overlooking personal variety, a sodomite role – in which men from all strata of society participated.

When the extent of these subcultures was discovered in the Netherlands in 1730, it resulted in sometimes fierce persecutions that were to last well into the nineteenth century, even when sodomy itself no longer constituted a crime. Moreover, after several centuries of an official silence on the subject of same-sex behavior that was to prevent people from taking part in such behavior, with the persecution of sodomites a discourse about this behavior began that was to both educate and deter people. In this discourse sodomites at first became represented as a third gender in the society, which conceptualized the existence of only one sex, of complete male and incomplete female bodies. Popular psychology held that men who had given in to excess and gluttony and who (like women) had become insatiable would turn to sodomy, and once they had committed a same-sex act would continue the behavior. Gradually, when notions about the existence of two different biological sexes grew, the sodomite, as an effeminate man and a "he-whore," became a third sex, although in official discourse he blamed this condition on his lewd behavior. Sodomites themselves, who were able to consider themselves morally responsible beings - often devout men - despite the eternal damnation called upon them, started to offer resistance in the sense that they claimed the innateness of their condition, which was increasingly expressed in gendered terms. The public at large was the least articulate on this matter: by the mid-eighteenth century sodomites were indeed considered whores, a despicable species, which they remained well into this century. With different nuances the discourse that began in 1730 in the Netherlands contributed to the emergence of a popular belief about a third sex that eventually found a "scientific" articulation in the nineteenthcentury medical discourse on homosexuality by people like Karl Westphal and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.

CHAPTER FOUR

"A Female Soul in a Male Body":

Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion

in Nineteenth-Century Sexology

Gert Hekma

Introduction

Theories of homosexuality as a third sex gained ground in the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating with the sexuelle Zwischenstufen ("intermediate sexual types") of Magnus Hirschfeld around 1900.¹ Hirschfeld, who was central in the debate over the nature of homosexuality, also coined the term Transvestiten.² Since the turn of the century, the emerging received opinion had come to hold that "homosexuals" indeed belonged to a third sex of feminine men and masculine women. Representatives of "Uranians" or "homosexuals," such as Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, began to speak of themselves as feminine and belonging to a third sex and to transform this idea into a biological theory — which built on certain modes of behavior developed in the cultures of the "sodomites" and "mollies" of those and earlier days — on the origins of homosexuality. In the wake of Ulrichs, physicians followed suit and reframed his theory for medical use.

With the burgeoning of sexology in the second half of the nineteenth century, many new concepts and explanations were brought forth. New terms for same-sex preferences were constructed: "philopédie," "Urninge," "homosexual," "contrāre Sexualempfindung," which was translated into French and English as "sexual inversion." Most sexual concepts that have shaped our consciousness date from this period: exhibitionism, fetishism, sadomasochism and pedophilia as well as heterosexuality. Similarly, the terms sexual and sexuality achieved their present meaning around this time.

Homosexuality was most often explained as a kind of inborn gender inversion and was called a "hermaphrodisy of the mind." But to what extent may one view the sexual inversion of that period as a third gender? To explore this question, I shall review the development of theories of same-sex preferences from the 1840s through around World War I. Further, I shall discuss specific features of the "pederasts" worlds in relation to the new theories of homosexuality and the third-sex traits attributed to homosexuals, or Uranians.

Early Medical Theories of "Philopédie"

In 1848, the French sergeant Bertrand raped and mutilated the corpses of women he exhumed from their graves. It was a scandalous and widely publicized case, but its notoriety was even further prolonged by physicians who discussed his case in terms of an autonomous psychiatric disease, namely, an "erotic monomania." Sexual aberrations had long since been considered in terms of either cultural defects or the results of insanity, but with Bertrand, ideas about deviant sexual forms began to change dramatically.

Previously, psychiatrists had never shown much interest in sexuality. Since the time of S.A.D. Tissot, the predominant belief was that masturbation led to all kinds of physical and psychic defects, while the "heinous sin" itself resulted from failures in child development and rearing.⁵ Further, physicians often indicated that varying types of mental diseases were due to "excesses in drinking and sex." This in itself may have been an accurate assumption, for many inmates of the asylums did in fact suffer from advanced cases of syphilis, generally identified as "dementia paralytica," a recognized malady whose origin from venereal diseases was as yet unknown. As venereal diseases were mostly attributed to unrespectable behaviors, physicians paid very little attention to their causes. For similar reasons, masturbation was less a topic for respectable doctors than for educators or quacks. Physicians belonged to a rising profession that did not want to sully its image by discussing sexuality. For example, in La Médecine des passions (1841) J.B.F. Descuret discussed the passions of drinking and playing cards for money and fame, but he had little to say about the sexual passions.6 When sexuality was discussed by psychiatrists in their systems of insanity, it was only in terms of erotomania, nymphomania and satyriasis. Erotomania referred to an excessive erotic imagination, mostly attributed to women who supposed certain men to be in love with them. Nymphomania and satyriasis referred to excessive sexual desire in women and men, respectively.

The only medical arena in which sexuality received attention (other than ideas on masturbation and insanity) was in forensic medicine. Sexual crimes received some attention in important textbooks, which discussed rape and problems regarding childbirth and sodomy. The major text of the 1840s on sodomy was Heinrich Kaan's dissertation, which bore the promising title Psychopathia sexualis.7 Following Tissot, he believed that masturbation was the origin of all perversions and was itself the result of excessive fantasy. A vast array of secondary factors were also considered significant, including lustful parents, a sanguine temperament, the wrong living environment, bad food and a poor education. Kaan's theory, however, was very traditional, and the contents of his book did not fulfill the prospects of its precocious title.

In 1849, Claude François Michéa wrote an article on the case of Bertrand and thus became the first to modernize the theory of perversions. Even though Michéa's classification was traditional and based on the listings of forensic medicine, his explanation was completely new. Perversions, he stated, were inborn and, as such, were to be considered physiological failings. His primary example was not Bertrand's necrophilia but the Parisian pederast subculture. He spoke about philopédie ("love of boys") and defined its practitioners as effeminate men looking for same-sex relations.8 Given the recent findings of remnants of a uterus in men by the German doctor E.H. Weber - whose research was cited but whose name was not mentioned in the article - Michéa hypothesized that the feminine habits and preferences of same-sex lovers were perhaps rooted in biology. The effeminacy of the sodomites had of course been known for some time, and Honoré de Balzac had even called them a third sex.9 Michéa was the first, however, to

develop fully the theory that *philopédie* was an inborn phenomenon, and he thereby provided the basis of an identity and physiologically explained the effeminacy of these odd males.

Following Michéa, the medical literature on homosexuality grew quickly, and many authors supported and sustained his biological theory. In the 1850s, Johann Ludwig Casper, for instance, renewed discussion about the hermaphrodisy of the pederast's mind, which could explain a minority of the cases of same-sex behavior. He first wrote about pederasty in the inaugural issue of his journal Vierteljahrsschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin (Quarterly for forensic and public medicine) and later in the second volume of his influential Handbuch der gerichtlichen Medicin (Handbook of forensic medicine). 10 In the former, he discusses eleven cases of pederasty, three of which are characterized by effeminacy. According to Casper, this sexual inclination ("geschlechtliche Hinneigung") is in only a few of the cases inborn and in most a result of "saturation" by normal sex, a traditional view of lewdness. Received opinion held that men who indulged in lustful behavior outside marriage stumbled from one perversion to another. Thus, for example, Kaan defined onanism as the pars pro toto of perversions, meaning that persons who began with masturbation went on to more extreme sexual outrages. 11

Before Casper discussed pederasty in his handbook as a possible hermaphrodisy of the mind, many other physicians had already addressed sodomy. To detect the act of sodomy they relied on traditional evidence, for example the injuries it caused to the passive partner's anus. 12 Such damage was, however, not considered definitive proof of sodomy, because the same results could derive from other causes, such as constipation. Casper's Parisian colleague Ambroise Tardieu opposed the theory of pederasty as a psychic hermaphrodisy in his *Etude médico-légale sur les attentats aux moeurs*; he was convinced that proofs of "the passive habits of pederasty and sodomy" were to be found, among others, in the relaxation of the sphincter of the anus and the effacement of the folds surrounding it. 13

The old theory of sodomy concerned sexual acts and effects; the new theory of homosexuality was about identities and causes.

Tardieu was a man of the past, remaining in the tradition of forensic medicine; Michéa and Casper, on the other hand, marked the beginnings of forensic psychiatry, for they were interested in mental causes of criminal behavior, just as Tardieu was interested in the consequences of crimes. The power system underlying law and medicine was changing, and medical theory mirrored these changes. Traditionally, forensic medicine was an auxiliary science for judges; now forensic psychiatry took the initiative. Discussions ensued about the "personality of the criminal," as in Cesare Lombroso's theory of the "born criminal," and later about the "sex pervert," as was found in Richard von Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia sexualis (1886).14 In earlier theories, masturbation and other forms of lewdness led to diseases of the neural system and the brain; according to the new theories, inborn brain deformations led to same-sex preferences. For a brief period, in the 1850s, the two theories clashed, but the forensic discussion of the signs of sodomy soon became outdated and the psychiatric debate on sexual perversions came to the fore. 15

Thus, in the 1850s theories of sexual behavior and preference changed as did the medical practice related to them. For the first time, forensic experts based their knowledge on real cases of pederasty. Most prior literature had done without practical examples, but both Casper and Tardieu cited the many men they had seen on trial. The new theories seem to have been the consequence of a more active pursuit of deviants on the part of the police; the number of cases of pederasty reported in medical journals grew quickly.

