. The category of 'children' was beginning to emerge: children were classified as 'child' until higher ages, and 'adult', on the other hand, became a more rigid category separate from 'child'. However, the separation between these two age groups was not nearly as rigid as our modern concepts might prejudice us to believe.³⁰

Nevertheless, even for those days Constant's and Jacobus' ages were considered to be low, and indeed in the various records they are often referred to in diminutives. Even so, the fact that the boys were categorized as children did not in and of itself constitute a separate crime. Apparently there was no specific law yet on sodomy with children, and Hieronymus Duquesnoy's sentence would not have been any less severe if his partner had been an adult man.

Courts in that period proceeded from the premise of the defendant's guilt. It was the duty of the accused to prove his innocence. So Hieronymus Duquesnoy found himself in an impossible position. The fact that the boys had visited him and returned regularly was not taken into account by the sheriffs' court. The court, however, did pronounce upon the competence and reason of the boys, and judged "that in the afore-mentioned children no trace of noticeable malice is found..."³¹ The boys were thus judged to show insufficient power of discernment between good and evil.

The investigation must have been a traumatic experience for the boys. During the period of the interrogation they were lodged in the Alexian monastery.³² The way the boys were questioned was sufficiently traumatizing. Constant's straightforward answering of the questions, even detailed ones about the artist's orgasms and seminal discharges, would suggest that the interrogation was not so difficult for him. Jacobus, on the

other hand, at first tried to equivocate,³³ which provoked even more detailed questions, and in his shaky attempt to pretend that he had not completely grasped the meaning of the occurrences, he provided even more information than Constant.

When the boys were told to reconstruct the occurrences and were forced to show the assembled sheriffs, how, bending over a table, Duquesnoy had sodomized them both, one might well expect the sheriffs to have vented their indignation, but one wonders what purpose was served by such a humiliating display, and how this demonstration could possibly have added to the investigation.³⁴ The medical examination of the "forcing of the fundamentals" of the boys must have been an humiliating experience as well. The purpose might have been, however, to verify the truthfulness of their statements. Once this was established, the testimonies were sufficient.³⁵

In their answers, the boys tried to put all the blame on the artist. The sheriffs would not have raised the question of their complicity: all questions were focused on proving Duquesnoy's guilt. Even when the boys told that they returned after their first contact with the artist, the court waved

it aside. And when Duquesnoy confessed during his last interrogation, but pointed out that the boys had sometimes asked for the sexual contacts themselves—which he refused a few times³⁶—this made, apparently, no difference to the sheriffs.

The legal costs were paid out of the artist's confiscated estate. The accounts which are attached provide some data on the boys' future course of life. Both of them were banished, Jacobus for a period of six years. To regulate the procedure, a contract was made with Gheraerdt De Somere, Constant's father, for which he received twelve pounds, to "keep him [Jacobus] out of the country." Another contract was made with Pauwels De Zaedeleer on "the least boy [Constant], who was sent to Spain."³⁷ Both banishments are punishments without judgement of guilt.³⁸ Nonetheless, the banishment indicates that the sheriffs' court, as well as Constant's parents,³⁹ attributed some responsibility to the boys, quite contrary to what the records seem to say about them "showing no traces of noticeable malice"! After all, their punishments were severe as well.

NOTES

1. Stadsarchief Gent (hereafter S.A.G.) 215/2, Criminal Sentences. Sentence of Hieronymus Duquesnoy. All later sentences of the Ghent Sheriffs' Court have been examined, and there are no further sentences for sodomy.

2. J. Buntinx, "Jeroom Duquesnoy en het praalgraf van bisschop Triest in de St.-Baafskathedraal te Gent," *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, new series IV, 1949, pages 106-7. A part of the surface had yet to be polished.

3. *Winkler Prins Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam/U-

trecht: Elsevier, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 250-4.

4. A.K.L. Thijs, "Nijverheid in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1980), vol. 7, pp. 86-97, especially pp. 89-93.

5. M. van Roose, "De Beeldhouwkunst in de 17de E.," *Gent: Duizend jaar kunst en cultuur* (Ghent: Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 491-6, especially pp. 492-3.

6. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Les Duquesnoy," *Wallonie: Arts en Histoire* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1970) Nr. 4, pp. 37-ff.

7. E. Dhanens, *De Sint Baafskathedraal* (Ghent: Provinciebestuur van Oostvlaanderen,

1965), p. 121.

8. van Roose, op. cit., p. 492.

