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ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES *on the*

Strange Sexual Practises

of ALL RACES AND ALL AGES

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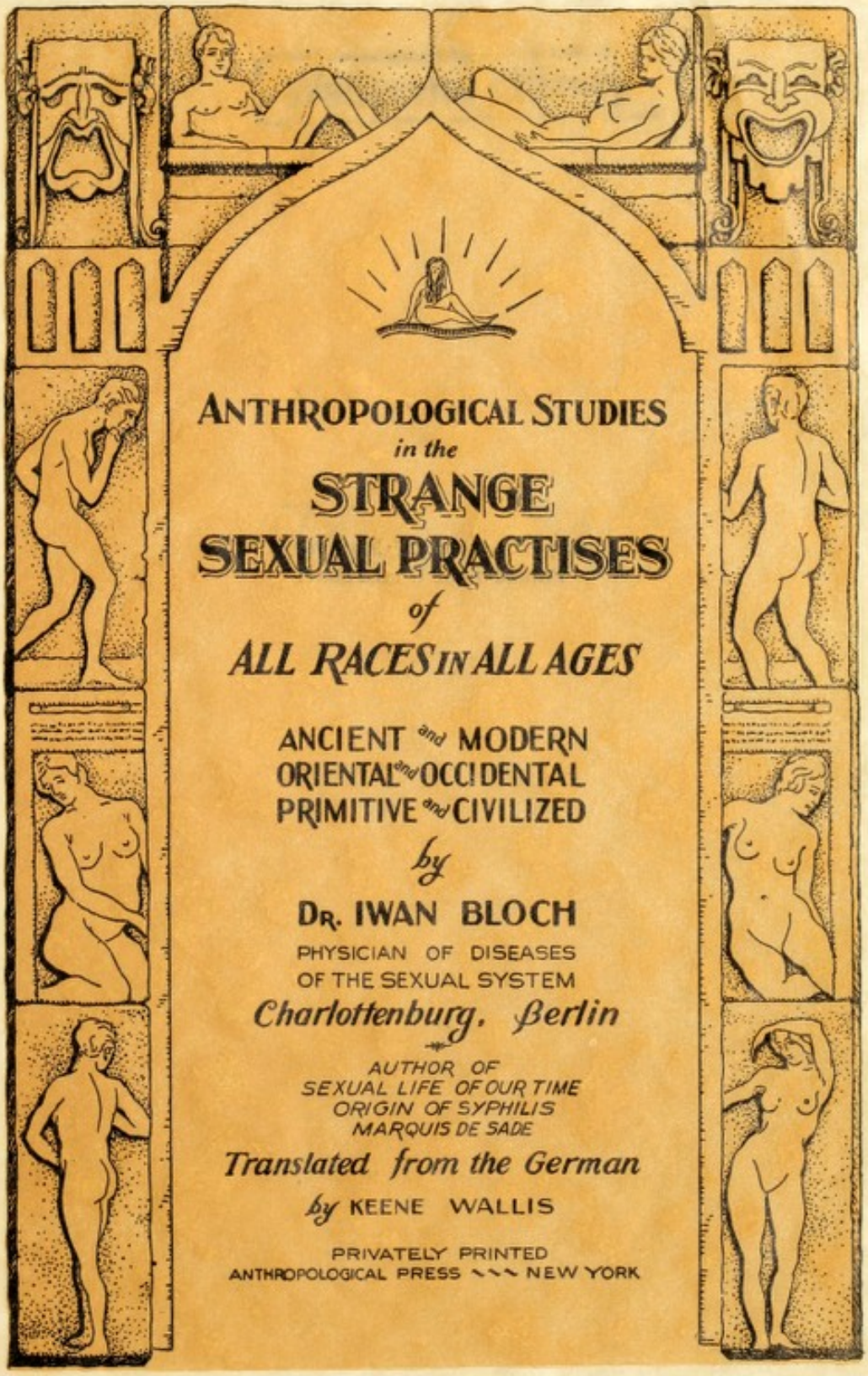

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES
in the
STRANGE SEXUAL PRACTISES
of
ALL RACES IN ALL AGES

ANCIENT and MODERN
ORIENTAL and OCCIDENTAL
PRIMITIVE and CIVILIZED

by

DR. IWAN BLOCH

PHYSICIAN OF DISEASES
OF THE SEXUAL SYSTEM
Charlottenburg, Berlin

AUTHOR OF
SEXUAL LIFE OF OUR TIME
ORIGIN OF SYPHILIS
MARQUIS DE SADE

Translated from the German

by KEENE WALLIS

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INTRODUCTION—THE COMPELLING IMPORTANCE OF THIS EPOCH-MAKING WORK ON SEXUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The author of this book has already won a distinguished name in the world of science in the fields, unfortunately so long fallow, of medical history and anthropology. His extremely important treatise *"Der Ursprung der Syphilis,"* the result of exhaustive researches into entirely new material, seems to have decisively settled in the affirmative the much debated and variously answered question of the modern American origin of syphilis. The present work, not so voluminous but by no means of less importance, Dr. Bloch designates modestly as a "by-product" of those investigations. Physicians and jurists, anthropologists and social historians, will be greatly indebted to him, as this smaller work will bring them much nearer to the solution of a problem of compelling and universal interest, the question of the origin, the physiogenesis and psychogenesis of the many forms of sexual anomalies and abnormalities, especially of homosexuality, masculine "uranism" and feminine "tribadism." Bias and limited outlook have been obvious in the explanations proposed hitherto. For instance, since the problem of the homosexual aberrations first received serious scientific attention

(and that has been no long time) the dominant opinion, as is well known, has been that these were fundamentally due to congenital constitutional defectiveness, were "degeneration phenomena" closely connected with our cultural development as highly conducive to the creation of neuropathic and psychopathic predisposition. The generalization *"psychopathia sexualis,"* coined by a famous writer and accepted almost without question, has won great popularity and an influence almost unopposed scientifically for the concept of sexual anomalies as real disease conditions affecting principally if not exclusively individuals of degenerate heredity. This hitherto prevailing concept, with its extremely unfortunate consequences, Bloch has assailed with weighty arguments, and—what carries yet more weight—with abundance of new data either entirely unknown before or insufficiently evaluated. If in this field, as in the question of the origin of syphilis, his findings differ from those of the majority of his predecessors and, as I think, are more accurate than they, he has had the advantage of approaching the subject not from the limited and biased viewpoint of the physician and medical historian but with the freer and wider outlook of the anthropologist and ethnologist and with all requisite scholarly equipment. Only thus was he able to prove that the causes of the genesis of the many sexual aberrations and the sources of homosexuality exist almost everywhere, on a great scale, independently of time, place, racial conditions and culture forms. This proposition, at least in respect to one class of aberrations, is indeed proved amply and definitely in the present volume.

On the basis of this established proof we shall have to contradict the unjustified accusation constantly made against our

age and the modern phases of culture that they promote the development of sexual aberrations in an extraordinary fashion and to an unprecedented degree. Instead, we seem to have proof for the unqualified statement that just as the sex impulse itself as purely physical impulse has remained intact and unaltered through all the ages and the changes of the culture forms, so too the so-called "aberrations" and "deteriorations" of this basic impulse, the sexual anomalies, which appear in the shape of fetishism, sadism, masochism, and homosexuality, have played their typical roles always and almost everywhere in similarly recurrent fashion so far as our knowledge reaches. External factors, "occasional causes" of the most varied sorts, naturally have had more or less the effect of promoting the rise and spread of this or that form of aberration at certain times and in certain places. Yet we must not be deluded into thinking that progressive cultural development has been accompanied by a constant proportionate increase of refinement upon sexual indulgence. We find the most sophisticated distortions and monstrous aberrations among the peoples most primitive culturally, the savages regarded—always mistakenly—as better than we. In general, ethical, religious, superstitious attitudes, customs, and fashions, rather than culture as an actual integral factor, have played the temporally predominant role in the etiology of single sexual aberrations, though it may be conceded that old civilizations in a stage of decadence have an unfavorable influence on individuals in that intellect is developed at the expense of character and will-power. At any rate, the theory that sexual perversions—specifically homosexuality—are congenital must be dropped or greatly modified. We doctors are truly the last to shed any tears over it, because if we have to do with merely acquired bad habits or disorders artificially

fostered by external circumstances we shall feel much more in a position than formerly to deal effectively with them curatively, and, better yet, preventively, prophylactically. Many details of Dr. Bloch's book—I cannot go into them here; I would merely mention for instance the section on the influence of obscene books and works of art—point to vast possibilities in this respect. Not less important is the stimulus which this thesis will give to forensic medicine. On the basis of the hitherto prevalent theory sexual-pathologic problems have had to be handled virtually in mass, according to a stereotyped pattern. Now the cases can be freely individualized. We are just at the beginning of an evolution of scientific treatment of the psychological and the social-anthropologic as well as the purely criminalistic aspects of penology. The physician, schooled in accurate thinking and rich in practical understanding, seems best fitted to facilitate this development.

I think the present work will appeal to a wide circle of readers and arouse an intelligent interest in these questions, touching state and society so closely. I would emphatically recommend it to the physician and to all who have a part in making and administering the law.

DR. ALBERT EULENBURG.

World-renowned sexologist, physician, author and scientist of Berlin

AUTHOR'S PREFACE—ANTHROPOLOGIC SEXUAL CONCEPT

The present treatise is a by-product of my book *"Der Ursprung der Syphilis."* As in that work I contributed, I believe, to the definitive solution of the problem of the origin of syphilis—that venereal disease "so closely linked with modern civilization" in the famous phrase of von Krafft-Ebing—I attempt, in the present essay, an analogous contribution to the study of the origin of the numerous sexual aberrations. In the course of my investigations of the public morality of antiquity the question rose in my mind, "What are the fundamental sources of these many aberrations of the human sexual impulse?" The question was hardly within the scope of a work dealing with vice principally in its relations to the venereal diseases. In the present work I propose to discuss the general etiologies of the sexual anomalies and the special etiology of homosexuality. The anthropologic-ethnologic concept of the facts of so-called *"psychopathia sexualis"* which will be advanced in these pages proceeds from the conviction, to which I was brought in the course of the previously mentioned investigations, that neither the purely medical view of the sexual anomalies, which has been stated so well by Casper, von Krafft-Ebing, A. Eulenburg, A. Moll, von Schrenck-Notzing, Havelock Ellis, nor historic studies of the sex life of different peoples, suffices for a fundamental ex-

planation of the phenomena in this field; that instead we must investigate the universal human causes of the sexual anomalies, that is, those causes which are independent of time, race, and culture, in order to obtain a theory of *"psychopathia sexualis"* adequately grounded etiologically. The present "contributions" trace the broad outlines of such a theory, which, as the anthropologic-ethnologic, I would compare with the medical and the historic theories. This general concept of the sexual anomalies as universal human, ubiquitous phenomena makes it necessary to recognize as physiologic much that previously has been regarded as pathologic, and very considerably to reduce the field of "degeneration."

As the treatise is limited strictly to the exposition of the etiology of *"psychopathia sexualis"* many points, particularly of symptomatology, could be touched only lightly or not at all. Much relating to this will be found in Part II of my *"Der Ursprung der Syphilis,"* which also treats exhaustively of the physical consequences of the sexual aberrations.

I wish to call attention to a paper read by Walther Schimmelbusch at the Hamburg scientific convention in September, 1901, on "The basic error of the *'Psychopathia Sexualis'* of von Krafft-Ebing." This article likewise assails the theory that homosexuality is congenital.

I take this opportunity of expressing my deep gratitude to Herr Geheimrat Prof. Dr. A. Eulenburg for his kind interest in the advancement of this work. I am also greatly indebted to Robert Lehmann-Nitsche of the Anthropologic Museum in La Plata (Argentina) for data cited in the text, and to the book-dealer Herr Hans Dohrn of Dresden for procuring literary source material very difficult of access.

DR. IWAN BLOCH.

Physician for diseases of the sexual system in Charlottenberg, Berlin
Author of "Origin of Syphilis", "Sexual Life of Our Time", "Marquis De Sade", etc.

CHAPTER ONE—STRANGE SEX LIFE AMONG PRIMITIVE AND CIVILIZED PEOPLES

The pathological manifestations of the sex life are as old as the physiological, as old as man. Remote antiquity saw the same aberrations of the sex impulse as we observe today among primitive and civilized peoples. In the Bible, in the Vedas, in many ancient Egyptian papyri, in the documents of pre-Columbian Mexico, we find reports and indications of homosexuality, pedication, the numerous refinements upon unnatural vice which were part of the obscene cults of the sexual deities. It is quite certain that these deviations of the sex impulse from the normal act, which are observed today with shocking frequency among the very peoples living closest to "nature", have not necessarily any connection with "culture", and by no means with "a nervous age".

On the contrary, more truly than any other impulse, sex expresses itself with just the same elemental force where there is no culture at all as where there is the highest. We have every justification for the statement that the sex impulse as purely physical function cannot be taken as a basis of comparison or differentiation between primitive and civilized man.

Thus it is a mistake to consider culture and civilization (as such) and their various manifestations, especially so-called diseases of civilization —*mal de fin de siècle* and other variously designated complaints of our times—the principal etiologic factors of sexual abnormalities and aberrations. Certainly these times of a highly developed civilization, of "overculture", offer conditions favoring the development and spread of abnormal sexuality. In the light of this, it is possible to explain the factually established quantitative increase of sex aberrations in such periods as for instance that of the Roman Empire. But this factor alone does not suffice to explain the genesis and rise of the unnatural expressions of the sexual libido, since these manifestations are observed among many peoples who live in the most "natural" state imaginable, quite without higher culture, indeed under stone-age conditions (certain Australian tribes).

Under this aspect the opinion of those investigators who attribute to culture the chief role in the etiology of *psychopathia sexualis* must be regarded with suspicion at the outset. The originator of this general conception of *psychopathia sexualis*—which I believe to be erroneous—is R. von Krafft-Ebing. In his opinion the perverse expressions of the sex impulse result from the increasing nervous susceptibility of the last generations; this susceptibility, fostered by the cultured life of modern society, causes over-excitation of the sexual spheres, leading to abuse and finally to perverse acts.* The frequent occurrence of abnormal sexual functions in civilized man Krafft-Ebing explains as resulting partly from "the manifold abuse of the organs of generation", partly

*R. von Krafft-Ebing, *"Psychopathia Sexualis,"* Stuttgart, 1898, pp. 304-5.

from the circumstance that "such functional anomalies" are "frequently symptoms of a diseased condition—mostly hereditary—of the central nervous system."* It is certainly true that an increased nervous susceptibility in times of over-cultivation influences the sex life adversely and produces in that generation neuropathologic conditions which are associated with "monstrous aberrations of the sex impulse."† On the other hand we see from Ploss and Bartels‡ that the same "monstrous aberrations" occur among peoples on a very low cultural level, with whom "a complex sophisticated civilization and its intensely injurious effects on the nervous system" are simply out of the question. It is also a fact that among such peoples these perversities are not of isolated occurrence but have been known to be much more widespread than even among the most highly civilized peoples. The nature of the sex impulse and of its anomalies is simply independent of all culture, and exhibits the same characteristics among primitive and civilized peoples. For this point we adduce only the verdict of the most authoritative investigators in this field, "One encounters frequently the view that all that we usually characterize as unnatural sexual indulgence owes its origin solely to the over-stimulated sensuality of advanced culture. This, however, is completely erroneous. On the contrary we find very frequently a highly sophisticated sexual misconduct among tribes of negligible civilization whom we are fond of imagining as living in an idyllic state of nature, whom, indeed, we sometimes hear described as if with them

*Ibid., p. 33.

†Ibid., p. 6. Like Krafft-Ebing, A. Eulenburg is of the opinion that a certain "level of culture" has etiologic importance for the genesis of sexual anomalies. *"Sexuelle Neuropathie,"* Leipzig, 1895, p. 97.

‡H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *"Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde,"* Leipzig, 1899.

the Golden Age still existed in all its beatitude."* The nature of the sex impulse is also independent of the physical and mental deteriorations inseparable from culture; has nothing to do with degeneration in the anthropologic and pathologic sense. Culture and degeneration enter in only as influences favoring quantitative increase.

Along with these there is a great number of external factors which have nothing to do with culture, degeneration, degenerative heredity, but whose effects are of the greatest importance in the origin of sexual anomalies among primitive and advanced peoples.

To set forth these important etiologic factors in their logical relation is the purpose of the following studies.

*Ploss and Bartels, op. cit., p. 451.

CHAPTER TWO—ROOTS OF PERVERSIONS IN ALL RACES AND ALL AGES — GREEK LOVE AND PRIMITIVE "REFINEMENTS"

On the whole, two opposing theories of the genesis of sexual anomalies have been advanced. One is that they are due mostly to heredity, the other that they are mostly acquired. Krafft-Ebing first characterized these perversions as "symptoms of functional degeneration" and in the Casperian sense he stresses their preponderantly congenital nature. Especially Krafft-Ebing explains homosexuality as congenital.*

The second principal author in this field, Albert Moll,† agrees generally with this view, but admits that there is "a certain number of other homosexuals and sexual perverts" in whom neither hereditary taint nor other disease is etiologically of moment.‡ He points especially to the ancient Greeks, with whom homosexuality was almost as widespread as nor-

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*See his statements in the introduction to A. Moll's *"Die konträre Sexualempfindung,"* Berlin, 1899, pp. IV-V.

†Op. cit. and *"Untersuchungen über die Libido Sexualis,"* Berlin, 1898, *vol. I.*

‡Ibid., I, p. 674.

mal love, and this without any degenerative basis. "When we consider what ancient Greece achieved in art and science, what moral vigor it possessed, we shall have difficulty in believing that the ancient Greeks were constitutionally diseased. . . . And it is undoubtedly wrong to claim that there were homosexual manifestations only at the period when Hellas was in decline. On the contrary, homosexual love prevailed to an extraordinary degree in the greatest age of all."*

Moll's allusion to this manifestation among the Greeks, who were unquestionably healthy in mind and body, is so much the more important as it is not a matter here of occasional perverse pederastic acts, but of a typically developed class of intermediates, whose existence at any other time and place Krafft-Ebing and Moll himself would explain solely and only on the basis of degeneration and diseased congenital predisposition. I have the general impression, however, from Moll's writings, that this author, in spite of his basic acceptance of the hereditary nature of sexual perversions, is inclined to a different explanation of them. This involves him in many contradictions. His uncertainty is especially evident in the summaries. See for example *"Libido Sexualis,"* pp. 692-3: "First of all, we observe in very many cases, simultaneously with the perversion of the sex impulse, other morbid manifestations, which are partly neuropathic but partly also of a definite psychopathic nature. In a certain proportion of these cases it is possible, furthermore, to ascertain that a hereditary taint is present simultaneously with the perverse sexual impulse. To be sure, there are authors who deny this. So we shall do well to abstain from any apriorism and to consider some of these cases, at least, unexplained in this respect." If even

*Ibid., p. 676.

Havelock Ellis remarks that "Von Krafft-Ebing's method is not irreproachable; he has not a very critical mind"; we have matter for serious thought. Theoretical partiality, in this particular field of inquiry, can cause very great confusion of essential problems.

The third of these authors, Albert Eulenburg, who is rightly regarded as the path breaker in the field of scientific investigation of the different forms of *"psycho- or neuropathia sexualis,"* inclines likewise to a stronger emphasis of heredity and morbid predisposition, especially in sexual inversion. Yet he has contributed extremely valuable data on the nonpathologic underlying causes of numerous heterosexual anomalies and aberrations.* Mistakenly he ascribes these sexual monstrosities—which he regards quite rightly as "high" dishes for jaded appetites—only to cultivated man who in all respects is at the opposite pole from natural life. We must remember that sexual epicurism, fetishism, sadism, and the like, are found in precisely the same form among peoples who live in the most idyllic state of nature imaginable and who decidedly have not been contaminated by culture. For instance, Ploss and Bartels report that it is a prevalent custom among a primitive people for the man to put fish or other edibles into the female sex parts and then get them out *per cunnilingum.* That is no inconsiderable sexual *gourmandise.* It is known in the Paris brothels as a form of *pollution labiale.* "The lower the cultural plane of the tribe, the more manifest is gross and bestial sensuality. Many primitive peoples utilize excessive titillation apparatus to produce feminine ecstasy. On the island of Ponapé (western Carolines) greatly lengthened *labia pudendi* are regarded as espe-

**Sexuelle Neuropathie,* pp. 96-7.

cially attractive. We saw that little girls are subjected to the artificial lengthening of these and of the clitoris. The man excites desire in the woman by catching with his teeth the lengthened *labia pudendi* in order to stretch them yet more, and some men go so far—Kubary declares—as to put a piece of fish in the wife's vulva, to lick it out little by little. Such disgusting and loathsome experiments are carried on with the chief wife—by whom the husband wishes to have a child —until she begins to urinate, and not until then do they proceed to coitus." (Ploss and Bartels).* P. Mantegazza also remarks with justice about this custom: "Thus the most highly cultivated men of the purest Aryan stock and the most backward men of the lowest ethnical grade clasp hands in a fraternity of bestiality."† For an equivalent in the "civilized" world, remember the count who put strawberries in his mistress' genitals and later ate the fruit thus prepared.‡ The *renifleurs,* the sniffers of feminine urine, are in the same category.

So here again we are dealing with aberrations of the sex impulse which are found among all peoples, of every degree of culture, and which—to instance only the systematically and artfully worked out technique of the Indian *ars amandi*—certainly appear without any neuropathic basis, as mere augments of sensual pleasure, and which can become national morality (as in India).

Of the other investigators who regard sexual perversions as

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*Op. cit., I, 433.

†*Anthropologisch-kulturhistorische Studien über die Geschlechtsverhältnisse des Menschen,* p. 197). Also English trans. Falstaff Press, N. Y., 1932, SEXUAL RELATIONS OF MANKIND.

‡Eulenburg, op. cit., p. 101.

chiefly congenital let us mention only Havelock Ellis* and Magnan.**

It cannot be denied that the cited authors upholding this view, among whom are the originators of the scientific investigation of *psychopathia sexualis,* have the ascendancy at the present moment, while the opposite theory, that most sexual anomalies are acquired, is rather in eclipse.

The latter theory was first put forth vigorously by A. von Schrenck-Notzing,† who first established the surprising fact that a complete cure of inversion and other sexual perversions could be obtained through suggestion therapy, even in such cases as had previously been regarded as congenital. To von Schrenck-Notzing this proved conclusively that in the explanation of sexual abnormalities the hereditary factor had been very seriously overestimated, that a much greater share in the pathogeny of sexual aberrations was to be attributed to external factors ("occasional causes," upbringing).

Even before Schrenck-Notzing, in 1886, the famous St. Petersburg syphilis expert, Professor Benjamin Tarnowsky, in his brilliant monograph on "Morbid manifestations of the sex sense" (Berlin, 1886), had pointed to the frequency of acquired sex perversion and the manner in which this occurs. He stressed the relative frequency of perversions resulting from vice and seduction in the cases of persons not at all diseased physically or mentally.

This last aspect A. Hoche, particularly, studied exhaustively

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*"Sexual Inversion."

***"Des Anomalies, des Aberrations et des Perversions Sexuelles,"* in *Annales médico-psychologiques.* Series 7. Paris, 1885, pp. 454 ff.

†*Die Suggestions-Therapie bei krankhaften Erscheinungen des Geschlechtssinnes,* Stuttgart, 1892.

and corroborated in an important article* followed shortly after by A. Cramer.** Both demonstrate that typical intermediates may be perfectly sound physically and mentally, that only in rare cases is a bad hereditary taint the underlying cause of sexual perversion, that onanism and profligacy are much more frequently the chief etiologic factors. Cramer denies positively the possibility of a congenital inversion.

Similar ideas have been developed by K. Kautzner in a very important article.† Kautzner likewise combats the biogenetic theory of homosexuality and thinks that inversion is mostly a result of seduction.

* * *

According to the data outlined above there are, then, two groups of sexual perversions, the congenital—or existent since earliest childhood—and those acquired in later life. The latter, again, are divided into those which are conditioned by disease and those which are present in well persons. I intend in the present treatise to set forth only the etiologic factors of this last group, that is, the causes of the development of sexual perversions in persons otherwise healthy. The clarification of these causes will also bring before us the realizable possibilities of a general *prophylaxis* for sexual aberrations. These aberrations, for the most part, are produced by universal human factors which are qualita-

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*"*Zur Frage der forensischen Beurteilung sexueller Vergehen*" in *Neurologisches Centralblatt*, 1896, pp. 57-68.

**"*Die konträre Sexualempfindung in ihren Beziehungen zum Paragraphen* 175 *des Strafgesetzbuches*," in *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*, 1897, no. 43, pp. 962-5.

†"*Homosexualität*," in *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie*, 1889, vol. II, pp. 152-163.

tively alike all over the world, though with various peoples and at various times quantitative differences may appear.

Compared with these external factors, which are confirmed by the nature of the human sex impulse and its susceptibility to influence, the determining effects of heredity and disease, formerly regarded as all important, are of decidedly secondary consideration.

Here is the theory advanced many years ago by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs that homosexuality is congenital, *"anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa."* "The sex of the Urning's body is male, that of his mind female. He is *'anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa.'* Therefore, like a woman, he is sexually repelled by women and attracted to men. The influence of his male body, however, conditions the Urning's mind so that in certain details it is masculine. While, in accordance with its nature, it remains feminine, it has, as it were, taken on masculine coloring here and there."*

This theory, opposed at the time by A. Geigel in *"Das Paradoxon der Venus Urania"* (Würzburg, 1869) with the objection that body and soul together constitute an integral whole, has been adopted latterly by Magnan and Krafft-Ebing. The former speaks of a "feminine brain" in a masculine body. Schrenck-Notzing† has rejected this theory as having absolutely no scientific foundation and resting only on the very untrustworthy assertions of homosexuals. Cramer has inveighed against the theory with particular vigor. "Assuming," he observes, "that in the brain, before the differentiation of sex in the third month, the centers characteristic of both sexes exist pre-formed—and there is absolutely no

*"*Argonauticus,"* Leipzig, 1869, p. 87.
†Op. cit., p. 193.

proof of this—I fail to see how an individual, when he has assumed a definite character, so far as his sex apparatus is concerned, in the third month of pregnancy, can develop a brain not suiting this sex character. It is a well known fact that when any extremity is amputated or any sense organ extirpated in childhood the corresponding centers do not develop. Why, then, in a man with normally developed male sex apparatus should the brain develop for the inconsiderable traces of the originally co-existent feminine tendency? That would absolutely contradict an indisputable pathologic-anatomic law. Organ and brain are in a reciprocal relation. If the center has not developed, the organ is stunted, and vice versa. A development of such a sort without deformation in a high degree elsewhere would be inconceivable."* Cramer quite rightly points to the eunuchs, in whom, despite the lack of sex glands, a feminine center never develops.

The "congenital" cases of homosexuality probably exist not at all. Most of the so-designated cases are those in which the sexual perversion appeared in earliest childhood, and these too are very rare.† Perhaps the apposite conditions are best to be studied among primitive peoples touched as little as possible by civilization. In this connection it is worthy of note that for instance the experienced explorer of Africa, Dr. Oscar Baumann, who has given a great deal of attention to the sexual aberrations of the African natives, has found, among the many tribes of Central Africa, only two cases of so-called "congenital" homosexuality, one in Unyamwesi, the other in Uganda.‡ In civilized countries the supposed con-

*Op. cit., p. 936.

†Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 33.

**Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft,* 1899,

‡*Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft,* 1899,

‡Op. cit., p. 964.

genital nature of sexual perversions has been inferred mostly from the anamnestic assertions and autobiographies of intermediates and other sexual perverts themselves. The unreliability of these has been stressed by many authors. "Priapus is a god of lies,"* and in no branch of sexual investigation is this more plainly apparent than in the study of aberrations of the normal sex impulse. Here subjective error combines with auto-suggestion, whose role has been emphasized by von Schrenck-Notzing.† Cramer remarks: "The onanist, who is greatly preoccupied with his condition, reads everything that has reference to it. He has easy access to perverse sexual literature, which is widely circulated. . . . Suddenly everything has become clear to him; he thinks back to his childhood and comes unconsciously, through auto-suggestion, to the conviction that from the first he has been abnormally disposed sexually."‡ The uncritical theories of Ulrichs were taken for truth by many inverts and applied to their own state. Many of the autobiographies of sexual perverts and their descriptions of their condition, accepted with too great faith by von Krafft-Ebing, show plainly the influence of imagination, by which the real facts are falsified, mostly quite obviously.

The cases of sexual perversity appearing in childhood mostly fall into the category of the acquired through disease or diseased tendency. Here it will always be possible to see through the subjective assertions of the patients, as it will be easy for the physician to ascertain objective symptoms, anatomic-

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*An inscription on a medieval Priapus column in the Catacombs of San Gennaro dei Poveri in Naples reads: "Priapus—a god of lies—the Cimmerian Grotto is utter fraud—it is impious to serve the idol Phallus." See Victor Schultze, *"Die Katakomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel,"* Jena, 1877, p. 28.

†Op. cit., p. 196.

somatic or psychological, of any such diseased state as may determine the sexual anomaly.

Every sexual pervert must be examined first with reference to the presence of serious hereditary taint and so-called degeneration symptoms. If frequent occurence of psychoses, of alcoholism, diabetes, syphilis, and other diseases leading to degeneracy in the family of the patient can be demonstrated, there is justification for suspecting a psychopathic underlying cause of the abnormal sexual behavior. Here it must be pointed out that hereditary taint is not proved in every case,* therefore cannot always be held responsible for the origin of sexual perversion.

Whether sexual perversion as such is a symptom of degeneracy is questioned, with reason, by Havelock Ellis† on the grounds that, as Moll too establishes, it appears in otherwise sound and normal individuals. Quite a different, and more important, question, however, is that of the presence of the usual degeneration symptoms in sexual perverts. For this, Havelock Ellis has laid down the correct principle that the abnormalities must be very numerous and strongly marked if they are to be taken as the symptoms of degeneration.‡ In fact the presence of many degeneration symptoms in one and the same man is a pretty sure sign of neuro- or psychopathic disposition.

Of especial importance here, besides cranial asymmetry, contration and malformation of the palate, harelip, dental anom-

*Ziehen, *"Degeneratives Irresein,"* in Real-Encyclopädie der gesammten Heilkunde, herausgegeben von A. Eulenburg, Vienna, 1895, vol. V, p. 448.

†Op. cit.

‡Op. cit.

alies, *hypertrichosis, tic convulsif,* speech defects, are, above all, the so-called Morel ear (complete or partial absence of the helix or antihelix*) and other deformities of the ear (Darwinian pointed ear); abnormal and diseased conditions of the genitals and the genital region; and an abnormally lively imagination. The last two conditions I shall treat more thoroughly further on.

Finally actual diseases are of importance in the etiology of acquired sexual perversions. It is of great interest that Tarnowsky attributes to syphilis a major role in the pathogenesis of sexual anomalies. Children syphilitic by heredity or born of syphilitic parents but showing no recognizable symptoms later gave indications of a perverse sex sense.† Obviously the explanation of this is in the same intensely injurious effects of syphilis on the nervous system as are thought to play a part in the etiology of *tabes* and *dementia paralytica.* In the anamnestic analysis of sexual perverts therefore previous syphilis can assume a certain importance.

Physicians have long been familiar with the appearance of sexual aberrations in various mental disorders. We know that epilepsy and epileptic insanity are very frequently accompanied by disturbances in the sexual spheres which manifest themselves particularly in the form of sudden eruptions of the normal or abnormal sex impulse (sex crimes, pederasty, bestiality, etc.). The same epileptic can, in a state of mental disturbance, commit the most dissimilar sexual offenses. Whether this justifies Tarnowsky in postulating a special

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*Dr. Amédée Joux says, "Show me your ear and I will tell you who you are, where you come from and where you are going." See P. Eyle, *"Ueber Bildungsanomalien der Ohrmuschel,"* Zurich, 1891, p. 34.