The earliest texts on *philopédie* and pederasty by Michéa and Casper underlined the effeminacy of some same-sex practitioners. For example, the *homo mollis* ("soft man") described by Hieronymus Fränkel in 1853 would today be called a transvestite as well as a homosexual: Süsskind (Friederike) Blank was a man who dressed as a woman and seduced young men. Although he was convicted for unnatural fornication, he nevertheless continued to infect youngsters with venereal diseases. Fränkel's report on Blank was empirically grounded, in the tradition of forensic medicine. His explanation for the gender inversion was simple: as a tailor

Blank became addicted to the habits and sexual role of the female sex. There was nothing in his report about physiological predestination or inborn preferences.¹⁶

The next important article, which appeared in 1855 in Casper's journal, was written by F. Dohrn about a sixty-seven-year-old pederast who lived in a home for the destitute. He sexually abused five boys between the ages of seven and sixteen years with whom he had been allowed to sleep. The article focused on the evidence of sodomy. Regarding this man's personal history, mention was made that his former neighbors called him a Zwitter ("hermaphrodite"). After noticing that his home was regularly visited by a young man and discovering from his wife that she was not the one who entertained adulterous relations with this visitor, their distrust was directed toward the husband, whom they presumed to be a hermaphrodite as well as a pederast. But neither Dohrn nor Casper made the connection between same-sex behavior and hermaphroditism as the neighbors had. In his afterword to the article, Casper discusses three new cases of pederasty that have nothing to do with effeminacy. 17

Physicians were the first to write about sexual aberrations, albeit reluctantly. Although the authors said they did not like to soil their pens with dirty topics, they knew that, as heirs to the Enlightenment, scientists were obligated to discuss every topic, even the filthiest of crimes. However, same-sex practitioners soon began to reject the charge of sin and abomination made against them. To break the spell of crime and folly, they invented new and more appropriate names for themselves, such as Uranian and homosexual.

Ulrichs and Uranism

In the 1860s, the lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs began to publish on same-sex preferences. His work was essential to the innovative theory of same-sex attraction and the emancipation of homosexuality, which he called "Uranism." Ulrichs described Uranians as a third sex whose gender traits were inverted; a Uranian himself, he defended his preferences as being inborn. Uranism was his neologism, and he also spoke of the third sex ("das dritte Geschlecht").

Ulrichs began to explain his preferences in letters to his family, which date from the end of 1862. In these letters, he compared his attraction to men with that felt by heterosexual women. According to Ulrichs, men were endowed with specifically male features, and he mentioned nine: male organs, lack of breasts, Adam's apple, male body and voice, beard, manly habitus, male inclinations and "sexual love drive" ("geschlechtliche Liebestrieb") for women; he explained further that some of these features were absent in Uranians. In The idea of two completely different sexes was mistaken: there had always been not only hermaphrodites but also male persons who lacked some or most of these traits. Uranians definitely lacked the final attribute but also many other male qualities, as was clear for Ulrichs from his own case as well as from the six other Uranians he knew at this time. For him, Uranians formed a third sex.

The Uranian sex drive, according to Ulrichs, was inborn, since it developed early, before a child could decide on his sexual predilections. ²⁰ He strongly claimed his right to such a drive: "The Dionian [heterosexual] majority has no right to construct the human society as exclusively Dionian; such construction of it is only scandalous abuse, because we have as much rights as you in the human society." ²¹ Uranians certainly had the right to sexual expression, but Ulrichs was not sure under what circumstances and in what form. ²² When he asked his family whether he should publish his ideas anonymously, they answered decidedly and unanimously in the negative. Nevertheless, within two years he started to publish his work, and after some years he even wrote under his own name.

Because of his writings, Ulrichs's formula of Uranism became world famous. The Uranian, he said, was an "anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa" — a female soul enclosed in a male body. Ulrichs primarily discussed the male Uranian, although he later paid some attention to the lesbian, the "Urninde." His goal was to contribute not to sexual physiology but to legal reform: ²³ "unnatural fornication" was a heavily penalized crime in the leading German state, Prussia, although not in others, such as Bavaria. Ulrichs feared that impending German unification would lead to the

extension of Prussian law to all of Germany, and he developed his theory to fight the introduction of the "unnatural fornication" provision in a new law. He did not, however, succeed: in 1871, "unnatural fornication" became a crime throughout Germany, under the infamous paragraph 175, which still exists today, albeit in changed form.²⁴

The physiological theory of Uranism had many aspects, the most interesting of which was the definition of Uranism as samesex attraction combined with gender inversion. But compared with other third-gender forms, the inversion was limited: only the soul, not the body, belonged to the other sex. Of course, the dichotomy of body and soul was problematic, and this aspect of Ulrichs's theory was ridiculed by one of his critics.²⁵ Ulrichs took it for granted that the male body also showed some feminine qualities; his successor, Magnus Hirschfeld, believed this more firmly. For Ulrichs, the most important sign of gender inversion was sexual preference. This, however, was not very visible in signs of the body or of the mind. Ulrichs defended his theory with recent claims that hermaphrodisy originated in the first three months of pregnancy, positing that Uranism had a similar origin. The soul rather than the body became hermaphroditic in the case of the Uranian fetus.²⁶

The most remarkable thing about the Uranian soul may well have been its hidden quality. A female soul was not a visible sign of gender inversion, and the male body did not indicate anything either. Clearly different from other third-gender forms such as the berdache or the hijra, the Uranian may have been effeminate but did not necessarily show any signs of it. To the contrary, he had good reason to hide his presumed female qualities. There was no institutional recognition of the third gender in Western Europe, and effeminacy could cause problems in employment, housing and family relations.

In this respect, the case of Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow is particularly noteworthy. A contemporary of Ulrichs, Zastrow had served a long prison sentence for sexual attacks on two boys. The main proof of his guilt was his same-sex preference. During the trial, many young working-class men, who were certainly

much older than the assaulted boys, testified that the accused had had or tried to have sex with them. These testimonies provided crucial circumstantial evidence for establishing the guilt of the accused. Zastrow's pride in his acquaintance with Ulrichs's work was seen as a supplementary indication of his culpability by the police and the judges. He died in prison for crimes he probably had not committed. Zastrow's case clearly illustrates the contempt that existed for men who loved men and the utter lack of understanding of their desires.²⁷

The next step Ulrichs dared to take in his theoretical work was to defend the moral rightness of sexual relations between Uranian men and Dionian young men.²⁸ As female prostitution was allowed and even medically regulated in many places in Europe, Ulrichs thought comparable relations between Uranians and Dionian youngsters should be permitted. He insisted not only on decriminalization of Uranism but also on the legality of such sexual relations, because he believed most Uranians desired sex with Dionians. Since sexual desire was then defined as attraction between opposites (male and female), Ulrichs believed that it was impossible for two Uranian men with preferences for men to fall in love with each other: "Is a Uranian sexually attracted to a Uranian? A little or not at all." They were as little attracted to each other as they were to women, for whom they felt abhorrence in sexual matters. The Uranian's object of desire was a person who was male in body and soul, that is, a Dionian.²⁹ Ulrichs recast the dichotomy of female and male desire into a theory of the Uranian lover and his Dionian beloved. This part of his theory attracted strong criticism from, for example, Rudolf Virchow and Alois Geigel, who were scandalized by such a suggestion.³⁰

The rich sexual reality of Uranian lives undermined Ulrichs's dogmatic theory. As he relied on his experience more than on the classical examples he cited profusely (he was also the editor of the last European journal in Latin), he was obliged to adapt his theory to the diversity of same-sex experiences. Both the female appearance of Uranians and the sexual availability of straight boys may have been prominent and visible aspects of the underworlds during the time when same-sex relations flourished in the Ger-

man states. But neither prominence nor visibility is a good guide for a complete picture of such attachments, whether in the nineteenth or twentieth century. With his growing knowledge of Uranian lives and the information he received in many letters from Uranians all over the world, Ulrichs was forced to adapt his theory. He made a place for Uranodioninge ("bisexuals") and Uraniaster ("circumstantial homosexuals"), and he further distinguished three kinds of Uranism. "Männlinge," more masculine Uranians, fell in love with younger feminine boys, contrasted with "Weiblinge," the effeminate Uranians, who loved masculine (young) men; in between was a group, part masculine and part feminine, whose sexual object was young males.31 Especially in this last example, Ulrichs goes beyond the theory of sexual desire as opposition, because the difference between the Uranian (halfway between Männlinge and Weiblinge) and the young adult (between the state of boy and man) is not as sharp as it is in Ulrichs's other examples.³²

After Ulrichs: Sexual Psychopathy

In 1869 and 1870, the novelist Karl Maria Kertbeny wrote two leaflets against the prospect of renewed criminalization of "unnatural fornication," for which he coined the term "homosexual." His approach was similar to Ulrichs's, his most important contribution being the new term.³³ While the theory was seductive, the social consequences were not. Since 1870, many psychiatrists had started to write on sexual perversions in line with Ulrichs's theory, but few endorsed wholeheartedly his plea for decriminalization. Rudolf Virchow, the leading German professor of medicine, advised (along with other physicians) the minister of justice to do away with the criminalization of sodomy and masturbation because these acts did no harm from a medical point of view.³⁴ But medical doctors were much more interested in pathologizing perversions than in decriminalizing sodomy. Ulrichs's emancipatory policy was not at all successful, and it was not until 1900 that it received wide recognition, well after Ulrichs had died in exile in Italy. But his natural theory of Uranism became very popular among psychiatrists, much to his distress.