9. P.J. Mariette (1694-1774) was the foremost print dealer and private art collector of his era in France. In connection with his dealing and collecting he amassed an encyclopedic file on the lives and work of artists, which was published in six volumes after his death as the **Abecedaire de P.J. Mariette* (ed. P. Chennevières and A. de Montaignon; Paris: Demoulin, 1853-4; reprint ed. Paris: Nobelet, 1962). His entry for Hieronymus Duquesnoy (Vol. 2, pp. 137-ff) consists largely of the text of a letter from a correspondent, H. Eydama, written from Paris on 27 June, 1766.

While his report of the trial suggests familiarity with the trial documents, Eydama misses no opportunity to blacken Hieronymus' reputation with additional allegations of drunkenness and lewdness in Italy, murdering his brother, and stealing both François' estate from their family and his artistic legacy in the form of plans for Bishop Triest's mausoleum, which he asserts was commissioned from François (*ed.*).

10. E. de Busscher, "Les sculpteurs Du Quesnoy, Delvaux, Calloigne," *Annales de la société Royale des Beaux Arts* (Ghent, 1877), pp. 305-440, especially pp. 396-402. For general facts concerning Hieronymus Duquesnoy's life, this article will rely upon this biography, which is the most thorough account of his life and the source used by later biographers. Specific additions for this article are footnoted. De Busscher gives less information over the trial itself.

11. Buntinx, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-ff.

12. van Roose, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-3.

13. R. Mathijs, *Iconografie van bisschop Triest* (n.p., 1939), pp. 28-31.

14. V. Fris, *Histoire de Gand* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1913), p. 250.

15. The tradition that the two boys served as models for the putti on the mausoleum cannot be born out. It would have been entirely impossible for the sculptor to have made the putti in the short time he was in Ghent. Further, boys of 8 and 11 would have been too old to

serve as models for putti. Regarding this tradition, see "Criminele sententiën," Centrale Bibliotheek, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Ms. 59. p. 129:

On 28 September in the Corn Market in Ghent justice was done to François Cannoy [sic], master sculptor, because he (producing the memorial of Bishop Antonius Triest in Saint Jan's Church, in a separate place, with the images upon which he worked) did commit sodomy on two servants, being choristers of the same church, one being about eight years of age, the other being about twelve, explaining he had made them naked in order to produce angels. The sentence being carried out about 12 hours, forenoon, this same Cannoy was strangled and thereafter burned to ashes on 28 Sept. 1654.

This handwritten 18th century manuscript contains many errors regarding the case of Hieronymus Duquesnoy, but is the oldest source to which the tradition that the boys were models for the putti can be traced. It is interesting that so soon after the execution the two Duquesnoys were being confused.

16. This is supported by the dossier in the Stadsarchief van Gent, S.A.G. 213/15. Both de Busscher and A. van Lokeren ("Jérôme Duquesnoy", *Messenger des sciences et des arts*, 1833, pp. 462-5) are mistaken about the name. Both the Dutch and French versions of the interro-

gations clearly give the name as "Constant" and not "Tous-saint".

17. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Constant de Somere, 31 August.

18. S.A.G. 213/15: third and final interrogation of Hieronymus Duquesnoy, 3 Sept. 1654.

19. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Constant de Somere, 31 August.

20. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Jacobus de Sterck, 31 August.

21. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Constant de Somere, and first interrogation of Jacobus de Sterck, 31 August.

22. S.A.G. 213/15: first confrontation of Constant and Jacobus, 31 August.

23. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Kathelijne Dammans, mother of Constant de Somere, 31 August, 1654. Duquesnoy had usually wiped off his member on the boys' shirt tails: second interrogation of Constant and second interrogation of Jacobus, 1 Sept. 1654.

24. O. Roelandts, *De beeldhouwers Duquesnoy, vader en zoon* (Ghent: n.d.) suggests that Constant's mother was the complainant. But because her examination of Constant's shirt happened in response to a request from the magistrate, the investigation must have already been under way.

25. Buntinx, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

26. S.A.G. 213/15: first interrogation of Constant de Somere, 31 August.

27. S.A.G. 213/15: Dutch report: third interrogation of Hieronymus Duquesnoy, 3

Sept., 1654.

28. De Busscher, op. cit., pp. 368-80. As previously noted, this article relies on those portions of de Busscher's biography which were based on documents in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels. Identical documents and manuscripts are present in the Stadsarchief Gent, S.A.G. 103/8, and were examined for this article. They support the accuracy of de Busscher's work.