†Prof. Tarnowsky's "Pederasty in Europe"—Falstaff Press, 1933.

form of "epileptic pederasty"* we shall not attempt to determine. We rarely find in an epileptic one unvarying form of sexual perversion. Worthy of note is periodic occurrence of sexual aberrations which thus fall into the category of periodic insanity. Tarnowsky's "periodic pederasts" differ from well homosexuals† in that they anxiously avoid the society of homosexuals and conceal their condition as much as possible. These patients gratify their perverse impulse two or three times a year at regular intervals, the rest of the time they have normal intercourse with women. Flagellation and necrophilia also may occur in definitely periodic fashion and thus prove that they are caused by disease. Imbeciles, idiots, alcoholics, persons with senile or paralytic dementia, very often manifest sexual abnormalities. Especially senile dementia furnishes a great proportion of sexual deviations of the most varied sorts (pederasty, exhibitionism, misconduct with children, masochism and sadism, etc.).

Medical science today is able with certainty to identify all the mentioned disease conditions which may underlie sexual perversions, and accordingly to decide as to the greater or less responsibility of the sexual pervert in question. In the great majority of cases the medical examination produces not the slightest indication of disease as the cause of the sexual abnormality. Single significant symptoms, or mere "nervous susceptibility" which today is so widespread in all strata of society, certainly do not suffice to characterize sexual acts or states as "results of disease". Rather, there is no doubt that all sexual perversions, in precisely the same way, can be manifested by persons who are not at all unwell physically and

*Op cit., pp. 8 and 51.
†Op. cit., p. 43.

mentally, who must be regarded as responsible in every respect.

We can understand the possibility and astonishing frequency of this manifestation only by considering the manifold etiologic factors, which give us gratifying elucidation of the development of sexual anomalies in well persons. I pass without further transition to a study of these causative elements.

CHAPTER THREE—RACIAL EROTIC PECULIARITIES AND LOVE-ARTS—SOUTHERN ITALY — THE ORIENT — INDO-CHINA — JAPAN — ARABIA—LOVE IN INDIA: ITS IMMEMORIAL THEORY AND PRACTISE

The aberrations of the human sex impulse, all those anomalies which come under the classification, originated by Krafft-Ebing, of *"psychopathia sexualis"*—I use the phrase only as a generic term for sexual anomalies, not to characterize these as "psychopathic"—are part of the "international psychology" of which Bastian speaks. The same manifestations are ethnically homogeneous and recur among the most dissimilar peoples without essential qualitative differences.

For the study of such "universal psychology" precisely the sex life offers the material easiest to classify scientifically. The homogeneity of this material, so far as only the physical expressions of the sex impulse are concerned, is surprisingly apparent. The sexual "hunger for titillation," as Hoche accurately names the universal human urge for increase and variation of sexual pleasure, is as prevalent among primitive as among civilized peoples. "Extravagance in the manner of increasing the *libido sexualis* is characteristic of the human race and is found in perversely ingenious forms even among

the peoples living closest to nature. So it is not a pleasure sense over-developed by external forces of civilization that seduces man into such excesses. It would be presumptuous indeed to accuse any people, or certainly a whole age, of depravity because its literary and artistic remains and applied-art objects reveal ingenious variations of sexual pleasure. These are individual documents and nothing more."*

The statement that most barbarous peoples "live very indecently"† can be amplified and intensified upon impartial investigation of the actual conditions past and present. All kinds of misconduct, perverse sexual practises, acquired homosexuality, figurae Veneris, obscene gesture, dances and rites, appear much more openly among primitive than among civilized peoples. These may be only apparently less prevalent in civilized communities, being forbidden by law and so practised only in secret. At any rate it must be acknowledged that public morality among civilized peoples is so developed

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*R. Günther, *"Kulturgeschichte der Liebe,"* Berlin, 1900, p. 69. A significant example. The so-called "ticklers" of the European rubber manufacturers, discussed by S. Weissenberg in *"Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft,"* 1893, p. 135, have their typical analogy in the titillation stones of the Battaks (Staudinger, *"Reizsteine des Penis bei den Battakern auf Sumatra,"* ibidem 1891, p. 151), the penis prongs of the Orang Sinnoi in Malacca and the Dajaks of Borneo (Vaughan Stevens in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* 1896, pp. 181-2), and in the *ampallang* of the Sunda Islands (von Miklucho-Maclay in *Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft,* 1876, pp. 22-8); tribes which live in the most purely natural state imaginable and yet hit upon the same mechanical aids to increasing the woman's *voluptas in coitu* as are utilized by our *fin de siècle roués*—and for just the same reason.

†W. H. Roscher, *"Grundlagen der Nationalökonomie,"* Stuttgart, 1892, p. 688. "The so-called 'children of nature' have not the slightest idea of morality; it is beyond their mental grasp." J. Kohler, *"Einführung in die Rechtswissenschaft,"* Leipzig, 1902, p. 2.

and so established that there are far greater restrictions upon abnormal sexual activity than there are in the primitive state. Although sexual anomalies are found among peoples of the extreme north (Alaska, Kamchatka), just as in the south, undeniably climate, race, and nationality play a quite important role in the genesis of these aberrations.

Mantegazza makes this generalization: "All that can change human nature changes and modifies the manner of feeling and expressing love. Nationality, which itself is an effect of the modifying influences on man, has in turn the greatest modifying effect on love. We live in different ways not only because we are men and women, young and old, one with this, one with that temperament, but because we are Italian or Chinese, French or Australian. A traveler, a philosopher, an ethnographer describing the character of a people, must tell us how they make love, as the peculiarities in this respect are the most expressive feature in the moral physiognomy of a people . . . If it is a matter of ardor, of the relatively important part love plays in life, we can say that the peoples of the warm temperate zone who possess a lively imagination are the best lovers. Sensuality, polygamy, extravagant deviation, correspond to the earliness of puberty."*

First of all there can be no doubt that in the hotter regions of the earth the normal sex impulse and the abnormal expressions of it appear earlier and more intensely as well as more extensively than in the colder zones. For instance a comparison of northern and southern Europe will make this very plain. Anyone who has ever been in Italy must often have had occasion to observe with what immeasurably greater force the sex impulse expresses itself there than it does in

*Op. cit., pp. 412-413; 416.

northern Europe. Dr. Ziermann, an experienced army doctor and keen observer, who has spent many years in Sicily, has given perhaps the best description of the fiery sensuality and intense erotic ardor of the human and animal inhabitants of southern Italy.

"Under that serene sky, where all nature is sensuous delight, where every impression is received eagerly and translated directly into impulse, it is not strange that that greatest delight, woman, should be the engrossing preoccupation of man, should be the dearest—at times the only—object of his yearning aspiration. Small wonder indeed that the solemn mystery of Sicilian moonlight—and there are many, many moonlight nights in Sicily—should intensify the emotional susceptibility so magically. It was in the alluring groves of Paphos, in the pleasure fields of Amathunt that the enchanting cult of the bewitching goddess of beauty and of blessed Amor throve most splendidly. Italy, southern France, Spain, were ever the lands of love and its beguiling games. Susceptibility to the tender passion, greater vehemence of the sex impulse, rapid succession of seeding and bearing, are characteristic of all countries which enjoy the blessings of a more genial sun or which lie closer to the course of Phoebus' chariot. Throughout the whole animal kingdom the impulse expresses itself with incomparable, almost irresistible violence in summer. Young cocks, which crept out of the egg scarce fourteen days since, fall on the old hens with indescribable frenzy, battle jealously for their pleasure, and strive—since they are too small to reach the female organs of generation—to gratify their desire in the first place convenient. Their combs, as are the crests of the pullets, are usually of extraordinary size. One often sees the beasts which are in the service of man and so cannot go after their beloved, for instance the asses, coax

forth their sperm by rubbing their flanks or licking, as almost no beast, except the ox, is ever robbed of his virility. The lecherous billy-goat often pours the abundance of his vigor not into the lap of his yearning nanny, whose look and odor and nestling have maddened him, but into his beard."* Merely from this description we can understand how easily the glowing sensuality, the fiery nature of the people living in southern climates can be led into deviation, and we do indeed find all aberrations of the sex impulse much more frequently in warm countries than in cold. Havelock Ellis has verified the "remarkable fact" that an especial tendency to homosexuality is found in "certain races and in certain regions." At the same time, he says, it is not always clear whether this is connected with greater tendency to congenital inversion. In general, according to Havelock Ellis, the tendency is more frequent in hotter parts of the earth.

Sir Richard Burton, in this connection, has quite disregarded "race." Instead he makes the geographic location and the climate solely responsible for the greater frequency of sexual anomalies. In his translation of "The Arabian Nights" he has stated the peculiar theory of the "sotadic zone":

"1. There exists what I shall call a 'Sotadic Zone,' bounded westwards by the northern shores of the Mediterranean (N. Lat. 43°) and by the southern (N. Lat. 30°). Thus the depth would be 780 to 800 miles including meridional France, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy and Greece, with the coast-regions of Africa from Morocco to Egypt.

"2. Running eastward the Sotadic Zone narrows, embracing

*J. L. C. Ziermann, *"Ueber die vorherrschenden Krankheiten Siciliens,"* Hanover, 1819, pp. 16-18.

Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Chaldaea, Afghanistan, Sind, the Punjab and Kashmir.

"3. In Indo-China the belt begins to broaden, enfolding China, Japan and Turkistan.

"4. It then embraces the South Sea Islands and the New World where, at the time of its discovery, Sotadic love was, with some exceptions, an established racial institution.

"5. Within the Sotadic Zone the Vice is popular and endemic, held at the worst to be a mere peccadillo, whilst the races to the North and South of the limits here defined practise it only sporadically amid the opprobrium of their fellows, who, as a rule, are physically incapable of performing the operation and look upon it with the liveliest disgust."

The true explanation for the more frequent occurrence of homosexuality and other perversions of the *vita sexualis* in southern regions is to be found solely and only in the fact that the earlier appearance and greater intensity of the *libido* more frequently necessitate such means of increasing titillation.

Havelock Ellis, Symonds, Moll, and others, cannot help admitting that in reference to the tremendous prevalence of homosexuality in ancient Greece and in modern southern Europe any sort of "congenital" condition is out of the question. For that reason Havelock Ellis completely excludes the homosexuality indigenous to ancient Hellas from consideration of the same inversion in the Europe of today, though it was precisely in ancient Greece that the classic Uranism and Kynaedery were first developed. He says that any chosen number of men with homosexual inclinations in Greece included a much smaller number of constitutionally abnormal

persons than the same number of modern homosexual Englishmen would include. How, then, will he explain the existence, on such a huge scale, of invert love among the ancient Greeks? This certainly was not congenital, as these boy-loving men were decidedly heterosexual at the same time and performed their conjugal duty quite adequately. To be sure, there was the cult of beauty, which can lead to disregard of sex difference but hardly to such excesses of sensual boy-love as we find in ancient Hellas. In addition to this, then, it must really have been the climatic conditions described above which deviated the sex impulse and made national morality of what we justifiably consider a gross and unnatural vice. The regular practise of anal coitus in southern countries, due to the fact, as Rosenbaum, in his *"Geschichte der Lustseuche,"* and A. Eulenburg (op. cit. p. 99), have pointed out, that the climate causes the genitals of the southern women to become lax very early, is plainly a step in transition toward homosexuality. To the man seeking greater friction-titillation it was finally all one whether this was obtained by *coitus analis* with a woman or with a boy. That the latter form was practised on an appalling scale by the ancient Greeks and Romans I have demonstrated with a great deal of documentation in the second part of my treatise on the origin of syphilis. Cramer* too observes: "Homosexual intercourse in ancient Greece was merely a variation of sexual gratification. . . . Alcibiades ate black beans with the Spartans, played the scholar in Athens, and in Syria practised every kind of sexual intercourse which he desired. We can observe the same behavior today in non-European and non-Germanic countries, where no one thinks of attributing it to disease."

*Op. cit., p. 963.

It can, indeed, be due only to climatic conditions that today sexual perversions, especially homosexuality, are more deep-rooted, more frequent, and much less severely judged by the public morality in southern Europe than in northern; that in fact there are great differences between northern and southern Italy in this respect. When Moll* makes the low status of women, the nudity in the gymnasia, and "many other things" responsible for the rise of homosexuality among the ancient Greeks, who, as he too, strongly stresses, were at the same time heterosexual, among "the other things" certainly the influence of the climate is principally to be understood, without which, of course, nudity would have been impossible. According to Symonds, who declares the South Italian "racially homosexual," all the soldiers in the Italian army have to sleep in their drawers, even in the hottest weather, because of the indecent attacks which the Sicilians and Neapolitans habitually make on them. The North Italians, in this respect, regard their southern countrymen as a quite different people. The same is true of the South Slavs of the Balkan Peninsula in comparison with the North Slavs of Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. As to this, K. H. Ulrichs observes,† "The fact that the emotional life manifests itself in such extremely different ways among the different peoples is doubtless due mostly to the difference of blood. It seems to me, however, that in addition, the greater or less exuberance of emotion, as of plant-life, is dependent on climate, temperature, and geographical factors generally. North of the Alps an aloe plant, with all kinds of artificial aid, takes ten times longer to grow than it would here on the most barren Dalmatian crag. There too

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*"*Libido Sexualis,*" I, 677.

†"*Argonauticus,*" Leipzig, 1869, pp. 101-2.

the development of the nerve fibers must be slower than here, in the same ratio. That idea which scintillates in the golden goblet of the *Symposion* you will find truly alive today only in the Orient and among the South Slavic races, to a degree for which there is no comparison in the cool German nature. In fact the similar relations in ancient Greece, lightly put on and thrown off with true Attic 'measure,' are far surpassed by the South Slavs in depth of passion."

Conditions similar to those in southern Europe we find throughout the Orient, which from time immemorial has been a hot-house of sexual excess. The spread of Islam, whose teachings are "permeated with sensuality" (G. Fritsch), cannot alone be held accountable for this. Long before Mahomet the Orient—especially Phoenicia, Babylon, Persia—was regarded as the home and distribution-center of unnatural vice of every sort (pederasty, cunnilingus=phoinikízein). We can assume that natural conditions, chiefly climatic, produced that intensification of eroticism also. "It can be safely asserted," says Gustav Fritsch, "that in the Orient sex reaches deeper into human life in general and stirs all classes of human society more profoundly than is the case in Europe."* In the Orient also the precocious laxness and abnormal width of the female sex parts produce in men a preference for *coitus analis cum puella et cum puero* and lead to the frightful practise of sewing up the vagina so that copulation is possible only *in anu*.† The importance of climatic influences on the sex life in the Orient is stated baldly in this explanation of the "shocking" prevalence of *paedicatio fem-*

*G. Fritsch, *"Verunstaltungen der Genital-Organe im Orient,"* in Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1894, p. 456.
†Ibid., p. 457.

inae et pueri in Persia: "Women are used in winter, boys in summer, because in summer women stink"! F. Karsch.* According to Tarnowsky also, "life interests in the Orient are concentrated exclusively on sex activity; this produces moral depravity in the grossest form and leads to acquired pederasty."†

India offers a classic example of "the hunger for titillation," the quest for ever greater refinement upon and variation of erotic pleasure, gaining universal prevalence, approval, even a certain measure of legal sanction, in a tropical climate. "The Indian," I observed in another place, "regards a certain variation and artificiality in sex as highly beneficial to health and good in the eyes of the gods. The different *figurae Veneris* (not fewer than forty-eight‡) are therefore considered eminently proper. Day, hour, and manner are prescribed precisely. There are certain manipulations before, during, and after copulation. *Ungues, lingua, dentes* are used for aphrodisiac purposes, artificial enlargement of the member is attempted in different ways, for instance by biting, and by the application of insects. *Lingam* (penis) and *yoni* (vulva) are worshiped as divinities."|| Richard Schmidt, in the introduction to his extremely valuable *"Beiträge zur indischen Erotik,"* has very correctly described the role of the climate in the genesis of the sexual aberrations and extravagances of the Indians.

**"Uranismus bei den Naturvölkern,"* in Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, Leipzig, 1901, vol. III, p. 103.

†Op. cit., p. 72.

‡In this the Indians outdo the Italians. Even Veriero, the author of the notorious *"Puttana errante,"* enumerates only thirty-two positions.

||Iwan Bloch, *"Indische Medizin,"* in Handbuch der Geschichter der Medizin by T. Puschmann, Jena, 1901, vol. I, p. 146.

He says, "If love is so important universally, we must not be surprised to find that under special conditions, particularly climatic, this already great importance is magnified to proportions which by the relatively humble standards of us northerners seem fabulous, grotesque. Such is the case in India, that land of opposites, where the human temperament oscillates between the sublime and the vile, the gracious and the monstrous, the beautiful and the hideous, and the desire bounds from the most atrocious asceticism to the maddest debauchery. The blast-furnace heat of the Indian sun, the faerie splendor of the vegetation, the enchanting poesy of the moonlight nights permeated with the fragrance of the lotus flower, finally—and by no means least—the peculiar role the Indian people have played from time immemorial, the role of world-forsaking dreamers, philosophers, impractical enthusiasts, all unite to make the Indian a true virtuoso in love. Thus love in India, in theory and practise, is an engrossing preoccupation of whose paramount importance we can hardly form an idea."*

The physician and the jurist must hail the more accurate knowledge of the Indian love life which has been made possible in Germany largely through the efforts of Dr. Schmidt. The data prove amply that obscene refinement upon sexual intercourse was taught systematically and as a religious commandment, therefore that a basis in any congenital or diseased conditions whatever, so-called *"psychopathia sexualis"* in the Krafft-Ebing sense, is simply out of the question. Many very peculiar text-books of love teach as absolutely necessary the varieties of sexual aberrations, sadism in the form of scratching, biting, and flagellating (including *morsus*

*"*Beiträge zur indischen Erotik,"* Leipzig, 1902, pp. 1-2.

genitalium), use of stimulants for enlarging the penis and for widening or narrowing the vulva, *cunnilingus* and smell-fetishism (paragraphs in Kokkoka *de decoratione et de foetore cunni*), *coitum interruptum, coitum ore conficiendum, coitum inversum,* and as so-called *"auparistacam"* the *coitus oralis* of the male pederasts. Homosexual love between women is also expounded in the *"Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana."**

The *"Kama"* says: "As the harems are guarded, no man can visit them, and as there is only one husband and he is common to many wives, these find no gratification. Therefore they must satisfy each other artificially. They equip foster-sister, confidante, or slave as a man and appease their desires with phallus-shaped roots, knobs, or artificial members." It is a mistake to think that these works on the Art of Love are meant only for individual fanciers of such things. They are for the education of the great masses of the people; they are simply the literary expression of national customs which are considered so natural as to require no reticence, indeed are regarded as religious practises. It is obvious what must have resulted from these principles, and a qualified English observer was undoubtedly right when he asserted, "Even the most debauched European is a pattern of modesty compared with the Indians themselves."†

The beginning of the *"Smaradipika"* (lamps of love) of Kadra-Ruda reads: "Those who know the contents of the

*Translated from the Sanscrit, Benares, 1883. This and the *"Ananga Ranga"* are the best known works on the Hindu Art of Love. For a discussion of other Indian text-books and erotic literature, see Hubert Jansen in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie,* Berlin, 1901, vol. 32, pp. 88-94; R. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 1-81.
†Edinburgh Review vol. XX, p. 484.

text-book of love are dear to the beautiful, those who are not so versed merely rut as do the beasts. The bliss of the love play which consists in manifold entrancing ceremonies inter coitum makes the existence of man beatific, and how so? Even (so potent an animal as) a bull (even) among hundreds of cows does not enjoy the raptures of love ecstasy (simply because he does not know the teachings of the *ars amandi*). How men shall protect their own wives and make other women favorably inclined, how to execute the different *bhanda* (positions in coitus) and gestures, is the profit (which one derives from the study) of this text-book of love. The man who has lived a year dedicated solely to the love god has experienced all that earth offers; he has reduced this world to nought."* "The man who is insufficiently advised as to the class, the character, the preferences, the local usages, the application, the conditions and gestures, and is not familiar with the substance of the love pleasure, blunders even when he has found the freshness of youth with women; what indeed does a monkey do with a cocoanut which he has seized?"**

In Indo-China exactly the same conditions prevail, not only among the entirely savage tribes, like the Orang Sinnoi in Malacca, but also among the somewhat more advanced inhabitants of Annam and Tonkin. Here too since ancient times the sexual perversions have prevailed on a great scale; particularly in Annam boy-prostitution was widespread long before the arrival of the Europeans.†

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*Schmidt, *"Beiträge,"* pp. 76-7.

**Beginning of the Ratirahasya (secret of love pleasure) in Schmidt, op. cit., p. 62.

†See "Untrodden Fields of Anthropology," Paris, 1898, vol. I, pp. 109, 112, 171; and Mondière's *"Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie,"* vol. I, p. 465.

In neighboring China, too, the "frightfully developed unnatural vice"* is due essentially to cultivation. The Chinese likewise have their erotic text-books, as for instance the remarkable work translated into English "Deathblow to Corrupt Doctrines," Shanghai, 1870. The sexual perversions are widespread and are artificially cultivated; in many brothels young boys are trained for pederastic prostitution. In Tientsin in the sixties of the last century there were thirty-five such boy brothels with eight hundred boys, who at the evening theatrical performances offered themselves to the spectators. These male prostitutes are also to be found in the inns and on canal boats.† It is significant that at feasts given by rich Chinese there are prostitutes of both sexes who must sensually stimulate the guests. There are Chinese stories about boy-love in which all the sensual pleasures including the physical couplings are described.‡ The Chinese in America are "for the most part frightful pederasts."‖ Like pederasty, tribadism is very widespread in China and often occurs epidemically, as a result, obviously, of imitation and seduction. Otto de Joux¶ reports, from the Chinese city Nan-Hai-Pan-Yü and the Shun-te district, an instance which precludes any thought of a congenital condition.

Of the natives of Formosa the seventeenth-century Chinese annals Tai-wan-fu-chi tell, "When man and wife abstain from intercourse, no matter whether there are children or

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*G. Schlegel, quoted in Roscher, op. cit., p. 723.

†Moll, pp. 103-4.

‡Morache, article "Chine" in *"Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales,"* quoted by Ellis.

‖Otto de Joux, *"Die Enterbten des Liebesglückes,"* Leipzig, 1893, p. 219.

¶Ibid., p. 219.

not, vice is practised everywhere and with every one,"* a declaration which throws a significant light on the way sexual aberrations develop. In Japan likewise perverse sexual practises are frequent.† Vaginal balls are used onanistically by the Japanese women.** Japanese bonzes may love only boys.***

The influence of a warmer climate in hastening sexual development and intensifying the sexual sensations—this influence is fully recognized by Waitz too‡—is naturally easier to identify among the more differentiated peoples of civilization (note, for instance, the difference between northern and southern Italians, North and South Slavs) than among the so-called peoples of nature. It certainly has its effect upon the latter too, though we cannot distinguish it so precisely from the other causes of sexual perversions.

Another climatic factor which has been placed in etiologic relation with sexual anomalies is the mountain climate. Tarnowsky observes, "Along with idiotism and cretinism, the higher degrees of sexual perversion or complete extinction of sex activity are found very frequently among the inhabitants of high mountain ranges. Mountainous Armenia, on a flat plateau of six to ten thousand feet altitude, was, according to the accounts of the Persians, the cradle of pederasty; from here it spread to the whole Orient. In this respect, of interest

*F. Hirth, *"Chinesische Aufzeichnungen über die Wilden Formosas"* in *Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft,* 1893, p. 334.

†Moll, op. cit., p. 104.

**Ploss-Bartels I, 452.

***Ulrichs, "Memnon," Leipzig, 1898, p. 90.

‡*"Anthropologie der Naturvölker,"* Leipzig, 1877, vol. I, p. 44.

also are the statements of a completely credible traveler that a long stay at great altitude diminishes the sensual pleasure and weakens erection, which returns with new vigor on descent into the valley. This decrease of sex activity can serve partly as explanation for the relatively small increase of population in mountainous countries, and, in that it is inherited, it represents one of the degenerative factors which bring about perversity of the sex sense."* Perhaps a simpler explanation is that the impotent person often requires new, unaccustomed, and peculiar titillation to obtain sexual satisfaction. If, therefore, impotence occurs more frequently in mountain countries, the greater frequency of sexual aberrations in these regions may be understood as a result. On the other hand there may be some connection with the idiotism and cretinism endemic there.

More or less obscure is the influence of race and nationality. If it is thought in Aryan Europe that the Semite is especially sensual, the opinion may be based on prejudice rather than on factually established race distinctions. Among the Jews, at least, unnatural vice is of conspicuously rare occurrence. I shall return to this point later and deal with it more comprehensively in the discussion of the influence of marriage. The tremendous prevalence of sexual perversions among the Semites living in the Orient (Arabs) who spread them everywhere (for instance in Africa) is certainly due to other causes rather than racial peculiarities. With equal justice the Mongolian, and above all the Malay, could be declared "especially sensual races."

It is just as difficult to ascertain the influence of nationality. Mantegazza certainly is right in asserting that there is a na-

*Op. cit., pp. 35-6.

tional love, that every people offers something original, peculiar in its sex life. Thus we find a predilection for active and passive flagellation undeniably more widespread among the English than among other nationalities. The great scatologic literature of the French points to a remarkable sexual perversion which was already spreading in France in the sixteenth century and today finds its expression in the *renifleurs* and *stercoraires*. No country can compare with France in this respect. The same is true of sadism in France. Yet these peculiarities indicate the cumulative effect of purely external factors, like imitation, seduction, etc., rather than an influence to be explained by national character alone, even if one nationality took up these peculiarities before any other did.*

*About national differences in sex life see the brilliant article of A. Eulenburg in *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, 1901, no. 48, pp. 3065-6.

CHAPTER FOUR — STRANGE SEXUAL RELATONS OF NEGROID PRIMITIVES — TRIBAL AMATORY CUSTOMS AND PLEASURE CONTRIVANCES—SAVAGE LESBIAN LOVE—INDIANS

We come now to a discussion of sexual perversions among the real primitive peoples.

Dr. F. Karsch has recently presented a highly meritorious collection of all facts related to homosexuality among primitive peoples,* without, however, attempting any basic explanation of its genesis. In his conclusion he does not express an opinion as to whether this perversion is congenital or acquired; indeed he considers such an explanation of Uranism of no practical value. (Pp. 177-8.) But from Karsch's compilation it follows, on the basis of ample evidence, that among all primitive peoples too homosexuality is an acquired perversion, mostly due to intentional training, that it is a constituent part of the religious and other usages, hence of the tribal morality.† When there really seems to be anything

*"*Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern,"* in Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, Leipzig, 1901, vol. III, pp. 72-201.

†Von Hellwald has pointed to this deeply rooted tendency to unnatural vices among all primitive peoples. *"Kulturgeschichte,"* Augsburg, 1875, pp. 399; 456.

like congenital predisposition or early spontaneous development of homosexuality, always a very few individuals are concerned, quite isolated exceptional cases. A brief glance over the content of Karsch's treatise will confirm the accuracy of this opinion.

In the introduction Karsch remarks that "Greek love" as it once, among the ancient Hellenes, "forced its way irresistibly to the surface," has recently begun an analogous development in Germany and is emerging from shameful concealment into the light of day. This identification of "Greek love" with modern homosexuality simply proves that we are dealing here not with any ineradicable innate impulse, but with an acquired peculiar kind of love activity. For Karsch certainly cannot wish to characterize as congenital the homosexuality of the Greeks, who were perfectly good heterosexuals too and enjoyed their women as well as their boys. I reiterate that an explanation of the nature of homosexuality must proceed from the Greeks as a point of departure. Thus many errors and confusions will be avoided. Although an originally ideal element in Greek boy-love cannot be denied, in the last analysis it was chiefly the purely sensual sexual gratification which drew persons of the same sex together, as is sufficiently confirmed by the *ólisbos* of the Greek tribades and the widely prevalent *paedicatio pueri.* (See, about this, the exhaustive explanations in Part II of my *"Ursprung der Syphilis."*)

Among the negroid peoples those of Australia are mentioned first. We learn only that pederasty occurs among them, no details are given. (P. 90.) On the other hand, pederasty is a tribal custom among the Melanesians (p. 90),

and perhaps is due chiefly to the separation of the sexes at night. Men and men sleep together, women and women. The men have intercourse with the women, it is true, but only for offspring, otherwise the men live in pederastic community (pp. 91-2). Just as among the ancient Greeks.

As to the real negroes, G. Fritsch declares quite generally that "sensuality and the indecency which goes with utter lack of moral restraint are in the African blood."

Dr. Oscar Baumann has studied the perverse sexual manifestations among the negro population of Zanzibar more closely.* He thinks that congenital as well as acquired perversions are pretty frequent, while the former are very great rarities among the negroes of Central Africa. He then observes, however, that the greater frequency in Zanzibar is undoubtedly to be attributed to the Arabs, who together with Comorans and more well-to-do Swahili half-breeds furnish also the greater number of cases of acquired perversion. Thus quite a different light falls on the genesis of homosexuality in the native population. Perhaps their pederasts, too, as may be seen from the following description, are almost exclusively those so trained. This is what Baumann says, "Mostly experiencing sex pleasure very early, these people (the Arabs) soon know satiety. They seek stimulation in perversity, but practise normal intercourse also. Later they lose all libido for the female sex and become active pederasts. When impotence overtakes them they resort to passive pederasty. That, briefly, is the usual and typical genesis of active and passive homosexuality. Their partners belong almost exclusively to the

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*"*Konträre Sexual-Erscheinungen bei der Neger-Bevölkerung Zanzibars,"* in Verhandlungen der Berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft, 1899, pp. 668-670.

black slave population; only rarely do poor freemen, Arabians, Beluches, and so forth, prostitute themselves for money. The half-grown slaves selected for the purpose are kept away from all work (idleness is proverbially the origin of vice), well cared-for, and systematically softened (*kulainishwa*). At first they find pleasure in normal sex acts too, and they remain normal if they are not employed as male prostitutes over too long a period. If they are, however, the scrotum gradually shrinks, the member loses the ability to erect, and the individual can find pleasure only in passive pederasty. By imitation the negroes of Zanzibar also acquired perverse tastes. As not many slaves of their own were at their disposal a male prostitution developed, which was supplied partly by former boy-prostitutes of the Arabs, partly by other negroes."* This report shows that at any rate seduction and imitation played the greatest part in the development and spread of homosexuality among the negroes of Zanzibar. The few congenital inverts Baumann identified by the fact that "from childhood they showed no impulse toward women," they assumed women's clothing very early, performed feminine tasks. Whether these symptoms are sufficient for a diagnosis of congenital inversion I would decidedly question, especially in the light of Baumann's further remark that the congenital inverts associated chiefly with women and male prostitutes.† Association with women shows decidedly the presence of heterosexual inclinations and is hard to reconcile with congenital homosexuality.

That the tribadic practises of the Zanzibar negresses are not to be imputed to congenital homosexual predisposition is

*Baumann, op. cit., p. 668.
†Ibid., p. 669.

proved most strikingly by the circumstance that *kulambana* (cunnilingere) and *kujitia mbo ya mpingo* (apply the ebony penis to oneself) are mostly performed by both partners at the same time. In the latter case a carved, oiled, sickle-shaped piece of ebony or ivory representing the *membrum virile* is used by the two women, each placing one end in her vagina. If the psychology here were genuinely homosexual the "masculine" partner would refuse this simultaneously passive role. So it is really just a matter of mutual masturbation, gratification *sine viro* such as occurs in the Arabian harems where the unsatisfied women yearn in rigid seclusion.

Sodomy in the form of sexual intercourse with nanny-goats has also been observed in Zanzibar.*

Johnston assumed that the masculine youth of all the negro tribes of Africa naturally favored pederasty. (Karsch, p. 95). Werne, however, imputes this vice to diffusion by the Turks, who "from the greatest to the lowest endeavored to spread it, and kept their boys, who are called *pust.*" (Karsch, p. 96). At any rate the artificial origin of homosexuality among the Dahomey negroes is unmistakable. The ruler of Dahomey confiscated almost all the women of the country for his own use. The men, for gratification, were forced into pederastic relations. Pederasty "once it had become a national custom, was taken up by the ruler and the aristocrats, thus receiving a sort of legal status." (Karsch, p. 99, after Bastian and Fritz Schultze). Peculiar and significant, too, is the origin of sexual perversions among the Manghabei of Madagascar. "Little boys and little girls played love games in the presence of their parents, who laughed at them and

*Baumann, op. cit., p. 670.

even egged them on. At times, little boys, in the presence of their parents, violated calves and kids. The slaves, unable, because of their lack of means, to court the girls, used their masters' cows for the satisfaction of their desires, and were not punished, in fact were not blamed. Some men, called *'tsecats,'* were effeminate, shunned women, and sought the society of young men. To Flacourt they explained their behavior as dictated by the custom of the country and by religious considerations." (P. 101.) Similar are the *"sekrata"* among the Sakalavas of Madagascar, who "from earliest childhood, because of their more delicate appearance, are treated as girls"; perhaps partly because of training, partly because of religious influence, they assume feminine ways and permit pedication by men. (P. 102).