In the 1870s in Germany, the 1880s in France and soon after throughout Europe, sexual psychopathy became fashionable in psychiatric circles. Every important figure in French psychiatry published articles and books on it in the 1880s: Alexander Lacassagne, Lombroso's main opponent in criminal anthropology; Lacassagne's student Julien Chevalier, who wrote the first dissertation on sexual inversion in 1885; Alfred Binet, the inventor of both the intelligence test and fetishism as a sexual category; Valentin Magnan, the main theoretician of degeneration; Jean-Martin Charcot, the specialist on hysteria and Freud's teacher; Benjamin Ball, the first professor of psychiatry in Paris; and Paul Moreau of Tours, who was the first to publish a book on the topic, Des aberrations du sens génésique (Aberrations of the reproductive sense).35 Krafft-Ebing was of course the main proponent of the new science of sexual aberrations; he began his research at Ulrichs's suggestion. Lombroso, the senator Paolo Mantegazza and Arrigo Tamassia in Italy; Benjamin M. Tarnowsky in Russia; Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds in England; and Nicolaas Bernard Donkersloot and Arnold Aletrino in the Netherlands were other specialists who began to work on sexual perversions.³⁶

The discussion on prostitution also paved the way for sexology. After this, the debate on sexual variations, which had been taboo until then, became public and political. And because of the increasing prosecution of sexual crimes in the main cities of Europe, cases of sexual perversion were brought before doctors, who thus played an increasingly important role in the criminal process. The first cases of sexual aberration came to the attention of psychiatrists who were asked by the police or by the courts to give expert opinions. At the same time, medical science developed an interest in social and thus sexual issues, and new specializations such as public hygiene or medical policy were established. It was this growing attention to sexual variations that made it possible for someone like Ulrichs to speak out in the first person on Uranism.

Until 1890 sexology was a German and French discipline, but thereafter it became an international discipline, with Germany leading in the field. The term *Sexualwissenschaft* ("sexology") was introduced in 1908,³⁷ while the generic term until that time,

"sexual psychopathy," was derived from the title of Krafft-Ebing's book. The main subject of this science was initially sexual inversion, as the subtitle of this same book indicated, "with special attention to the contrary sexual feeling." In what follows I shall untangle how this interest in sexual inversion developed in psychiatric circles.

Sexual Inversion in Sexual Psychopathy

Ulrichs's books of the 1860s, in which he propagated his ideas on Uranism, were crucial in the emerging discussion on homosexuality, and his formula of a "female soul in a male body" was cited by most subsequent authors. The first important case study following Ulrichs's work was an article about "contrare Sexualempfindung" (usually translated as "sexual inversion," but translated literally as "contrary sexual feeling") by Karl Friedrich Otto Westphal, which appeared in 1869 in the second volume of the influential Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten. Westphal, the first professor of psychiatry in Berlin and editor of the journal, discussed two examples: a woman attracted to other women, and a male cross-dresser. The lesbian was, according to Westphal, a normal female in her physiognomy and habitus. Her only abnormality was her sexual inclination (Neigung) for women. The male cross-dresser walked the streets to get money from men, but never admitted to "unnatural" behavior, either to the police or to the doctors. He was often apprehended for minor crimes, mostly thefts. The only effeminate characteristic of the cross-dresser, aside from his clothing, was his voice; otherwise he showed no signs of gender inversion.

Westphal discussed the lesbian and the cross-dresser as cases of contrary sexual feeling, even though the male cross-dresser was apparently heterosexual. While Westphal often cited the works of Ulrichs – especially his remarks on the Uranian's feeling of gender inversion – neither of his cases could be explained by the theory of sexual inversion, for the lesbian was a normal female biologically and the cross-dresser was a heterosexual man. Westphal insisted that both cases revealed a neuro- or psychopathic condition, but, in the absence of other signs of pathology, he could not

prove that the contrary sexual feeling existed as "a completely isolated phenomenon." If, in fact, the contrary sexual feeling was independent of other pathologies, an assumption that Ulrichs himself had made, then the Uranian's struggle for emancipation would have been a much easier task. But with these innovations, same-sex behavior could now be medicalized and pathologized. Westphal's text is pivotal in its discussion of homosexuality because it poses the question of the pathology of these feelings. In later discussions, physicians refuted the importance of this question, taking the pathological character of the "contrary sexual feeling" for granted. After this, Uranians like Ulrichs had to struggle not only against the criminalization of same-sex behavior but also against the pathologization of homosexual desires.

The main points of the debate ensuing after Westphal's article were as follows: First, the doctors discussed the explanation of sexual inversion, alternating between Westphal's neuropathology and psychopathology. F. Servaes considered inversion a neuropathic condition, caused by insufficient nutrition.³⁹ Second, all physicians considered these cases to be contaminated by feeblemindedness. There seems to be a simple explanation for this. In the beginning, only the more ignorant and awkward practitioners were arrested by the police and were thus caught in the psychiatric web. No one discussed Westphal's question as to whether this abnormality was an independent phenomenon, thus the pathology of all cases of sexual inversion was confirmed by omission and consensus. This made it more difficult to defend Uranism and implied the beginning of the medicalization of homosexuality. Third, while gender inversion was always discussed, and psychiatrists claimed to have found gender-inverted behavior, the bodies of the men and women never showed clear signs of the other sex. Practices, not bodies, betrayed the contrary sexual feelings. All of this seemed to confirm Ulrichs's statement that only the soul of the Uranian showed gender inversion.⁴⁰

Krafft-Ebing's first article on sexual anomalies appeared in 1877. In it he discussed all published cases and claimed that sexual inversion was both a neuro- and psychopathic condition, both hereditary and coexistent with other insanities. In his list

of "remarkable features" of sexual inversion, attraction to the same sex figured only as the sixth item; he assumed that men were attracted to men as if they were women, while women attracted to women should feel like men. Homosexual preference and gender inversion were completely intertwined, a combination that Krafft-Ebing did not leave open to discussion. The cross-dresser of Westphal was the only case that did not exhibit a combination of the two. Krafft-Ebing added three nondistinct cases of his own to the repertory of sexual inverts in psychiatry. 41

Although gender inversion was central to the theories of Uranism proposed by most psychiatrists, they had to acknowledge, as Ulrichs had, that there were more types of same-sex attraction than that described by the typical effeminacy of the Uranian. In Psychopathia sexualis, Krafft-Ebing distinguished four types of inborn homosexuality, from "psychosexual hermaphrodisy" (bisexuality) to androgyny, and three varieties of learned homosexuality, of which "metamorphosis sexualis paranoica" (something like transsexuality) was the extreme form. Most but not all varieties were characterized by femininity. The learned-behavior types were strongly colored by effeminacy, but the four innate types were not. Of those, bisexuality and homosexuality (an inclination only to the same sex) were not defined by the prevalence of femininity, unlike Krafft-Ebing's "effeminate" and "androgynous" types. Krafft-Ebing stated that the "homosexual anomaly" was restricted to the domain of sexual life and had no further influence on gender identity. Although this subtype was only one of seven, in his book it took up a third of the space devoted to sexual inversion.⁴²

Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis* became the handbook of the new science of sexology, which took form in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Krafft-Ebing's model of sexual perversion and "contrary sexual feeling" was very influential, and many psychiatrists followed in his footsteps as he himself had followed in the footsteps of Ulrichs. Although not everybody accepted his mixture of gender and sexual inversion, it has nevertheless distinctly influenced the discussion on homosexuality to this day.

Sexual Inversion and the Homosexual Movement

The very first homosexual movement started in 1897 under the aegis of Magnus Hirschfeld with the Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäre Komitee (WHK). In 1899 Hirschfeld began publishing his famous Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Annual for sexual intermediaries), which ran until 1923. Hirschfeld was the main defender of homosexuality as a third sex, claiming that it was a natural and normal variation of sexuality. He argued, from the time of his first leaflet, published pseudonymously, that it should not be pathologized or criminalized.⁴³ Three years later he began his lifelong struggle for homosexual emancipation under his own name, although he never "came out," or admitted that he himself was homosexual. In 1899, he sent a petition to the German Reichstag requesting the withdrawal of paragraph 175 from the criminal law.44 In 1901, his Jahrbuch published an article by Krafft-Ebing in which the leading scholar of sexology - who died the next year - admitted homosexuality was always inborn and not pathological per se, as he had earlier claimed.⁴⁵

Although Hirschfeld succeeded in gaining the support of many well-known Germans from the sciences, arts and politics for his struggle against the oppression of homosexuals, his efforts met with no success in terms of criminal reform prior to Hitler's rise to power; thereafter the situation grew only worse. Proposals both for stricter laws – the suggestion, for example, to include lesbianism under paragraph 175 – and for more lenient laws were discussed before 1933 but not enacted.