29. G. Debeuckelaere, "Verkeerd zijn in Beroerde Tijden: De Gentse sodomietenprocessen van 1578," *De Homokrante*, March, 1981, pp. 3-6.

* 30. M.W. van Ussel, *Geschiedenis van het seksuele probleem* (Meppel: Boom, 1968), pp. 132-3.

31. S.A.G. 213/15: after the final interrogation of Hieronymus Duquesnoy, 3 Sept. 1654.

32. S.A.G. 213/15: invoices appended to the case.

33. S.A.G. 213/15: first inter-

rogation of Jacobus de Sterck, 31 August. Jacobus first said that Duquesnoy had penetrated him with his finger. Under further questioning he admitted that it had been done with his penis.

34. S.A.G. 213/15: second interrogation of Jacobus de Sterck, 31 August 1654 and confrontation of the children with Hieronymus Duquesnoy, 1 Sept. 1654.

35. S.A.G. 213/15: declaration of Dr. Laureyns Mannesse, 31 August 1654.

36. S.A.G. 213/15: final interrogation of Hieronymus Duquesnoy, under torture, 3 September 1654.

37. S.A.G. 213/15: invoices appended to the case materials. De Busscher, op. cit. p. 380, reports that Toussaint (i.e., Constant) was banned to Spain and that Jacobus was banned from Flanders. He gives no source for this. Roelandts, op. cit., p.

60, gives the details of the banning as in this article. In *Baratzearte* (2nd. ed., 1965, pp. 147-9) Johan Daisne mentions Duquesnoy's trial and the banning of the boys. He bases his account on an article from the *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* from 1961 by Dr. K. van Acker. Although he probably read through the files, the article is anything but accurate. Even the boys' punishments are stated incorrectly.

38. S.A.G. 215/2, "Criminal sentences" also shows no judgements under the boys' names.

39. Considering that the banning of Jacobus de Sterck was carried out through a contract with Gheraerdt de Somere (Constant's father), and the fact that there were no witnesses on behalf of Jacobus at his interrogations, it is possible to conclude that Jacobus was an orphan.

***J.M.W. ('Jos') van Ussel**



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BOOK REVIEWS

De pedagogische Eros in het geding—Gustav Wyneken en de pedagogische vriendschap in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1906-1931

Thijs C.M.M. Maasen (Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988), 208 pages

Let no one be dissuaded from reading this book by the fact that it served as a doctoral thesis, for its Dutch style is pleasant and clear, quite accessible to anyone with an interest in problems of pedagogy. Only the footnotes remind us of the extensive scientific work and the intensive research the author invested in this magnificent study.

To most of us, Gustav Wyneken is now a nearly forgotten name. Some may remember that he was the main figure in E. Ebermayer's key-novel *Kampf um Odilienberg* (Berlin, 1929). But in the 1920's in Germany, Wyneken was at the center of a heated debate.

Gustav Wyneken, born in 1875 as the son of a Lutheran clergyman, founded in 1906 the Free School Community Wickersdorf, in order to realise his pedagogical ideals. Personal discord led him to leave it in 1910. During the First World War he took an active part in the German youth movement, and as soon as peace returned and Germany became a republic he received an official appointment in the Ministry of Instruction. His ambitions for a career in politics miscarried, however, as his efforts to reform the school system in Prussia and Bavaria met with violent opposition. In 1919 he felt himself compelled to renounce his ministerial function, and returned to Wickersdorf. Here his leadership was equally short-lived. Toward the end of 1920 he was accused of sexual indecency with some of his pupils and in 1921 a criminal procedure was instituted against him. In spite of his passionate defense, he was sentenced to one year in prison. This judgment was confirmed by the Court of Appeal. But an amnesty in 1923 saved Wyneken from actually serving his sentence.

Dr. Maasen reproduces the official documents of the trial and further deals extensively with the reactions to this famous affair in the contemporary press and public opinion, those in defense of Wyneken as well as the unfavourable comments on his activities and attitudes. Portraits of boys he loved and numerous quotations from Wyneken's correspondence with them and from the diary of one of his young friends enliven the picture.

Wyneken was evidently what we may call a difficult personality, and I cannot say that the general impression with which this book leaves me is one of sympathy

for him. In two positions he took at his trial I see dishonesty, one that is to be pardoned, the second less easily excusable.