Among the South African natives, according to Fritsch, (p. 103), pederasty is hardly known; on the other hand mutual masturbation among the women is widely prevalent. Fritsch observes in a letter to Karsch: "When girls are *omapanga* with each other they practise some kind of reciprocal gratification. This involves at least two individuals. The method perhaps varies, but Lesbian love seems less prevalent than reciprocal masturbation, performed manually or by means of a suitable or unsuitable object." (P. 87). These perverse practises, too, arise simply from the desire for intense increase of titillation, by no means from diseased or congenital conditions.

As to the Mayalan primitives, the Battaks of Sumatra are said to be addicted to all kinds of vicious practises, bestiality among others.

On the Sulu Islands pederasty was so general that the women had to take steps against it; among the Betanimenes on

Madagascar the dancers are dressed as women, copy the women in their deportment, but apparently do not practise any homosexual intercourse (pp. 106-8). The women of Bali favor Lesbian love, with its digital and lingual variations (Ploss-Bartels, I, p. 453). In Hawaii incredible sexual conditions result from congested dwelling places. The promiscuous association produces universal homosexuality, sodomy, bestiality. Remy makes the remarkable statement that to every ten thousand births there is one "hermaphrodite" who sexually is more woman than man (p. 108). Conditions on Tahiti, too, are peculiar. Poor men could not buy women, so they practised onanism extensively; this made them impotent and caused perverse practises. "Frivolity and idleness," according to Ratzel, "produce incredible refinements upon sexual misconduct among the Tahitians." Men dressed as women are called *"mahhus"*; they have chosen this way of living in early childhood; they are few in number (pp. 104-111). The probable occurrence of tribadism, too, is indicated by obscene dances of the young unmarried girls. (P. 88).

Pöppig found sexual aberrations among the Indians in Canada as well as on the mountains of Quito and in the forests of the Amazonas and of Paraguay. Hennepin, in 1697, differentiated three kinds of homosexual men: hermaphrodites, men of feminine appearance, and men who utilized effeminates for the gratification of their sex impulse. It is certain, however, that the "hermaphrodites" were merely effeminate men. The feminine garb is often assumed in childhood, in other cases not until more advanced age, as a result of "a dream or higher inspiration." Finally, in many Indian tribes feminine garb is worn as a punishment, sometimes as a religious usage—the priestly cloth. The effeminate men satisfy their sex impulse mostly by irrumation or fellation. The non-

effeminate homosexual men make no distinction between women and effeminate men in sexual intercourse. (PP. 112-125). The following is to be emphasized. In all Indian tribes of the northwest coast of America pederasty occurs simply as a result of extreme sensuality. The canes and tobacco pipes of the Nutka Indians are often decorated with carvings which illustrate "the most repulsive and filthy depravity." The cynicism of the men is frightful (p. 125). Perrin du Lac found men in women's clothing among all the tribes of North America; these often served both sexes for the gratification of the passions. Lahoutau reports the same of the Illinois Indians. About the latter, de la Salle is more explicit. They "love women inordinately, and boys yet more than women. By this frightful vice the boys become very womanish. As soon as a boy gives himself to prostitution he is forbidden to wear men's clothes." (P. 129). The Illinois Indians are supposed to have introduced pederasty among the Iroquois. Numerous cases of very late appearance of effemination are reported among the Dakotas, Osages, and Kansas (pp. 132-3).

Among the Mandans the men-women are especially desired by the men, and for sexual enjoyment are preferred to the women (pp. 133-7). The effeminate "messengers" among the Crow Indians practise sexual intercourse with women but find their chief enjoyment in *fellatio virorum* (pp. 138-141). Of great importance is William A. Hammond's long famous report of the so-called *"mujerados"* of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, who offer a classic example of inculcated homosexuality. The Pueblos choose, in every village, a young man or several young men to be made sexually impotent and available for pederastic purposes. These pederastic practises are part of the religious ceremonies of the

Pueblos which take place every spring. For a mujerado a very strong man is selected. He is masturbated several times a day and compelled to ride constantly without a saddle. The results are frequent pollutions and gradual pressure-atrophy of the testicles. Finally, virility disappears completely, the individual assumes feminine character in every respect. "His whole condition is forced upon him by the power of tradition, custom, and public opinion." The mujerados are then sexually abused by the men (pp. 141-5). In pre-Columbian Mexico, too, according to the reports of the Conquistadors, such effeminates were found. There were even man-brothels (p. 146). The Maya peoples practised pedication, as is shown by sculptures in Yucatan, where, according to Gomarra, pederasty was "the custom of the country." (P. 148). Twelfth-century soldier orgies in which pedication had a part were commemorated in the monuments of the Cakchiquels by the Atitlan Lake. After victory in war the conquered were forced to passive pederasty. (Brasseur, on the conquest of Guatemala by the Olmeques). Of interest is Brasseur's observation that in Central America male performers were used almost exclusively for ballets and dramatic productions, taking feminine as well as masculine roles (p. 149). Among the Cueva Indians the aristocrats keep young boys (*camayoa*) for pederastic gratification, which purpose is also served by men in women's clothes.

On the Antilles not only men but women let themselves be pedicated. (PP. 149-150). The artificial inculcation of pederasty appears in drastic fashion among the Laches in South America. By long established custom, the sixth boy born to a woman who had born only boys, was brought up as a kinaed. (P. 150). Among the ancient Peruvians pederasty and other sexual vices increased greatly after invasion by enemies. Ac-

cording to Zimmermann there were still a good many womanish men in Peru in the nineteenth century. Quite rightly he remarks that the inordinate sexual demands of the women have a weakening effect on the men which contributes to the spread of feminine ways among them. Pöppig mentions the maricones, the boy prostitutes of the Andes Indians (pp. 153-4). Among the Muras of the Magellan Straits the attainment of puberty by the boys was celebrated with pederastic festivals (p. 156). Among the Araucanians there are male and female sorcerers. The male sorcerers are required to forsake their sex and put on feminine clothing; they are not permitted to marry. Mostly they are selected as children, those of feminine appearance being preferred (p. 157-8).

In the homosexuality of the arctic peoples, too, artificial inculcation plays the chief role. Cranz found among the Greenlanders only one womanish man, who did not go out in the cayak like the other men but performed feminine tasks. His mother had prevented him, since childhood, from going to sea, because she feared to lose him by drowning, like her husband and eldest son (p. 159). Billings reports that on the Aleutians some parents give their boys a feminine upbringing to enable them later to serve the chiefs as boy concubines. These *"shupans"* are brought up with girls, trained in feminine activities exclusively, and later substitute for women in cohabitation with men. They are also called *"akhnutchik."* Dawydow says, "The father or the mother designates the son in his earliest childhood for an *akhnutchik* if he seems girlish. Sometimes the parents have wished for a daughter, and on finding their hopes disappointed they make the newborn son an *akhnutchik.*" I cannot imagine why Karsch infers congenital homosexuality from "girlish appearance" and contradicts Havelock Ellis' and Symonds' thoroughly correct

view that the feminine aspect of a very young child is no indication of homosexuality (p. 162). The second case outlined by Dawydow refutes Karsch's assumption basically, as there certainly cannot be any diagnosis of homosexuality or effemination in a newborn child.

Wrangel says pederasty is "quite usual" among the Tchuktchis (p. 164). Erman reports of the Korjaks that from time immemorial they have had, in addition to their "jealously loved wives," male concubines called *"kéelgi,"* that they even have *kéelgi* of stone covered with furs. This so obviously represents a mere striving for variation and for refinement upon sexual intercourse that any other interpretation would be absurd. Similar conditions prevail among the inhabitants of Kamchatka, the Itelms or Kamchatadals. Steller says that the men had *shupans,* that is, effeminate men, whom, besides their wives, they used *per posteriora.* "As the Itelms copulate and bear indiscriminately in their dwellings, before the eyes of their own children, all the handiwork of Venus is learned in tender years. The children try to imitate their parents. When they succeed, the parents boast of the children's cleverness. When boys polluted each other *per anam* (sic) the parents reproved them for it as something not quite proper, but did not abstain from the vice themselves. Pederasts had to put on women's clothes, live among the women and conduct themselves as women in every respect. This was so general in old times that almost every man kept a boy in addition to his wife. The women were not displeased, but associated with their male rivals in quite friendly fashion."*
The reader will readily recognize the great similarity of the

*G. W. Steller, *"Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamschatka u. s. w.,"* Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, pp. 350-1.

conditions described here with those in classic antiquity (intercourse with wife as well as with boys). At the same time clarifying light is cast upon the origin of these sexual aberrations. The counterpart of the *"podex laevis"* (Juvenal Sat. II, v. 12) is the *hauellakumach* (that is, "a smooth — which is always ready for sodomy") of the Itelms; hence the similarity of the purely physical expression of the aberration can also be inferred.*

The great part played by mere immoderate sensual appetite in producing the perversions of the Kamtchadals is apparent from the fact, reported by Krascheminikow, that the Kamtchadals have two or three wives, so that, in accordance with the proverb *"Variatio delectat,"* they can enjoy a pleasant change in sexual intercourse; and besides their wives they also keep men for sex pleasure.

An additional circumstance must be taken into account, which obviously aggravates these conditions. Steller reports that the sex organs of men and women, among the Itelms, do not fit each other: "Small *membra genitalia* and big wide *muliebria* are characteristic of Itelms and Mongolians to this day. . . . Although the members (of the men) are very small, they are great *venerei.* The women have small round breasts, which are still quite firm, and by no means drooping, at forty; the genitals are very wide and big, therefore they favor the Cossacks and foreigners and despise and scorn their own nation."† Karsch remarks that the unprejudiced must draw from this fact the conclusion that the Itelms have been constituted by nature itself for pedication, with their bodily

*As to epilations and alterations of the anus among the Greek and Roman pederasts, see the detailed account in Part II of my *"Ursprung der Syphilis."*

†Steller, op. cit., p. 251; 229.

structure; he asks, however, why the Itelms, with their small genitals, practise pedication with men and not with women. The first requires no elucidation, and anal coitus *cum muliere,* even if it is not expressly stated, is, however, very probable, precisely because of the incompatibility of the male and female genitals; apparently, too, the Itelms, in spite of their homosexual practise, were great lovers of women—a strong argument against the natural homosexuality supposed by Karsch. In my opinion we have again a mere case of variation.

Of the inhabitants of Unalashka (Aleutians) Langsdorff reports that they often bring up "good-looking young boys" as girls, so that they are expert in all feminine tasks. Their beards are plucked out and they are tattooed around the mouth like women (p. 171). Noteworthy too is the following observation of Steller: "In Kamchatka the women also practise vice with women, by means of the clitoris, which they call *netchitch* on the Bolshaya Rieka. Formerly the women were greatly addicted to vice with dogs." (P. 89). This too helps clarify the true nature of the homosexuality among the inhabitants of Kamchatka.

By way of supplement let us adduce another description of the "sekrata" of Madagascar mentioned before.* "The sekrata are always normally developed males who are treated as female only because they are very soft and delicate. They finally come to regard themselves as completely feminine. They assume the dress, the ways, the characteristics of the female, and the auto-suggestion goes so far that they quite forget their true sex. They devote the greatest care to their toilet, wear long dresses and long hair wound in a pretty

*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, 1901, vol. III, pp. 578-9.

knot. Silver coins are fastened in their pierced ears as decoration, their arms and ankles are adorned with bracelets. The sekrata have the demeanor of women, and finally, by practise and imitation, feminine voices also. They have no heavy work to do, they occupy themselves only with the household, cooking, and weaving mats. They are exempt from military service, and they must not tend the cows, as this employment is reserved for the men. Nobody is shocked by the sekrata, on the contrary their behavior is considered quite natural. Any expression of distaste would be severely avenged, according to the prevailing superstition: the insulted sekrata would put a curse on the offending person so that he would fall ill." This description, too, points in no wise to congenital homosexuality.

An unbiased consideration of these reports of the sexual aberrations among the primitive peoples can lead to no other conclusion than that here too these sexual anomalies are acquired in life, that a congenital predisposition occurs only very rarely and even then perhaps would not come to light if it were not cultivated artificially. We have observed the causes for such cultivation. Very rightly, Karsch points in his conclusion to another reason, not yet mentioned, but most important, for pederastic intercourse among primitive peoples, that is, as a substitute for procreation when over-population threatens, thus as a check in the Malthusian sense. Karsch suggests that among civilized peoples, too, under these circumstances, "an encouragement of Uranian practises might be in order." (P. 178). Those who, like Karsch, regard intermediatism as a necessity decreed by nature itself must arrive purely theoretically at such conclusions, whose hazardous import I can doubtless spare myself the trouble of analyzing.

CHAPTER FIVE — SOPHISTICATED FORMS OF VICE—URBAN AND RURAL—RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF PERVERSITIES IN MEN AND WOMEN OF PRIMITIVE AND MODERN RACES

If it has been proved by the foregoing that the same sexual perversions and titillation apparatus which we find among the cultivated peoples of ancient and modern times are widely distributed among peoples living in the "natural" state, in the tropic forests of Borneo and Sumatra as well as in the bleak wastes of Kamchatka, it should not be assumed *a priori* that there is any fundamental difference between analogous conditions in the more limited sphere of a single people, namely between urban and rural conditions.

The great treatise of Pastor C. Wagner on the sexual morals of the Protestant rural population of the German Empire (Leipzig, 1897-8, three volumes) has demonstrated that vice of every sort occurs very frequently in the country, and, as Moll accurately observes, "has radically destroyed the myth of rural innocence." In fact, we read and hear very often of sex crimes, homosexuality, and other misconduct of country people. Particularly sodomy and bestiality seem much more prevalent in the country than in the city. The obvious ex-

planation is the readier opportunity for such perverse acts. The association of the two sexes is much freer in the country and to an extraordinary degree promotes early sexual relations.* We must not forget the part played by the peasant boys returning from military service, who, not seldom, spread "the most sophisticated forms of vice."† At any rate it is significant that Moll is in doubt whether there are more homosexuals in the country or in the city. He remarks, "Whether homosexuality flourishes more in big cities than in small ones, and whether it is less manifest in the country than in the cities, I cannot state with certainty. Most homosexuals about whom scientific data are available have lived in the city all their lives or for a considerable length of time; however, we cannot conclude from this, under any circumstances, simply that perversion is due to the temptations of metropolitan life. In recent times, especially, I have become acquainted with numerous cases in which the patients, before the sexual perversion declared itself, had lived either in the country or in small cities. We certainly learn occasionally of legal prosecutions for homosexual acts in the country."‡

Among the individual etiologic factors of abnormal *vita sexualis* the age of the person plays a certain role. It can be said in general that the frequency of sexual aberrations is greater after puberty than before and also increases in later years. The time in which the imagination displays its richest activity, the beginning of puberty, is extremely conducive to the origin and fixation of sexual aberrations, while on the

*Compare the experiences of Dr. C. Hülsmeyer as country physician, in his *"Staats-Bordelle. Praktische Lösung der Prostitutionsfrage,"* Hagen, 1892, pp. 42-3.
†Wagner, op. cit., vol. II, p. 34.
‡Moll, *"Konträre Sexualempfindung,"* p. 145.

other hand the age of decreasing sexual power, which needs new stimulants for excitation, engenders many abnormal kinds of gratification. There is truth in Schopenhauer's observation that homosexuality is a phenomenon of the immaturity and of the decay of the procreative power; he is fanciful in explaining this on the ground that nature intentionally produces sex aberrations to prevent propagation at those ages. He says: "For this purpose Nature must use her favorite instrument, the instinct, which guides all phases of the important business of procreation, and, in doing so, produces such strange illusions. Here, to attain her end, Nature must lead the instinct itself astray. For Nature knows only the physical, not the moral, indeed between Nature and morality there is out-and-out antagonism. Preservation of the individual, but more particularly of the species, as complete as possible, is her only purpose. Now physically too, pederasty is injurious to the youth seduced into it, but not so much so that it is not the lesser of two evils, which she chooses in order to prevent the much greater, the lasting and progressive evil, the deterioration of the species. Since, therefore, the unripe sperma, like that deteriorated by age, can beget only puny, inferior and miserable progeny, there is often, in youth as in age, an erotic attraction between males, which in youth perhaps very infrequently culminates in actual vice, as it is opposed by the innocence, purity, conscientiousness and timidity of the young."* The occurrence of homosexuality in early childhood is in most cases the expression of the not yet differentiated sex impulse, as Moll likewise concedes† an das will later be shown unmistakably in our study

*Arthur Schopenhauer, *"Metaphysik der Geschlechtsliebe,"* in Sämmtliche Werke, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 664-5; 666.
*Op. cit., p. 152.
†Op. cit., p. 152.

of conditions in boarding schools. That in old age, even without dementia, sexual perversions of all kinds are relatively frequent has long been known. Significantly, the monk Jérome, in the Marquis de Sade's "Justine," is the oldest and the most vicious participant in the sexual orgies. (Justine, II, p. 66).

In which of the two sexes is perversion of more frequent occurrence? If we were to judge from the novels of the just mentioned Marquis de Sade we should be in doubt whether man or woman was more inclined to sexual anomalies. De Sade's women, Juliette, Clairwil, la Dubois, Olympia, etc., are at least worthy of their male comrades in their appetite for sophisticated refinements upon sex pleasure and in their ingenuity in inventing these; they are infected with the same perversions. However, although the theory advanced by Lombroso and Ferrero that woman is less susceptible sexually has been radically refuted by A. Eulenburg, it is not to be denied that in general man has a more powerful impulse life than woman has. The sensual longing expresses itself earlier and more forcibly in the man, while the intact nubile woman can more easily resist the obscure urge toward sexual union. Effertz observes, "Most persons think that young girls in the first stages of puberty are especially inflammable venereally. This opinion is based on a confusion of venereal and erotic. Young girls certainly are extremely susceptible erotically. On a moment's notice they fall in love with a red hussar, a blue dragoon. This gives the layman the false impression that the girl is venereally aroused. What really occurs is a physiological erotomania and by no means a physiological nymphomania. Often young erotomanic girls are even decidedly antivenerean. With boys it is quite different. Immediately upon reaching puberty boys become venereally as well as erotically

aroused, spontaneously. At puberty boys experience not only physiological erotomania but also physiological *satyriasis*, and often the *satyriasis* is of greater intensity than the erotomania. Thus there are more boys who masturbate than boys who write bad verses to the beloved. The boy becomes a man by himself, but the virgin must, as is said poetically, 'first be kissed into womanhood.' "* In maturity motherhood is also an effective check upon the impulses and eruptions of natural sensuality. Frigidity is undoubtedly more frequent in women than in men, not only among prostitutes, whose senses, comprehensibly enough, gradually become blunted. Yet, according to Effertz,† women already frigid sometimes become prostitutes, and are more successful in the profession than their venereally better equipped competitors, as their hearts never run away with their heads. Of interest is the comparison of the average number of the sexual orgasms in the life of a man and of a woman. Effertz has calculated for the man five thousand ejaculations during the whole time of his potency, while the number of orgasms a woman has is not nearly so great.‡ A further cause for the relatively rarer occurrence of degenerations of the sex impulse in women is certainly the fact that habitual alcoholic indulgence, which, as will be shown later, tremendously promotes the development of sexual abnormalities, is much less common among women than among men. If, then, it cannot be questioned that sexual aberrations are much less frequent in women than in men, on the other hand it must be emphasized that the "experienced" woman often purposely abets these masculine aberrations. Effertz

*O. Effertz, "Ueber Neurasthenia sexualis," New York, 1894, pp. 47-8.
†Op. cit., p. 51.
‡Ibid., pp. 123-4.

explains the preference of many men for more mature women by the fact that these *"fingunt venerem per mille modos."** According to Davenport, history, by the examples of Kyrene, Astyanasa, Philaenis, Elephantis, and their like, proves that women "have a much keener relish for the tender bliss to which they deliver themselves up with a zest and an abandon unknown to men; in short that at the feast of love women are *gourmandes par excellence."*†

Indeed, according to the data derived from peoples living in a state of nature, who present a reliable image of original conditions, it is very often the woman experienced in sexual enjoyment who directly seduces the man to perverse acts in order to increase her own *voluptas in coitu* and to have just the pleasure and not the consequences of it. All those artificial deformations of the male genitals, which certainly give the man more trouble than pleasure, but increase the pleasure of the woman during the sex act, are to be attributed to the initiative of the women, as they are inexplicable otherwise. To this category belong: incisions in the glands that pebbles may be placed there, giving the glands a warty aspect (Java); perforations of the virile member for the purpose of fastening to it feathers, sticks with bristles, sticks with balls (*ampallang* of the Dajaks of Borneo), or cords, rings, bell-shaped apparatus; inclosure of the member in sheaths of animal skin or in lead cylinders, etc.

On the Pintadas Islands, Morga reports, the women, who are very sensual, insist that in the virile member, in childhood, a hole shall be bored into which a wedge and a metal or ivory

*Ibid., p. 188.

†John Davenport, *"Curiositates Eroticae Physialogiae,"* London, 1875, p. 17.

snake head are placed. This titillation apparatus is called *"sagra."* Similar contrivances for increasing feminine *voluptas* are found among the Bisaya tribes of the Philippines. On the islands of the Aaru Archipelago a sort of circumcision is performed by which the upper piece of the foreskin is pinched off. This is done for the avowed purpose of increasing the woman's pleasure sensation *in coitu.* The same operation is performed by the Serang Islanders, upon the importunity of their chosen sweethearts, *"ut augeant voluptatem in coitu."* Von Miklucho-Maclay, the great authority on the sexual psychology of the natives of the Malay and South Sea Archipelago, thinks it highly probable that all these customs and the apparatus for them were originated by the women themselves or only for the women's benefit. "At any rate, the usage is perpetuated by the never-ceasing demands of the women; the men without this accommodation for holding the titillation apparatus in place are rejected; the men who permit several such perforations and can carry several of the instruments are especially sought and esteemed by the women."* The *"mica"* operation of the Australian natives (slitting the lower surface of the urethra) seems to be intended not only to prevent impregnation but also to increase the mutual *voluptas.* That special refinements on sexual intercourse are sought chiefly at the instigation of the women is evident also from the reports of enlarging the *membrum virile* by bites and insect stings. Amerigo Vespucci's report—resulting in a royal warning to the Spaniards against the lusts of the Caraib women—of similar practises† was certainly not exaggerated, as can be

*Mantegazza, op. cit., pp. 86-97. Kamasutra. Ploss-Bartels, I, p. 434. "Untrodden Fields," I, p. 96.

†See Iwan Bloch, *"Der Ursprung der Syphilis,"* Jena, 1901, Part I, p. 197; 198, note 1.

seen by comparison with the methods used by the women of India (morsus, insect stings, etc.) to enlarge the virile member. In the Kamasutra the different sexual desires of the female inhabitants of several Indian provinces are described exhaustively. The women of Malava and Abhiva like to be flagellated by the men, as do those of Stirajya and Kocala, who, however, also use an artificial penis; the women of Maharastra and Nagara are satisfied only by the utilization of all sixty-four arts. Cunnilingus is desired by the women living on the Sindhu river.*

That it is not always sensuality, however, that prompts women to seduce men to perverse sexual acts, but often the opposite, frigidity, is instanced by the girls of Ponapé (Carolines). These girls, according to Finsch, are incredibly frigid and require extraordinary excitation for sexual gratification. Impotent old men are employed to lick the clitoris with their tongues or else irritate it by the sting of a huge ant so that gradually the organ of *voluptas* is made more susceptible. In coitus, too, the men, at the desire of the women, must use not only their tongues but their teeth to produce a local stimulation of the female genitals. On all the South Sea Islands he visited Kubary found the custom of sucking the female genitals widely prevalent.†

Lombroso's opinion that men originated these practises of deforming the male genitals‡ is untenable in the face of the accurate observations and precise statements of the above named competent investigators; it is highly improbable anyway, even in the cases in which the operation is relatively

*Kamasutra.
†Ploss-Bartels, I, p. 431; p. 197.
‡Lombroso and Ferrero, "Woman as Criminal and Prostitute."

painless. These conditions in primitive society support the idea that in the civilized world, also, a greater share in the genesis of sexual anomalies belongs to the women than we are generally inclined to believe. The sexual insusceptibility and indifference of the modern woman asserted by Campbell* and others (Moll, Lombroso and Ferrero), even if it really exists on any considerable scale, by no means precludes a share in abetting sexual perversions. Not infrequently frigid wives—whether their husbands are or are not to blame—seek sexual gratification in perverse practises. We must also bear in mind the probability that the sexual anesthesia is only apparent, that the expression of a characteristic coyness in sexual intercourse is interpreted as such. The more frequent occurrence of hysteria in women, too, quite decidedly promotes the development of sexual aberrations. Finally the extensive practise of onanism by the fair sex is not only proof of the presence of a strong *libido sexualis,* it is also, as will be explained later, a very considerable factor in the genesis of sexual perversions.

*H. Campbell, "Differences in the Nervous Organization of Man and Woman," London, 1891, pp. 210 ff.

CHAPTER SIX — IDEAL MARRIAGE AND STRANGE SEXUAL PRACTISES—OBSCENE CULTS

Marriage and celibacy also play a role in the etiology of sexual perversions. Marriage undoubtedly has an influence which tends to check the development of sexual anomalies. Of principal moment in this respect are the more noble altruistic feelings (love and concern for the children, etc.) which it calls forth. A striking example is provided by the Jews, in whose exemplary family life and profoundly intimate concept of marriage, since their dispersion into all countries, is to be found the chief reason why sexual perversions, particularly homosexuality, hardly occur among them, and why the Jews were virtually uncontaminated even in the Middle Ages by the monstrous sexual aberrations prevailing all around them (flagellantism, Satan cult, etc.). Although Moll was informed by "an experienced man" that the number of Jewish intermediates was very small, he claimed nevertheless on the basis of his own experience that homosexuality must be at least as widespread among Jews as among Gentiles.* I

*Op. cit., p. 151.

must dispute this quite decisively on the basis of my investigations. Not only have I been unable to round up one single homosexual among the Jews; I have been assured by other experienced physicians that homosexual Israelites were of the greatest rarity. If the Bible is cited to refute the claim that sexual perversions are of extremely rare occurrence among the Jews, these very accounts of perverse behavior are the best possible demonstration of the dependence of such aberrations on external conditions not basic in people themselves. Not only were the Jews of the Bible unacquainted with anything resembling the intense family life of their later time of suffering; polygamy and harem conditions, hetaerism, pederasty, obscene cults like those of Baal Peor and Astarte were widely prevalent among them. Significantly, however, the prostitutes were even then mostly foreigners, for instance Moabites, as the virginity of the young girls of Israel was very strictly guarded and highly prized. Only the later epochs of the Diaspora and of persecution, the times of unspeakable ghetto affliction, taught these individuals the significance of living in and for one's family, and created that affecting Jewish family love about which even von Hellwald speaks with admiration. Only the family sense, the high appreciation of married life, explain the decrease and the present day very rare occurrence of inveterate sexual perversions among the Jews.

Not merely the purely physical relations between man and wife, but all the other conjugal and familial motives as well, especially on the ethical side, are powerfully influential in making sexual transgressions and deviations difficult, impossible for the married man or woman. Even in a so-called "unhappy marriage" these motives can still be effective.

In the absence, therefore, of that higher community between man and woman, in the unmarried state, obviously external influences tending to produce deviations of the sex impulse will not only manifest themselves more frequently but will more readily have their effect. In unrestricted gratification of the sex impulse, in frequent change of the object of momentary desire, in intercourse with many individuals extremely different in the moral sense, in constant contact with vice and moral and physical corruption we have to contemplate etiologic factors of great importance for the genesis of sexual perversions among unmarried people. For the celibate there is no such moral brace as that which the establishment of a family gives even the person inclined by nature to sexual excesses; thought for the future does not enable him to overcome the temptation of the moment; the sexual as such is not ennobled by the higher significance which it gains only through marriage; the purely physical titillation as such is the sole consideration, and gradually, of course, becomes more and more engrossing and requires ever stronger stimulants. For the lasting happiness of conjugal life the celibate must substitute the intense but fleeting pleasure of an hour. This explains why celibacy, by and large, has a greater importance than marriage for the etiology of *psychopathia sexualis*. I speak here of non-abstinent worldly celibacy. For ascetic religious celibacy, which, as is well known, plays a yet more important role in the etiology of sexual anomalies, quite other factors come into consideration. These will be discussed further on.

As we saw previously, the sex impulse is independent of culture, and its outward manifestations are the same among primitive and civilized peoples. It might be supposed *a priori* that social differences, wealth and poverty, position in life,

occupation, have no effect on the sex impulse. That sensual excess is not an exclusive attribute of wealth and rank was recognized by the Scotch moral philosopher Adam Ferguson. Very rightly he observes:

"Temperance and moderation are at least as frequent among those we call the superior as they are among the lower classes of men; and however we may affix the character of sobriety to mere cheapness of diet, and other accommodations with which any particular age or rank of men appear to be contented, it is well known that costly materials are not necessary to constitute a debauch, nor profligacy less frequent under the thatched roof than under the lofty ceiling. Men grow equally familiar with different conditions, receive equal pleasure, and are equally allured to sensuality in the palace and in the cave. Their acquiring, in either, habits of intemperance or sloth depends on the remission of other pursuits and on the distaste of the mind to other engagements."*

If the folly of the wealthy Hamburg merchants is a popular by-word,† surely plenty of occasion for similar satire is presented by poor folk of lower strata. In fact at the very bottom of our social structure we find much the same prevalence and tolerance of sexual aberration as among the savage tribes. According to Havelock Ellis there is, in present-day Europe, a striking lack of repugnance to inversion among the lower orders; in this respect and in many others—as folk-lore indicates—the uneducated man of the civilized races is very close to the savage.‡ In the Roman Imperial Era, so like our own

*Adam Ferguson, "An Essay on the History of Civil Society."
†T. Binder, *"Die Hygiene des geschlechtlichen Lebens,"* Berlin, 1897, p. 67.
‡Havelock Ellis, "Sexual Inversion."

age in many ways, the plebeians had at least as great a share in the debauchery and corruption as the higher classes. A famous modern homosexual author, who has a profound knowledge of the primitive popular life, remarks, "The masses feel that drunkenness, stupidity, and immorality should be their own special property, and that if any one of us makes an ass of himself he is poaching on their preserves. . . . I don't suppose that ten per cent of the proletariat live correctly."* Tarnowsky, J. A. Symonds and many other observers report that the lower proletariat consider the sexual anomalies quite natural, at least as permissible as the activity of the natural sex impulse. Characteristically these classes see nothing illicit in intercourse of a man with a woman *per anum.* A Venetian proverb, *"l'ha conosciuta di davanti e di dietro"* (he knows her backward and forward) expresses merely the great intimacy of conjugal love. From this to *paedicatio viri* is not far, and indeed we learn that the lower classes generally have no horror of pederastic intercourse. Soldiers, peasants, laborers, coachmen furnish most of the recruits to pederastic prostitution.†

According to Moll homosexuals are found in nearly every kind of profession, but mostly among actors, artists, landscape gardeners, decorators, cooks, hairdressers, ladies' tailors, female impersonators, thus in professions suitable to the feminine character. However, it is very hard to decide whether, as Moll thinks, the choice of such an occupation is in itself a sign of homosexuality, or, as I am inclined to believe, these professions influence the perhaps originally normal individual gradually and imperceptibly but in time un-

*Oscar Wilde, "The Picture of Dorian Gray."
†Havelock Ellis, op. cit.

mistakably toward inversion. Probability speaks for the latter. With artists and actors yet another influence is operative, the overwhelming phantasy life. We shall discuss this more comprehensively further on.