In 1899 Hirschfeld's struggle for legal reform was joined by a second journal, *Der Eigene*, which also became the title of an official movement in 1903. Adolf Brand was the leader of "die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen" (the community of self-owners) and the editor of the journal until its end in 1933 with Hitler's accession. This group promoted a theory of homosexuality opposed to that of Hirschfeld. For one of the early issues of *Der Eigene*, the poet and painter Elisar von Kupffer submitted a furious invective against the physicians' third-sex theory; in it he attacked the influence of medical authorities on the theory of homosexuality and their idea that homosexuals were always effeminate.⁴⁶ Inspired by the

Greek ideals of pederastic love and the German Romantic tradition of friendship, he stressed the masculinity of the followers of the *Lieblingsminne* and saw male homosexuals as masculine ideals for young men instead of pathological, pitiable cripples. This essay would serve as the introduction to a collection of homoerotic poetry von Kupffer published a year later, an anthology of the literary work of Greeks such as Theognis, Pindar and Plato, Romans such as Catullus and the German luminaries Goethe and Schiller.⁴⁷

Kupffer was not alone in criticizing Hirschfeld and his theory. Other proponents of the "movement for masculine culture" eagerly joined him in opposing the theory of the third gender. The intellectual force of this group came from the biologist Benedict Friedländer, who contributed not only to Der Eigene but also to the Jahrbuch, and who collaborated with both Hirschfeld and Brand. In his Renaissance des Eros Uranios (1904), which became the bible of the movement, he outlined his biological theory of a virile homosexuality.⁴⁸ In an article for the Jahrbuch, he stressed the masculine and military capacities of male lovers and used the example of the Japanese generals who conquered the Russians in the war of 1905 to prove his theory.⁴⁹ He discerned three kinds of love: married love between men and women, the motherly love of women for children and same-sex love in friendship and pedagogics that was in general not sexual. Friedländer saw the last form of love as the foundation of social and political life, and he was critical of the emancipation of women, which he saw as undermining the beneficial impact of male love on society.⁵⁰ Priests, Jews and American culture were scolded for their tolerance of the female influences that might destroy the magnificent male culture.

Friedländer combined being Jewish and agitating against Jewish culture, defending at the same time homosexuality, masculinity and male bonding while opposing women's emancipation. ⁵¹ Not all defenders of male love were as antifeminist as Friedländer though: Edwin Bab, for example, suggested blending male and female culture while allowing space for separate male and female bonding. ⁵² The main argument, however, was clear: Brand's circle defended a virile, pederastic form of homosexuality, which was far removed from Hirschfeld's third gender and sexual intermediaries.

The split between the two movements concerned for the most part the different contents and meanings given to homosexuality. Although the views of Hirschfeld and many other "heterosexual" physicians may have had the strongest social impact, attitudes within the homosexual movement were not clearly in favor of the third sex. In the Dutch chapter of the WHK, which was founded in 1912 and survived until 1940, Hirschfeld's theory was certainly most influential,53 but in England, John Addington Symonds and the other poets of Uranian love were inspired by classical examples and came nearer to ideals of friendship and Greek eros than to those of the third sex.⁵⁴ Edward Carpenter's "love of comrades" was rather close to the position of Die Gemeinschaft, although he later endorsed the theory of the third sex and set high hopes on the female qualities of men. Both Symonds and Carpenter were strongly influenced by the American poet Walt Whitman, whose poetry on love among comrades was widely acclaimed by homosexual writers and readers. 55 In France, Marc André Raffalovich had already emphasized the masculinity of the Uranians in 1895, and in the good Catholic tradition, he urged them to live in sexual abstinence.⁵⁶ André Gide developed a frankly biological theory of pederasty and beauty but discussed the effeminate homosexual, the "invert," mostly in a negative vein.⁵⁷ It appears that many homosexuals themselves were not too fond of the theory of the third sex and were rather more inclined toward ideals of friendship and pederasty.

Homosexual Worlds

The spokesmen for homosexuals may have been divided on the question of whether homosexuality should be considered a third sex or a sign of virility, but what ideas and practices existed in the worlds in which homosexuals enjoyed their pleasures? The material at our disposal has some important flaws, coming mostly from the police and psychiatrists, although some details come from autobiographies of homosexual men. It becomes clear in all these sources that there were a great variety of ways to enjoy homosexual pleasures, notwithstanding the social repression of such diversions all over Europe.

Of course, the more outlandish features of homosexual worlds were the most visible, and they thus regularly appeared in the descriptions of police officers and psychiatrists. For example, in 1862, the Parisian police officer L. Canler devoted a chapter in his memoirs to "antiphysiques et chanteurs" ("counternaturals and blackmailers"). His information dated from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, before the start of the large-scale persecution of sexual lewdness. Blackmail was the central topic of this chapter and perhaps one of this police officer's main activities, Canler discerned four groups of counternaturals, all with feminized names. The "honteuses" ("ashamed") and the "rivettes" ("screwers") were not discernible from normal men. The only remarkable thing about the "ashamed" was their feminine voice; similarly, the pederastic inclinations of the "screwers" made them the preferred victims of blackmailers. The two other groups were male prostitutes, the "persilleuses," flamboyant and effeminate mollies, and the "travailleuses" ("female workers"), male prostitutes with a slightly feminine style.⁵⁸ Canler's book offers a varied picture of the homosexual world with his four rather imprecise specifications, in which the effeminacy of the antiphysiques does play a part but is not dominant.

Twenty-five years later, Canler's colleague François Carlier published his memoirs on the "two prostitutions" in the 1860s, a large part of the book being devoted to the "prostitution antiphysique." His terminology of pederastic follies was completely derived from the underworlds in which these pleasures were taken up. He mentioned Canler's rivettes, honteuses, persilleuses and travailleuses but reworked his system and added some new categories, such as "petits jésus" for young prostitute boys and "renifleurs" ("smellers") for men who especially liked sex in public toilets. His definitions were a bit different; the honteuses, for example, now belonged under the rubric of the prostitute. Carlier's main types were the beginners, the petits jésus, and the older maids, often decrepit older men, persilleuses who had to use all their charms or even violence to earn a living from male prostitution.

Most remarkable are the stories he reported of same-sex pleasures in Paris. A normal part of this life was the masquerade balls

that took place during carnival and on other occasions, when dressing in costume was allowed. These balls attracted many samesex couples, where one of the partners would dress in drag. At one such ball police officers and the hotelier who had rented his ballroom were unable to detect, to their great astonishment, which among the veiled participants were men, although they kept close watch on this specific ball because it was rumored that it would be a pederasts' masquerade. Only because the party attracted the attention of many jealous jésus and their pimps did they finally learn that the "women" were excellent performers of feminine roles but pederasts nonetheless. Not all antiphysiques were interested in female attire. Carlier also reported that certain Parisian bars catered to men who liked to have sex with soldiers. He gave the example of a man whose entire life was devoted to the pursuit of soldiers in uniform. Another pederast's taste for violence was satisfied by enacting scenes of robbery on himself in the back alleys of Paris; he liked to have athletic men beat him up.

The examples of Canler and Carlier indicate that female clothing and styles were an important part of nineteenth-century Parisian pederasts' pleasures, but there were many other styles and desires equally present. Jeffrey Weeks confirms this fact in his article on male prostitution in London during the same period.⁵⁹ Feminine behavior was an integral part of same-sex worlds, but other modes existed simultaneously. The working-class boys and soldiers who made up a large part of male prostitution were not likely to cross-dress, nor were their clients. Flamboyant female dress would have been imprudent for homosexual men or male prostitutes in any European city; most had to hide their sexual behavior at all costs.

Hirschfeld's Berlins dritte Geschlecht (1905) contributed immensely to our knowledge of the world of the third sex in turn-of-the-century Berlin. Although he was a prisoner of his theory of Zwischenstufen and posed as an outsider to this world, he gave some interesting insights into Berlin's homosexual life. He frequented private parties, bars and restaurants, masked balls and places of male prostitution. He stressed the importance of male

couples in order to emphasize homosexual respectability while ignoring the sexual side of their lives, since homosexual conduct was considered unrespectable, even criminal. Everywhere he found either happy couples or unhappy singles who were on the verge of committing suicide. Couples usually consisted of a masculine and a feminine homosexual, the latter often going in drag to private parties or masked balls. The balls were a daily occurrence in Berlin at this time.⁶⁰

Male prostitution had three forms: "sexually normal" young men who represented a risk to homosexuals because of possible blackmail;61 soldiers who were to be found in half a dozen bars around Berlin's military barracks and in the famous Tiergarten park; and young homosexual men who frequently came in drag to the cruising places. Similar to homosexuals who cruised soldiers were those who looked for working-class athletes in gymnastic clubs. Bathhouses were not as important to the gay world in Berlin as they were in Saint Petersburg or Vienna. Outdoor cruising seemed to be nonexistent apart from male prostitution, according to Hirschfeld's report on homosexual life in Berlin, which, however, is not a very reliable source on this point.