Wyneken's contention during his trial that his actions with the students had no sexual intention can be pardoned. As the court excluded the presence of public and press, our knowledge about what happened during the sessions is limited to the documents formulating the accusation and the final sentence. Wyneken was accused of indecent activities on several occasions with a seventeen year old and a twelve year old pupil, in the period that he was their teacher. According to the judges it was proven that Wyneken had locked the door of the bedroom, persuaded the seventeen year old Viktor Behrens to take off his clothes, and then, himself also naked, had embraced the adolescent upon his bed, hugging him tightly, fondling him, kissing Viktor on his mouth, while Wyneken's sexual organ pressed against the boy's belly. In the case of the twelve year old Heinz Hermann, Wyneken had during an excursion shared a bedroom with him. He had asked the boy to undress and come to him in his bed. As Heinz did so, Wyneken, after spreading a bath-towel under their bodies, placed his erect penis between the boy's thighs and there moved it up and down until he ejaculated. He then wiped the ejaculate from the boy's legs and told him to go back to his own bed. Wyneken denied having gone as far as this, but the court did not believe him, and stated that even his own version of the events would have been sufficient to convict him of indecent assault. Wyneken, in his defense, further maintained that whatever he had done with these pupils should not be considered as a sexual activity, but as an expression of pedagogical eros.

Maasen took Wyneken as the subject of his study because he was the catalyst for a wide-spread discussion in the German youth movement concerning pedagogical eros, and probably not because his pedagogical ideals were so particularly interesting in themselves. For Wyneken, true education only started at puberty, and the family was not the right institution to deal with it. The family was for protection, not education. In regard to Wyneken's thinking on education, one of

Maasen's opponents at his doctoral defense said sarcastically that Wyneken might have considered himself a profound thinker about education, but that his theories dealt only with boys and excluded girls. Moreover, these theories were not about all boys, but only those after puberty; and not about all boys after puberty, but only the intelligent ones; and not about all intelligent boys after puberty, but only the handsome ones. A rather limited field for a "general" theory! There is some truth in this sarcasm, as Wyneken's education was only intended for an "elite". Wyneken detested bourgeois pedagogy with its "sentimental cult of individual personality". His school was intended to render a boy a "creative genius", to integrate him, with his knowledge and his will, in a "spiritual army", the Spirit (*Geist*) being a supra-individual collective consciousness, a community consciousness, bearer of humanity's spiritual good. The Wickersdorf boy should "communicate with this Spirit", understand its language, "fathom the absolute eternal values of ideas and works of art", thus distinguishing himself from the "common people". Wyneken's followers stressed this distinction by their dress and by employing a special jargon. In this sense the school resembled a religious order and Wyneken saw himself as a "Saviour", leading his youngsters to sanctity, to the nobility of a superior conception of life.

The school was in favour of coeducation, but the girls remained always in a second-rate position. They could never attain to the level of the boys, for these were favoured by a special relationship to an adult mentor. In his views concerning this special relationship, Wyneken was influenced by the poet Stefan George (1868-1933), who considered himself to be the ideal spiritual father, the great master, the charismatic leader of a favourite, aristocratic boy. George wanted to unite himself with those adolescents who had turned away from their physical father.

The *paidierastia* of ancient Greece was, of course, a shining example, but for modern education Wyneken rejected the sexual relationship it undoubtedly implied. There had to be sensuality between mentor and pupil, but this should be chaste sensuality, without gross genital activity. It had therefore nothing in common with homosexuality as described by Magnus Hirschfeld. But he recognized that in boys after puberty there existed an erotic attraction to the adult mentor, a desire to be loved by him, to follow him, to belong to him, to participate in his higher life. Likewise there was on the other hand, as a natural phenomenon, the erotic, boy-loving desire of the adult man, wanting to be a benefactor of youth.

Inevitably, the reality of daily life in Wickersdorf was often far beneath these elevated conceptions. Even

among the teachers there were passionate struggles, one group of men and boys bent on an ascetic life, rejecting modern commodities, while others on the contrary accepted the consumption of alcoholic drinks, tobacco and jazz music.

Hermann Klein, at 16, dedicating his private diary to his venerated mentor Wyneken, belonged to the first group. What women call love, he wrote, was only sexual impulse and bestial. According to him, all pleasure was vile. Wyneken certainly didn't go to such extremes. On the contrary, in his opinion the spiritual relationships, as they were common between teachers and pupils in his school, were always connected with sexuality, even if this sexuality was not "genitally oriented". He considered that such love relationships were, for boys at a certain age, normal and required by nature. In the hugging and embracing of a naked boy by his naked teacher, such as that of which he at his trial stood accused, Wyneken saw the mentor giving his body just like Christ offered his body to his disciples. He called it a daring act, a renewal, even if clearly opposite to popular conceptions. Wyneken's judges, however, decided that he had acted to satisfy his sensual appetite. This, in their eyes, constituted a criminal indecency.