CHAPTER SEVEN—SOPHISTICATED SEX PRACTISES AND MODERN CULTURED CIVILIZATION—SCIENTIFIC INCREASE OF PLEASURES—MODERN APPARATUS AND PLEASURE EXPEDIENTS—FUTURE REFINEMENTS OF LOVE—SENSUALITY OF ARTISTS

What influence has civilization as such on the development of sexual aberrations? Has it any at all? The previous elucidations have forced the conclusion that culture and civilization as such do not play, in the etiology of sexual perversions, that role which hitherto has been ascribed to them, that perversions are not the product of "our nervous age ailing from a sophisticated culture," since they have appeared at all times essentially alike.

And yet there is some truth in Lecky's proposition that sensuality is the vice of young persons and old civilizations.* Every civilization is characterized by the indefatigable, ceaseless effort of the intelligence to discover new truths, to translate them into practicality and make all the new discoveries available for the betterment, beautification, and refinement of life. Every "civilization" is equivalent to a hedonistic adjustment of the external standard of living, an endeavor to use the natural and artificial means acquired by science for the increase

*W. E. H. Lecky, "History of European Morals."

of pleasure. With great shrewdness the famous alienist Joseph Guislain has portrayed the restless character of civilized epochs: "What fills our thoughts? Plans, innovations, reforms. What do we Europeans strive for? Movements, agitations. What do we experience? Excitement, illusion, deception."* Since the intelligence of civilized man draws all the things of life, art, science, literature, technology, etc., into the service of pleasure, and pleasure, as is well known, culminates in the sex impulse, the sex impulse must react to hosts of new motives, dispense novel sensations, ecstasies undreamed of. This conscious encroachment of the intelligence upon the development of the sex life is what is peculiar to civilization as such in contrast with the primitive state. It makes comprehensible the tremendous share of the nervous system in the various activities of the sex impulse, a participation which we shall not find among the peoples of nature. With these we observe only the universal, purely elemental impulse, the natural sensuality, which, however, even without intense activity of the higher nerve centers, also expresses itself in degenerations of the sex impulse. Of the Roman Imperial Era K. F. Hermann says, "Excess and sophistication are in every respect the general characteristics of the age. Its cruelty, its suavity, its splendor and prodigality, its debauchery and luxury, demonstrate the abuse of the one-sided standard of cold intelligence, and the intelligence is applied to elevating the unnatural and pandering to the vilest impulses. Physical over-excitation was an inevitable concomitant in a people of such vigor under the influence of such pleasures."† From similar conditions the theory arises that the

*Joseph Guislain, *"Klinische Vorträge über Geisteskrankheiten,"* Berlin, 1854, p. 229.
†Hermann, op. cit., vol. II, p. 149.

sensual desires should not be repressed, but should be utilized skilfully as the "motive power of a new spirituality," and that the new philosophy of life must culminate in as sophisticated as possible a refinement of the senses. The new hedonism must be made to minister to the intellect.* But to what does it lead, this striving of civilized man for undreamed-of increase of sensual enjoyment by means of the intellect and the imagination? Can it produce new kinds of sexual enjoyment, sensations such as were never experienced before? By no means—the final result is merely the same animal excess that we find among the most primitive peoples. The physical expressions of the sex impulse are always the same. The expedients and apparatus may assume different forms; the effect is identical. "Electric" flagellation naturally had to wait until the age of electricity, but its purpose and effect are no different from those of the ordinary flagellation for erotic purposes as practised by savage peoples. The savage carves obscene images of wood which are to inflame the *libido* at erotic festivals; civilized man has invented obscene photography, which serves the same ultimate purpose. It is significant that intellect, sophistication, cannot change or subdue the sex impulse but are changed by it instead. A. Eulenburg cites the "hopes," developed in Hermann Bahr's *"Die russische Reise,"* for a radical change and perfection of the sex relations, viewed as possible of realization, however, only after the entire bog of sophisticated vice has been wallowed through; the visions of an "asexual lust," a "substitution of the finer nerves for the common erotic organs," "the free sins of the mind alone."† Very rightly Mantegazza declares modern love to be "the result of two different and opposed

*Oscar Wilde, "The Picture of Dorian Gray."
†A. Eulenburg, op. cit., p. 97.

forces, a lofty ideality consecrated by religion and morality, and the irresistible passion which by the processes of civilization has become yet more demanding, more greedy for delicacies."*

From this conflict between intellect and sensual pleasure arises—just the lowest and most bestial form of love again.† I would not, however, like Mantegazza, say this was due to the atavism of a fatigued civilization. I am pessimist enough to seek the natural cause for such manifestations in the fact that just the universal basic form of the sex impulse always recurs. *"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."* If I accept in this sense Mantegazza's statement that civilized man can manifest all the lower forms of love as they occur among Australians and Hottentots, by merely substituting "must" for "can" I have set up the hypothesis that the modern European pursues sensual pleasure just as the savage does.

In comparison with the primitive man, there can be no doubt that the demands made upon the nervous system of civilized man by the sex life as well as by other activities are more intense, that, above all, the imagination plays an immeasurably greater role in his love life. Modern culture, with its rich diversity, its ceaselessly changing patterns, problems, and perspectives, can fire the imaginations of individuals in infinitely various ways. Beasts and savages, living under simple conditions, their intelligence and scope of apperception too limited to permit of any great range of imagination, mostly follow, in love, only the voice of nature and the coarser promptings of sensuality, whether "natural" or "unnatural." A more complex social organization, a richer mental

*Mantegazza, op. cit., pp. 427-8.
†Ibid., p. 430.

life, a more definite codification of ethical concepts, are always reflected in the sexual imagination, and they can alter it decisively, can distort it into deviation. There is no physical expression of the sex impulse which under given circumstances could not have originated spontaneously in a very lively or disordered imagination.

Effertz has quite admirably assembled some of the individual peculiarities of fancifully dictated sexual choice in modern civilized man. We quote the passage:

"There are persons who are especially attracted by youth. Others prefer a maturer age. Some require virtue. For others this is non-essential. *Matronam nullam ego tango.* Many frankly desire vice; they seek only the *olenti in fornice stantes.* Others again are attracted only by fallen but repentant virtue. Many are especially attracted by innocence, that is, unsophistication in *rebus venereis,* mental virginity. Title and lineage appeal to the imagination of many, mostly girls. This explains why such a great number of girls of bourgeois and proletarian families are ruined by aristocrats. It is not by any means a matter of illegitimate seduction arts. *Magno de patre nata puella est.* For many men, especially of higher station, the child of nature has great charm. Many are excited venereally by wealth. For example when some one marries a homely heiress or a rich Megaera it may be completely erroneous to say that he has sacrificed his taste to his greed, his heart to the pocketbook. For some the thought of wealth is sexually exciting. Some, on the other hand, are aroused only by poverty. Many desire intelligence, for others it is immaterial. There are remarkable national differences in this respect. The German, for instance, worships naïveté, mental triviality, as represented by Gretchen.

'A poor unknowing child! and he—
'I can't think what he finds in me.'*

Only in household matters may an ideal German woman have any sense. Practical sense, on the other hand, is required by the English and Americans. The Anglo-Saxon is pleased by the fact that a girl has a profession and is skilled in it, that she has a diploma, etc., not merely because thus she is perhaps qualified to help bear the economic burdens of marriage, but because this appeals to him erotically. That is why one sees so many bespectacled women and girls among the Anglo-Saxons. Oculists whom I have questioned have told me that defective vision has absolutely nothing to do with it. The Anglo-Saxon woman's glasses are at least the cosmetic equivalent of the Prussian lieutenant's monocle. Her glasses are a badge of superior practical acquirements, and a naïve Gretchen is as unattractive in England as a spectacled lady is on the continent. The Frenchman demands *esprit* and coquetry. The unsophistication of a Gretchen has as little appeal for him as have the spectacles and brains of the English woman. Many are especially aroused when the other party is married or engaged. Among men this is well known, but it also occurs among women. Many are attracted only by 'sin,' the illicit. They can be faithful all their lives to the mistress; if they marry, love ceases at once. 'Duty sustains magistrates, inflames warriors, and cools married people,' says an English adage. 'You are my wife, but I love you as if you were my mistress,' I read recently in a French novel.

"This is a very remarkable psychology. The monk says, 'All that is beautiful is sinful.' Many turn the statement around and say, 'So all that the monk considers sinful must be beau-

*Faust. Taylor's translation.

tiful.' They give the monk great hedonistic credit. For others, on the contrary, only the licit has charm. This is true especially of older unmarried ladies. Some are aroused only by recalcitrance. The ideal case here is rape. They are like the hunter who shoots only the running, not the standing or walking game. *Trans volat in medio posita et fugientia captat.* Others again, like Horace, prefer complaisance. *Facilem venerem malo.* A well known academic song goes, *Vivant omnes virgines faciles.* Many wish to see *libido* and orgasm on the part of the woman. Frigidity, even complaisant, repels. *Officium faciat nulla puella mihi.* Some, on the other hand, wish to see pain, as for instance in defloration. The ideal case is here the lust murder. There are individuals who can be aroused only by an opposite party of such ideality as only dream can engender. Waking they are, in consequence, totally impotent. Actual persons, whatever they may be like, produce too many restrictions. The very idea, for instance, that the vagina is located *inter faeces et urinas* has the effect of an absolute inhibition. They are nevertheless not totally impotent, as they have *libido* and erection, ejaculation and orgasm in dream. They vision an ethereal woman without rectum and urethra. They are relatively impotent, not merely for definite individuals, for the human race. This condition is called *aspermia.* Many are stimulated only by change. They are 'faithful only in infidelity,' as Boccaccio says. There are persons who are aroused by the idea of their own sex, of *sexus indebitus.* Others are excited by the idea of another species, of *genus indebitum.* For others again only the idea of a *vas indebitum* is exciting. As *vasa indebita* two are particularly to be taken into consideration, *os* and *rectum.* That there are many individuals for whom the idea of *os* has specially stimulating effect is well known. It may not be so well known, however,

that there are also many individuals who are stimulated by the rectum, and who prefer the unesthetic rectum even when the vagina is at their disposal."†

No one is so liable to the influence of the phantasy life on the *vita sexualis* as the artist* and the person with a highly developed esthetic sense. With these there is always the danger, which sometimes becomes reality, that the esthetic sense will over-rule all other motives and exert upon the sex life a fatal influence in that only the esthetic standard is applied where the natural, purely physical, corrected by the moral standard, should be decisive, should be the norm. This of necessity must often lead the artist into sexual deviations which are to be attributed directly to esthetic overbalance in the valuation of all things. "The artist," Leo Berg observes very accurately, "is always in danger of polytheism or even the unnatural in love, because he suffers and creates in the state of always latent sensuality. Derangements and abnormalities result not infrequently from one-sided estheticism."‡ Sexual perversions of other highly cultivated persons are often to be attributed to such an all-dominating beauty cult, which for instance makes them see purely esthetic expressions in masochistic acts. The adored woman, to whom such a person has subjugated himself slavishly, becomes for him an esthetic pattern, the right pose for a manifestation form of the beautiful. This explanation applies to all other sexual aberrations of artistic natures, but is most warranted in homosexuality, in which, very often, the esthetic and the

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†Effertz, op. cit., pp. 178-181.
*See A. Colin Scott, "Sex and Art," in American Journal of Psychology, 1896, vol. VII; and Leo Berg, *"Kunst und Sinnlichkeit,"* in Die Zukunft, 1900, no. 2, pp. 58-71.
‡Op. cit., p. 66.

sensual are linked inseparably. Plato developed this esthetic theory of boy love in the *"Symposion,"* and there is no doubt that only among a people so avid for pure physical beauty, so reverent of it, irrespective of sex, as the Hellenes, could homosexuality have attained such tremendous prevalence. Recently the brilliant Karl Jentsch has placed this esthetic theory of homosexuality in the foreground again, completely rejecting the assumption of any congenital homosexual predisposition.* The esthetic sense, according to Jentsch, is most intimately connected with the sexual system, the beautiful in itself arouses tenderness. Greek boy love (ideally) can be explained as due to the subjugation of the normal sex impulse and deflection of it to abnormality by the esthetic sense in contemplation of boyish beauty. Similarly Theodor von Wächter describes Greek homosexuality as the "frank abandon to the warming, animating power of youthful masculine beauty."†

The possibility of these explanations rests, however, only on the fact that in these artistic natures the esthetic feeling is paired with a glowing sensuality, which receives its most powerful impulses from the beautiful. The esthetic and the sensual are one. Important artists generally, according to Otto de Joux, are "thoroughly sensual by nature," and often overstep the bounds of the permissible in their admiration of the beauty of the human body, of their own as well as of the opposite sex.

Thus we explain that extremely frequent occurrence of sexual perversions among artists and persons sensitive to art of

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*Karl Jentsch, *"Sexualethik, Sexualjustiz und Sexualpolizei,"* Vienna, 1900, pp. 74-95.
†T. von Wächter, *"Ein Problem der Ethik,"* Leipzig, 1899.

which doubtless every reader has been informed by Krafft-Ebing and others.* "What would art and poesy be without sexual basis? Sensual love gives that warmth of imagination without which a real art creation is not possible, and in the fire of sensual emotions this ardor and warmth are maintained. This is as much as to say that the great poets and artists are naturally sensual."

*Krafft-Ebing, "Psychopathia Sexualis," tenth edition, pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER EIGHT—INTER-RELATIONS OF ALL RELIGIONS AND VITA SEXUALIS — TEMPLE PROSTITUTION IN INDIA—EROTIC ELEMENTS IN ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL RELIGIONS AND CULTS

More intimately than is the imagination of the artist the religious imagination is linked with the sex life. Indeed, in a certain sense, the history of the religions is to be characterized as the history of a particular manifestation form of the human sex impulse, especially in its effect on the imagination and the creations of the latter. It is a great injustice to make the Catholic Church particularly responsible for this prominence of the sexual element in cult and dogma, as some modern lay writers, not very well versed in culture history, are fond of doing. A scientific investigation shows that all religions have more or less of such sexual admixture, and if we are more aware of it in the Catholic Church this is because the Catholic Church is nearer to us in point of time than many typical religions (those of antiquity), and because the Catholic Church has been more open and less hypocritical in the matter than for instance the Protestant Pietists, who, as the Königsberg scandals, Eva von Butler and others show, have been guilty of not inconsiderable transgressions. We shall have a really objective basis for judging the inter-relations of

religion and *vita sexualis* only if we conceive these not as a matter of individual dogma and creed but of anthropology, to which field they belong. These inter-relations are characteristic of the *genus homo* as such. The sexual element makes itself felt just as strongly in the primitive as in the modern civilized religions.

As something demoniac, uncanny, supernatural, the sex impulse makes its appearance in the life of the person at puberty, arousing, by the intensity, spontaneity, and diversity of the sensations, those emotions which in undreamed-of fashion fructify, animate, and enkindle the imagination. The person is filled with holy awe by this phenomenon which invades him with elemental violence. He ascribes it to the supernatural, and so among his sense-data this operation of the supernatural is linked with other experiences which inspire him with the feeling of dependence on one or more superior powers before which he abases himself in adoration. How the metaphysical injects itself into all parts of the sex life and affects it at every point Schopenhauer has made clear in the cited chapter of "Metaphysics of Sexual Love." Religion and sexuality are in extremely intimate contact in that vague awareness of the metaphysical and that feeling of dependence; from such contact originate those remarkable connections between the two, those ready transitions of religious into sexual emotion which make themselves perceptible in all circumstances of life. In both, the surrender, the renunciation of one's own personality, are felt as pleasurable. Schopenhauer has given a masterly description of the urge of love toward the infinite, the divine; the analogies with the religious urge are unmistakable.

The identity of the two emotions explains the frequent tran-

sition of one into the other, their constant associative connection. This associative connection is markedly in evidence in the abnormal states of both emotions. A fact long stressed by alienists (even those of antiquity) is the frequent appearance of sexual phantasies and hallucinations in religious madness, on the other hand the appearance of religious equivalents in sexual perversions. Sexual fetishism has the same origin as religious fetishism. The infinite emotion is concentrated on a definite object; a special intensification of pleasure seems to be obtained by forcing the gigantic emotion into Liliputian limits, focusing it on a small object, animate or inanimate, which thus is more easily grasped. Religious castigation, penance, self-mutilation are reflected in sexual self-torture. Just as human and animal sacrifices are offered and people are tortured (as in ancient Mexico) to honor the deity and produce religious ecstasy, so sex pleasure raised to the highest intensity can produce sadism. "Symbolism" too consists of interchanging religious and sexual elements.

These inter-relations of love and religion have been expressed by Krafft-Ebing in the following formula: "Religious emotion and sexual emotion developed to the highest point agree in *quantum* and *quale* of excitement, and therefore, under proper conditions, can interchange. Both, under pathological conditioning, can degenerate into cruelty."*

This explains too why sex enjoyment with all its aberrations can be conceived as an actual religious commandment, and has been so conceived. Thus Mahomet, notoriously oversexed, imputed all his excesses to divine inspiration and divine command: *"Quem tamen omnia sua adulteria, scorta-*

*Op. cit., p. 9.

*tiones, et libidines Deo adscribere, ac tantae foeditatis Deum ipsum auctorem constituere, ac jactare patronum, non est veritus. Deum enim haec sibi omnia concessisse, et sibi uni decem aliorum Prophetarum in coeundo virtutem et fortitudinem tribuisse, audacissime ausus est gloriari."**

The priests who pretend to "sanctify" the women seduced by them are more nearly right, physiologically at any rate, than the church which declares flesh pleasure a sin and the work of the devil. In the Middle Ages, in France especially, the idea that women were blessed by sexual intercourse with priests was generally prevalent, and the mistresses of priests were known as "the consecrated."† So the sexual can become a part of the religious, in fact, can quite take its place.

In the latter fact is the only explanation of religious prostitution. The act of prostitution as such, of unreserved sexual yielding without love, as an act of crude sensuality and for pay, is here identified with a religious act, with a divine consecration, a sacrifice offered to the deity.

According to my studies of the etiologic relations of religion to prostitution, religious prostitution must be divided into two groups:

1. Prostitution just once in honor of the deity;
2. Continued religious prostitution.

The religious prostitution which occurs just once may be the sacrifice of the virginity, or may be the never-repeated prostitution of a woman already deflowered.

**"Arabia seu Arabum vicinarumque gentium Orientalium leges, ritus, sacri et profani mores, instituta ac historia."* Amsterdam, 1635, p. 166.

†Michelet, "The Witch."

The never-repeated sexual sacrifice to the deity is made in one of two ways. Either the woman gives herself directly to the deity, is physically deflowered by a physical image of the god, or she gives herself to the human substitute for the deity, a priest, king, stranger, indeed, at times, a blood relative, father among others. From this it is evident that the so-called "hospitality prostitution" originated from religious prostitution. In the first *modus* the girl is deflowered by a stone, wood, ivory image of the virile member, or by physical contact with a statue of the god.

The task of defloration is directly expressed in the names of such Roman divinities as *Dea Pertunda, Dea Perfica, Mutunus Tutunus.** In honor of them the bride had to sit on a *"fascinum,"* that is, the *membrum virile* of a Priapus statue, and in this way either physically or at least symbolically offer up her virginity. (Augustinus, De civitate Dei VI, 9, 3: *"Priapus nimis masculus, super cuius immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere nova nupta iubebatur more honestissimo et religiosissimo matronarum."* Arnobius IV, 7; Lactantius, Divinarum Institutionum lib. I, c. 20: *"Et Tutunus, in cuius sinu pudendo nubentes praesident, ut illarum pudicitiam prior deus delibasse videatur."*). According to legend Ocrisia was begotten by the Lar's *fascinum* rising out of the hearth.†

In the service of Baal Peor (among the Moabites and Jews) similar usages seem to have prevailed. In fact the name of

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*See discussion of these facts along with etymologic derivations in my article on ancient Roman medicine in Puschmann's *"Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin,"* Jena, 1902, vol. I, p. 407.

†Wilhelm Schwartz, *"Prähistorisch-anthropologische Studien,"* Berlin, 1884, p. 278.

this god is derived from *peor,* that is, *aperire hyminem virgineum.**

The first reports of the defloration of Indian girls by the *lingam* (phallus) we owe to the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa, who observed this custom—practised on ten-year-old girls—in the beginning of the sixteenth century in southern Dekhan.† Somewhat later Jan Huygen van Linschoten reported the custom among the inhabitants of Goa of thrusting into the bride's vagina, in the temple, a virile member of iron or ivory so as to destroy the hymen.‡ According to Gasparo Balbi, who was in the East Indies at the same time, the naked stone idol stood eighteen miles distant from Goa. The Malabar girls, at their weddings, brought their genitals into contact with the stone member of the god,|| or were forced by their relatives to do so, as we see from Walther Schultze's report: "By this Pryapus the virgins with the help of their friends and relatives present are bereft of their virginity in a painful and violent fashion; the bridegroom rejoices that the abominable and accursed idol has shown him this honor and hopes that the marriage therefore will be greatly blessed."** Abbé Guyon remarks, "Their divine worship is the most abominable in the whole world. Their Yogis or priests far exceed the Greeks in the use of the abhorrent phallus. They worship the Priapus most solemnly, and their daughters must

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*J. A. Dulaure, *"Des divinités génératrices ou du culte du phallus chez les Anciens et les Modernes,"* Paris, 1885, p. 67.
†*"Collecçao de Noticias para a historia e geografia das naçoes ultramarinas que vivem nos dominios portuguezas, publicada della Academia Real das Sciencias,"* Lisbon, 1813, vol. II, pp. 304 ff.
‡J. Rosenbaum, *"Geschichte der Lustseuche im Altertum,"* Halle, 1893, p. 77.
||G. Balbi, *"Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali,"* Venice, 1590.
**W. Schultze, *"Ost-Indische Reyse,"* Amsterdam, 1676.

sacrifice their virginity to him with such indecencies as one is ashamed to describe."* An ithyphallic idol of wood in the vicinity of Pondicherry served the same purpose.† In Dekhan, in 1676, John Fryer observed the women prostituting themselves to the lingam idols.‡

The deity also permits human proxies to receive the virginity sacrifice in its name; the proxy must then hand over the girl to her lawful husband or possessor for his pleasure. When the virginity has already been taken by the husband, the deity contents itself with a later, never-repeated prostitution of the woman to its proxy. The most famous example of this is presented in Herodotus' famous report of the Mylitta cult of the Babylonians: "Every woman born in the country must once in her life go and sit down in the precinct of Venus, and there consort with a stranger. Many of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads; and here there is always a great crowd, some coming and others going; lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin

*"*Geschichte von Ost-Indien; aus dem französischen,*" Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1749, vol. II, p. 80. See also, Jean Mocquet, "Voyages," Rouen, 1665, p. 291; Démeunier, "*Esprit des usages,*" London, 1785, vol. II, p. 296.

†Démeunier, op. cit.

‡Roe and Fryer, "Travels in India," London, 1873, p. 423.

he says these words, 'The goddess Mylitta prosper thee.' (Venus is called Mylitta by the Assyrians). The silver coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home, and from that time forth no gift however great will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released, but others who are ugly have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the law. Some have waited three or four years in the precinct. A custom very like this is found also in certain parts of the island of Cyprus."* From this description it cannot be deduced whether virgins or married women were the ones affected. We do learn that the custom was prescribed by religious commandment and law to which the aristocrats had to submit exactly as did those of lower station. Emphasis too is placed on the fact that this act of religious prostitution, of which the pecuniary profit accrued to the goddess of love, was performed just once and was not repeated by any one person. The men were always strangers.†

The same custom is reported in Cyprus by Justinus (XVIII, 5) and Lactantius (*De falsa religione* I, 17). Likewise in Phoenicia and the Punic colonies religious prostitution to strangers, not repeated by the same woman, was prevalent, as is reported by Athanasius (*Oratio contra gentes,* 26), Augustinus (*De civitate Dei,* IV, 10), Athenagoras (*Advers.*

*Herodotus, History, Book I, chapter 199, Rawlinson's translation.
†Constantine abolished the custom. (Eusebius, Life of Constantine, III, 58). Its continuity between the time of Herodotus and that of Constantine is attested by Q. Curtius, History of Alexander the Great, Book V, chapter 1, and Strabo, 745.

Graecos, 27 D), Eusebius (*De preparat. evangel.* IV, 8) Theodoretus (*Hist. eccles.* I, 8). Thus at Aphaka, on the Adonis river, virgins representing the sorrowing Aphrodite sat on the ground awaiting a man personifying Adonis, to whom they yielded their virginity in return for a present for the goddess Baaltis.* The same was done in Byblos at the mourning festival of Adonis. (*Pseudo Lucian, De dea Syria,* chapter 6). Until the time of Emperor Constantine, in the Phoenician city Heliopolis the custom prevailed of prostituting the virgins to strangers (Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* I, 18). Carthage had likewise this kind of religious prostitution. (*Valerius Maximus,* II, chapter 6: *"Sicae enim fanum est Veneris, in quid se matronae conferebant; atque inde prosedentes ad quaestum dotis corporis iniubia contribebant."*).† In the precinct of the temple at Jerusalem were cells with Astarte images in which the Jewish girls prostituted themselves in honor of the goddess (1 Kings, 22, 46; Deuteronomy 23, 18).

Whether the women were prostituted a single time or permanently is not clear.‡ n Armenia, at any rate, the daughters were dedicated to the goddess Anaitis (that is, to prostitution) for some time and then married (Strabo, 532). In Egypt, in the city of Thebes, religious prostitution of the virgins was restricted to the most beautiful and aristocratic, who were dedicated to Ammon until puberty and had to prostitute themselves until the signs of nubility appeared,

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*F. C. Movers, *"Die Phönicier,"* Bonn, 1841, vol. I, p. 192, p. 205.

†See also Münter, *"Religion der Karthager,"* Copenhagen, 1816, pp. 31 and 38.

‡See, J. Rosenbaum, op. cit., p. 88; J. Wellhausen, *"Skizzen und Vorarbeiten,"* Berlin, 1884, p. 43.

then were married. (Strabo 816). This too can be regarded as a temporary religious prostitution. The same applies to the vow of the Hellenic Locrenes in the case of a victory to prostitute their virgins at the Aphrodisia. (Justinus, Histor. philipp. XXI, 3).

Among the East Asiatic peoples and savage tribes we find the remarkable custom of having the virgin deflowered before marriage by a stranger or hired person.* From the above data, particularly the report of Herodotus, there can be no doubt that the real origin of this custom is religious, as Rosenbaum proves in detail.† It was a consecration to the deity, a tribute to the Goddess of Pleasure, even when the women, as for instance the Lydians (according to Strabo, XI, 583), themselves could select the strangers. Only secondarily may other motives have come in, like the later widely prevalent idea of the impurity and poisonousness of the blood shed in defloration.‡ At the same time the religious idea of a "sacrifice" may have combined with the sexual idea of giving oneself to an unloved person, an utter stranger. I have the very strong impression of a masochistic basis for this peculiar custom. Masochism on the part of the women prostituting themselves, sadism on the part of the husbands and bridegrooms handing over their women to strange men; both with religious emphasis.

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*Herodotus reports (IV, 172) of the Nasamonians in Africa: "When a Nasamonian first marries, it is the custom for the bride on the first night to lie with all the guests in turn, and each, when he has intercourse with her, gives her some present which he has brought from home." (Cary's translation). *Diodorus* (V, 18) reports the same of the inhabitants of the Balearic Isles.

†Op. cit. p. 57.

‡See W. Hertz' masterly "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen," Munich, 1893.

Manifestly the religious motive is the principal factor in the cases in which priests perform the defloration of the young girls or brides. This is most plainly apparent in the sect of the Maharajahs, founded by Vallabha in India in the sixteenth century, whose priests act unconditionally as deities and have jurisdiction over the wives of the believers and also have the right of deflowering the virgins. More and more in Vishnuitic circles the sect founders (*guru*) and their spiritual heirs were identified with the incarnate god himself, and *bhakti* (love) was lavished upon them. Thus as the only stipulation for salvation was that one yield to the person elevated to godhead in his lifetime transgressions of morality naturally resulted. It is the history of a sect in which immorality is elevated to a divine law."* According to Hardy the founder Vallabha preached expressly the enjoyment of the things of this world and the gratification of the natural impulses. Krishna's intercourse with the shepherdesses here became typical in the spiritual-sensual idea which was connected with it. The successors to Vallabha, the Maharajahs (great kings) claimed the right to receive divine adoration and the threefold sacrifice of body, mind, and possessions. "The perfect way to worship is to yield one's person, in faithful imitation of the shepherdesses (*gopis*), to the spiritual head of the sect of sensual pleasure." This was done especially at the pastoral *"rasmandali"* in autumn in commemoration of Krishna's dances with the shepherdesses.† That the priest representing the deity also received a gift in the name of the deity for the defloration is known to us from the report by a

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*Karsandas Mulji, "History of the Sect of Maharajahs or Vallabhacharjas in Western India," London, 1865, p. 181.

†"History of Indian Religion," Hardy, pp. 125-6.

Chinese author on Kambodia in the year 1295. Here the priests of Buddha or of the Tao religion were commissioned with the defloration of the young girls, the *tshin-than* (preparation of the couch). There were great solemnities connected with this ceremony; the priests were carried in litters to the girls awaiting them. Every girl had a candle with a mark on it. The *tshin-than* had to be performed within the time the candle burned down to the mark.* From Calicut in the East Indies Ludovico di Barthema reports a similar custom† and the *"piaches"* or *"pajes,"* the sorcerer-priests and medicine men of the Central and South American Caribs had likewise this duty to fulfil.‡ That kings,** chiefs,|| even, *horribile dictu,* the girl's own father†† performed the defloration is consistent with originally religious ideas.

These facts give us a means of understanding the possibility and actuality of the real permanent temple prostitution. Sexual yielding as a purely sensual act is connected with a religious emotion. So a combination of glowing sensuality with intense religious feeling might impel the woman to devote herself entirely to the service of the god and give her body constantly in his name; or the idea of a divine harem** might

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*Abel Rémusat, *"Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques,"* Paris, 1824, vol. I, pp. 116 ff.

†*"Voyages de L. di Barthema,"* Paris, 1888, p. 160.

‡Von Martius, *"Beiträge sur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas,"* Leipzig, 1867, I, p. 113.

**Herodotus IV, 168 and other passages.

||Starke, *"Die primitive Familie,"* Leipzig 1888, p. 135.

††M. Schurig, *"Gynaecologia,"* Dresden, 1730, p. 91 (in Ceylon) and other passages.

**The Indians, for instance, believe that every god has his harem. See Hardy, op. cit., p. 43.

find its earthly realization in temple prostitution in which the deity should partake of many women through the instrumentality of men; or finally temple prostitution might have been derived from the original custom of practising copulation, regarded basically as a religious act, in the temple or in consecrated places. There is an indication of this in a remarkable statement of Herodotus, who was a keen observer in matters ethnological. Reporting of the Egyptians that copulation in the temple is strictly forbidden, thus perhaps indicating that the practise formerly prevailed, he continues, "Almost all other nations, except the Greeks and the Egyptians, act differently, regarding man as in this matter under no other law than the brutes. Many animals, they say, and various kinds of birds may be seen to couple in the temples and the sacred precincts, which would certainly not happen if the gods were displeased at it. Such are the arguments by which they defend their practise, but I nevertheless can by no means approve of it."* This custom undoubtedly arose from the exigency of a religious emotion and from the desire to place oneself directly in contact with the deity by performing the act in the holy precinct. When later the deity had its own *hierodules,* temple girls, it became unnecessary to take one's wife or another woman to the temple, as one now could have intercourse with the deity through the *hierodules.* In the case of the feminine deities a fourth etiologic factor in temple prostitution must be taken into consideration: the prostitutes, on account of their extraordinary beauty and intellectual gifts were often regarded as images of the goddess. This explains the custom among the Greeks of having beautiful *hetaerae* act as models for the statues of Venus for the temples, as for

*Book II, chapter 64, Rawlinson's translation.

instance Phryne sat to Praxiteles and Apelles.* In India naked girls in the temples represent the personification of the goddess Radha and receive the gifts of the *yonijas,* the worshipers of the *yoni* (*cunnus*).** Accordingly the Venus priestess of the temple is regarded as holy, and "holy" is the sobriquet for instance of the Phoenician temple *hetaerae,* the *kadesh*-es.†—The Greek word *hierodules* expresses their relation to the deity. They were serving maids of Aphrodite, and they lived in the precinct of her temple, often in great numbers. In Corinth more than a thousand feminine *hierodules* of the temple of Aphrodite Porne prostituted themselves in honor of the goddess (Strabo VIII), according to Alexander ab Alexandro (Genial. dier. lib. VI, cap. 26) in the temple itself.‡

The Promised Land of temple prostitution is India, where in general the basic manifestations of the love life are best to be studied. Edward Sellon explains the great distribution of this kind of religious prostitution by the fact that "upon this adoration of the procreative and sexual Sacti (or power) seen throughout nature, hinges the whole gist of the Hindu faith."|| The Nautch women are at the same time mistresses to the priests and prostitutes to the strangers; the money earned in the latter capacity goes to the deity. Warneck ob-

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*See *"Geist, Sitten, und Charakter der Weiber in den verschiedenen Zeitaltern. Ein Fragment aus den Papieren eines Menschenfreundes."* Chemnitz, 1793, p. 23.