Although Hirschfeld was a strict defender of the theory of the third sex, it becomes clear from his own account in *Berlins dritte Geschlecht* that many Uranians did not adopt female clothing or feminine styles. All evidence points to the fact that the most important objects of sexual desire in the homosexual world of this time were masculine young men, for example, soldiers and athletes. But being attracted to virile young men did not oblige the desiring subject (the homosexual) to adopt a feminine position. There were men who enjoyed homosexual pleasures but were not "intermediate sexual types," for example, the members of *Die Gemeinschaft*. As in the case of Ulrichs, the social realities of the third-sex world did not comply with Hirschfeld's theories.

From my research in the archives of the courts in Amsterdam and The Hague and of the military court in Haarlem, most men who stood trial for same-sex offenses were of the lower class.⁶² They were arrested for outdoor cruising, sex with minors or making unwelcome advances on other males. In only a few cases were

these men reported to be effeminate or to have a homosexual identity. It is also clear that these cases represented only a small portion of what was going on around public toilets and in parks. Of course, homosexual acts were not criminal offenses in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century, except in cases of public indecency or the seduction of minors under the age of sixteen. Nevertheless, according to my findings from these and other sources, effeminacy in men who practiced homosexuality was a rare occurrence in the Netherlands in this period. Most homosexual behavior seems to have been incidental - that is, between men and boys who had no special homosexual preferences and who came together because women were not readily available for their straight desires. Other men had pederastic desires but no feminine attributes, and some men indeed exhibited feminine qualities. 63 A survey of the archives of the Dutch asylums of Meerenberg (1880-1908) and Medemblik (1884-95) reveals that most of the approximately forty-five cases in which samesex acts or desires were mentioned concerned the debauched; in only two cases was gender inversion suggested.⁶⁴ Such feminine men were only a small minority of the men looking for same-sex opportunities or love, according to all available information.

Even when homosexual men exhibited effete traits, as did Oscar Wilde in England, Paul Verlaine in France and Louis Couperus in the Netherlands, to give some examples from literature, their gender behavior was only partially inverted. All three were married, and although they were perhaps dandyish in their behaviors and clothing, they were rarely or never seen in drag. Their manners may have been considered effeminate by a large part of the public and attracted malicious jokes from the press, but it was clear that they were men. 65 Inversion of gender was a rare occurrence in nineteenth-century Western Europe; very few men led life in the manner described by the German physicians Fränkel and Westphal.

Conclusion

Uranian men were considered by many physicians and some of their own spokesmen to constitute a third sex. All the material on homosexual lives, desires and acts makes clear that they were found in a bewildering variety. There were virile Uranians, there were Dionian men who ventured into the worlds of same-sex relations, where they found easier sexual satisfaction, and indeed there were effeminate Uranians. Given this variety, I shall examine four points: First, how to evaluate the contradictory information on the supposed feminine qualities of the Uranians; second, why such femininity was so stressed by doctors and by many Uranians themselves; third, what being represented as a third gender meant in regard to homosexuals; and fourth, what the importance was of effeminate habits in homosexual lives.

It is clear that the theory of the third sex had an important place among theories of homosexuality. Two leading figures of the emerging homosexual movement invented and disseminated it, and many psychiatrists contributed to its popularity. The theory was further disseminated in medical accounts and in novels, to such a degree that this model of homosexuality has influenced popular dramatic genres to this day. In this century, it has produced the most influential image of homosexual men. But there were important countercurrents, especially among homosexual intellectuals who disliked being conceptually emasculated and recast as quasi-feminine or who did not feel effeminate at all. Nevertheless, the model of the homosexual as a third sex gained ground because it was a nonthreatening representation of homosexuals for heterosexuals.

Removing the threatening representation of homosexuality seems to be the most important reason so many doctors and homosexuals endorsed this theory. It made the heinous sin of sodomy — a thought to which everyone was subject — into something harmless, transforming sodomites into nonmasculine men who could not endanger the virility of "normal" men. They were given a fixed and paltry place in the gender system, and the lustful and powerful seducers they had always been seen as faded into an image of pitiful effeminates. At a time when new models of masculinity were developing everywhere in Europe — in sports and the military, among colonialists, nationalists, socialists and Zionists — the Uranians were pushed out of the male world because

of their supposed femininity.⁶⁶ At the same time, new models of sexuality developed, and it soon became clear that masculinity and homosexuality were incompatible, and that a real man thus had to be heterosexual. More and more, manliness was defined as *non*homosexual, and heterosexuality for men came to mean being masculine.

The strategies Ulrichs and Hirschfeld developed to emancipate homosexuals worked to a certain extent. Homosexuals were indeed able to find a place in society, but it was a position no other man envied. The criticisms of the theory of the third gender by the "movement for male culture" were to the point but without social effect, since most straight people preferred the idea of Uranians as effeminate cripples. In the turmoil of new definitions of sexuality and gender, homosexuals won in respectability what they lost in masculinity. Theirs was a pyrrhic victory that brought at best an equivocal identity. The sexual theories of Ulrichs, Krafft-Ebing, Hirschfeld, Carpenter and others opened the eyes of many men who discovered a new name and a new identity for themselves, which may have been the most lasting — and ambiguous — success of all the new theories on sexuality.

But what did it mean for homosexuals to belong to the third sex? It was something quite different from what the third gender elsewhere, such as the berdache or the hijra, denoted in other cultures. If we want to see the Uranians as a third gender, the best comparison would be the American Indian berdaches a half a century ago who were forced to hide their gender identity to prevent officials of the American government from discovering their status. By showing only one not very conspicuous gender attribute, they could make clear within their own culture that they were berdaches, whereas outsiders easily missed this sign.⁶⁷

The gender inversion of homosexuals was very partial and seldom ostentatious. It was something attributed to them, but rarely taken up by them. These feminine qualities were not fixed. It could be the voice, an effete theme in clothing or a nonmasculine style in self-presentation. Uranians could to a certain extent move in and out of the role requirements of both genders. The feminine style was only for nightlife and for homosexual meeting

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places; neither during work nor at home would homosexuals ever show their female side. But the female soul was something that could always filter through the "normal" appearance of gay men. Belonging to the third gender brought the permanent danger of being exposed as a degenerate pervert. Male lovers were thus reluctant to show their feminine qualities, because they pointed after all to their sexual desires. Being known as effeminate was a nuisance; being known as homosexual was scandalous. The third gender was a style of life that usually inspired contempt and in special circumstances, perhaps, desire, but few people would take this position eagerly in public. Ulrichs did so, but Hirschfeld and most homosexuals publicly distanced themselves from their homosexuality. The best performers succeeded in playing with female roles.

The social endorsement of the theory of the third sex, by psychiatrists, for example, also had another effect. It made the process of "coming out" much more difficult for young men. To choose the option of homosexuality has always been very difficult: young men who were homosexually inclined not only had to defy the social opprobrium of homosexuality but also to position themselves in relation to the supposed femininity of homosexuals. Some feminine youngsters were perhaps pushed by their peers and parents into a homosexual role, which suited them perfectly. But more masculine boys had additional problems and hesitations in coming out as homosexuals, having to spurn two stigmas: the homosexual and the feminine. Even if they made the choice to come out, they continued to have good reason to hide their homosexual preference and to feel ashamed about it. In this way, the theory of sexual inversion as gender inversion helped to restrain the expression of homosexual identities and behaviors.⁶⁸

The theory of the third sex was based on historic experiences in the subcultures of sodomites or mollies. Many sources indicate that femininity played a central role.⁶⁹ Perhaps sodomites adopted feminine styles, habits and clothes as an expression of their deep desires, but it is more likely that it was either a pose to attract the sexual attention of men from outside the subculture or a mimicry of male-female relations.

To understand the feminine styles of the mollies, it is important to distinguish between behavior in public and private spaces. In private places, such as molly houses, sodomites were among themselves, and the gender inversion mimicked marriage, sometimes jokingly with male prostitutes in the masculine roles, but also more seriously in expressing the wish to be a certified couple of loving men. In public places, men who desired sexual contacts with adult men probably best succeeded by taking a female position, using feminine charms, suggesting passivity. Although the goal was not to communicate their effeminacy, they did play a female role when it came to sexual encounters. Sodomites had the best chance of meeting men who were not sodomites but who quite often did not object to such sexual adventures in the streets, public toilets, bars and parks, where contacts of this sort were most often made. The reasons why men made themselves available for these encounters varied. Sometimes they did so for money or because it was the easiest way for them to obtain sexual satisfaction. Often they were foreigners (soldiers, sailors or travelers) who did not incur the same risk as locals when venturing into these places. In such dangerous encounters, the safest strategy for homosexuals was not to question the masculinity and activity of their partners. Thus, they often took a more passive and feminine position as an effective and safe strategy of seduction.