Today, boy-lovers who accept their own nature, after nearly seventy years of discussion and study of sexuality, have less difficulty in recognizing the sexual content of such activities without rejecting them at the same time. Hans Licht (pseudonym of Paul Brandt), whose ideas were shaped by his profound research into Greek antiquity and "Greek Love", was one of the few contemporaries able to take this point of view. He said simply, "Wyneken's only guilt was that of living in twentieth century Germany with a Greek soul."

Wyneken was perhaps blind to the nature of his own urges when he argued that in the physical expression of his "pedagogical Eros"—or at least in his relationships with some of his favourite boys—there was only a slight touch of sexuality. It was downright sexual. But in his eyes and those of his contemporaries, sexual activities, even loving and tender consensual sexual activities with a boy, could never be considered as pedagogically beneficial. Even in our times such a view is accepted by only a tiny minority.

Maasen rightly observes that the concept of pedagogical eros has nearly completely disappeared from the vocabulary of contemporary pedagogy. It is to be regretted that he at this point did not mention the opinion of some current left-wing German groups, which reject the idea of pedagogical eros not because of the "eros" but because it is "pedagogical". One such view is expressed in the declaration of the Pädosexuellen-gruppe in der Homosexuelle Aktion Hamburg, printed

in Hohmann's *Pädophilie Heute* (Frankfurt: Förster, 1980). These groups entirely approve sexual activities between friends belonging to different generations, but are violently opposed to the older partner posing as a wiser and more experienced mentor. According to them, man and boy are equals, for children are not incomplete human beings that have in some way to be guided, shaped, formed or, in other words, to be educated. As Reinacher and Schärer put it, we ought to recognize the child unconditionally as a full-fledged human being, whose tendencies, desires and needs are to be respected in any situation.

If education is conceived as a justification for drilling youth mentally (in religion, morals, politics, choice of profession, etc.) and bodily (manners, sports, dress, haircut, etc.) in order to mould a youngster into a replica of the educator or his ideal image, then we do well to reject it. But the word may be used in another, more acceptable sense too. Children are born in such a condition that they cannot survive without the assistance of older persons, and every child is destined to live in a society which is not freely created by us, but to which we belong, even if we find abundant reason to criticise it on many points. Therefore every child is unavoidably subject to a process of growth and adaptation. The acceptable meaning of education is to accompany the child during this process of growth, thereby providing protection against mistakes which might prove fatal, and helping the child to pick itself up after other less threatening mistakes, and finally, to build a bridge over which this young being finds a way into society as the unique, unrepeatable entity he or she is.

To treat as equal those who aren't equal is theatre, hypocrisy. Child and adult are equal as human beings and therefore equally entitled to respect. Upon the road of life, however, the adult and the child have not covered the same distance, and we commit an injustice toward the child if we deny this difference. As the process of entering into society never brings only progress and profit to a human being, the child may lose much of the capacity for spontaneity, frankness and vitality. In these aspects the child is certainly superior to the adult. His greater experience may perhaps enable the adult to teach the younger friend new methods, new approaches. His larger knowledge may help to solve problems, to enrich him. But this does not reduce the child to an "object of education". Education should always be a partnership. As the German professor Kentler says rightly in his book about sexual education, it is the secret of love to have a pedagogical influence without the intention of being pedagogical.

With this insight we are far away from Wyneken and Wickersdorf. There pedagogical eros was very much intended as a pedagogy. The leader was the

leader of a group of pupils, the *kameradschaft* (comradeship). And here we come to the second point on which Wyneken seems to me dishonest, and I think it less pardonable than the first. He pretended to affirm an equality between mentor and pupil, marking the actual situation by the word *Kameradschaft* and allowing the boys to say *Du* to their teacher. But this teacher was entitled to the adoration of a number of boys, while he himself was exacting from every individual boy a love excluding all other similar relationships. To a pupil who made friends with another Wyneken wrote, upbraiding him, "Is it possible to love two persons?" He had, of course, his inner difficulties with the fact that boys grow older and cease to be boys. But as long as a boy belonged to his *Kameradschaft*, Wyneken wanted him to be exclusively his, for "nobody can serve two masters". Mark it well: the older partner is now suddenly no longer a comrade but a master! To fifteen year old Herbert Könitzer, Wyneken even dictates the precise words with which the boy must put off the master's rival and break off his connections with him, and closes

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his letter to Herbert, "This would be my letter to him. But you should of course never make mention of me. You know, I'm not meddling and you are entirely free." And later—Herbert is then sixteen—Wyneken asks him, "Do you feel that my company, my love and friendship, my guidance is indispensable, necessary, decisive for your life, or not? ... If you are feeling: I belong to you, I want to be with you, I want to be led, taught, illuminated and filled by you, if you trust this to be the greatest, most beautiful possibility of your young life, then I also am completely devoted to you."