**E. Sellon, "Annotations on the Sacred Writings of the Hindus," London, 1865, p. 3.

†Movers, *"Die Phönicier,"* I, pp. 678 ff.

‡See W. H. Hoscher, *"Nektar und Ambrosia,"* Leipzig, 1883, pp. 86-9.

||"Annotations o nthe Sacred Writings of the Hindus," London, 1865, p. 3.

serves, "Every Hindu temple of any importance possesses a garrison of *nautches,* that is, dance girls, who of all the temple personnel next to the sacrificers command the greatest respect. It has not been long since the temple girls" (exactly like the Greek *hetaerae*) "were almost the only women in India with any education. These priestesses, married in childhood to the idols, must by the nature of their vocation prostitute themselves to men of every caste, and such prostitution is so far from being accounted a disgrace that even distinguished families are proud to have daughters dedicated to the temple service. In the Presidency of Madras alone there are nearly twelve thousand of these temple prostitutes."* According to Shortt, Hindu girls of every caste can be dedicated to the temples. They do not marry, but may prostitute themselves with men of the same or higher station. These special temple prostitutes are called *thassee,* are married as children to the deity of the temple, mostly in accordance with a vow of the parents. Later they are deflowered by a Brahmin or stranger and then become prostitutes for the temple.† In 1545 the Portugese Fernan Mendez reported that in the Central Indian Empire of Calaminham, in the temple of the idol Urpanesenda, aristocrat girls prostituted themselves in accordance with a vow. It was in some sort a pious preparation for marriage, as no respectable man of that country would consent to marry a girl who had not served in the temple.‡

An intensification of combined religion and *vita sexualis* is to be found in the religious-erotic festivals in which the

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*Ploss-Bartels, op. cit., I, 467.
†Ibidem.
‡F. Mendez, *"Peregrinaçao,"* Lisbon, 1762, p. 238.

transition of religious ecstasy into sexual sensations is quite especially evident, finding crass expression in the sexual orgies frequently occurring as the finale of ardent religious devotions. The sexual ardor seems a continuation and increase of the religious ardor, at one with it basically, the natural physical outlet for the ecstatic occult and metaphysical urge.

The fact that we find such sexual excesses prevalent among religious organizations throughout the world, that from the remotest antiquity they occur in the most diverse religions, demonstrates an origin in factors inherent in the nature of religion as such, and by no means peculiar to any one individual creed. Let us cease, then, to bring this charge against Catholicism which as such is no more culpable than any other faith.

The existence of these religious-erotic festivals in antiquity is amply proved by the Isis celebrations at Bubastis in Egypt (Herodotus II, 59), later introduced into Imperial Rome (Juvenal VI, 489), which ended in sexual union of the men and women; the festivals of Baal Peor among the Jews (Numbers, 23, 18; Deuteronomy 4, 46); the Venus festivals on the island of Cyprus, the Adonis festivals in Byblos (Lucian, De Dea Syria 6); the Dionysia (Herodotus II, 49) and Aphrodisia (Justinus XXI, 3) among the Greeks; the Floralia (Lactantius, Instit. divin., I, 20, 10), Bacchanalia (Livy 39, 8-11), and festivals of the Bona Dea (Juvenal VI, 314 ff.) among the Romans.

In India since the sixteenth century the sect of Caitanya has celebrated incredible religious-sexual orgies. These were even exceeded by the various adherents of the Sakti sects, which derived their name from *sakti* (power), that is, the sensual

revelation of the god Siva. This personification of power was conceived as the female half of the deity which in turn was split into many more feminine entities. The Saktas gave themselves exclusively to the service of the feminine emanations of Siva. They were especially fond of operating in the name of Siva's wife Durga, and attended secret orgiastic celebrations, for the duration of which caste distinctions were suspended.* Divine service always precedes the sexual mingling. Among the Kauchiluas, one of the Sakta sects, each of the girls and women taking part in the divine service throws a trinket belonging to her into a chest held by the priest. After the religious ceremony is over, each of the masculine worshipers takes out one of the trinkets, and the owner of it is his partner in the ensuing sexual debauchery, even if she is his sister.†

In the *"Akhataymita"* festival of the old Peruvians, after the religious ceremony there was a race between completely naked men and women, and every man catching a woman copulated with her at once.‡

In Guatemala, on the days of the great sacrifices there were

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*"Caitanya claimed to be an incarnation of Krishna, an honor which some time later was shared by his brother Nityananda and the Brahman Advaitananda, who displayed the greatest zeal in spreading the cult Caitanya, so named because of the wisdom which he was supposed to possess, admitted all castes to his organization and ruled that during the holy service all participants treat each other as equals. Their holy service consists principally in long litanies and hymns in the vernacular, which reek of erotic license. Religious dances are interspersed, the intention being to make divine love (*bhakti*) as tangible as possible. There is no difference between surrender to the 'shepherd' (*Krishna*) and to the 'teacher' (*Guru*)—with exactly the results to be expected among the people of little education who have flocked to the sect of Caitanya." E. Hardy, op. cit.

†E. Sellon, op. cit., p. 30.

‡Ploss-Bartels, I, p. 492.

sexual debauches of the worst kind with daughters, sisters, mothers, concubines, and children.*

The Jewish-Christian sect of the *Sarabaïtes* (fourth century after Christ) terminated its festivals with sexual orgies. Cassianus gives a frightful description of their conduct. This sect survived until the ninth century.† Following this there were offshoots from Christianity which, yielding to an intense religious urge, celebrated secret orgiastic rites, like the Nikolaïtes, the Adamites, the Karpokratians, Valesians, Epiphanians, Cainites, the Manichaeans, the Protestant "Resurrected" and the "Muckers" of Königsberg among others.

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*Ibid.

†P. Dufour, *"Geschichte der Prostitution,"* Berlin, 1901, III, p. 42.

CHAPTER NINE—UNIVERSAL ANTHROPOLOGIC PHENOMENA OF THE EROTIC URGE — SEXUAL MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT AND ASCETICISM — SENSUAL RITES IN BUDDHISM: YOGISM: MOHAMMEDANISM: SUFISM — DEVIL'S CULT

Besides religious prostitution there are two other religious phenomena which are intimately related to *vita sexualis,* indeed are partly of sexual origin. These are asceticism and witchcraft.

These two religious expressions are not peculiar to the Christian belief, as is often claimed by superficial writers, but are universal anthropologic phenomena, originating in a primitive ardent religious emotion.

Asceticism springs from the opposition, profoundly felt even by primitive man, of spirit and matter. Matter, represented in man by the life of the body, especially its most intense expression, the sex impulse, is apprehended as the impure element, which must be combated, subdued, and as nearly as possible neutralized in favor of the purely spiritual. Besides the vow of poverty, sexual abstinence, the fight against the flesh (and *caro* to the Church Fathers always meant the genitals) is the foremost characteristic of asceticism. To fight down and if possible eradicate this extremely powerful im-

pulse, at times overwhelming in every human being, the ascetic had to be always on guard against it, always think of it. Thus he came to occupy himself with the sex impulse more than the normal person usually does. This preoccupation was further intensified by the ascetic's voluntary flight from the world, his constant solitude, which is extremely conducive to the genesis of hallucinations and visions, and which is tolerable only by means of a compensatorily voluptuous phantasy and sense life, to be regarded as natural reaction.

Nous naissons, nous vivons pour la société.
A nous-mêmes livrés dans une solitude,
Notre bonheur bientôt fait notre inquiétude.

Boileau, Satire X.

(We are born for society, for society we live.
Withdrawn into and unto ourselves we find the boon
of solitude a torment).

This torment, the intensification of every phase of the nerve life, affected the sex life most especially. Visions of a sexual nature, castigation of the flesh, self-flagellation to the highest degree of self-emasculation, are characteristic ascetic manifestations. On the other hand, exaggerated exaltation of the purely spiritual led not only to an abasement and condemnation of matter as sinful, but also directly to sexual transgression, as many ascetic sects declared that all that was done to the body was unimportant, hence every pollution of it was permissible. This explains the remarkable fact of the occurrence of natural and unnatural vice in numerous ascetic sects. Sexual castigation and sexual excess: these are the two poles between which the life of the ascetic oscillates; thus in every case the ascetic life proves to have a strongly emphasized sexual element. Asceticism often is merely a means of pro-

curing sexual pleasure in a different form and more intense degree.

Leo Berg remarks, "In every religious community, every fellowship of disciples, the erotic plays a great part. All sect founders are of an amorous nature. If they are philosophers they know it and speak brilliantly at *'symposia'* about something which is not necessarily understood and which may be developed into, say, 'Platonic love.' Often one becomes a philosopher or a *religiosus* purely out of aversion for the objects of youthful love. If the physical erotic basis is not known we then may speak of a 'Tolstoyan theory.' All the saints suffered disaster from woman or else conquered her. She was the springboard into higher spheres; or she was a dam over which the stream had to pour to inundate the wide plains. Their gratitude was to despise woman afterward and think out for themselves, for the brothers of their order, or for all mankind, frightful marriage- and love-laws which often had no other purpose than to destroy the human race. Truly, they loved devouringly."*

Asceticism is as old as human religion and distributed over the whole earth. We find individual ascetics among many savage tribes, and ascetic sects more particularly among civilized peoples, ancient and modern, in Babylon, Phrygia, Syria, Judaea (*Essenes and Therapeutes*), even in pre-Columbian Mexico†, and mostly highly developed in India, Islam and Christendom.

In India the first asceticism was connected with the *Samkhya* doctrine which is based on the opposition of spirit and matter

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**"Das sexuelle Problem in Kunst und Leben,"* Berlin, 1901, pp. 92-3.
†W. H. Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Mexico."

and requires intensive self-discipline, *yoga*. Hence these first Brahman ascetics were called *yogins*. Their "artificial ecstasies" could also lead to sexual aberrations, as exemplified by the sect of the Acelakas who went about completely naked and by that of the Ajikavas which admitted both men and women to membership.* Likewise Buddhism and the Jaina religion included asceticism in their teachings. Genuine Yoginism, however, we find first in the Sivaitic sects of the ninth to the sixteenth century. Besides unrestricted gratification of the grossest sensual impulses these also practised asceticism, distorting it into the most cruel self-torture.†

The same inevitable combination of sexualism and asceticism we find in the Mohammedan sect of the *Sufis*. In Sufism abstinence and castigation were practised in conjunction with artificial excitation of the nervous system by opium, hasheesh, singing, dancing, nightly consorting. Woman was banned, and Greek love prevailed. Tagy-aldyn-Kashy even tried to prove that no one could be a great *Sufi* without practising pederasty.* Here we have a typical example of a purely religious origin and practise of homosexual gratification.

Tertullian declared hunger the only really natural desire and the sex impulse a depravity. (De anina, chapter 38).|| In the second century, Christians emasculated themselves voluntarily; in the fourth century this ascetic malpractise was widely prevalent, as we know from the Council of Nicaea, which

*Hardy, op. cit., pp. 60-3.

†Hardy, p. 117. Hardy also mentions (P. 134) the *Suthres* (pure), "whose life is a mock of their name."

‡F. von Hellwald, op. cit. p. 511.

||See A. Harnack, *"Medicinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte,"* Leipzig, 1892, p. 52.

dealt vigorously with these ancient predecessors of the present *Skopzoi.** There was a noticeable increase in the number of ascetics and saints who retired to solitary wastes and attempted to attain salvation through castigating the body. Characteristically, all these ascetics were engrossed with sex, to the exclusion of all else; they thought ceaselessly about questions connected with the sex life; for this remarkable preoccupation the only accurate explanation is that given above. The writings of the saints are full of sexual references, and offer therefore rich sources for the study of the moral history of antiquity. Nothing interests these ascetics so much as the life of the prostitutes, as the sexual excesses of the impious. Many legends tell of the efforts of saints to wrest harlots away from their profession and bring them to a holy life; and Charles de Bussy in *"Les courtisanes saintes"* cites a great number of female saints who had been prostitutes. St. Vitalius visited the brothel every night, gave the harlots money not to sin, and prayed for their reformation.† Under these circumstances castigation,** self-flagellation, and self-emasculation served only to make the saint, constantly turning the sexual over and over in his thoughts, allocate his own *vita sexualis* ever more definitely in the morbid and perverse. The monstrous visions‡ of the saints typify the incredible violence of the sexual desires of the ascetics. In the words of Augustine, how far these unfortunates were from "the tranquil clarity of love," how close to "the murk of

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*Ibid., pp. 27-8.

†Lecky, op. cit.

**Ibid. Even chastity belts were worn by the saints to suppress sensual passion.

‡See especially O. Delepierre, *"L'Enfer; essai philosophique et historique sur les légendes de la vie future,"* London, 1876.

sensual lust!" Visions, "false images" enticed the "sleeper" into that to which reality, in the waking state, could not seduce him. (Augustin, conf. X, 30). Images of beautiful naked women—such as in reality the ascetics often had around them "to test themselves"—appeared to them in dreams; fetishistic and symbolistic visions tortured them*, with temptations which in the sects of the Valesians, *Gnostics,* and *Marcionites* culminated in sexual orgies. The founder of the latter sect, Marcion, preached continence, but claimed that sexual transgression could be no hindrance to salvation, since only the soul rose again after death.† The *Gnostics* vacillated between unconditional celibacy and sexual promiscuity. As late as the nineteenth century, ascetic mysticism led the Protestant sect of *Königsberg Pietists* into the greatest sensual excesses.

The outgrowth of asceticism was monasticism, to which the above observations apply in every respect. The undeniable vice in the medieval cloisters,‡ which was most significantly expressed in the later designation of the brothels as "abbeys"|| and was a favorite subject for folk tale and ballad, likewise throws a clear light on the close connections between religious asceticism and *vita sexualis.*

Not less significant are the inter-relations of religion and sex in witchcraft. Here too, first of all, we must dispose of the erroneous belief that these are manifest only in the witchcraft of the Christian era. The chief contributor to the diffusion of this misconception is J. Michelet's famous work,

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*Krafft-Ebing, p. 7, note.
†Dufour, op. cit., III, 37.
‡Ploss-Bartels, II, pp. 540-2.
||Ibid, Dulaure, pp. 278-281.

"La Sorcière," in which the witch is represented as a Christian-medieval invention.

The Christian religion as such is just as much to blame for this creation as are all other creeds, no more. Witchcraft, with its religious-sexual foundation, is a primitive, universal anthropologic phenomenon, a product of prehistoric humanity, originating from age-old inter-relations of religion and sex life.

The animism of prehistoric man and of the modern savage sees in all terrifying natural phenomena the expressions and activities of demons and sorcerers. We have told above how the sex impulse first appeared in the life of man as demonic, supernatural. Prehistoric man regarded as the work of a demon the rut which drove him to woman, and soon woman herself took on for him an aspect of the uncanny, the magical. The witch superstition has its origin in the sex impulse, and sorcery has always been connected with the sex impulse in some form.

Never has the psychology of witchcraft and magic been more clearly illustrated than by the following report, hitherto hardly noticed, which K. F. P. von Martius gives us of the sexual origin of magic in Brazil.

"If we wish to estimate the savage as physician and thaumaturge we must descend into the abyss of those tenebrous conditions in which man acts from demonic impulses of sources unknown even to himself, stranger as he is to all our definitions. Of all the Indians with whom I could speak about this matter old Tubixaba Gregorio of the tribe of the Coerunas, my guide on the expedition up the Yupura, was the most intelligent. When I asked him one evening, 'How do

you cure your sick people?' he stuck his tongue out of his protruding, wide-open mouth, made an indecent gesture with his hands, pointing to his sexual parts, and leered scornfully, craftily. Not much the wiser, I asked for further explanation. To my not inconsiderable astonishment he drew a circle in the sand, in this the picture of a *lingam,* and said solemnly, 'All sorcery comes from hate and rut, and with these we cure, too.' These words gave me much to think about. If I am not mistaken, they point to the source of all magic, not merely that of Indian 'medicine.' The latter is a blind, sensual use of weird, obscure forces of nature, in total ignorance of scientific fact; many *pajes,* or doctors, too, must remember, darkly, that they have obtained the crude, simple art in an illicit way. I must not withhold the fact that in many cases the knowledge of the remedies is imparted by the older *paje* to the young, uncontaminated student only at the price of prostitution, or by the female healers (*maracaimbara*) only for tolerating their disgusting embraces. Thus mystery, sensuality, and the unnatural are linked together, thus magic is transmitted through vice and will prevail among rude peoples so long as these do not become chaste. The seducer claims, as bearer of a powerful (evil) spirit, to enjoy vicariously for the spirit in fleshly mingling, and in return to impart an unknown power. Among the Brazilian savages an old *paje* selects a young man and goes into solitude with him for a time. The retreat, which the tribe suppose to be devoted to initiation into the secrets of sorcery, really serves only for the seduction of the pupil by his teacher."*

Other elements of the witch cult appear among the Brazil-

*K. F. P. von Martius, *"Das Naturell, die Krankheiten, das Arzttum und die Heilmittel der Urbewohner Brasiliens,"* Munich, 1843, pp. 111-113.

ians, for instance physical coupling with evil spirits,* utilization of human excretions (urine, feces, semen, saliva) for aphrodisiac purposes.** The *paje* has naturally, like the Christian witch of the Middle Ages, something of the Satanic; he is *kubit* (devil) among the Abipones*** and "poison mixer."****

The sexual phenomena of procreation and puberty were associated very early with mages, sorcerers, and witches whose task it was to interpret these manifestations, to their own profit. "It was in the spirit of pre-history to yield a profoundly reverent credulity to all explanations by the sorcerers and priests of such a mysterious process as that of procreation."† Since primeval times sorcerers and witches have been particularly learned in sexual matters, and the folk mind always thinks first of them in this connection. The witches of remote antiquity in Rome resemble those of the Middle Ages in evil sexual repute.‡ They mix love potions, give advice on all questions of *vita sexualis,* and thus they are admirably qualified to act as go-betweens and otherwise to abet disconduct. According to J. Frank, who has made exhaustive investigations of the etymology of the word, *Hexe* comes from *hagat* and means "slut."|| This meaning appears very acceptable in

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*Ibid., p. 114.

**Ibid., p. 115.

***Ibid., p. 116.

****Ibid., pp. 181-5.

†O. Caspari, *"Die Urgeschichte der Menschheit,"* Leipzig, 1877, II, p. 123.

‡L. Friedländer, *"Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,"* Leipzig, 1888, I, pp. 509-510.

||J. Frank, *"Geschichte des Wortes Hexe,"* in J. Hansens *"Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter,"* 1901.

the light of the predominance of the sexual element in the medieval witch cult. The sexual is similarly the most prominent characteristic of the male sorcerers of antiquity, Alexander of Abonuteichos and others.*

The sexual origin of the witch has been stressed by Laura Marholm. She describes the detection of witches as "one of those violent waves in which one symbol flows out of another, from the holy the obscene, from the heavenly the diabolic. The infinite disappointment which the fermenting fancy of man suffered in earthly woman precipitated the witch concept as an abortion of his creative urge. It was a dread of woman as a sex being, of woman as a mystery, that found a mad and ridiculous expression in the phantasy of a sexual devil's cult of women. Thus woman, who had formerly been the intermediary between man and God, became the intermediary between man and filth."†

Thus woman is regarded as representative of a demonic power which the medieval mind conceived as foul, impure. A church council of the first century of the Christian era characterizes woman as *"janua Diaboli, via iniquitatis, scorpionis percussio, nocivum genus."*‡ The doctrines of original sin and of the immaculate conception had certainly a great share in producing this attitude toward woman. Michelet observes, "By a frightful reversal of ideas the Middle Ages regarded woman, the flesh in its representative cursed since Eve, as impure. The virgin, glorified as virgin, not however as holy virgin, far from elevating real woman, had debased

*L. Friedländer, op. cit., I, p. 111.

†L. Marholm, *"Aus der Krankheitsgeschichte des Weibes,"* in *"Zukunft,"* 1897, no. 16, pp. 118-119.

‡Dufour, op. cit., III, 53.

her by starting man on a scholasticism of purity, in which he went ever further into the subtle and false."* The notion of woman as witch hinged almost entirely on the sexual, mostly in the form of the Sabbat, in which the sexual-perverse played the chief role, not merely simple sexual intercourse being practised, but the most frightful unnatural vice. After the witch had kissed the devil's "left foot, left hand, breech and genitals"† she might take part in the great gatherings of witches and devils, of which those on the Brocken were the most famous. Here "inhuman, unnatural"‡ vice was practised, the witches being completely naked. Study of the witch trials of medieval and modern times, for, as is well known, there were such trials until the nineteenth century, would undoubtedly make valuable contributions to the anthropologic side of the theory of *psychopathia sexualis* and cast important light on the origin of sexual aberration. Much sexual abnormality even today proceeds from the same universally human superstitious urge, compounded of religious mysticism and rut, which developed the witch belief of the Middle Ages to so monstrous a growth. Michelet in his classic work has left no room for doubt that it was chiefly the religious phantasy astray in sexual by-paths that expressed itself in the witch belief.

Perfervid religious imagination was evident not only among Catholics but among Protestants, in the same degree. Only the Jews—perhaps because of cruel persecution—remained uninfected by the hysteria. Curt Müller says, "Usually per-

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*Michelet, op. cit., p. 132.

†Goethe alludes to this in "Faust, I; *Paralipomena; Einzelne Audienzen,*" in the dialogue between X and the Master of Ceremonies.

‡Curt Müller, *"Hexenaberglaube und Hexenprozesse in Deutschland,"* Leipzig, 1893, pp. 24-9.

sons who call belief in God superstition are the most zealous priests of superstition. Most free from superstition are the Israelites. They have to thank for this their fundamentally sane religion which has not suffered so many alterations and schisms as others, served, for instance, by such mad fanatics and savage persecutors as the priests in the Middle Ages, Catholic and Protestant alike."*

This witch belief produced the most frightful aberrations, principally of a sadistic nature. Like superstition, the sexual-religious urge of the Middle Ages survives today in many persons and is the cause of sexual anomalies.

*Op. cit., p. 51.

CHAPTER TEN—PASTORAL STUDIES OF SEX — GIGANTIC SEXUAL LITERATURE OF THEOLOGY — ILLUMINATING ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CONFESSIONAL

Before I bring up the next point, often hinted at in the previous pages, that every kind of sexual perversion and anomaly known to us may be of religious origin, and some, as for instance sexual fetishism, can have originated only in religious motives, let us consider briefly some religious manifestations in which the sexual element is as strongly marked as in asceticism and in witchcraft.

In a former treatise* I have pointed out that so-called pastoral medicine, the branch of theological learning which investigates the separate facts and problems of medicine from the standpoint of the Church and establishes the relation of each to dogma, is chiefly occupied with matters pertaining to sex. The Trappist Debreyne, in the preface to his *"Moechiologie,"* (Brussels, 1885) declares, "The aim of this book is to show man only on his carnal and animal side, to consider him only in that state of abject servitude in which the tyrannic

*Iwan Bloch, *"Ueber den Begriff einer Kulturgeschichte der Medicin,"* in *Die medicinische Woche,* 1900, no. 36.

rule of the senses keeps him inexorably, to contemplate him, finally, with a feeling of sorrowful pity in the state of moral degradation to which he has been reduced by brutal and debasing passions. We shall follow humanity, therefore, in the miry path of shameful carnal vice; we shall walk in the dark and mephitic way of death, holding ever before us the torch of the physiological and medical sciences." We can form a fair idea beforehand of the content, the scope, and the minuteness of his explanations of sexual problems. Indeed in these writings we find ridiculous extremes of theological casuistry on all conceivable problems of the *vita sexualis,* the secrets of the confessional utilized most remarkably,* the religious imagination, a singular combination of scholasticism and sensuality, prowling in dark by-paths of human aberrations.

The external cause for theological treatment of sexual questions was partly the confession of sexual abnormalities by communicants, partly public scandal. For either circumstances casuistry tried to establish norms for judging, from the religious standpoint, everything affecting the *vita sexualis."* It was then (in the Middle Ages) that theologians, canonists, wishing to lay down hard and fast rules of conduct, and apparently finding the moral code of the Scriptures insufficient, conceived the insane project of making a complete enumeration of all human acts, of giving a solution for all possible cases, and founded that science of casuistry, which later achieved such phenomenal growth, and against which the most decent in mind and heart have always rebelled." (M.

*That the confessional today can still furnish illuminating data we learn from the contributions of Catholic priests to *"Das Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen,"* 1899 and 1900.

Libri.) * This, however, would not have been possible, at any rate on such a scale if there had not been an inner cause, namely the interrelation of religion and sexualism. Thus only can be explain the development of a gigantic sexual-casuistic literature in theology and in its branch, pastoral medicine. Comprehension of this fact is made possible not by the embittered tirades, dictated by denominational prejudice of certain historical critics, but only by the expositions of physicians and anthropologists who consider these matters in the logical relation sketched above and are aware that the tendency of religion and sex life to interchange is a human universal, not the artificial product of any one belief. Precisely the fact that the Catholic Church has made repeated efforts to put a stop to the most scandalous abuses of this nature without ever quite succeeding shows that they are part of religion itself.

The theological casuists, among whom the best known are Augustinus, Benzi, Bouvier, Cangiamila, Capellmann, Claret, Debreyne, Dens, Filliucius, Gury, Liguori, Moja, Molina, Moullet, Pereira, Rodriguez, Rousselot, Sa, Thomas Sanchez, Samuel Schroeerus, Skiers, Soto, Suarez, Tamburini, Thomas of Aquinas, Vivaldi, Wigandt, Zenardi and others, have treated the most diverse sexual problems, and offer a rich source for the study of the activities of the imagination in sexual matters.

The question propounded by some casuists to what degree sexual caresses are permissible† necessitated highly detailed explanations skirting the cynical. The approval by Benzi and Rousselot of *"tatti mammillari"* inspired the epithet of *"thé-*

**"Lettres sur le Clergé et sur la Liberté d'Enseignement,"* Paris, 1844, p. 81.

†Libri, op. cit. p. 97. J. Huber, *"Les Jésuits,"* Paris, 1878, II p. 84.

ologiens mamillaires." This "theology" was condemned by Pope Benedict XIV. Thus it decidedly has not the approval of the Catholic Church, as is frequently represented. Schroeerus wrote a *"Dissertatio theologica de sanctificatione seminis Mariae Virginis in actu conceptionis Christi sine redemptionis pretio"* (Leipzig, 1709) proving elaborately that *semen Mariae* was created out of her blood and had not preexisted in the ovary. Dr. Edmund Skiers explains the *conceptio immaculata* by a foetal cyst. A theologizing physician indeed.*

In Rousselot's arrangement of excerpts from J. C. Saettler's *"Theologia Moralis"* there are detailed discussions of questions like: *"An et in quo casu liceat copulam abrumpere. An liceat semen conceptum ejicere. Quandonam pollutio censeatur voluntaria in sua causa, et quando ac quomodo sit culpabilis. An et quando interrogandum circa bestialitatem. Quid de concubitu cum muliere mortua. Quid de modis coeundi innaturalibus. Quid et quale peccatum sit lenocinium. Quid sit dicendum de obscenis tactibus, aspectibus, osculis inter conjuges. An peccet conjugatus, qui in absentia compartis seipsum impudice tangit, vel delectatur de copula habita vel habenda. Quid agere debeat Confessarius erga uxorem cujus maritus onanista est. Quid sit abortus et an liceat eum procurare."*† All possibilities of sexual pleasure which a perverse imagination could dream of are gone into thoroughly. The most notorious work in this field is "The Golden Key," by Antonio Maria Claret, the Archbishop of Cuba. Among other questions the young feminine penitents

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*E. Skiers, "Illustrations on the Incarnation and Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary and the Miraculous and Mysterious Birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ," Paris, 1854.

†Grenoble, 1840.

are asked: *"Pollutionem facientes, aspicientes et tangentes seipsas. Palma manus, tangendo leviter super vas. Digito tangendo se leviter intra vas in clitori. Mittendum digitum intra vaginam. Mittendo fustum intra vas. Applicans se contra vas in mensa, pariete, etc., sedens in sedia applicando se contra ipsam sediam. Sedens in terra applicando se contra ipsum pedem suum. Aliquando jungens crura et opprimens ipsum vas, movendo leniter seipsam."* Claret declares, however, that all kinds of masturbation classified by Forberg are "one and the same" and that it is therefore not necessary to have the penitent tell "whether it was done in one way or another." Similarly pederasty, sodomy, etc., are discussed.* Bouvier, in his *"Dissertatio in sextum Decalogi praeceptum,"* even goes into the subject of pollution of statues. Sanchez in his *"Disputationes de Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento"* discusses impotence, mental onanism, pedication. Most learnedly Petrus Dens (1690-1775) and Alfonso Maria di Liguori (1696-1787) treated the entire sex life of man, normal and abnormal, citing the data, opinions, criticisms of their predecessors so minutely that their writings† represent the richest source in the field of sexual casuistry.

The sermons of the Middle Ages are famous for their many allusions to sexual matters.‡ Martin Luther, with his ardent religious imagination, decidedly did not shrink from the

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**"Llave de Oro, ó Serie de reflexiones que, para abrir el corazon cerrado de los pobres pecadores, ofrece á los confesores nuevos el Excmo. é Ilmo. Sr. D. Antonio María Claret, Arzobispo de Cuba."*

†P. Dens, *"Theologia Moralis et Dogmatica,"* Dublin, 1832, eight volumes. A. M. di Liguori, *"Theologia Moralis,"* Prato, 1839, two volumes. See also Frédéric Busch, *"Découvertes d'un Bibliophile."*

‡See A. Mercy, *"Les Libres Precheurs Devanciers de Luther et de Rabelais,"* Paris, 1860.

subject. Nor are the Talmud and the religious writings of Islam free from sexual casuistry.

The inter-relations of religion and sexuality are most clearly manifested by the fact that religion plays a direct role in the etiology of sexual anomalies. It is extremely important to note that all forms of sexual anomalies and perversions can arise on a religious basis. There is a religious sodomy, a religious flagellantism, a religious homosexuality, there are religious forms of fetishism and sadism, even a religious exhibitionism.

By fetishism we understand the transference, the centering, of reverence and adoration for a whole personality or idea onto a part of it, or onto an inanimate object placed in associative relation to it. The part, or associative object, is the fetish. Fetishism is pathological when the idea of the part replaces entirely the idea of the whole, when "an impression made by the part detracts all interest from the whole, so that by comparison other impressions become inconsequential."* In pathological sexual fetishism the mere sight or even mere memory of a part affects the sexual sphere. Krafft-Ebing, on the basis of his clinical observations, mistakenly declares, "It is extraordinary that in all pathological fetishism of the bodily-part variety the fetish has never been a part of the body directly connected with the *sexus*." He would have corrected this assumption if he had paid heed to the existence of that religious-sexual fetishism which is almost exclusively a worship of the genitals. Surely it indicates a more frequent occurrence of direct genital fetishism in general *psychopathia sexualis* than Krafft-Ebing supposes.

*Krafft-Ebing, op. cit., p. 143.