If the dichotomy of objects and subjects of sexual desire was a successful strategy, this did not mean that homosexuals were under all circumstances effeminate or that all encounters between homosexuals and heterosexuals followed this model. There were certainly homosexuals who posed as masculine, and more rarely "normally sexual" male prostitutes who posed as feminine. In research on the Amsterdam homosexual and lesbian bar culture since the 1930s, it appears that most men and women did not think of themselves as "nichten" or "potten" (comparable to "queers" and "butches"), but they nevertheless knew and sometimes exploited the system of gender and sexual inversion. The system worked as long as sex with females was difficult for men to obtain because of the imperative of virginity for girls and the monetary cost of prostitution. As contraceptive methods became more

widely available and their use increased at the end of the 1950s, heterosexual men became less likely to indulge in same-sex relations. At the same time, homosexuals started to give up their feminine styles and to develop an interest in their own. The system of what in these times was called "queer" and "trade," and "butch" and "femme," was based on the model of prostitution. From the 1960s on, gay men did not want to degrade themselves in relations with "normal" men. 70 The new model of gay life and sex was that of friendship and marriage. This change in homosexual self-image and style made it possible to discuss legal reform, medical depathologization of homosexuality and, later, gay and lesbian parenthood and marriage.

The masculinization of homosexual styles since the 1950s does not necessarily mean that gay men have become virile. Since homosexuals dispensed with the exclusivity of feminine styles and habits, the spectrum of gender possibilities has broadened to include different options, making it easier for men with homosexual preferences and masculine styles to come out of the closet and proclaim their homosexuality. Gay men began to adopt a "macho" style of sex and gender, and although many outsiders doubted the masculine qualities of the style, it caused a revolution in models of gay desire. The idea that sexual attraction existed only between opposites began to disappear as "macho" men and "clones" had sex with each other, disregarding the older model of queen and trade that governed the homosexual world until the 1950s. Gay couples no longer exclusively consisted of a male and a female partner. To find masculine men, gay men could now look among themselves in their own worlds and no longer depended on sexual border traffic with "normal" youngsters.71

On the other hand, the effeminate homosexuals or queens did not disappear but became a minority in the gay world. Much of the social support for feminine styles foundered. Nowadays, such styles are part of the diversity of the gay world. The revolution in forms of desires and identities that has occurred since the 1950s has meant not a transition from one style to another but the addition of new models to the older ones that were already evolving themselves.⁷² The young queen of the 1950s may still

be living in the 1990s, but he is quite a different figure from the young queen of the 1990s who may have adopted a punk or Madonna style.

The third sex has been a powerful metaphor, virtually monopolizing the image of homosexuals in social life for the last hundred years. Because it was considered a shameful identity, it posed a major obstacle for many young people to identify themselves as homosexuals. The suggested effeminacy of gays was a forceful social strategy that marginalized homosexual desires and thus prevented the development of gay identities. As an impediment it worked well, but it also provoked a powerful strategy of seduction that made sexual border traffic between gay and straight men possible and satisfactory. The "camp" tradition of gay men would have been unthinkable without their supposed effeminacy.⁷³ For a century, men with same-sex desires were pushed into the role of a third gender. Many of them enjoyed this role, but others resisted it and felt compelled to deny their desires. Now we have come to a new epoch in which most gays are able to play with and joke about their gender roles. But how long will it take before straight men are capable of the same?

261. ARA HvH 5420.3.

262. ARA HvH 5661, fo 203r-212v.

263. Van der Meer, "Zodoms Zaat."

264. GAA 5061-536, fo 67r.

265. GAA 5061-536, fo 50r.

266. GAA NA 13294, no. 419.

267. Noordam, "Homosexualiteit."

268. Roodenburg, Onder Censuur.

269. ARA HvH 5420.3.

270. GAA 5061-537, fo 384-398.

271. ARA HvH 328; GADH OA 774, fo 42r-83v.

272. Ibid.

273. GAU RA 2244 (1732).

274. GAA 5061-334, fo 77v-275v.

275. GAA 5061-392, fo 94r; 5061-393, fo 11v-29v.

276. GAA Library B 54 HS Diary Jacob Bicker Raije, fo 38.

277. ARA HvH 5506.4.

278. ARA HGH 395.

279. Herman Franke, Twee Eeuwen Gevangen. Misdaad en Straf in Nederland (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1990).

280. ARA REA The Hague 15, 31 no. 141.

281. GAA 5061-539, fo 328-374; 5061-540, fo 1-42.

282. ARA HvH 5432.

283. GAA 5061-388, 27v-31r.

284. GAA 5072-55 HS Weveringh, fo 307.

285. Alle de Copyen van Indagingen als mede alle de Gedichten op de Tegenwoordige Tyd Toepasselyk, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1730); Schouw-toneel soo der Geëxecuteerden als Ingedaagde over de Verfoeilijcke Misdaad van Sodomie, 2 vols. (1730).

286. Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (London: GMP, 1982); Trumbach, Sodomy Trials. Seven Documents (New York and London: Garland, 1986).

287. Pleidooi of Regtbank tegen alle Debauchante Quaadlevende en Ontaarde mannen, van deze Tegenwoordige Tyd. Door een Voornaam Liefhebber (Amsterdam, 1730), p. 2.

288. Weyerman, Godgeleerde Zeedekundige en Historische Bedenkingen over den text der Spreuken Salomons, Kap. 28. Vaers 15, 17 (Amsterdam, 1730), p. 28.

289. Weyerman (1677-1747) was on a constant collision course with the

legal authorities. He ended his life in prison after being sentenced in 1738 for blackmail.

290. Machteld Bouman, "Het verbod op de vrijmetselarij in 1735. Een herziene analyse van de motieven," *Skript* 9 (1988).

291. GAA 5061-537, fo 343.

CHAPTER FOUR: "A FEMALE SOUL IN A MALE BODY"

- 1. For an overview of this discussion of sexuality, see Annemarie Wettley, Von der "Psychopathia sexualis" zur Sexualwissenschaft (Stuttgart: Enke, 1959); Georges Lanteri-Laura, Lecture des perversions. Histoire de leur appropriation médicale (Paris: Masson, 1979); Frank Sulloway, Freud, Biologist of the Mind (New York: Basic Books, 1979), ch. 8; on homosexuality, see Gert Hekma, Homoseksualiteit, een medische reputatie. De uitdoktering van de homoseksueel in negentiendeeuws Nederland (Amsterdam: SUA, 1987), ch. 2; and for Hirschfeld, see Manfred Herzer, Magnus Hirschfeld. Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 1992).
- 2. Magnus Hirschfeld and Max Tilke, Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb (Berlin: Pulvermacher, 1910).
- 3. In this essay all terms as used by the cited authors will be indicated with quotation marks; "same-sex preference" will be used as the general expression.
- 4. Pivotal in the debate on the history of homosexuality has been the work of Michel Foucault, especially his *History of Sexuality: Vol. 1* (New York: Random House, 1990), although the theme is discussed only on pp. 42–44; for the discussion on the gender inversion of homosexuals the work of Randolph Trumbach has been important; see his essay in this volume, and "Gender and the Homosexual Role in Modern Western Culture: The 18th and 19th Centuries Compared," in Dennis Altman et al., *Homosexuality, Which Homosexuality?* (Amsterdam and London: An Dekker/Schorer, GMP, 1989).
- 5. The best studies on Tissot and masturbation are Théodore Tarczylo, Sexe et liberté au siècle des Lumières (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1983) and Jean Stengers and Anne Van Neck, Histoire d'une grande peur: la masturbation (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1984).
 - 6. J.B.F. Descuret, La Médecine des passions (Paris: Béchet et Labé, 1841).
- 7. Heinrich Kaan, *Psychopathia sexualis*, unpublished dissertation, University of Leipzig, 1844.
- 8. Claude François Michéa, "Des Déviations de l'appétit vénérien," *Union médical*, July 17, 1849, pp. 338-39.