It is difficult to reconcile such expressions with Wyneken's declaration at his trial that in Wickersdorf there were no pedagogical relations of dependency, so that the section of the Penal Code referring to the dependence of pupil on teacher could not be applied to the contacts he had with the boys of his *Kameradschaft*.

Maasen rightly concludes that the problems concerning pedagogical eros that arose at Wickersdorf could partly be explained by the leadership personified in Wyneken. Wyneken was too often convinced that he possessed a monopoly on truth. It was in his character to be domineering, wanting to impose his will everywhere. The only thing we can say about this is that so many people with the nature of a tyrant seem to believe, in apparent good faith, that they are paragons of

democracy, respecting the views and desires of their followers, and only persuading them by the sheer reasonableness of their arguments.

If there was one thing I missed in Maasen's brilliant study, it was his own opinion about the facts he relates. Throughout the book he remains the objective chronicler, relating meticulously what happened and what were the comments of contemporary writers, but he never tells us his own impressions, his own opinions. Was he convinced by Wyneken's arguments? What does he think about the way Wyneken treated his favourite boys? Did he find Wyneken unjustly sentenced or not? We'd like to know the feelings of someone who so intensively relived the whole drama and made such an extensive research about the period. Some passages may assist us to make a reasonable guess, but that is all.

If Maasen did hide from us the contents of his mind, he gave us in any case abundant material for reflection concerning this fascinating theme, the pedagogical implications of boy love.

Edward Brongersma



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Die Knabenliebe in Mittelasien

Ingeborg Baldauf *Ethnizität und Gesellschaft. Occasional Papers* Nr. 17 (Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1988), 116 pages

On the first page of her interesting book, Ingeborg Baldauf states that the Uzbek expression *bacabozlik* should be translated as 'boyplay' instead of 'boylove', but she nevertheless uses the term 'Knabenliebe' in her title. The information she presents was gathered in 1978, before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. She suggests that the boyplay, already viewed with contempt by Westernized Afghan intellectuals, has in the last ten years lost most of its terrain—in the same way it was destroyed on the other side of the Russian border, in Uzbekistan, in the period 1880-1930, when the communists completed the cultural vandalism started under the czarist government.

The book consists of four sections: first, the practice of boyplay is described; second, a consideration of the folksongs sung by the boys about their loves; third, an overview of the terminology used; and fourth, a comparison with Greek and Chinese paederasty. In a concluding appendix Baldauf gives an historical analysis of the destruction of the culture of boylove in Soviet Uzbekistan.

Baldauf estimates that a third or a half of the adult males participate at some time in their life in the boyplay. The boys are 10 to 18 years of age; their lovers are adult males, often married. There seems to be a milieu, involving both locations and festivities, where the boys dance and sing and meet their lovers. These social gatherings are unfortunately not described in the book. There are three different ways for the boys to enter the world of boyplay: they are invited by a lover; they are introduced into it by their fathers, who hope to obtain financial returns from it; or they are more or less sold by their fathers to pimps who prostitute the boys outside the milieu of the boyplay. Baldauf gives no information on this last phenomenon because she did not see it—and it is a quite distinct situation, where the boys do not sing and dance as in the boyplay, but are sexually exploited.

In the boyplay itself much energy goes into seduction and resistance, but in the end the boy will give himself to a lover with whom he exchanges kisses and intimacies, but rarely sex. Only in the end, as a culmination of a protracted love-affair, is sexual pleasure permitted. The boys are well paid by the lovers for these intimacies. According to Baldauf, the men desire these loves and intimacies because they do not find them in their marriages or other heterosexual affairs; the boys are interested in it for financial reasons. In the lovesongs, the discrepancy between the perceptions of the lovers and the boys is made quite explicit. Among these lovesongs, Baldauf differentiates and specifies a series which stems from "high poetry" and which touches upon eternal themes such as love, distress and death.