Religious-sexual fetishism is most plainly and universally represented by the *phallus* cult. The universal human basis of this remarkable form of concentrated religious adoration of the genitals is proved unmistakably. It has prevailed in all parts of the world, in all ages, and is to be regarded as an originary manifestation proceeding from human nature as such as soon as this has placed itself in conscious relation with the sex act.

The philosophic explanations of the origin of phallic worship (Schopenhauer) and the well-known astrologic derivation of it from the constellations of the Ram and the Bull which J. A. Dulaure has given in his learned *"Divinités Génératrices ou Du Culte du Phallus"* (Paris, 1825) must be characterized as not striking the heart of the matter. The real origin of the *phallus* cult is a highly realistic one, going back to the real physical life of man and explicable only from the intimate inter-relations of sexuality and religious ideas. Religious notions of procreation and of the sexual parts carrying out the act led primitive man to that concentrated worship of these parts which makes up the *phallus* cult.

Regarding the natural genesis of *phallic* worship O. Caspari has advanced a peculiar theory:

"Primitive priestly wisdom busied itself at once with reflection upon the procreative act. In this too it must have been fire, or rather fire-*engendering,* fire-*rubbing,* which inspired in the childish imagination most singular ideas about the act of procreation. These views later gave rise to the strangest religious customs and usages. If the soul was a fiery vapor or softly glowing fire, bodily generation was consistently a sort of fire-rubbing. 'Golden were the *arani* with which the

divine Asvines whirled forth the spark. This seed I plant in you that you may bear it in the tenth moon.' (See Kuhn, *'Die Herabkunft des Feuers,'* p. 74). Just as the holy fire is produced by rubbing, so human beings generate the Promethean spark to plant it in woman that she may bear in the tenth month. The notion of the procreative act as fire-rubbing is explained exhaustively in the last brahmana of the *'Bradh-Aranyaka.'* Traces of such an identification of fire-making with the procreative act have survived among the Greeks also. Aristophanes called the *pudendum muliebre "eschára."* To the childish primitive mind, dependent on analogies, the procreating virile member seemed a holy fire-borer, it was a divine *'Pramantha'* to which worship must be paid, because a magic, mysterious, life-giving drastic power resided in it. In these puerile concepts was the germ of phallic worship, prevalent from the earliest times, of which Meiners writes, 'Seldom are the nature, origin, and wide distribution of a worship so difficult to explain as are those of the *phallus* or *lingam* cult. Some worship the virile member (the most ancient Greeks, Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Hindus, etc.), others the feminine generative organ, and yet others the united generative organs of both sexes. Not only was the images of the deity carried in the festivals sacred to it (in Hindustan), but women crowned it with wreaths or kissed it in utter shamelessness or simplicity, and brides sacrified their virginity to it (Phoenicians, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans). The priests at times received the offering in the name of the deity, but not from all young women, only from the brides of the kings and aristocrats.' Surely *phallic* worship—which was also responsible for the fact that the columns of the Egyptian temples, perhaps indeed the pillars of sacred buildings generally, in their variations, had the shape of

the *lingam*—is one of the most remarkable religious deteriorations of the time here described."*

Quite correctly Caspari here has recognized the logical connection of the *phallus* cult with a fetishistic notion of the procreative members. Just as correctly he has described the manifestation as a religious deterioration, as pathological. Only by its inter-relation with abnormally excited *vita sexualis* did religion arrive at the concentrated worship of the sex parts as divine manifestations, the part instead of the whole. The purely sexual basis of the *phallus* cult is demonstrated plainly by the sexual actions connected with it. Not only defloration by the *phallus,* mentioned above but *phallus*-kissing are to be noted here. This was still done by pious Christian ladies in the eighteenth century, according to Dulaure (op. cit., p. 259). The purely sexual basis of the *phallus* cult is shown perhaps most plainly by the fact that not the *phallus* but the real genitals of the divinity's proxies were sometimes kissed; according to Duquesne, in the Indian city Canara the women in honor of Siva *genitalia sacerdotum osculabantur.* (See Dulaure, op. cit., p. 17). On the wall of a temple near Bombay dedicated to the *lingam* the act of *irrumatio* is represented pictorially. (Dulaure, p. 87, note). Mohammedan women also practise the *phallus* cult in similarly realistic fashion on "holy" madmen and other men.† There was also the use of the *phallus* for other sexual purposes, as by women for onanism (as for instance in the *mimiambus* "The Women Friends" of Herondas) and even for pedication (Arnobius *Adversus Gentes,* lib. V, edition 1651, p. 117). Furthermore,

*O. Caspari, *"Urgeschichte der Menschheit,"* Leipzig, 177, II, pp. 121-3.

†Ibid., p. 98. See also M. Schurig, *"Gynäcologia,"* Dresden, 1730, pp. 412-413.

the characteristic symptom of fetishism, according to Binet, the magnification to gigantic proportions of the part functioning as fetish, at the expense of the whole, occurs unmistakably in the *phallus* cult. Herodotus tells of images of the masculine genitals which the women carried about in the Dionysia in the villages and which were as big as a human body. (Book II, chapter 48). In the *phallic* rites of all peoples there is use of such exaggerated magnified images. Often the exaggeration, as for instance in classic antiquity, consists in doubling or even tripling the sex parts, producing the so-called *diaphallus* and *triphallus.** Finally a delight in the concentrated worship of the genitals manifests itself in the introduction of the *lingam* and *yoni* forms and motifs into art and into the objects of daily life. This is proved unmistakably by *phallic* amulets and idols (Dulaure, pp. 90, 148, 211, 218-219, 226, 255, 358), obscene cakes and loaves in the form of the male and female genitals (pp. 225, 330), vases, rings, medals, gems, with *phallic* representations (p. 148), *phalli* serving as drinking vessels (p. 118), feminine hair curlers in the shape of a *membrum virile* (p. 228); likewise by the phallic figures on many medieval churches (p. 214), the "round towers" of Ireland* and the *"phallus* stones"* found all over the world.

The worship of parts of the genitals, as for instance the foreskin,‡ lends probability to baas' supposition that circumcision was a "fetish operation."

Exhibitionism—if we wish to separate this from masochism

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†Dulaure, op. cit., pp. 146-7, 211.
*As to the towers and stones, see "Phallic Objects, Monuments and Remains," 1889.
‡H. Baas, *"Die geschichtliche Entwickelung des ärztlichen Standes,"* Berlin, 1896, p. 7.

—also appears in connection with religious emotion. As concomitant of religious acts and as a stimulant to religious emotion there is a public exposure of the whole body or the genitals. Herodotus tells of the women going to Bubastis for the Isis festival, who lift their garments high in the presence of men (Book II, chapter 59). Similar and worse exposures we find not only in religious festivals of savages, but, as is well known, in the medieval processions.*

Along with exhibitionism there are such masochistic religious acts performed by women as scraping the *phalli* and eating the parts scraped off,† and that frightful homage which Indian women pay to certain religious mystics as an act of piety, which Schurig reports: *"Omnes religiosorum in India ordines sanctitatem affectant, precarium exercentes questum, dumque cineribus se aspergunt; vaccinoque stercore corpus jam sordidissimum uberius inquinant, tam pestilentis putoris effluvia exhalant, ut prae illis cloacae omnes latrinaeque balsamum spirare videantur. Stupenda hac sorditie apud stultissimam plebeculam venerationem sanctimoniae et venantur et re vera accipiunt. Mulierculae imprimis sordidos hos mystas omi dignantur honore, usque adeo, ut eorum membra, mephitim certe exhalantia, et quae pudor nominare prohibet, et osculentur et alia committantur turpissima dictu."*‡
Similar things are reported of certain Christian sects of the Middle Ages, like the Manichaeans.

Masochism and sadism are closely linked in religious flagellantism. We shall content ourselves with establishing the fact that flagellantism from religious motives is also a

*Dulaure, op. cit., p. 315.
†Ibid., pp. 234, 238, 240, 242.
‡Schurig, op. cit., p. 413.

universal, ubiquitous anthropologic phenomenon. Herodotus, telling of the mass flagellation of men and women in the Isis festival at Busiris (Book II, chapter 61), indicates the sexual-religious correlation. The whip played a similar role in the Roman *Lupercalia.* Religious flagellantism attained its greatest and most notorious prevalence in the Christian Middle Ages, serving for penance, self castigation, imitation of the sufferings of Christ, for ecclesiastic discipline and absolution. It was not limited to the cloister but was carried to the people by the great Flagellant Sects and Whip Societies of the Middle Ages. Modern authors like Dulaure,* Cooper,** A. Eulenburg,*** Ullo,**** von Schlichtegroll,***** have drawn particular attention to the sexual motive in religious flagellation, pointing out as obvious evidence not only that the victims were stripped but that persons of different sex administered the discipline to each other. It is very important that one of the most horrible sexual perversions, the intercourse of man with beasts, can be practised under the cloak of religion. Here again the religion of the Egyptians, rich in sexual correlations, furnishes a prototype in the sacred goat of Mendas. Part of the worship of this animal was sexual intercourse of women with him. (Herodotus, II, 46).† The sodomy with nanny goats still occurring in South Italy must have some logical connection with the

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*Op. cit., p. 311. He says these "penitences" were "more apt to enkindle than to extinguish certain passions."

**W. M. Cooper, "Flagellantism and the Flagellants."

***Op. cit., p. 122.

****"*Die Flagellomanie,*" Dresden, 1901, p. 47.

*****K. F. von Schlichtegroll, "*Sacher-Masoch und der Masochismus,*" Dresden, 1901, pp. 54-63.

†Corroborations (Plutarch, Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus) cited by Dulaure, p. 41.

worship of the goat in Hellas* and Italy, prevailing in earliest times, and the association of the animal with the sexual deity. In the Witch cult and the Satan cult this animal plays the same role.

We come now to the most remarkable of all religious-sexual phenomena, homosexuality and pederasty from religious motives, occurring in equal proportion among civilized and "nature" peoples. How explain religious pederasty and its ubiquitous occurrence? The fact that there is a religiously motivated homosexuality is beyond all doubt, the explanation of it, however, is difficult and uncertain. My conjectures as to the origin of this astounding custom are as follows.

If to primitive man even the ordinary normal sex act seemed wonderful, demonic, supernatural, an operation in which the deity had a share, sexual relations between men must have seemed to him at first a downright miracle, and the unnatural inclination to it the direct inspiration of a higher spirit.† Thus the first few "disinherited of the happiness of love" were placed in mysterious relations to higher entity and were regarded as earthly representatives of the deity. The abnormal, singular, rare expression of a perverse sex impulse was regarded as the higher, holier. Always remember that primitive man is far from applying our moral standard to these manifestations. His indulgent attitude toward them offers a precise analogy to that of our lower classes today. If the

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*It was not without significance that Scopas represented Aphrodite Pandemos riding on a goat. See, F. G. Welcker, "Sappho und Phaon," in *"Kleine Schriften,"* Elberfeld, 1867, V, p. 231. Compare also the myth of Pasiphae.

†Communicated mostly in dreams, among the Otoe (Karsch, op. cit. p. 132.) and Sauk (p. 121) Indians of North America.

moral standard is absent, for the primitive man cradled in animism and demonism only the enigmatic physical act as such remains, and demands an explanation of the sort indicated.

The religious concept of homosexuality then crystallized into a religious custom, inasmuch as the womanish homosexual men were chosen as priests. As these usually did not exist in sufficient numbers they were artificially created; or at least there was effort to make the male priests appear to be women. The report that in the South and Central American tribes the male priests had to wear women's clothes* is analogous in popular psychology to Herodotus' statement (II, 36) that the priests in ancient Europe, as well as those in Egypt, had to wear their hair long. From the report of Martius reproduced above we have learned already of the intimate relations between sorcery and artificially cultivated pederasty among the South American Indians. Falkner and Bastian report that among the Araucanians the male sorcerers are required to abandon their sex and put on feminine clothing. They may not marry, and are mostly selected as children, those of especially feminine appearance being preferred.† Hammond reports that the *mujerados* of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico are simply indispensable for the religious orgies. The pederastic customs are an essential part of the religious ceremonies of the Pueblos. Similarly, the effeminate Floridas had a pedilection for religious celebrations.‡

Among the civilized peoples similar customs prevail. Corresponding to the "holy" pederasts of the Sakalavas of Mada-

*Karsch, op. cit., p. 123.
†Ibid., pp. 157-8.
‡Ibid., p. 119.

gascar* are, among the civilized peoples of antiquity, the pederastic priests of Baal Peor, of Cybede, of Aphrodite, of the Dea Syria.†

The pederasts are called "holy" (*kadeshim*) in the Old Testament‡ just as among savages, for the same reasons. Pederastic acts, or at least disgusting symbolizations of them, were regarded by Baal Pegor as "holy" and were "sacrificed" to him.||

The temple of Aphrodite Hetaira in Athens, according to Apollodorus, served as an abode for female and male *hetaerae*¶. The cult of "the mother of the gods," Cybele, gives similar indications, with its castrated priests (*galli*), of religious homosexuality.

It is well known that in the Satan cult of the Christian Middle Ages likewise unnatural vice between persons of the same sex was sacred.

Even feminine homosexuality, tribadism, can originate from religious causes. A feminine branch of the Cainite sect, "reminiscent of the famous Sappho in every respect," won great popularity in North Africa, thanks to the zealous propaganda of its founder, Quintilla.††

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*Ibid., p. 102.

†That the pederastic effemination, famous as *thélia nousos,* of the Scythians, was of religious origin, is shown by W. H. Roscher, *"Das von der 'Kynanthropie' handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side,"* Leipzig, 1896, p. 25, note 61.

‡J. Rosenbaum, op. cit., pp. 122-3.

||Compare Rabbi Salomon Jarchi's commentary on Numbers 25: *"Eo quod distendebant coram illo foramen podicis, et stercus offerebant."* Dulaure, p. 67.

¶W. H. Roscher, *"Nektar und Ambrosia,"* p. 89.

††Dufour, op. cit., III, 35.

In general we find among the fanatics who joined certain sects a representative range of sexual anomalies "justified" by religious means. It is hardly to be supposed that all members of such religious communities were infected with congenital sexual perversions. Instead the interrelation of religious mysticism and sex impulse is revealing itself here in sexual distortions of unbridled imagination. From the relatively innocent—though perhaps ultimately hazardous—*"aseminal cohabitation"* of the modern Oneida sect in North America to the Satan cult of the Cainites, the Manichaeans and Templars, embracing the most horrible sexual vices, the relation is everywhere manifest. (The latter travestied the holy rites of the Christian Church in glorification of the Evil Principle. In doing so they sexualized the ritual completely, as in the notorious "black mass" in which a woman was partaken of as a host by the congregation.) "Woman fulfils every requirement at the Sabbat. She is priest, altar, host of which the congregation partakes at communion. Basically, is she not God Himself?" (Michelet, "The Witch.")

The foregoing data have proved clearly and decisively that the interrelations of religion and *vita sexualis* are to be understood as universal anthropological manifestations, not accidental rarities conditional upon place, time, and nationality. The modern physician, jurist, and criminal anthropologist must therefore pay great attention to the religious factor in the normal and abnormal sex life of man if they wish to obtain impartial and unclouded understanding of the sexual anomalies. The basic importance of religious-sexual motives has been recognized by Havelock Ellis also. He has devoted the last section of "The Evolution of Modesty" to demonstrating that little waves of erotic sensation accompany all

religious emotions and under certain circumstances can completely immerse them.

Even in the most recent times unscrupulous sect founders, by arousing and playing upon certain religious emotions, have been able, in the name of religion, to entice unsophisticated, childishly pious natures into the power of the wildest sexual passions, natural and unnatural. An instance is the prosecution, December 1901, of an American couple, the Horos, who founded in London a new religious sect, the "Theocratic Unity" at whose meetings young girls were initiated into the most frightful vice. The "Daily Telegraph," commenting on the trial, reminded its readers that immoral motives were frequently to be found under the cloak of religion, and, as to the influence of fantastic ceremonies, concluded, "The victims are almost all women—instead of 'the triumph of the so-called rationalistic spirit' one would predict today a rich harvest for frauds."

So long as the emotions of love and of religion have in them an inexpressible, overwhelming urge, so long as there is a goddess Aphrodite, religion and sexuality in the good and bad sense will be closely interrelated. From this affectivity "good and evil proceed; magical, torturing bliss, ideal yearning—and inordinate carnal desire; the most innocent and charming illusions, the most intimate and sacred bonds between human beings; celestial emotions—and bestial, infernal, abysmal degradation."*

CHAPTER ELEVEN — GENITAL DEFORMATIONS AND MUTILATIONS AND STRANGE DESIRES—PERVERSIONS FROM NARCOTICS IN CHINA

These universal influences on the sex life of man, such as climate, race, age, sex, social conditions, civilization, imagination, art and literature, are connected, in most cases, with individual factors in the origin of sexual aberrations. In almost no sexual pervert shall we fail to find one or another of these individual influences. Mostly too these are present in the majority.

First of all it is unquestionable that certain abnormalities of the genitals in otherwise completely healthy and mentally competent persons promote the development of sexual anomalies.* Often small, scarcely perceptible alterations of the genitals can produce great effects on the character of the sex impulse. Bacon observed that adhesions of the ends of the nymphae covering the clitoris lessened the libido, accumulation of smegma around the clitoris increased it quite importantly. The nervous irritability connected with *hyperaemia* and chronic irritation in feminine gonorrhea causes excessive

*G. Welcker, in Roscher *"Nektar und Ambrosia,"* pp. 86-7.

desires, *nymphomania,* and masturbation. Increased vascularization of the genitals intensifies the sex impulse or makes it perverse.* That diseased states of the feminine genitals can lead directly to sexually perverse acts is shown by those not rare cases in which a *prolapsus uteri* causes the patient to seek a substitute for impossible coitus in pedication.

In man, shortness of the frenulum frequently produces sexual *hyperesthesia,* premature ejaculations, and abnormal sexual emotions. According to Féré, many sexual perversions are caused by this apparently petty anatomic defect, after the removal of which they disappear.† Phimosis too can directly produce homosexual states. Wollenmann reports the case of a young man with *phimosis* who at the first practise of coitus experienced a violent pain and since then had had an aversion to normal sexual intercourse. Under the influence of a seducer he became addicted to mutual onanism. After the removal of the *phimosis* by an operation he ceased to feel any desire for the male sex, and the sexual perversion disappeared completely.‡ Gonorrhea likewise is able to influence the sex impulse unfavorably. Numerous patients have confessed to us that abnormal sensations after a case of gonorrhea or in chronic gonorrhea had influenced their *vita sexualis* decidedly in the form of an imperative urge for more frequent gratification of the libido, together with perverse sexual images.

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*Bacon, "The Effect of Structural Defects and Disorders of the Female Sexual Organs on the Sexual Impulse," American Journal of Dermatology, vol. III, number 2, March, 1899.

†M. Féré, *"Eine geschlechtliche Hyperästhesie im Zusammenhang mit der Kürze des Frenulum penis,"* Monatsheft für praktische Dermatologie, 1896, vol. 23, p. 45. Also: Sexual Degeneration in Mankind and Animals: Falstaff Press.

‡A. G. Wollenmann, *"Die Phimose als Ursache einer perversen Sexualempfindung,"* in *"Der ärztliche Praktiker,"* 1895, no. 23.

Very frequently too, sexual incongruence between man and wife (for instance extreme smallness of the *membrum virile,* abnormal width or shortness of the vagina) may lead to perverse forms of intercourse between the two, or—not at all a rare occurrence—may cause one or both to seek homosexual gratification. Havelock Ellis has found in many cases of homosexuality extreme underdevelopment of the external genitals.* I should be more inclined to attribute intense perverse desire to the purely anatomical inadequacy than to any congenital tendency. To this category belongs the case reported by V. von Gyurkovechky of a young aristocrat with extraordinarily small genitals, which made intercourse with women impossible for him, so that *faute de mieux* he practised sodomy with a hen.†

Impotence in man and woman plays an extremely great role as etiologic factor in the genesis of the most varied sexual anomalies. As more and more perverse manipulations and phantasies are resorted to for sexual gratification, these perversities intertwining with the *vita sexualis* can gradually take the form of permanent perversions and be interpreted as such. In these cases the greatest importance is to be attributed to imitation and autosuggestion.‡

That castrated persons, eunuchs, often have a desire for perverse acts or are abused for such purposes is readily comprehensible in the light of the above. Eunuchism, with all its revolting outgrowths, is absolutely not a typical manifesta-

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*Havelock Ellis, "Studies in the Psychology of Sex; Sexual Inversion," Philadelphia, 1901, pp. 170-1.

†Victor von Gyurkovechky, *"Pathologie und Therapie der männlichen Impotenz,"* Vienna and Leipzig, 1897, p. 109.

‡Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 69.

tion of highly cultivated epochs, though it is crassly prominent in the Roman Empire and in modern Islam. J. de la Vaudère, in his novel *"Les Demi-sexes"* (1900) denouncing as the non plus ultra of civilized depravity the "recent" fad among Parisian women for being sterilized so as to be able to devote themselves to every pleasure without danger of pregnancy, apparently was not acquainted with Miklucho-Maclay's reports of the girls of Queensland* and Ploss' reports of the women in India** who were sterilized for the same reasons. There simply is, in *rebus venereis,* no really basic difference between civilized and primitive peoples. It is significant that Vaudère's castrated women soon find delight in tribadic indulgences and have barren sexual orgies with each other, just as castrated males have always played a role among masculine homosexuals, and in the Roman Empire eunuchs were greatly desired by men and women alike.† That the appearance of the feminine type among castrated males, of the masculine type among sterilized females, plays a certain etiologic role is illuminating.

For the same reasons we shall find sexual anomalies in hermaphrodites, too, relatively more frequent than in normal unisexually developed individuals. If we must disregard the rare so-called "true hermaphroditism" (occurrence of male and female seminal glands in the same person), it is, how-

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*Von Miklucho-Maclay, *"Bericht über Operationen australischer Eingeborener,"* Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin, 1882, XIV, pp. 26 ff.

**H. Ploss, *"Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker,"* Berlin, 1882, II, p. 418.

†See too Balzac's story "Sarrasine," (portrayal of homosexual love between a castrated man and a painter), and "The Amours of Lady Lucian" in "The New Atalantis for the year 1762."

ever, obvious that for instance a pseudo-hermaphrodite with male seminal glands but female external genitals can be brought up as a woman and in this way can be trained to homosexuality. The forensic physician E. Hofmann expresses the following opinion on the effect of suggestion and the influences of upbringing on such ambiguously sexed persons: "It is well known and perfectly comprehensible that many of the characteristics which an individual manifests in childhood as well as in later life are the direct result of training and that they are affected only indirectly if at all by the sex of the individual. Thus it is not strange that pseudo-hermaphrodites, later recognized as masculine, should choose 'feminine' occupations and behave as women all their lives if they were thought to be girls at birth and were brought up accordingly. Of greater importance would be the character of definite sexual attractions, but in this respect, too, serious mistakes can be made. First it must be observed that sexual desire and corresponding behavior do not depend exclusively on the presence and complete development of the respective sex glands but may occur when the glands are underdeveloped or even completely lacking. Children and young animals prove this sufficiently, and so do eunuchs, of whom the ancient authors, and in our day Pelikan particularly, in his book about the Skopzoi in Russia, report that they by no means give up sexual intercourse, but seek it and at times even practise it excessively. Therefore in individuals with ambiguous genitals and degenerate sex glands sex impulses can arise whose character, however, may be as ambiguous as the genitals themselves, so that it may depend on more fortuitous factors in which direction these are turned. When the sex glands are completely developed there can be confusion as to one's own sex, because the individual does not know that in conse-

quence of the sex to which he has been mistakenly assigned and to which he thinks he belongs he should feel otherwise than he really does feel. This fact is proved by a great number of cases, in the copious literature of the subject, in which definitely masculine pseudo-hermaphrodites were married many years to men, without discovering their real sex or revealing it to their husbands."*

According to Moll too there can be no doubt that the facts at times speak for the great importance of the influences *intra vitam* in directing the sex choice of "hermaphrodites." The sex impulse develops inversely, corresponding to the false sex which has been assigned at birth and in rearing. "So it is not because the masculine sex impulse is not inherited by a masculine pseudo-hermaphrodite that the attraction to man develops in spite of the testicles, but because the inherited instinct, the attraction to woman, is artificially repressed and the attraction to man encouraged."† The secondary sex characteristics also (beard, etc.) can mask the true sex of the hermaphrodite and cause sexual perversions. Many hermaphrodites are homo- as well as heterosexual, many are only heterosexual. Establishment of the fact of frequent artificial cultivation of homosexuality among pseudo-hermaphrodites has, in spite of Moll's hypothesis of their weaker heterosexual impulse, a great fundamental importance for the question of the genesis of homosexual perversions in people completely normal as to genitals, since the development of these anomalies, too, mostly begins at an age of scarcely differenti-

*E. Hofmann, article *"Hermaphrodismus,"* in Real-Encyklopädie der gesamten Heilkunde, edited by Albert Eulenburg, Vienna, 1896, X, p. 305.

†Moll, *"Untersuchungen über die Libido sexualis,"* I, pp. 107; 110.

ated sex impulse, a stage which in many respects is comparable to a hermaphroditic state.

Besides the purely somatic anomalies of the genitals named above a combination of pernicious physical and mental factors in *vita sexualis,* such as is produced by onanism, is of very serious importance for the etiology of sexual aberrations. Onanism too is ubiquitous. Moraglia's supposition* that prehistoric man committed the sin of Onan is certainly borne out by the fact that onanism is found today even among the most primitive peoples.†

The chief result of habitually practised onanism—and only such is discussed here—is, quite apart from its bad effect on morality, character, and mental activity, to check and gradually destroy the desire for the normal gratification of the sex impulse. This is true of masculine as well as feminine onanism, as Havelock Ellis stresses.‡

Mental processes are the essential factors in this deterioration of the normal sex sense. Formerly the purely physical effects of onanism were vastly overestimated. The example was set by Tissot (for whose exaggerations the verse by von Canitz:

Wenn schnöde Wollust dich erfüllt,
So werde durch ein Schreckensbild
Verdorrter Totenknochen
Der Kitzel unterbrochen,

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*G. B. Moraglia, *"Die Onanie beim normalen Weibe und bei den Prostituierten,"* Berlin, 1897, p. 16.

†P. Fürbringer, article *"Onanie"* in Eurenburg's *Real-Encyklopädie der Heilkunde,* Vienna, 1898, XVII, p. 523.

‡"The Evolution of Modesty."

When you are filled with the evil lust,
stop, be warned
by the frightful image
of skull and bones,

appearing as epigraph in the German translation* are characteristic) and by Lallemand.

In self-pollution the imagination has the task of supplying substitutes for all the factors of normal sex gratification. The mere physical act perhaps suffices only in the first stages of the habit. Every candid onanist confesses that very soon he has to have recourse to the imagination to procure sexual gratification, that finally phantasies alone control the whole *libido,* and that the orgasm often is the conclusion of an otherwise exclusively imaginary act. "So great is the power of imagination,'" observes the experienced Roubaud, "that of itself alone, quite apart from instinct and any sensation, it can produce not only venerean erethism but even spermatic ejaculation—as happened to a school chum of mine every time he thought of his sweetheart."†

Hammond reports an actual sect of such "onanists just by thinking" who have a sort of freemasonry and make themselves known to each other by signs.‡

The more frequently the onanistic act is repeated—and it is well known that the onanist gratifies his sexual *libido* disproportionately more often than the person consummating

*"*Onania oder Abhandlung von denen Krankheiten, welche aus der Selbstbefleckung entstehen,*" St. Petersburg, 1774.

†F. Roubaud, "*Traité de l'impuissance et de la stérilité chez l'homme et chez la femme,*" Paris, 1876, p. 7.

‡W. A. Hammond, "Sexual Impotence in Man and Woman."

normal sexual intercourse—the greater is the need of imaginative titillation in order to induce orgasm. The subject matter of the lascivious phantasies must be varied ever more often and soon is derived almost entirely from the realm of the perverse. Gradually these sexually perverse ideas take root and finally become complete sexual perversions.

Thus we see not only intensity-increases of the *libido sexualis* in the form of nymphomania or *satyriasis** but also extreme sexual anomalies and perversions as direct results of continued onanism. Tardieu tells of a man who masturbated seven or eight times a day, inflaming and disordering his imagination so that he reveled in the phantasy of violating feminine corpses, finally going so far as to put into practise these frightful ideas, which had also assumed a definitely sadistic character. He created opportunities to gaze at slitted animal carcasses, he killed dogs, he dug up human corpses, all to procure gratification for his depraved imagination and *libido*.† On the other hand sadistic-masochistic self-mutilation of the genitals by onanists must perhaps be imputed to the frequent anesthesia of these parts. A characteristic case is that reported by Chopart of a fifteen-year-old boy who made incisions in his glans penis and by this means produced profuse ejaculations. Finally he had made so many incisions that the entire uretha to the *os pubis* was split in two.‡

Undeniably onanism is an important etiologic factor in the genesis of homosexuality. By checking, ever more strongly, the desire for normal heterosexual intercourse it prepares the

*See H. Rohleder, *"Die Masturbation,"* Berlin, 1899, pp. 192-3.
†A. Tardieu, *"Etude Médico-Légale sur les Attentats aux Moeurs,"* Paris, 1878, p. 114.
‡Rohleder, op. cit., p. 194.

ground for the later appearance of homosexual desires. In the purely physical aspect it must be mentioned that mutual onanism between male individuals as well as the so-called "Sapphism" practised by women with each other not infrequently arouses homosexual desires, and if the relations are continued can cause permanent perversions. For this, Moraglia* and Martineau** furnish important data. On the other hand, onanism in itself, essentially mental, seems also to promote the desire for homosexual intercourse. Havelock Ellis thinks that if masturbation in early years is a factor in sexual inversion it operates in the manner described; aversion to normal coitus helps prepare the ground on which the perverse impulse can further develop unhindered. Further evidence of this is the point made by von Schrenck-Notzing that visions of a perverse character, with simultaneous pollutions, appearing as a substitute for onanism, may characterize the first stage of psycho-sexual illness.†

Very significant as to the great etiologic importance of onanism in this respect is the fact that the *mujerados* are turned into pederasts chiefly by being masturbated several times a day.‡

Naturally images offered by external circumstances can receive sexually perverse elaboration in the phantasy of the onanist. An instance is the case, reported by von Schrenck-Notzing, of a woman who, having masturbated for thirty

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*G. B. Moraglia, *"Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der weiblichen Kriminalität, Prostitution und Psychopathie,"* Berlin, 1897.
**L. Martineau, *"Leçons sur les Déformations Vulvaires,"* Paris, 1885.
†Op. cit., p. 206.
‡Hammond, op. cit., p. 114.

years and lived in the country much of the time, imagined that she was covered by a stallion.*

Undoubtedly certain stimulants and drugs possess an etiologic importance in *psychopathia sexualis.* Alcohol and opium demand first attention.

The occurrence of numerous aberrations and transgressions in acute alcoholic intoxication is well known and requires no further exposition. Actually pedication, sodomy, and other kinds of unnatural vice as direct consequences of alcoholic intoxication have occurred in cases of individuals at other times sexually normal.

More important is the fact that chronic alcoholism has a decisively unfavorable influence on the *vita sexualis.* Alcoholism can even, without consecutive neurasthenia, cause *spermatorrhea*† in a man, sterility in a woman.‡ Gradually in both the potency is decreased while on the other hand the *libido sexualis* is increased.|| Thus very really the ground is prepared for the appearance of sexual anomalies. The sexual imagination of the alcoholic becomes more extravagant (*ut vino calefacta Venus, tum saevior ardet luxuries,* as the proverb goes) and more receptive of suggestions. As to the latter, von Schrenck-Notzing has pointed out in his book on the importance of narcotics in hypnotism that alcohol, morphine, hasheesh, create a favorable pre-disposition for the reception

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*Von Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., p. 9. Of a similar nature is mental onanism with the aid of obscene pictures and lascivious photographs. See von Krafft-Ebing, *"Arbeiten, usw.,"* Part IV, Leipzig. 1899, p. 79.

†P. Fürbringer, article, *"Samenverluste,"* in Eulenburg's Real-Encyklopädie, 1899, XXI, p. 91.