- 9. Balzac used this term in his Splendeur et misères des courtisanes (1834); see Claude Courouve, Vocabulaire de l'homosexualité (Paris: Payot, 1985), p. 215.
- 10. Johann Ludwig Casper, "Über Nothzucht und Päderastie und deren Ermittlung seitens des Gerichtsartztes: Nach eigenen Beobachtungen," Vierteljahrsschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin 1 (1852), and Handbuch der gerichtlichen Medicin, vol. 2 (Berlin: Hirschwald, 1858).
- 11. In 1859, the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer discussed pederasty as a result of senility; see his *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: P. Reclam, 1873), pp. 643-51.
- 12. See Jörg Hütter, Die gesellschaftliche Kontrolle des homosexuellen Begehrens: Medizinische Definitionen und juristische Sanktionen im 194 Jahrhundert (Frankfurt: Campus, 1992), pp. 68–71.
- 13. Ambroise Tardieu, Etude médico-légale sur les attentats aux moeurs (Paris, 1857; 5th ed., Paris: Baillière, 1867), pp. 197-210.
- 14. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Psychopathia sexualis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der conträren Sexualempfindung: Eine klinisch-forensische Studie (Stuttgart: Enke, 1886).
- 15. See Hütter, Kontrolle, p. 108, with a tabulation of the results of the changes in medical and legal circles.
 - 16. Hieronymus Fränkel, "Homo mollis," Medizinische Zeitung 22 (1853).
- 17. F. Dohrn, "Zur Lehre von der Päderastie," Vierteljahrsschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin 8 (1855).
- 18. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, "Vier Briefe," Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Leipzig, 1899), vol. 1, pp. 35-70; reprinted in Documents of the Homosexual Rights Movement in Germany, 1836-1927, ed. Jonathan Katz (New York: Arno, 1975). Pages cited below refer to this last facsimile edition.
- 19. *Ibid.*, p. 59. *Geschlechtlich* has the same ambivalence as "sexual" has in English, referring to both gender and sexuality.
 - 20. Ibid., pp. 44 and 50.
 - 21. Ibid., p. 55.
 - 22. Ibid., p. 54.
- 23. On Ulrichs, see Hubert Kennedy, Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement (Boston: Alyson, 1988); Ulrichs's twelve books and pamphlets on Uranian love (eleven between 1864 and 1870 and a kind of afterword in 1879) were reprinted by Magnus Hirschfeld (in a slightly changed form) as Forschungen über das Rätsel der mannmännlichen Liebe (Leipzig: M. Spohr, 1898; reprint, New York: Arno, 1975). References will

- be to the 1975 reprint. Only in his main book, *Memnon* (1868), in *Forschungen*, was the phrase "anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa" used, for the first time to my knowledge (p. 195).
- 24. For the German laws on homosexuality, see Hütter, Kontrolle, and Fritz Eduard Rosenberger, Das Sexualstrafrecht in Bayern von 1813-1870 (Marburg, 1973).
- 25. [Alois Geigel], Das Paradoxon der Venus Urania (Würzburg, 1869), p. 14; reprinted in Joachim S. Hohmann (ed.), Der Unterdrückte Sexus: Historische Texte und Kommentare zur Homosexuahtat (Lollar: Achenbach, 1977).
- 26. See Ulrichs, *Inclusa* (1864), in *Forschungen*, pp. 16-25, and *Memnon* (1868), in *Forschungen*, pp. 26-33; in *Memnon*, he states that the body of the Uranian is not fully masculine and the soul not completely feminine (p. 195).
- 27. On Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow, see *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte* 2.2 (Sept. 1988), pp. 3-14, with some documents and an introduction by Manfred Herzer.
- 28. See his *Vindicta* (1865), in *Forschungen*, pp. 38-41, and most clearly and fully in *Ara spei* (1865), in *Forschungen*, pp. 61-98, esp. p. 84.
 - 29. See esp. Ulrichs, Inclusa (1864), in Forschungen, p. 46.
- 30. For Virchow, see his letter to Ulrichs, cited in *Ara spei* (1865), in *Forschungen*, p. 72; Geigel, *Paradoxon*, p. 34. Otto Weininger developed a comparable theory. He believed that men and women were never entirely masculine or feminine but that in coupling, they realize complete masculinity and femininity with the lacking masculinity of the man being compensated for by that of the woman. The theory could also be applied to same-sex couples and thus corroborates Ulrichs's view; see Weininger, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (Vienna/Leipzig: Braumuller, 1903).
- 31. See esp. Ulrichs, Memnon (1868), in Forschungen, pp. 51-57, after which he continues with the possibility of Virilisierung (masculinization) of Uranians because they wish to be men or to conform to social, masculine norms, with the parallel possibility of Uranization of Dionian men.
- 32. Later, Karl Günter Heimsoth developed a special theory of *Homophilie*, or sexual attraction between similar poles (virile man with virile man or woman), contra the idea of sexual attraction between opposites, which he named "*Heterophilie*"; see his dissertation, *Hetero- und Homophilie*… (Rostock, 1925).
- 33. [Karl Maria Kertbeny], Paragraph 143 des preussischen Strafgesetzbuches... (Leipzig: Serbe, 1869); reprinted in Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen 7 (1905);

and Das Gemeinschädliche des par. 143 des preussischen Strafgesetzbuches... (Leipzig: Serbe, 1870).

- 34. Virchow was one of the experts who signed the "Gutachten der Königlichen wissenschaftlichen Deputation für das Medizinalwesen" (1869), reprinted in Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen 7 (1905).
- 35. Alexander Lacassagne, "Péderastie," in Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales (Paris: Asselin, 1886), vol. 74, pp. 239-59; Julien Chevalier, De l'Inversion de l'instinct sexuel au point de vue médico-légale (Lyon, 1885); Alfred Binet, Le Fétichisme dans l'amour (Paris, 1888); Jean-Martin Charcot and Valentin Magnan, "Inversion du sens génital," Archives de neurologie 3-4 (1882); Magnan, "Des Anomalies, des aberrations et des perversions sexuelles," Annales médico-psychologiques 43 (1885); Benjamin Ball, La folie érotique (Paris: Baillière, 1888); and Paul Moreau, Des Aberrations du sens génésique (Paris: Asselin, 1880).
- 36. Cesare Lombroso, "Amore nei pazzi," Archivio di psichiatria, anthropologia criminale e scienze penale 2 (1881); Arrigo Tamassia, "Sull'inversione dell'istinto sessuale," Rivista sperimentale di freniatria e medicina legale 4 (1878); Paolo Mantegazza, Gli amori degli uomini (Milan, 1886); Benjamin M. Tarnowsky, Die krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtssinnes (Berlin, 1886), which appeared a year earlier in Russia; Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, Sexual Inversion (London: Wilson and MacMillan, 1897); Nicolaas Bernard Donkersloot, "Klinisch-forensische betekenis der perverse geslachtsdrift," Geneeskundige Courant 37.8–14 (1883); Arnold Aletrino, "La Situation sociale de l'uraniste," Congrès international de l'anthropologie criminelle: Compte rendu des travaux de la cinquième session (Amsterdam, 1901).
- 37. The term was introduced with the establishment of the Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, edited by Magnus Hirschfeld. The journal existed for only one year. The main books of the new sexology were Albert Moll, Untersuchungen über die Libido sexualis (Berlin: Fischer, 1897); Sigmund Freud, Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie (Vienna/Leipzig: Deuticke, 1905); and Iwan Bloch, Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur (Berlin: L. Marcus, 1906).
- 38. Karl Frierich Otto Westphal, "Die conträre Sexualempfindung," Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten 2 (1869), p. 107.
- 39. He thus confused theories on innate vs. learned sexual inversion, since an apparantly innate characteristic, the neuropathic condition, was caused by social circumstances, that is, by insufficient nutrition. This mixing of biological and social (and also geographical) causes was typical of all theories of degen-

- eration since Bénédict August Morel's seminal Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'espèce humaine (Paris: Baillière, 1857).
- 40. See, for example, H. Gock, "Beitrag zur Kenntniss der conträren Sexualempfindung," Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten 5 (1875); in two cases of a male and female, both Jewish, on p. 574, the author states that Jews have a strong sexual drive; F. Servaes, "Zur Kenntniss von der conträren Sexualempfindung," Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten 6 (1876); Stark (no first name given), "Über conträre Sexualempfindung," Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie und psychisch-gerichtliche Medicin 33 (1877).
- 41. Von Krafft-Ebing, "Über gewisse Anomalien des Geschlechtstriebes...," Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten 7 (1877), pp. 307-08.
- 42. Von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis*, 5th enlarged ed. (Stuttgart: Enke, 1890), pp. 121–23.
- 43. Th. Ramien [= Hirschfeld], Sappho und Sokrates oder wie erklärt man die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts? (Leipzig, 1896).
- 44. "Petition an die gesetzgebenden Körperschaften des deutschen Reiches behufs Abänderung des par. 175…," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 1 (1899).
- 45. Von Krafft-Ebing, "Neue Studien auf dem Gebiete der Homosexualität," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901).
- 46. Elisar von Kupffer, "The Ethical-Political Significance of Lieblingminne," in Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy (eds.), Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, the Gay Movement, and Male Bonding before Hitler's Rise. Original Transcripts from Der Eigene, the First Gay Journal in the World (New York: Haworth, 1991). This collection gives an excellent overview of this movement, its theories and its political standpoints (which covered the full political spectrum from Nazi right to anarchist left).
- 47. Von Kupffer, Lieblingsminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur: Eine Sammlung mit einer ethisch-politischen Einleitung (Berlin, 1900).
- 48. Subtitled Die physiologische Freundschaft, ein normaler Grundtrieb des Menschen und eine Frage der männlichen Gesellungsfreiheit (Berlin: Verlag Renaissance, 1904).
- 49. Benedict Friedländer, "Schadet die soziale Freigabe des homosexuellen Verkehrs der kriegerischen Tüchtigkeit der Rasse? Ein vorläufiger Hinweis," Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen 7 (1905); reprinted in his posthumous collection of essays Die Liebe Platons im Lichte der modernen Biologie (Berlin: Zack, 1909).