The boys need a certain education to enter into the boyplay. They have to know how to dance and sing and how to dress and conduct themselves. Their clothes give them a girl-like appearance, another theme joked about in the lovesongs. Their socialization into the boyplay, and the easy financial gains they obtain there, make their eventual transition into adulthood rather difficult. The boys are accustomed to having money, and they will not easily find a profession which is as remunerative as the boyplay was. Quite a number of them seem to enter criminal underworlds, especially the world of gambling which is loosely connected with the boyplay.

In the lovesongs and terminology Baldauf discerns two versions of boyplay: the high-culture and the popular culture, or degenerate. In the same way that ancient Greek paederasty degenerated—an opinion she accepts from Harald Patzer's *Die Griechische Knabenliebe*, 1982—so contemporary Afghan boyplay should be seen as a pitiful shadow of a traditional cultural system of more substantial content. It is certain that the Uzbek boyplay is falling into decay because of the Westernization of the country, and that financial considerations

play a more prominent role, but I doubt that in Afghan—or Greek—paederasty the idealised form existed before the "lower" form. As with courtly love in the West, there would not be a chronological succession from higher to lower forms of love, but both would have been co-existent. I suspect rather that they arose from class differences—perhaps with the upper classes indulging in the lower loves, and rationalizing to themselves, in their songs and poetry, that they adhered to the higher love! Thanks to Baldauf's study, we can imagine how Plato's *Symposium*, which praises eros, could have been dependent on a system of very physical, paederastic sex.

With the information Baldauf gives us, we get a rich presentation of the Afghan boyplay, so that we have a faint idea of what a decade of communist rule will have destroyed.

Gert Hekma

Het Belang van de Ervaring

Theo Sandfort (Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988), 256 pages

In his autobiographical novel, *Voor een Verloren Soldaat* (For a lost soldier), the Dutch choreographer Rudi van Dantzig describes how, at the end of World War II, a twelve year old boy is taken from hungry Amsterdam to a rural area where there is still plenty of food. As the liberators arrive, the boy meets a Canadian soldier. What evolves is a mixture of rather violent sex, fear, disgust—and affection. The boy returns to the soldier time and again, and finally, when he returns to Amsterdam, he almost desperately searches the streets, hoping that his soldier has come to the city as well. In interviews after the publication of the novel, the author made it clear that he had been this boy, and that this experience had been important to his life.

I could not help being reminded of van Dantzig's novel as I read Dr. Theo Sandfort's dissertation, *Het Belang van de Ervaring* (The importance of the experience). I kept wondering about the problem of where in figures and statistics van Dantzig's living experiences could be stored. Sandfort's research also deals with such aspects as coercive and mutually consenting sexual acts between adults and youths, as well as the consequences of such acts in later life. Literature is a different world from sociology—and van Dantzig would have been too old to take part in Sandfort's research sample!—but it does provide us with an oppor-

tunity to share in van Dantzig's experiences.

This is not a criticism of Sandfort's dissertation, which may be a landmark in its field. One cannot ask that a scientific book which deals mainly with statistical material be compared with literature. My criticism of this book is that the writing is flat and it makes reading the dissertation almost as major a task as mastering all the figures must have been for its author. I understand that a popular edition will appear soon in Dutch, and later in English.

A fundamental bias is introduced into most research concerning intergenerational sex because of the nature of the research samples. According to Sandfort, most of the persons constituting the sample for most research, at one time or another in life, have had encounters with social workers or legal authorities. Further, many of those conducting the research *a priori* consider intergenerational sexual contacts as *abuse*, even when those whom they define as "victims" stress that they voluntarily engaged in such activities and enjoyed them. In some cases the researchers have stated explicitly that all intergenerational sexual contacts must be defined as abuse because such contacts are at odds with the norms and values of society. Sandfort, in an exemplary manner, tries to remain an objective researcher: he is neither a partisan for the paedophile cause nor a guardian of established social values. He set out to put to the test the hypothesis that sexual acts between youths under sixteen, with either persons their own age or adults, if engaged in voluntarily, might have positive effects on their later lives, including their sexual adjustments. As a corollary he proposes that coercive early childhood sexual experiences might cause physical, psychological and sexual problems. In order to test these hypotheses he assembled a sample of boys and girls between 18 and 23, and divided it into sub-samples on the basis of whether they had no sexual experience with another person before the age of sixteen, or a history of voluntary or coerced (or a combination of both) contacts with persons their own age or adults.