‡Kisch, article *"Sterilität des Weibes,"* ibid., 1900, XXIII, p. 330.

||Von Gyurkovechky, op. cit., p. 91.

of suggestions and auto-suggestions.* Thus it is obvious that the chronic alcoholic lets suggestions influence him also in the matter of sex, and by this means the development of sexual perversions in him is fostered. It is very significant that in Zanzibar the Suaheli word *walevi* (drunkard) is used directly for "pederast," the active as well as the passive pederasts among the negro population of Zanzibar being habitual sots.†

Of opium, it is well known that at first it increases sexual activity. Voluptuous phantasies and visions are also characteristic of these stages. Continued indulgence in opium, however, produces impotence.‡ The Chinese opium smoker wishes to obtain a temporary increase of vigor and at the same time enjoy "the marvelous creations of an excessively stimulated imagination."|| The more the potency of the opium smoker is diminished the more perverse his sexual imagination and soon his *vita sexualis* become. H. Libermann therefore not incorrectly imputes the prevalence of homosexuality in China to indulgence in opium. The incipient *hyperesthesia* of the sex impulse in consequence of opium indulgence causes excesses which are unnatural for the most part, as the normal sex impulse can no longer gratify the depraved *libido*. Libermann claims that homosexual prostitution did not exist on a very great scale in China until the introduction of opium, that in southern China, where opium is not much used, pederasty too is much less frequent."¶

**"Die Bedeutung narkotischer Mittel für den Hypnotismus,"* p. 10.
†Baumann, op. cit., p. 668.
‡L. Lewin, article, *"Opium,"* in Eulenburg's *Encyklopädie,* 1898, XVII, p. 625.
||Ibid., p. 629.
¶H. Libermann, *"Les Fumeurs d'Opium en Chine. Etude Médicale,"* Paris, 1862, pp. 63 ff.

Of hasheesh (*cannabis indica*) the same is true, *mutatis mutandis,* as of alcohol and opium. The phantasies of the hasheesh smokers are said to be characterized by particularly wanton sexual images.*

Decreased potency with accompanying increased *libido,* in these cases of poisoning by *narcotica,* creates that inadequacy which must be regarded as a pre-conditioning most favorable for the genesis of sexual anomalies. As the impulse can no longer be gratified naturally, unnatural means are sought.

*Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., p. 3.

CHAPTER TWELVE — SEXUAL HISTORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY OF CLOTHING, NAKEDNESS AND FASHION—FASHION DICTATED BY UNDERWORLD OF PROSTITUTION: ROME, VENICE, PARIS

That fashion and *vita sexualis* are closely inter-related is proved by the history of costume. Modern investigators have demonstrated that clothing does not owe its origin to the sense of modesty, but vice versa, that the latter was developed by clothing. What Karl von den Steinens observed among the savage inhabitants of the Brazilian primeval forest is particularly illuminating as to the original significance of clothing. C. H. Stratz in a penetrating anthropologic and social historical study* has compared the data of modern ethnologic investigation with those of art and culture history and established astonishing coincidences. According to him "the original purpose of clothing is not to cover but solely and exclusively to adorn the naked body.† The naked person is not ashamed; only he who is used to clothing knows shame, and that only when the ornaments he is used to are missing. This is true of primitive as well as civilized people.

**"Die Frauenkleidung,"* Stuttgart, 1900.
†Ibid., p. 8.

Stratz correctly points out that an exposure prescribed by fashion, that is the momentarily prevailing code of beautification, is never felt as exposure. On the contrary, a woman in a high-necked dress among the *décolletées* ladies of a ball room would "feel very much ashamed of her insufficient exposure." The first adornments are applied to the body itself in the form of tattooing and incisions. There is no doubt that tattooing was done principally for the purpose of sexual attraction and excitation. The tattooed person was regarded as the more beautiful and desirable. Tattooing is now found only among savages and in certain lower social classes, as for instance among sailors and especially among criminals and prostitutes, where the primitive impulses are still powerfully operative, as Lombroso has shown. (In reference to tattooing see especially his *"Palimpsesti di carcere"*). Among prostitutes, significantly, sexual motives are emphasized in tattooing. The "student scar" is perhaps the last example of a cicatrice decoration regarded as a distinction, which even today does not fail of its effect on many women.

The transition to real clothing is represented by ornaments worn just above the hips as the most convenient place and necessitating a loin cloth to fasten them to. Originally the loin cloth was by no means intended to conceal the genitals, it was simply a belt. As yet more decorations were added the genitals were naturally covered. That this certainly was not done intentionally from modesty is proved by the fact that all sorts of striking ornaments, as for instance cattails or mussel shells or animal skins,* fastened before or behind, served to draw attention to that region. From the girdle to which trinkets were fastened real clothing evolved, in its two basic forms, the tropical (coat and belt) and the arctic (trousers and jacket).

Just as clothing was originated for ornament, beautification, and a means of attraction, fashion has always served these purposes. Beautification by dress, masculine or feminine, is intended chiefly for sexual attraction. "The fury of out-bidding in man-capture," says the witty Friedrich Theodor Vischer, "is perhaps the most virulent of the elements exacerbating the madness of fashion to frenzies of novelty, caprice, and distortion."* Competition is not quite so conspicuous in men's fashions but is unmistakable. The extravagances of fashion reflect faithfully the culture and temper of an age, thus giving us valuable psychological elucidations.

It is an indisputable fact that the naked body makes less appeal to sensuality than does the veiled. According to Stratz, Moses utilized this psycho-sexual effect of clothes. He wanted to increase the population of his small tribe, therefore he promulgated a veiling of the feminine charms in order "to excite the senses of his masculine followers and so increase the fruitfulness of Israel."† Nakedness, which he rejected as not serving the purpose, became "immoral" in Christian doctrine.

It is characteristic that the later fashions, again, have utilized for the purpose of purely sexual effect the ideas of Christendom regarding the veiling of the body, as is shown, for instance, by the history of the corset (which will be discussed later). The intimate connection of fashion with *vita sexualis* is obvious from the very fact that the *demi-monde,* the world of prostitution, has always created the fashions for its pur-

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*F. T. Vischer, *"Mode und Cynismus, Beiträge zur Kenntnis unserer Culturformen und Sittenbegriffe,"* Stuttgart, 1888, p. 22.
†Stratz, op. cit., p. 42.

poses. "The underworld has dictated fashion ever since fashion existed. In Rome as in Venice and now in Paris."*

In my opinion fashion has introduced a sexually exciting factor into dress in two ways. It has made certain parts of the body more conspicuous, sometimes apparently enlarging them, sometimes drawing special attention to them by the cut and shape of the garments, by the application of ornament; or it has exposed single parts of the body. In either way, however, sexual effect is intended.

The emphasis and enlargement of certain parts of the body by means of dress originate, as Lotze observes in *"Mikrokosmus,"* from man's belief that he actually sees in such extensions of his person a real extension of himself, as if the additions were part of him. Thus parts which otherwise would not be noticed are made impressive and the impressiveness so produced is regarded as actually characteristic of the person. The stovepipe hat, as a continuation of the head, lends it a certain height and dignity. Similarly other parts of the body can be specially emphasized and enlarged.

Partial exposure of the body likewise produces an erotic effect, perhaps by contrast, as complete nudity is not nearly so provocative. Vischer observes, "We are not like the ancients; we have even an inherent consciousness of an antagonism of nature and spirit; we may see a tendency toward reconciliation of these but as yet the antagonism persists and naturally dominates our whole code of propriety. This code requires that the body be covered; we grow up believing so implicitly. If in violation of this generally accepted standard a part of the body is exposed the result is sexual excitation such as

*R. Günther, *"Kulturgeschichte der Liebe,"* Berlin, 1900, p. 190.

would not occur among a people living in a state of nature or under a more natural civilization because with them the body is not sedulously concealed. Vestiges of naïveté are still found in the deportment of southern peoples, also of Latin peoples living in the north; young mothers nurse their children without false modesty in front of family friends. From the point of view of propriety this is a quite beautiful survival from more innocent times, but it is an anomaly in a culture world which is once and for all conscious that exceptional exposure causes excitation. The woman who lives in this culture world and nevertheless exposes herself can know, does know, that the masculine youth accustomed to concealment are affected thus and not otherwise by exposure. She is no statue. Marble and bronze are cold, and in their salutary coldness they require: 'You shall look objectively, artistically, at form alone'; but this bare bosom pulsates and seems to draw toward it the longing nerves. Exposure is usually reserved for occasions when there are many to gloat on it. Now I maintain that a woman is acting brazenly when the thought is flitting about in her consciousness, 'Many at once are gazing at me with the eyes of desire.' "*

Jeannel is of the opinion that when there is not, by means of clothing, sufficient hindrance to bodily contact, peoples live in a pernicious promiscuity. "With the refinement of morals there has been more heed for the necessity of providing modesty a lasting aid in well fastening and fitted clothing. The connection between the clothing of the peoples and the purity of their morals has not been sufficiently studied. With us the clothing of men is a fetter to excess, that of women is a protective wall; it is the beginning of the material separa-

*Op. cit., pp. 104-5.

tion. Our social life would not endure the fashion of open garments."* But when he goes so far as to say, "Buckles and buttons, corsets and trousers take the places of guards and harems," the dictum is to be taken *cum grano salis,* at any rate as far as corsets are concerned.

The purely sexual origin of dress is emphasized by Ernest Grosse too in his brilliant treatise *"Die Anfänge der Kunst,"* Freiburg, 1895, p. 92. The first covering of the *pudenda* served, according to him, only as a decoration for them, that is to emphasize them. Rightly he considers the feverishly rapid change of the fashions a pathological manifestation which reveals the morbid greed for ever stronger and more original stimulants. (Op. cit., p. 109). These sexual stimulants provided by fashion can, in my opinion, be identified with those two basic principles mentioned above: the exposure or emphasis of specific parts. The "dress mania" of prostitutes, who must convert the greatest part of their revenue into *toilettes,* is no accident; it proves that they make the very greatest use of these stimulants provided by fashion, and have to, in order to attract men. On the other hand, the dress prescribed for the prostitutes in antiquity and in the middle ages must gradually have had sexual effect.

We are equally skeptical of the pious Christian Tobias Ephraim Reinhard's deprecation of wanton clothing: "Clothes are a sign of the misery into which our navel-less first parents precipitated themselves and us their descendants who have navels. Is it not, therefore, an unpardonable sin to make vain pomp and display of clothes, and use them for lust, indeed for many corruptions of the spirit as well as of the

*J. Jeannel, *"Die Prostitution in den grossen Städten im 19ten Jahrhundert,"* translated by F. W. Müller, Erlangen, 1869, pp. 39-40.

body? Should we not rather put on our clothes with great sorrow? Should we not be reminded of the Fall of our first parents every time we dress? I should certainly think so."*

In a more sophisticated way the last centuries of the middle ages and the modern era since the sixteenth century have developed the inter-relation of sex and fashion. Real "fashion" was not known to antiquity, because the clothing was not so identified with the body as in modern times, did not appear a continuation, a reproduction and representation of it, as later. Schopenhauer makes the shrewd comparison between classical draping and medieval-modern clothing: "The noble attitude and taste of the ancients caused them to make their garments as light as possible, not tightly fastening so as to become one with the body but floating loose, thus quite distinct from it, leaving all portions of the human figure plainly visible. The opposite attitude made the clothing of medieval and modern times unesthetic, barbarous, and repulsive."†

Thus antiquity offers the physician and student of morals not a great deal of material for a study of the relations of the forms of clothing to *vita sexualis,* as the sophisticated means by which modern fashion accentuates specific parts of the body by dress were then unknown. Mostly the clothing *in toto* served the purposes of sexual excitation, as transparent garments were worn. The modern *tricot* was known to the ancient Egyptians, and in Greek and Roman times the

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*"Dr. Christian Tobias Ephraim Reinhards *Satyrische Abhandlung von den Krankheiten der Frauenspersonen, welche sie sich durch ihren Putz und Anzug zuziehen,"* Glogau and Leipzig, 1757, Part II, pp. 29-30.

†The Reclam edition of Schopenhauer's *"Sämmtliche Werke,"* vol. V. *"Parerga und Paralipomena,"* Part II, p. 176.

"Coacae vestes" played a great role in the demi-monde.* Even masculine profligates wore such transparent clothes (Valer. Maximus VI, 9), and Juvenal inveighs against judges and advocates who were clad in translucent togas (Juv. II, 65, 76, 96). Varro, in one of his *"Saturae Menippeae,"* denounces the effeminate garb of the Roman dandies. On the other hand prostitutes often dressed as boys to attract the men. (Seneca, Controv. I, 2; Juven. III, 135). This must have contributed to the spread of sexual perversions more than we are usually inclined to suppose.

Real fashion is an invention of the Christian middle ages, and the specific manifestation of it, the corset, is a product of Christian doctrine. "Surprising as it may sound," says Stratz, "it is true and can be proved: the corset owes its origin to Christian worship. Under the strict ecclesiastic guidance, at least of public morality, in the middle ages, the dominating ascetic concept demanded the greatest possible covering of the feminine body, and the mortification of the flesh required that precisely those parts of the body which are known as particular distinguishing marks of the female sex should be withdrawn from the gaze of sinful humanity. Through woman sin had come into the world, and therefore woman must above all be careful to conceal as much as possible the sinful signs of her inferior sex. While the men tried to simulate a more powerful, warlike exterior by padding shoulders and breast, we find the women in the twelfth to the sixteenth century trying to make the breast flat, childish, angelically narrow, and this purpose, to squeeze the breasts and make them disappear, was served by the bodice, the oldest form of

*See H. Baudrillart, *"Histoire de luxe privé et public,"* Paris, 1878, II, p. 242.

the corset."* Characteristically fashion later utilized the corset for precisely the opposite purpose, that is to make the breasts protrude farther under the neck of the dress which kept getting lower and lower. The bodice kept the breasts small but at the same time pressed them upward.

In general the struggle of medieval fashion against the ascetic dominance of the time presents an interesting spectacle, and it is significant that fashion won the victory all along the line. There was as much exposure in the middle ages as today. Immodest garments, completely baring or strongly emphasizing single parts of the body, were quite common. In 999 Ditmar von Merseburg wrote that most women, exposing single parts of their bodies in an indecent way, showed their lovers quite openly what they had for sale.†

The characteristic change of fashion is recognizable as early as the twelfth century. The historian Robert Gaguin, denouncing the cult of fashion as an invention of the Devil of Vice, said at that time, "These people, dedicated to pride and extravagance, can do nothing but folly. Now their clothing must be very wide, soon it must be very tight. Always mad after novelties, they cannot keep the same form of clothing ten years."‡ Even at that time the change of fashion was restricted chiefly to certain parts of the clothing which were made extravagantly large in order to "appeal to the instincts and caprices of debauchery; these exaggerations of costume form were applied, by preference, to the body parts which

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*Op. cit., pp. 123-4.

†See B. Ritter, *"Nuditäten im Mittelalter: sittengeschichtliche Skizze,"* in *"Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst, herausgegeben von Otto Wigand,"* Leipzig, 1855, III, p. 229.

‡P. Dufour, op. cit., IV, p. 80.

play the chief roles in sensuality. In women the haunches, hips, waist, breast, were always the preoccupations of the modiste's art; in men likewise it was the most improper members which the tailor's craft strove to emphasize and proffer to the gaze with shameless cynicism."*

The chief articles of feminine clothing which fashion has utilized since the middle ages as means of sexual excitation are the corset and the bustle. Other distortions of dress range themselves around these two principles of fashion.

"The bosom of woman is the medium by which she is able to express herself most brilliantly. Its undulation was ever her most expressive and clever rhetoric. It is her oratory and poetry, her history and music, her purity and aspiration, her politics and religion, her cult and art, her mystery and convention, her renown and pride, her self-respect, her mirage and mysterium. It is also her real sex organ, and by it her sex life is best characterized. The carriage and deportment of it was always her subtlest wisdom. The history of the corset and of the bodice is almost the history of the female sex. The bosom is the central organ of all feminine ideas, desires, and moods."†

The corset is intended to bring out more plainly and make more visible the specifically feminine organ the bosom and produce an exciting contrast between its form and the slenderness, increased by the bodice,‡ of the waist. Consistently there was, very early, pretty daring exposure of that part.

*Ibid., IV, 81.
†Leo Berg, *"Das sexuelle Problem in Kunst und Leben,"* p. 68.
‡The latter effect, which perhaps was not that originally intended, is pointed out by Moll, who observes that for most men the drawn-in waist of women is a means of sexual excitation.

According to Dufour the fashion of the low décolleté which prevailed throughout the sixteenth century in France was introduced from Italy in the reign of François I. The women who thus exposed the upper part of the body were called *"dames à la grand' gorge,"* and the dresses *"robes à la grand' gorge."* With this immoderate display of flesh came the use of corsets with stays of steel, whalebone and iron wire. There was concentrated effort on the part of women to exhibit a beautiful bosom, to appear *"en bonne conché."** The accentuation of that part of the body has been, ever since, a constantly recurring principle of feminine fashion. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was expressed in the creation of "artificial bosoms." In the middle of the eighteenth century Reinhard wrote, "The women do not bare their bosoms without purpose; certainly they do not open their meat markets and expose their wares for nothing; as the fowler baits the snare so the shopkeeper tries to entice a customer. The fair ones have well learned the shopkeeper's art of making scrawny, ill-favored flesh look plump and tempting by propping and stuffing. Withered breasts are so shored with wax paraphernalia that the dear treasures stick up, round and swelling and as if ready to jump out from sheer wantonness."† Partial exposure of the upper part of the feminine body is of course customary in our own day in the most fashionable circles on festive and formal occasions. From the esthetic as well as the medical standpoint the most earnest objections are made to this custom on account of its bad effects on taste in general as well as on sexual psychol-

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*Dufour, IV, 84-5.

†Reinhard, op. cit., II, pp. 12-13. According to H. Weiss, *"Kostümkunde,"* Stuttgart, 1872, II, p. 1278, the wax breast supporters were invented in London and offered for sale in Germany as late as 1798.

ogy. Friedrich Theodor Vischer, who certainly was no advocate of that sad *signum temporis* the *Lex Heinze,* says, "Bare bosom and back are now banished to the ball room and the formal assembly, where they have always held their ground and unfortunately always will. Therefore, a word here about exposure. Once again, we protest, only a Puritan can howl that the beauties of the feminine figure were created to be seen by no one. Woman should delight in giving joy by vouchsafing the sight of Nature's masterpiece—but to whom? To every one? At a ball or in a banquet room of the most select society is the 'everybody' I mean, the younger and elder gentlemen, who behold the unveiled charms of the chaste sylph not with pure sculptor's eyes but with goat bleating (silenced in her immediate vicinity, but loud enough farther away). And if every dancer and dinner guest were an ideally minded Scopas or Praxiteles, why pose for so many sculptors? Surely no woman is so unsophisticated as not to know what an education our dear masculine youth acquires in the *café chantant."** Vischer has neglected to mention the effect of alcohol. Freely imbibed at such gatherings it does much to defeat more esthetic contemplation of feminine semi-nudity and rouse the baser sensuality. The physician and the man of the world can agree in every respect with the art critic in disfavor of the décolleté of the ladies.

Not less is this true of another obstinately persistent endeavor of feminine fashion, manifested in countless ways, to bring out more prominently the different parts of the hip region and more sharply accent everything pertaining to the directly sexual functions of woman, or drastically to point to the sec-

*Op. cit. pp. 12-13.

ondary feminine characteristics, so stimulating to man, in that region.

Of paramount importance in this connection is the bustle, the realization, by fashion, of the ancient ideal of the kallipygean Venus. Its effect on the imagination of the beholder is inevitable. This improper outgrowth of fashion has recurred constantly since the eighteenth century, when it was condemned by Mary Wollstonecraft, the famous champion of feminine emancipation. "How can delicate women obtrude on notice that part of the animal economy which is so very disgusting?" she asks in her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman." Vischer finds the accentuation of this part comprehensible from the esthetic standpoint, but to call attention to it so brazenly, as the bustle does, seems to him extremely perverse. "Nature indeed, permits herself at times to place an ornament there so that one must look right at it; she puts a splendid tail on some quadrupeds and many birds; on some monkeys she paints two naked surfaces there vermillion or sky-blue; on the Pinscher she puts a couple of cute yellow volutes—but, good heavens! must woman copy such pleasantries? Once I saw something incredible, on a woman who was stunningly beautiful, in a drawing-room which was frightfully aristocratic. In the middle of an inordinately padded bustle there was an exquisite rosebud right over—I am afraid there is not a decorous word which will enable me to continue. I ask if a human being can repress in himself the idea association, which, among other things, is guided also by the laws of proximity and contrast."* In fact the foundation of the much derided bustle, the air sack, often even doubled in that insidious place, is calculated on a sexual excitation of a special kind,

*Op. cit., pp. 15-16.

and apt to promote certain perverse sexual phantasies in a very dangerous way. Prostitutes who wish to serve sadistic-flagellant lusts of their clientele are said even today to rig themselves out very conspicuously as such Hottentot Venuses. Another of the indelicate *"nouveautés"* of fashion is a fitting of the dress, in combination with the bustle, in such a way that the contours of the hips and the parts in their vicinity are thrust before the eye "as a gross excitation." "The tightness of the dress, when the woman is seated, produces certain indentations, shadow lines in the pubic region on both sides and converging towards the crotch. There is similar accentuation of the knee. The feminine knee tapers somewhat; this is caused by the width of the hips, and the width of the hips is due to the sex determination; therefore this taper is one of the intimacies of the body, and a dress hanging evenly conceals it modestly. The present fashion, on the contrary, brings it out prominently. The dress, just below the hips, is as spacious as is absolutely necessary to permit movement of the upper part of the leg, then the dress is made very tight around the knee. Necessarily a suggestive fold goes up from this toward the rear and strongly accentuates the contours of the entire region. Altogether we probably have sufficient justification for the phrase 'naked in clothes.' "* The non plus ultra in improper exhibition of most intimate charms was represented by the buckskin breeches, fashionable in the seventies of the last century, which women wore instead of petticoats. These "plastically modeled all the ins and outs from the waist to the knee." Vischer saw, occasionally, even the place of the secret parts of the woman marked by a big red cockade on the dress.†

*Op. cit., p. 11.
†Ibid., pp. 156-7.

This characteristic indication of the feminine lap was customary in the middle ages from religious motives. "Throughout the middle ages, up to Dürer and Kranach, we find a peculiar type which formerly was mistakenly characterized as purely ascetic. The faces are serene, innocent, the figures long, attenuated, youthful, the shoulders narrow, the breasts small, the legs shown under the skirts as slim and long, the clothing on the upper part of the body is tight, almost constricting. The waist narrows abruptly under the bosom, and the wide pleated skirts give the most feminine part of the feminine body full and absolutely unhindered freedom of movement and expansion. The lap of woman, even in portrayals of Saints and Virgins, is plainly visible, whatever the pose, and quite prominent under the clothing. The mother function is what dominates the type, the sacred as well as the profane, indeed what dominates the whole concept of woman."* It was connected with the veneration of the maternal functions of woman, which soon were emphasized by fashion in very crass ways. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fashion endowed all women and girls with the symptoms of pregnancy, as can still be seen in the paintings of that period. In the mystic picture "The Lamb" of Jan van Eyck even the virgins look pregnant. Stratz says, "All Eves of the middle ages have narrow shoulders, small breasts, and a prominently convex belly. This is the natural appearance of woman in the pregnant state. That explains why the artistic taste of that time did not shrink even from the representation of pregnant women in the nude. The Eve of Hans Memling in the Royal-Imperial Gallery in Vienna is pregnant, that of van Eyck in the Museum in Brussels is in an even further

*L. Marholm, op. cit., pp. 120-1.

advanced stage, and Titian's nude beauty of Urbino in the Uffizi at Florence, an echo of that time, is also pregnant. They did not find pregnancy as such beautiful, they simply did not recognize it and painted it to harmonize with the then prevailing ideal of clothed feminine beauty."* The last explanation can surely not be correct. Fashion put this condition on display too purposefully. That sexual motives set the standard Michelet has quite rightly perceived.† In the seventeenth century, too, until toward the age of Louis XIV, we find "with the prodigiously padded skirts, the protruding stomacher, the signs of a pretty far advanced stage of 'the blessed state.' "‡ On his travels in Spain H. Swinburne found, especially in La Mancha, the feminine fashion of "the flat bosom and round belly."|| William Alexander reports that around 1759 and 1760 all women and girls looked as if they were in a delicate condition.¶ Further information about the fashion in England is given by Archenholtz:

"There was the nonsensical device, in utter disregard of decency and delicacy, of deforming the feminine figure with false bellies, a deformity which is characteristic of the feminine sex only in an advanced state of pregnancy. These curious paraphernalia were called 'pads' and there were smaller 'paddies.' They were usually of tin, so the name 'tin aprons' was also applied to them. The artificial bellies found great favor, especially with unmarried women, and the wits said that in the Zodiac too a revolution had occurred and the Twins had come too close to the Virgin."** It is significant

*Op. cit., p. 121.
†"The Witch."
‡Marholm, op. cit., p. 121.
||"Travels through Spain," London, 1779, p. 319.
¶"The History of Women," London, 1779, II, p. 138.
**F. W. Archenholtz, "*Britische Annalen auf das Jahr* 1793," Leipzig, 1794, XI, p. 420.

that in the nineteenth century this fashion was taken up again from time to time, by the decent women certainly, but was favored especially by the demi-monde, so that the brilliant F. T. Vischer, who stresses this fact, characterizes the mode as "a whore fashion."*

Closely related to the distortion just described is the hoop skirt (Montgolfière) or the crinoline. The purpose of this sixteenth century invention was likewise "ostentation of round and provocative contours";† it is certain that at first the style prevailed only among courtesans. Soon, however, the *vertugales* and *basquines* were worn by the respectable women too. A Franciscan preaching in Paris against the hoop skirt made the *bon mot* that the *vertugale* had driven out *vertu* and left only *gale* (syphilis).‡ Schopenhauer has aptly satirized the exhibition of the most intimate *vita sexualis* of woman by the hoop skirt. "The most repellent is the present dress of the women known as 'ladies'. In imitation of the atrocities worn by their grandmothers it not only provides the greatest possible distortion of the human figure, it compels one to imagine, under the bolster-padding of the hoop skirt which makes the wearer as big around as she is tall, an accumulation of unclean emanations, so that she is not only ugly and unattractive but actually disgusting."|| Mylius compared the wearer of crinoline to "a sack of flour which has been slung across a donkey's back, so that it bulges above and below and is thin in the middle."¶ The most drastic verdict

*Op. cit., pp. 9-10.
†Dufour, op. cit., IV, p. 84.
‡Ibid.
||Werke (Reclam), V, p. 176.
¶Reinhard, op. cit., II, p. 35.

is that of Doctor Reinhard, who says, "This much, however, is certain, such garments cover many a scandal and cloak the honest reputation of many a strumpet. To my mind the wide skirt is rather like a tent in which several persons can play *l'ombre* quite comfortably with none to spy. . . . They are Cities of Refuge, inside which guests and lovers can play hide-and-seek, while the women, by this perfectly respectable means of deception, avoid any suspicion, on the part of their rightful husbands, of infidelity."*

That even such remarkable fashions as the foot-binding of the Chinese women can be imputed to sexual motives seems to be borne out by the observation of Morache. According to this author foot-binding produces hypertrophy of the *mons veneris* and of the great *labia pudenda* while the vagina seems not to be affected. He sees in this result, not without importance for the sex life, the purpose of the otherwise senseless and revolting operation.† Moll thinks too that the compression of the feet in itself has a sexually exciting effect on the Chinese men, analogous to the effect of the corset, since for most European men a constricted feminine waist is a means of sexual excitation.‡

In relation to the tendency of fashion to have more or less drastic effect as a sexual stimulant by accentuating certain parts, masculine styles can be compared with feminine only up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Until then masculine clothing had been almost equal to feminine in

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*Ibid., II, pp. 77-8.
†B. Scheube, *"Die Geschichte der Medizin bei den ostasiatischen Völkern,"* in Puschmann's *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin,* Jena, 1901, I, p. 32.
‡A. Moll, *"Untersuchungen über die Libido sexualis,"* I, p. 207.

variety, gaudiness, splendor, frequent change, and occasional indecency. "Not so arrantly, not so madly, yet not in entirely dissimilar ways, men must have vied with each other till the more thoughtful and active masculine nature took a warning example from the mad competition of the women, and by tacit agreement renounced such extravagance (to be sure, with some reservations). We are fundamentally blasé to such artificial impressiveness, we can only smile wearily when any one tries to capture our attention by what is not rightly part of himself, when he tries to 'put it on a bit' in the sense of the Latin *prae se ferre.*"*

If women have brought out certain parts of the body in the most improper way by their style of dress, the same is true of the men in the middle ages. Especially notorious in this respect was the long prevalent fashion of external imitation of the male genitals. The form of the breeches-flap ("fly," cod-piece, *braguette*) "impudently imitated what it was supposed to conceal."† The preachers of the middle ages harangued in vain against this shameless article of dress. In Scheible's "Schaltjahr" we read: "I heard a monk preach, a Brother of the Faith. He violently condemned redundance of dress and wantonness of style and ornament and closed with words like these: 'The lechers in our city thrust the cod-piece so far out in front of the breeches and so wind and stuff it that the harlots think those are iron bars (*Zumpen*) which are only rags (*Lumpen*).' "‡ Originally the cod-piece was a purse or leather sheath, completely separate from the knee breeches

*Vischer, op. cit., pp. 48-9.

†Johannes Scherr, *"Deutsche Kultur- und Sittengeschichte,"* Leipzig 1887, p. 111.

‡Ibid., p. 226.

or only sewed or pinned to them. At first it was worn only by the lower classes. Rabelais has a chapter in the third book of Pantagruel entitled "Why the cod-piece is held to be the chief piece of armor amongst warriors." The cod-piece originated from a sort of suspensory for soldiers. The armored mercenaries protected their sexual parts with a metal tube to which a sponge was fastened; later a leather purse with a steel screen was used. Finally a cod-piece made of linen or silk became a part of civilian attire. It was made yet more conspicuous by adornment with ribbons and even with gold and jewels. Rabelais often alludes humorously to the cod-piece, and Montaigne calls it "that vain and unprofitable model of a member which we may not so much as name with modesty, whereof notwithstanding we make public show and open demonstration."*

To this category belong also the shoes *"à la poulaine,"* first invented and worn by men. For more than four centuries these were the objects of "papal bulls and priestly denunciations." They were always regarded by the casuists as "the most frightful symbols of vice." For these shoes had the shape of the *membrum virile*. They were also worn by women, as is shown by many ordinances of the French kings against them.†

More dangerous yet, there appeared among men those fashions which are to be regarded partly as expressing certain perverse instincts, partly as calculated to arouse them. At the Synod held in Rheims in 972, Raoul, abbot of Saint-Rémi, complained that his monks fastened their cowls to their hips

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*Essays, Book I, chapter 22. (Florio's translation). See also Dufour, IV, pp. 83-4.
†Dufour, IV, 79-80.

and went along in such a way that from the rear they looked more like immoral women than monks: *"Aretatis clunibus et protensis natibus potius meretriculis quam monachis tergo assimilentur."**

Sexual inversion has often expressed itself in an assumption of the garb of the other sex. If today men with homosexual desires put on feminine clothing to attract men, and cases are reported of normal men running after masculine sirens in the belief that these were real women, the epidemic spread of this kind of effemination must not be underestimated in relation to its effect on the sex life. It is hardly to be supposed that the effemination of men as a fashion and custom of the time, with its pernicious effect in the increase of homosexuality, is an outcome of hereditary or pathological conditions. We must suppose that the effemination in dress and custom is the cause of the homosexuality or prepares a condition conducive to it.