- 50. Friedländer, Renaissance des Eros Uranios (1904; New York: Arno, 1975), esp. p. 222.
- 51. See Friedländer, "Sieben Thesen," written some days before his suicide in 1908, in *Die Liebe Platons*, pp. 277-78; trans. as "Seven Propositions," in Oosterhuis and Kennedy (eds.), *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*. For a balanced evaluation of the political philosophies of Die Gemeinschaft, see Oosterhuis, "Male Bonding and Homosexuality in German Nationalism," in Oosterhuis and Kennedy (eds.), *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*. Other theorists who came up with comparable combinations of male bonding and homoeroticism were Hans Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (Berlin: Weise, 1912); and Gustav A. Wyneken, *Eros* (Lauenburg: Saal, 1921).
- 52. Edwin Bab, "The Women's Movement and Male Culture" (1903), in Oosterhuis and Kennedy (eds.), Homosexuality and Male Bonding.
- 53. Both Jacob Anton Schorer, the leader of the Dutch chapter, and Luciën S.A.M. von Römer had been in Berlin for sometime, were *Obmanner* of the WHK, contributed to the *Jahrbuch* and supported Hirschfeld's theory in their publications.
- 54. For the Uranian poets, including Symonds and Raffalovich, see Timothy d'Arch Smith, Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English "Uranian" Poets from 1889 to 1930 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).
- 55. The literature from and about Symonds and Carpenter is abundant. Carpenter's main texts are *Homogenic Love and Its Place in a Free Society* (Manchester, 1894) and *The Intermediate Sex* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1908). He also edited an anthology of homoerotic poetry, *Ioläus: An Anthology of Friendship* (London, 1902), as did von Kupffer. Symonds's contributions are *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, both published privately, and *A Problem in Greek Ethics* was incorporated in his joint enterprise with Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, which appeared after his death in 1893. See also his *Memoirs*, ed. Phyllis Grosskurth (New York, 1985).
- 56. Marc André Raffalovich, *Uranisme et unisexualité: Etude sur différentes manifestations de l'instinct sexuel* (Paris/Lyon: Storck, 1895). This book was an apology for male love, in which he also criticized Oscar Wilde, whose legal prosecution took place the same year in England.
- 57. André Gide, Corydon (Paris: Editions de la nouvelle revue française, 1924). For the background on Gide's theories of homosexuality, see Patrick Pollard, André Gide: Homosexual Moralist (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,

- 1991), e.g., pp. 26-27, where inverts, sodomites and pederasts are discussed. Marcel Proust held more strictly to Hirschfeld's theory. For Proust's theory of homosexuality, see J.E. Rivers, *Proust and the Art of Love: The Aesthetics of Sexuality in the Life, Times and Art of Marcel Proust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
- 58. L. Canler, Mémoires de Canler, ancien chef de la police de Sureté (Paris, 1862; 3rd ed., 1882), vol. 2, pp. 118-23. Information on French gay terminology can be found in Claude Courouve, Vocabulaire de l'homosexualité masculine (Paris: Payot, 1985), but neither here nor elsewhere could I find information on "persilleuse."
- 59. Jeffrey Weeks, "Inverts, Perverts, and Mary-Annes: Male Prostitution and the Regulation of Homosexuality in England in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Homosexuality* 6.1-2 (Fall/Winter 1980-81), pp. 113-34.
- 60. Reprinted in *Documents of the Homosexual Rights Movement in Germany*, 1836–1927 (New York: Arno, 1975).
- 61. Documents, p. 64ff.: "normalgeschlechtlich" is comparable to "trade" in the American gay slang of the 1950s.
- 62. Research for the period 1830–1909 for Amsterdam Court, 1870–1909 for The Hague and 1830–99 for Haarlem.
- 63. See Gert Hekma, "Homosexual Behaviour in the Nineteenth-Century Dutch Army," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2.2 (October 1991), and "Wrong Lovers in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands," *Journal of Homosexuality* 13.2-3 (1986–87).
- 64. See Hekma, *Homoseksualiteit*, pp. 250-58, where the cases are summarized.
- 65. See Richard Ellman, Oscar Wilde (London: Hamilton, 1987); Henri Peyre, Rimbaud vu par Verlaine (Paris: Nizet, 1975); and Frédéric Bastet, Louis Couperus: Een biografie (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987).
- 66. On the new models of masculinity, see George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Fertig, 1985); J.A. Magnan and James Walvin (eds.), Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987).
- 67. See Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1986), pp. 192-96 ("Survival of Berdache Shamanism").

- 68. In this respect, I doubt Marjorie Garber's claim (in *Vested Interests: Cross-dressing and Cultural Anxiety* [New York: Routledge, 1992]) that transvestism as an expression of a crisis in categories subverts the binary gender system. The gender-crossing of homosexuals can also function as a *confirmation* of the binary system and as an effective way to prevent other homosexuals from coming out. It can work both ways, depending on the social situation.
- 69. See, for example, the essay by Trumbach in this volume along with his many other articles on the subject; Theo van der Meer, De Wesentlijke Sonde van Sodomie en Andere Vuyligheeden. Sodomietenvervolgingen in Amsterdam 1730–1811 (Amsterdam: Tabula, 1984); Rictor Norton, Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830 (London: GMP, 1992).
- 70. Hekma et al., De roze rand van donker Amsterdam: De opkomst van een homoseksuele kroegcultuur 1930-1970 (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 1992).
- 71. Similar arguments are brought forward by John Marshall, "Pansies, Perverts and Macho Men: Changing Conceptions of Male Homosexuality," in Kenneth Plummer (ed.), *The Making of the Modern Homosexual* (London: Hutchinson, 1981); and Jamie Gough, "Theories of Sexual Identity and the Masculinization of the Gay Man," in Simon Sheperd and Mick Wallis (eds.), *Coming On Strong: Gay Politics and Culture* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).
- 72. Gilbert Herdt suggests that the different styles of coming out by successive cohorts of homosexual men follow each other and occur within quite definite periods; see his "'Coming Out' as a Rite of Passage: A Chicago Study," in Herdt, Gay Culture in America: Essays from the Field (Boston: Beacon, 1992), esp. pp. 33–34. My suggestion is that different styles can coexist for longer periods. It is not a question of following each other but of one style adding to another.
- 73. See Mark Booth, Camp (London: Quartet, 1983); see also Esther Newton, Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

CHAPTER FIVE: WOMAN BECOMES MAN IN THE BALKANS

Parts of this chapter are reprinted by permission and with minor alterations from my "Mannish Women of the Balkan Mountains" in From Sappho to de Sade: Moments in the History of Sexuality, edited by Jan Bremmer (New York and London: Routledge, 1989, 1991). The research on which this essay is based has partly been made possible by grant no. 500–276–302 of the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO/SSCW). I owe much gratitude to Gilbert

Herdt for his encouragement and useful hints. Without his support and enthusiasm, I probably would have continued my too often idle reverie on the unfolding Yugoslavian tragedy.

In this essay I have omitted the diacritical signs on Serbo-Croatian consonants. Albanian nouns are given as often as possible in their indefinite form. For geographical terms the Serbo-Croatian spellings are used for (formerly) Yugoslavian locales (with the exception of "Belgrade" instead of "Beograd"), and Albanian spelling for the sites in the Albanian state. Personal names are spelled according to the language actually spoken by the people concerned.

- 1. Rudolf Dekker and Lotte van de Pol, The Tradition of Female Transvestism in Early Modern Europe (London: Macmillan, 1989).
- 2. Julie Wheelwright, Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty and Happiness (London: Pandora, 1989).
- 3. See, for example, Christopher Boehm, Montenegrin Social Organization and Values: Political Ethnography of a Refuge Area Tribal Adaptation (New York: AMS Press, 1983), and Blood Revenge: The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).
- 4. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), and *Natural Symbols* (London: Cresset Press, 1970).
- 5. See, for example, Kirsten Hastrup, "The Semantics of Biology: Virginity," in Shirley Ardener (ed.), *Defining Females: The Nature of Women in Society* (Oxford: Croom Helm, 1978).
- 6. Some examples are Marina Warner, Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976), and Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism (New York: Knopf, 1981); Willy Jansen, Women Without Men: Gender and Marginality in an Algerian Town (Leiden: Brill, 1987).
- 7. Milan Jovanovic-Batut, "Cudna prilika (S moga puta po Crnoj Gori)," *Branik* (Dec. 12-24, 1885). Instead of "Mikas" this source mentions the (more usual) male name "Miras," which must be either a mistake or a printer's error, since Marijana Gusic (see n.9) as well as my informants all agree on the name Mikas.
- 8. The name Mikas was usually employed in its vocative form "Mikasu"; the same holds true for the nouns used as terms of address.
- 9. Gusic (-Heneberg), "Etnografski prikaz Pive i Drobnjake," *Narodna starina* 9 (1930), p. 198; "Ostajnica-tombelija-virdzin kao drustvena pojava," in *Treci kongres folklorista Jugoslavije* (Cetinje: Obod, 1958), pp. 57–58, and "Pravni