Conscientiously, Sandfort states the limits of his research. Despite his efforts to assemble a sample that would be representative of Dutch youth at large, he did not succeed. The fact that his research was retrospective introduces the danger that memory is distorted. He did not distinguish between the different ages at which those involved had experienced their sexual contacts. Problems arising from such experiences might only come to light much later in life, and could perhaps be detected only in longitudinal study. Examining the effects of early childhood experiences on sexual desire, arousal, fear and satisfaction cannot, ultimately, be free of moral judgments; desire, arousal, fear and satisfaction will always be subject to moral judgements by

all concerned. Despite the use of advanced statistical techniques, there are limits to what they can reveal. There is the danger that the interviews themselves may give a specific colour to some of the things those who were interviewed related.

In his research Sandfort included questions about the family background of the youths who were interviewed, the importance of religion for their parents, the information about sexuality which they were given, sexual permissiveness on the part of their parents, whether the parents were emotionally warm or cold. Also, such matters as experience with masturbation before the sixteenth year were taken into account, and indeed this turned out to be of major importance, at least for later sexual experience.

It is virtually impossible to go into the many details and nuances of Sandfort's research and results. As might be expected, coerced sexual acts have a negative effect on later sexual life, especially when these contacts were experienced as a significant attack on physical integrity, when they were felt to have greater personal consequences, and when these contacts had occurred with adults. On the other hand, voluntarily engaging in such activities, including with adults, was evaluated as having a positive effect. Again, Sandfort carefully points out that his research did not uncover all the interrelated factors, and that although his results more or less confirmed his hypothesis, this was not so in every case. Nevertheless, he agrees with other authorities that sexual desire, arousal and satisfaction are, like other social behaviour, acquired skills.

In his ever-careful manner, Sandfort concludes that moral attitudes are not exclusively dictated by empirical data, and that his research does not necessarily support an alternative to current moral judgments about sexual relationships, but if moral rules are to be applied, it should be noted that there are many gradations of "coercive" sexual contacts. In such a statement, it seems to me that Sandfort is carrying "scientific objectivity" too far. Certainly moral attitudes are seldom dictated by empirical research; at best they are to some extent corrected by such data. More often, empirical data are accepted or rejected on the basis of one's moral attitudes, while at the same time much data on controversial subjects is biased by the moral attitudes (or partisanship) of the investigator—as Sandfort himself pointed out. The acceptance or rejection of such data should, of course, be based on whether or not the researcher was, as far as possible, able to remain free of any kind of prejudice. This is exactly the point where Sandfort's merit lies, even if he errs on the side of over-caution.

Empirical research on the subject of intergenerational sex is in many ways inadequate, not least of all

because most samples that are the subject of such research are in no way representative. In that respect, Sandfort's research, although his sample may be more representative than one drawn only from "victims" referred by social workers and police officers, does not resolve the matter either. Upon reflection, I am left with the uneasy feeling that empirical research, at least in this and other controversial areas, doesn't have much to say about reality, but at best produces data that is relevant only to small segments of reality. We are all too familiar with the fact that, in social and political debate, people pick only that data which is beneficial to their point of view, in order to reshape reality according to their views. In the present debate on intergenerational sex, data such as Sandfort's, that provide a counterweight against a growing social hysteria, are more than welcome. Yet we should be aware that they, too, only tell and create a partial truth about human experience.

Theo van der Meer

Editor's Note:

Dr. Edward Brongersma is a former member of the Upper House of the Parliament of the Netherlands, where he was chairman of the Judicial Committee from 1968 until his retirement in 1977. The second volume of his study Loving Boys is expected to be published later this year.

Dr. Gert Hekma is a lecturer in Gay Studies at the University of Amsterdam. A translation of extracts from Baldauf's book will appear in issue number six of Paidika.

Theo van der Meer is a Research Fellow with the Faculty of Law at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, and Associate Editor of the Journal of Homosexuality.

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THE CUTTING EDGE OF TRUTH

Dr. John DeCecco **Paidika** 3

Kids are finding in paedophile relationships something that they cannot find in their parents.

Promoting love exclusively between men and boys is now important because it is not allowed.

René Schéerer **Paidika** 2

Dr. Gunter Schmidt **Paidika** 5

We should abandon age of consent limits. We should change the law so that the only thing that counts is the misuse or the abuse of power.

Criminal law serves to combat excesses. It does not settle interpersonal problems and should not interfere in mutually affective relationships.

H.J. Roethof **Paidika** 4

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