This connection is plainly obvious from the following description by R. Günther of the effeminate men of the age of chivalry: "The masculine dress shows a feminine character, the beard is proscribed. On the other hand the hair, of which the blond shades are considered most beautiful, must fall over the shoulders in an abundance usually approved only for women. The clothing is gorgeous and striking, even the armor, which is worn only in combat, is often not without fantastic accessories. Oriental cosmetics and fragrant warm baths play important parts in the toilet; corsets and depila-

*Ibid. From *Chronik von Richer, Buch III.* See also F. Hottenroth, *"Trachten, Haus-, Feld-, und Kriegsgerätschaften der Völker alter und neuer Zeit,"* Stuttgart, 1891, II, p. 133, in which tightly fastening coats and trailing robes of men are described as "making them resemble women when seen from behind."

tories (the latter a typical article of necessity for homosexuals in the Roman Empire) seem likewise to have been used not infrequently. The caprice of the effeminate constantly finds expression in extravagant escapade. Ulrich von Liechtenstein once (1227) put on the most gorgeous feminine attire and, as *'Frau Königin Venus,'* traveled from Venetia to Bohemia, challenging all knights to break a lance with him. From such an outlook, innocent as yet, were developed, with the decadence of the court life, those erotic deviations which had been current in antiquity but had always been regarded as scandalous by the naturally chaste mind of the German people. Women no longer sufficed for the satiated men, they formed liaisons instead with low born lads. This perhaps had nothing whatever to do with pathological perversity, but resulted only from shameful abuse of the senses. The same is observed in eighteenth century France, where too the satiety produced by the exaggerated woman cult caused a striking predominance of perverse-sexual eroticism."*

Modern dandyism, in spite of Barbey d'Aurevilly's uncritical glorification of it, indicates similar conditions. The physician and anthropologist would perhaps not be mistaken in making a high estimate of the percentage of sexual perverts among these womanish fops of the modern age. In this respect too there is justification for Von Hellwald's statement† that in most cases clothing gives us insight into the nature of the inner man. Fashion is therefore an infallible *signum temporis,* thoroughly clarifying for us the character of the public morality of an age. Laura Marholm has established this thesis brilliantly in her history of women's diseases. "In times, for

*Op. cit., pp. 364-5.
†Op. cit., p. 593.

instance, when the economically ruined man wishes to be stimulated for love and pleasure but to have no children, the feminine body must charm but not bear. The smile must be sweet and coquettish, the eyes challenging; the entire upper part of the body emerges, exquisitely plastic, from the puffed skirts, the breasts swell, the waist is reduced to nothing by lacing—woman has to please, to excite, to ingratiate her possessor; by not a trait of her person must her task be indicated; it is regarded as ugly and distorting; as now, it is hidden."*

This is the function of our present demi-virgins, and they are clad appropriately. These are the creatures whom "the overstimulated culture of the last decades has produced in only too great quantity, those nervous, unhealthy, asexual creatures, affecting the ethereal, with boyish, almost childish bodies and corrupt minds, the demi-virgin type, and demi-virgin not only in the moral but also in the physical sense."†

Of great interest are the observations of J. G. Zimmermann,‡ the famous personal physician of Frederick II, on fashion: "Among the innumerable desires," he says, "which custom rather than Nature makes imperative for man, clothes must reasonably be counted. We wish to cover our bodies all over because many people care more for a cover than for what it covers. Nevertheless the desire to exhibit some nudity seems to become overwhelming among the women folk, and truly, as the most charming ladies acknowledge,

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*Op. cit., p. 121.

†Stratz, op. cit., p. 139.

‡J. G. Zimmermann, *"Von der Erfahrung in der Arzneikunst,"* Zurich, 1787, p. 593.

we should not look at their faces any more if they showed themselves entirely naked. Our peasant girls bare their knees; in the reign of Louis XIV the ladies bared their shoulders; some still, so far as is permitted, bare their arms; in all Europe the ladies are not content to let their bosoms be seen through a silken cloud, they parade it. In the kingdom of Pegu the women are so clad that at every step their most private parts are displayed. As regards health the Peguan fashion is not worse than the European, as regards morals both have the same effect. The present education of girls concentrates on shaping the bosom; very often all the sense a woman has is there. The lower part of the body is pressed by the bodice while the upper is free so that the blood may go there and the flesh swell and a voluptuous roundness be produced at all cost."

A very direct relation of clothing to *vita sexualis,* important in the explanation of certain sexual anomalies (clothing fetishism), is represented by the effect of clothing on the skin. There are clothing materials, especially woolens and furs, whose surface textures have sexually exciting effect. Ryan has compared this effect of materials with flagellation for erotic purposes: "Certain articles of clothing excite the skin, and have the same effect as flagellation. Camlet, hair cloth, and articles of wool or hair, with which certain pious individuals have clothed themselves, have often contributed, with certain disciplines, to induce incontinence."* With the unfortunate action, in this respect, of the hair shirt worn by the ascetics for penance, we are sufficiently well acquainted from the history of the saints. The attraction of a "Venus in furs" must also be based on this fact.

*J. Ryan, "Prostitution in London," London, 1839, p. 382.

The close inter-relations of clothing, fashion, and *vita sexualis* prove the etiologic relation between clothing and a sexual perversion like "Clothing fetishism." The origin of this is to be explained only by the fact that fashion, as we have seen, in emphasizing one part of the body, made the clothing of that part seem an actual continuation of the body. That is the real core of this curious anomaly and remains consistent through all the capricious changes of fashion. The clothing, or the article of clothing, is the loved one herself, her being, her soul. It must not be forgotten that certain primitive sense-excitations, as for instance smell,* have a share in the genesis of clothing fetishism, yet only fashion is able, with its exaggerations, extravagances, and symbolisms, to produce the clothing fetishism which passes today for a pathological manifestation.

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*It is perhaps not necessary to study in detail the role of the age-old use of another article of fashion, perfume, in identifying the *nervus olfactorius* also with the *vita sexualis*.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN — UNIVERSAL HUMAN DESIRE FOR VARIATION IN SEXUAL RELATIONS

We come now to the discussion of an extraordinarily important etiologic factor in the genesis of sexual anomalies. This is the universal human desire for variation in sexual relations. Under certain conditions, without any pathological cause, it can grow into the "sexual titillation hunger" described by Hoche. Here too we are dealing with an ethnologic-anthropologic manifestation extremely widespread among primitive and civilized peoples alike. "It seems," says von Schrenck-Notzing, "that this tendency, deep-rooted in man, toward variation in sexual intercourse, is just as general, just as inseparable from the perverse expressions of intense sexuality as prostitution."*

Almost every person has this variation desire. It comes definitely to light in the sexual relations usually considered normal, as in these too we can demonstrate a progressive need for stronger stimulant. Likewise we find minor deviations

*Von Schrenck-Notzing, *"Homosexualität und Strafrecht,"* in Die Umschau, 1898, no. 50, p. 836.

from the norm of *vita sexualis* quite general. There are few persons who have not somewhere touched the narrow boundary between normal and pathological indulgence, without necessarily qualifying as Don Juans and satiated voluptuaries. Ryan, very authoritative in this field, thinks that most persons show some "irrationality" in sex life, and that there is hardly a person who has not had at some time a *"sexual monomania"* and transgressed against nature.* Perhaps analogy with other sense-excitations offers an explanation for this fact. I should like, in this connection, to point to so-called *audition colorée,* "color hearing," in which an impulse to the sense of hearing affects the sense of sight also. Such a *synesthesia,* simultaneous sensation of organs directly and not directly stimulated, can also occur in a normal person during *voluptas.* With regard to this, Paul Moreau (de Tours) has quite rightly hypothesized a special *sens génesique,* a sex sense. The first unconscious synthetic sensations *in libidine* can gradually come into the consciousness and be felt by the individual as special titillation. In the search for these different synesthetic titillations the desire for variation will then be expressed.

Effertz makes this natural desire of the normal person for sexual variation the basis of his whole concept of the physiology and pathology of *vita sexualis.* He considers it of very general application therapeutically. For example he attributes the preference of older women by young men and of mature men by young girls to the more strongly developed variation urge in the older persons which gives them a certain superiority in love-making. Similar reasons may underlie the marriages of strikingly ugly men to women famous as beauties.†

*Ryan, op. cit., p. 11.
†Effertz, op. cit., p. 188.

A certain Roderich Hellman, in a pamphlet "On Sexual Freedom"* published in the late seventies, goes further in this respect. He also argues the presense of this natural desire for sexual change in the normal person and defends the right to gratify it without restriction. Hellmann even justifies homosexuality, bestiality, and other sexual aberrations and perversions, as also merely expressions of the natural variation urge. It is of interest that this proclamation of "sex freedom" in the widest sense proceeds from the idea that even sex perversions, for the most part, are not pathological manifestations but are the expressions of the desire for increased titillation and variation.

Moll draws attention to an important cause of the need for sexual variation. He says, "With animals generally the sex act serves almost only for procreation. For man, on the other hand, this consideration has become progressively less important. As man frequently eats not to nourish his body but to titillate his palate, so he often consummates the sex act for the pleasure connected with it and not for procreation, which in fact he often tries to avoid. Therefore he utilizes the most sophisticated means of increasing *voluptas*. There is nothing analogous in the behavior of animals, despite occasional perverse acts."† The mania for increasing pleasure and avoiding consequences is not, as is often claimed by the uninformed, a phenomenon of over-culture; on the contrary it is yet more prevalent among savage peoples. This can be verified by a glance at the chapter on "methods of abortion" in Ploss and Bartels' often cited treatise. Martius reports that the Indian

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*R. Hellmann, *"Ueber Geschlechtsfreiheit. Ein philosophischer Versuch zur Erhöhung des menschlichen Glückes."* Berlin, 1878.
†Moll, *"Untersuchungen über die Libido sexualis,"* I, 407.

women of Brazil dread pregnancy and therefore use abortion means of every sort.* Genuine Parisian *demi-vierges.*

So here again we are dealing with an anthropologic phenomenon. Frequency of titillation increases the need for sexual variation, and soon it becomes impossible to draw the line between the normal and the abnormal. "The last degrees of erotism can be the first of aberration," and "in that hurricane of the passions which unites man and woman it is only the sophists of casuism who can distinguish good and evil."† Mantegazza attributes all manifestations of so-called *"psychopathia sexualis"* to one of two causes, first the difficulty or impossibility of practising sexual intercourse in the physiologically natural way, second the desire to experience a new pleasure. Herein, according to him, is the entire psychology of all sexual aberrations, from Sodom to Lesbos and from Babylon to the island of Capri.‡

Gyurkovechky says that in the intercourse of two passionately enamored persons, one of whom is always the initiator, certain habits of caressing may arise which are questionable in every respect; these he characterizes simply as "excessive piquancies calling for a warning from the doctor."||

The urge for variation, manifesting itself in a varying degree in the *vita sexualis* of every person, may, in profligates, Don Juans, onanists, or individuals satiated in any other way, assume the proportions of a "titillation hunger" (Hoche) which can lead to extreme sexual aberrations. "The basis for much perverse sexual behavior is the 'titillation hunger' not

*Martius, op. cit., p. 184.
†Mantegazza, op. cit., p. 105.
‡Mantegazza, op. cit., p. 106.
||Op. cit., p. 195.

rare in sexually satiated individuals, that is, the desire for novel nuances in sexual gratification. As medical experience shows, this leads the inveterate onanist, for instance, into quite complicated practises."*

How naturally satiation and with it the need for stronger excitation occurs we see from the fact that "titillation hunger" is by no means restricted to men of the world and profligates, and ladies of the demi-monde. So-called "free love" is extremely conducive to the development of this state. Binder observes, "In the more frequent change of the person with whom sexual intercourse is had the man or woman loses sight of the individual characteristics of the partner and cares only for the sensual excitation; thus love sinks back to that level above which it had happily risen."† This is even more plainly apparent in polygamy.

Otto de Joux regards polygamy as a chief cause of pederasty. "In Persia, Arabia, Egypt, in the Orient generally, where the Moslem dissipates his mental and physical powers in polygamy, more than a third of the men are intermediates and the vices of the middle sex are frightfully prevalent."‡ As to the rarity of homosexuality among the Jews this authority on the proportionate distribution of the perversion provides data which are in gratifying accord with our opinion. He attributes their freedom from inversion to their "exemplary family life."||

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*A. Hoche, *"Zur Frage der forensischen Beurteilung sexueller Vergehen,"* in *"Neurologisches Centralblatt,"* 1896, p. 58.

†T. Binder, *"Die Hygiene des geschlechtlichen Lebens,"* Berlin, 1987, pp. 63-4.

‡Otto de Joux, *"Die Enterbten des Liebesglückes,"* Leipzig, 1893, p. 125.

||Ibid.

With the inevitability of a law of nature, profligacy and Don Juanism lead to sexual aberrations. For the real voluptuary leisure and satiety unite to exaggerate the desire for sharp and novel stimulants. "Idleness is the beginning of all vice." The lack of a useful, physically and intellectually salutary activity is directly responsible for the state of mind in which "the sensual invent all those refinements on pleasure and devise those incentives to a satiated appetite which tend to foster the corruptions of a dissolute age."* On the other hand, a stunted sex sense necessitates intensified excitation and produces a mania for abnormal gratification of the *libido*. The sex function becomes the central point of existence, as we find in the autobiographies of perverse individuals which are reproduced by von Krafft-Ebing and Moll. Tarnowsky gives a masterly description of the life of the voluptuary obsessed by the sex impulse:

"Everything is sacrificed to the gratification of the sex impulse, and it stifles all other motives. Such persons generally shirk no efforts, they are deterred by no hazards and no scruples from the fulfilment of their desire, which they achieve at times in spite of all obstacles. When for any reason whatever they are deprived of the possibility of normal gratification they have recourse, under the influence of the high intensity of their sex desires, to masturbation, or—as happens less frequently—they become active pederasts. A *Kinaed* as like a girl as possible is chosen; the act is restricted to sodomy, and at the first opportunity pederasty is abandoned for copulation with women. These are, so to speak, accidental pederasts. When, however, such a person, who has passed the greatest part of his life in constant sexual intercourse with

*Adam Ferguson, op. cit.

women and has no interests apart from the sex function, notices, in consequence of long continued excesses, immoderately frequent indulgence, or other causes, that his sexual power is beginning to wane, although the desire is as strong as ever, he resorts to different means of increasing excitation. After trying everything else and merely inflaming his imagination to furies of lust, while the sex power diminishes every day, he resorts occasionally to passive pederasty as a new excitation means which makes erection and sexual gratification possible. In such cases pederasty is not an end in itself but only one of the many excitation means which not infrequently are combined into systematic methods amounting to absolute necessity for persons accustomed to finding their entire expression in sex activity and approaching total impotence."*

The descriptions of Taxil, Macé, Carlier, Ryan, Coffignon, and other authors, who have looked deep into the life of the pleasure world and the demi-monde, confirm the correctness of this idea of the gradual deterioration of the voluptuary and the inevitable progress of obsessive titillation hunger. The deterioration is aptly described in an English story, "The Amatory Experiences of a Surgeon" (London, 1881). Heterosexual intercourse alternated with homosexual as occasion offered, and the most perverse acts were performed indiscriminately, just so they appeased the hunger. It was the same in a case reported by Moll:

"Normal coitus alternated, in the next period, with homosexual intercourse, which for some time had no fetishistic character. Homosexual intercourse soon led X to attempt pederasty, which, however, was prevented by physical cir-

*Tarnowsky, op. cit., pp. 67-8. Pederasty in Europe—Falstaff Press.

cumstances. X tried all kinds of ordinary gratification, at the same time hobnobbing with male prostitutes. Shortly afterward X conceived a fantastic passion for a decent young girl."*

Such cases are not, as von Krafft-Ebing and Moll are inclined to suppose, of an entirely pathologic nature, but are of quite common occurrence among pleasure-seekers. They go from one kind of gratification to another, are now hetero- now homosexual, sadists and masochists. They try everything, finally, however, preferring some one kind of perversion. On this point we can give full credence to the famous authorities on prostitution and the secrets of the brothels, to Parent Duchatelet, Léo Taxil, Coffignon and Martineau. It may also be necessary to concede the correctness of Binder's supposition that the urge to abnormal sex pleasure is much stronger among southerners (French, Italian, Spanish) than among the inhabitants of northern Europe, and thus that in quite normal persons of those nationalities a disproportionately more rapid sexual deterioration is observed.†

Direct seduction is tremendously important in the etiology of sexual aberrations. Naturally it is the more dangerous the younger the subject is. Children whose sexual sense is not yet aroused or not yet differentiated can most easily be led into deviation and taught to become sexual perverts.

Not only is pornographic literature full of the seduction of children to vice—for instance the notorious "Justine" of the Marquis de Sade fairly teems with horrible betrayals of young children—such outrages are all too frequent in reality, as witness the autobiographies in Moll, Krafft-Ebing, and

*Moll, op. cit., I, pp. 300-1.
†Binder, op. cit., p. 66.

others.

The seduction of children is perpetrated chiefly by servants, nurses, other attendants, and by teachers.* Domestics play a notorious role in this respect, and we should like to impress on all parents, doctors, and pedagogues the warning of that qualified authority, Rétif de la Bretonne, "Parents, for your children's sake, be sure of the morals of your domestics."† There are innumerable well known examples of the seduction of children into the most frightful vice by their parents' domestics. Let us mention only the case reported by Tardieu (servant girls, with their lovers, masturbated children, practised *cunnilingus* with a seven-year-old girl, put turnips and potatoes into her vagina and into the anus of a two-year-old boy‡) and the flagrant scandal of Bordeaux (servant girls and governesses practised wholesale seduction of little children)||. Even when there is no direct seduction the day long association of children with the servant personnel presents certain hazards. For instance, experience has shown that servant girls give themselves pretty freely, and children often see what can only affect their imaginations disastrously, producing premature sexual excitation even when there is no ill

That children, however, can seduce each other is shown by a case which Moll reports ("Libido sexualis,"* I, p. 46). A seven-year-old girl was induced at times by a neighbor boy to rub his genitals. This manipulation she repeated on her three-and-a-half year old brother in obedience to a desire which had become instinctive. This kind of data may be of especial importance forensically, as little girls, often very untruthful, might be thought to be lying if they complained of any of the servant personnel.

†*"Le Palais Royal,"* Paris, 1790, II, p. 26.

‡Krafft-Ebing, p. 335.

||See *"Affaire du Grand Scandale de Bordeaux,"* Bordeaux, 1881. A pamphlet appeared in Berlin a few years ago which likewise pointed out the dangerous influence of servant girls.

intent.

Tutors and governesses are not infrequently dangerous to the children. The seduction of boys by their pedagogues, described in the pederastic novel *"Alcibiade fanciullo a scuola,"* actually occurs by no means rarely. In the year 1868 the Gymnasium head master Preuss in Berlin was accused of seducing his pupils.* Servaes reports the case of a nine-year-old boy who was pederastically abused by his friend's tutor and was never able to break the habits thus formed. Homosexual perversion was produced by this direct seduction, as the boy later had an invincible aversion to women.† Rightly von Schrenck-Notzing compares this case with an inversion in old age similarly produced by seduction.‡

Very significant is the share seduction has in the *vita sexualis* of well persons. Havelock Ellis has briefly surveyed the *anamneses* of several such cases. Number 1 was enlightened by the servant girl about his sexual functions and seduced to coitus, after which his imagination occupied itself with sex, animal as well as human. Number 2 was sexually excited, at the age of six or seven, by touching the nurse girl sleeping in the same bed, and later by the sight of servant girls with their garments tucked up. Number 3 was seduced to coitus at the age of thirteen by the twenty-six year old sister of a school chum; later the accidental sight of a servant girl partly exposed furnished constant matter for phantasies and lascivious dreams. At sixteen he often had intercourse with three women in one night. He had erotic dreams and per-

*See, particularly, K. H. Ulrichs, *"Argonauticus,"* among others.
†Servaes *"Zur Kenntnis von der konträren Sexualempfindung,"* in Archiv für Psychiatrie, 1876, VI, p. 484.
‡Op. cit., p. 176.

verse phantasies of feminine corpses and later practised *coitus in os feminae*. This man, oddly, was a teetotaler. Number 4 as a ten-year-old boy learned from a school chum that the latter's sister undressed him and played reversed roles with him, whereupon Number 4 engaged in this exchange. Later he was seduced by another school chum to masturbation in which a servant girl was also involved. As a married man he later came in contact with the second school chum again and renewed the mutual onanism, which gave him more gratification than intercourse with his wife.*

We see from these cases that for most men the first sexual excitation comes through seduction, and that precisely this initiation determines and directs the character and activity of the sex impulse later.

Seduction by prostitutes, especially those in brothels, has an importance which must not be underestimated as an etiologic factor in the genesis of sexual perversions.

It is a fact that many young men first become acquainted through prostitutes and in the brothels with sexual perversities which they would not have experienced otherwise. They are seduced to these directly by the prostitutes. The latter, partly to outdo their competitors, the other brothel inmates, partly to make a greater profit, frequently propose to the visitors the practise of sexual variations and perversities.

Léo Taxil describes vividly these conditions in the Paris brothels, the arrival of a new customer, the various offers made him by the inmates who hold out the most tempting prospects of sophisticated pleasures. Often too the madame gives him infamously detailed information of the pleasures

*In American Journal of Dermatology and Genito-urinary Diseases, 1901, no. 5.

obtainable. "She enlightens him, explains these ignoble practises, and informs him of the different specialties by which the house is distinguished." Often, too, according to Taxil, the names and signs of the brothels allude to the perverse gratifications offered there. Sadism, *fellatio,* and *irrumatio* are thus openly advertised.* Not seldom homosexual acts are exhibited to the visitors,† who are seduced into imitating them. Similarly the taste for flagellation is imparted. Briefly, many are first made acquainted in the brothels with those perverse practises to which later they become addicted. In this respect the brothels with their troops of prostitutes are decidedly more dangerous than the individual street women.

In general, however, all places in which great numbers of people are crowded together furnish conditions conducive to the genesis of transgressions and aberrations of a hetero- and homosexual character.

In workers' tenements, where often a whole family lives in one room, the children early have opportunity to witness scenes of the grossest vice, especially when there are also lodgers. Frightful conditions of this sort are described by Ryan in his famous book on London prostitution.

In aristocratic spheres the same is true of the corrupting influences of court life, for instance under Charles VI, François I, Henri II, and other French kings, as described by Dufour. Characteristically, with immorality dominating the court the number of homosexual cases likewise increased.

Artificially cultivated homosexual desires arise extensively in places and at times in which great numbers of persons of the

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*Léo Taxil, *"La corruption fin-de-siècle,"* Paris, 1894, p. 179; p. 245.
†The notorious class of "voyeurs" hardly need be mentioned here. These too are mostly trained in the brothels.

same sex live together or have much to do with each other.

According to Neisser military campaigns, and sports and other undertakings in general in which men were assembled without women, must have been the chief historical cause of the origin of sexual inversion in men.* Thus for instance the Scythians, who were not accompanied by their women on their nomadic expeditions, were greatly addicted to pederasty. Dr. Stark, the late director of the insane asylum of Stephansfeld in Alsace, informed Prof. A. Cramer in Gottingen that he had the greatest difficulty in lodging the insane patients from the Foreign Legion, because they all had pederastic inclinations. This tendency was not a *psychosis* symptom common to these patients, but a vice which was acquired from living together in a tent on the edge of the desert with no feminine company year in year out. In 1870 and 1871, in the rooms in which the Turco and African prisoners of war were placed, pederasty was no rarity; "at night there were groans and sighs as if they had women with them."†

*K. Neisser, *"Die Entstehung der Liebe,"* Vienna, 1897, p. 46.

†A. Cramer, *"Die konträre Sexualempfindung in ihren Beziehungen zum Paragraphen* 175 *des Strafgesetzbuches,"* in Berliner klinische Wochenschrift, 1897, no. 44, p. 962.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN — PERILS OF SEXUAL SEPARATION — SAPPHISM IN BOARDING SCHOOLS — MILITARY ACADEMIES — PRACTISES OF HAREM WOMEN — PRISONS

Very frequently the origin of a sexual perversion, especially of a homosexual nature, occurring later in life, can be traced back to the years spent in boarding school. On this point abundant data, absolutely reliable and conclusive, are available. Mostly the boys and girls in the upper forms have already reached puberty, when the sexual impulses are awakened and influences on the *vita sexualis* are usually of lasting importance. It must be added that the sex impulse can indeed make itself strongly felt and yet be of indeterminate, undifferentiated character. This explains why, at the age of puberty, persons not degenerate, not congenitally tainted, who are later quite normal, show homosexual tendencies which are fostered by living in dormitories with comrades of the same sex. Thus Hoche observes in a cloister school a great number of liaisons between first-form boys as *amantes* and third-form boys as *amati:* "There were romantic lyric outpourings, moonlight promenades, glowing love letters, fiery embraces and kisses, occasional meetings in bed, but

seldom onanism and never pederasty." Later the first-form boy developed as a completely normal person and the third-form boy in the first form became an *amans* himself.* Many doctors have made the same observations. Thus Moraglia reports that Sapphism is a very prevalent vice in girls' boarding schools. There need be only one girl familiar with the obscene practises of this love in order to initiate all her fellow-students into it at once and recruit numerous adherents to the Sappho cult.† Moll says, "I myself did not think it possible that in day- and boarding-schools, military academies, and the like, mutual onanism occurred so extensively, that in fact in very many cases it is carried so far as to develop into pederasty, that is, *immissio membri in anum.* Mostly the older ones are the seducers of the younger. I think it possible that persons who under normal circumstances would not have developed homosexuality are made homosexual in such institutes. In girls' boarding schools, too, passionate friendships occur pretty frequently."‡ Moll then reports a case in which the person concerned was convinced that he had become homosexual through his homosexual intercourse in school. At the big academy he attended, the boys, not only in the dormitories, but on the floors of the house, in the hay loft, in the horse- and cow-barn, even in high trees and in the garden shrubbery, gave themselves up to mutual onanism, in which the older students were reducers of the younger ones. There were nightly visits in bed, libidinous caresses, later even *immissio membri in os, coitus inter femora.*|| In military acade-

*Hoche, op. cit.; Cramer, op. cit., p. 962.
†Moraglia, *"Neue Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der weiblichen Kriminalität, Prostitution, usw.,"* Berlin, 1897, p. 39.
‡Moll, op. cit., I, p. 449.
||Ibid., pp. 450-460. Detailed report of conditions in military academies and garrisons, p. 460.

mies and garrisons immoral liaisons are prevalent.

According to Ferriani a single vicious boy can ruin fifty comrades. This author is of the opinion that erotic aberrations, sadism, intermediatism, tribadism, masochism, and the most extravagant distortions such as only a depraved imagination can devise, can develop in such institutes among boys and girls as a result of example.*

In harems too, homosexuality is frequent. According to Pouqueville "the languishing wives in the harem of the last departed Sultan at Constantinople—he himself preferring Greek love to the natural love of his imprisoned beauties—became each other's mistresses."†

The same is true of monasteries and convents. The physician Doppet observes, "When the founders of the cloisters separated the two sexes, they certainly did not think of the abuses which must be a necessary result of this measure. As the excited senses do not easily let themselves be silenced, the victims of the madness who were mured up inside cloister walls must think of means of either satisfying their ravenous hunger for love or else of cheating it. Driven by an instinct, pardonable enough and quite innocent in itself, these prisoners full of life force sought the denied pleasure in their own sex. That vice of which the Jesuits have been accused arose from

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*C. L. Ferriani, *"Minderjährige Verbrecher,"* translated by A. Ruhrmann, Berlin, 1896, p. 158; p. 167. For literary treatment of love relations between boys in boarding schools see the novels *"Roman aus der Décadence"* by K. Martens, Berlin, 1898, and *"Ercole Tomei"* by F. G. Pernauhm, Leipzig, 1900. The latter portrays a secondary-school love relation between Tomei and Büchner, which later is resumed in spite of the marriage of the former.

†J. Häussler, *"Ueber die Beziehungen des Sexualsystems zur Psyche usw.,"* Würzburg, 1826, p. 7.

the incarceration of vigorous youth. The nuns too sought to taste the delights of the flesh in ways contrary to nature."*

The literature about sexual aberrations and homosexual intercourse in cloisters is tremendous. What remains trustworthy after a critical examination of it suffices to prove with absolute certainty that the homosexuality and other unnatural kinds of sexual relations were artificially fostered.

The same is true of prisons. Homosexuality is extremely prevalent. Dr. Wey estimated the proportion of homosexuals in the Elmira Reformatory at eighty per cent. Some prisoners of feminine appearance had on most of the other men a powerful attraction "that reminds me of a bitch in heat followed by a pack of dogs." Homosexuality is even more conspicuous in women's prisons than in men's. The *mujeres hombrunas* of the Spanish women's prisons are typical.† In Indian prisons too tribadism is common. An Indian prison official discovered in the prison at C. a number of artificial *phalli,* which the women used in their sexual intercourse. In other prisons too he discovered tribadic relations. In one prisoner he found "swelling of the vulva caused by the embraces of two female convicts." In his opinion tribadism was "quite common in the gaol."‡

So too invert practises are found very frequent among the female servants of the great hotels, and not less prevalent are homosexual vices in the factories. According to the observations of Niceforo, in the work rooms of the factories in

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*Doppet, *"Das Geisseln und seine Einwirkung auf den Geschlechtstrieb,"* in *"Der Schatzgrüber usw.,"* by J. Scheible, Stuttgart, 1847, Part IV, pp. 398-400.

†Havelock Ellis, "Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Sexual Inversion." Philadelphia, 1901, p. 16; p. 122.

‡Ibid., pp. 124-5.

Rome the conversation turns constantly on sexual matters. This lascivious talk leads to thought vice and to sensual caresses aggravated by the fact that the lower part of the body is almost completely naked during the hot season. There are mutual onanism and Sapphic and tribadic practises. Some girls imitate men in aggression. In Wolverhampton an older working woman forced a young girl who was held meanwhile by two other women. In the great tobacco factory of Seville Lesbian love is very common. Here too the women work almost naked. The jealousy between the *cigarreras* even leads at times to actual attacks.*

In the theaters these factors combine with the influence of the dramatic-artistic imagination discussed before to make comprehensible the ready development of homosexual relations. Havelock Ellis provides remarkable data on the prevalence of homosexuality in the theaters and music halls of London.†

Public comfort stations play a certain role in the etiology of sexual perversions, as homosexuals and other sexually abnormal persons often visit them to find and seduce victims. I have learned definitely that in Berlin certain public comfort stations are used by homosexuals as rendezvous. This is confirmed by a case which Moll reports. The subject went to the comfort stations in order to become acquainted with other men. He was not mistaken; he soon saw such individuals who "loitered rather long" and showed him their genitals with the evident purpose of starting a homosexual affair; whereupon a meeting was arranged.‡ Kautzner gives similar

*Ibid., pp. 127-9.
†Ibid., p. 130.
‡Moll, op. cit., I, p. 827.

information of Graz, where too public toilets of this kind are used by pederasts for their purposes.* Often one finds inscriptions of a pederastic nature, with times and places of meetings, on the walls. Hellman reports that all the unchaste verses and remarks scrawled on the walls of the public toilets in Naples referred to pederasty.† In 1876 the Count de Germiny was caught in homosexual intercourse in a public toilet in Paris.‡

Public comfort stations have an especial attraction for those peculiar persons knowns as *renifleurs, qui in secretos locos, nimirum circa theatrorum porticos, convenientes quo complures feminae ad micturiendum festinant, per nares urinali odore excitati, illico se invicem polluunt.*|| Moraglia even tells of a woman who loitered in the vicinity of men's toilets in order to intoxicate herself with the *odor urinae* wafted to her.¶ A. Eulenburg mentions another kind of lovers of the lavatory, the so-called *épongeurs.* They loiter around the ladies' toilets and as soon as a woman has urinated there they sneak in, soak up with a sponge the liquid to be found on the floor and greedily put it to their lips.**

Another source of seduction and sexual perversity is the sight of animals performing the sex act, as is also the intimate association with animals customary in some families.

Rightly Hülsmeyer denounces the dangerous rural custom of

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*K. Kautzner, *"Homosexualität,"* in *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie,* 1899, II, p. 153.
†Hellmann, op. cit., p. 93.
‡*"Figaro,"* December 31, 1876.
||A. Coffignon, *"La Corruption á Paris,"* p. 347.
¶Moraglia, op. cit., p. 46.
**Eulenburg, op. cit., p. 103.

letting the children see, or even direct, the breeding and bearing of the domestic animals. The community bull serves the cows in front of the whole peasant family; often the children have to drive the nannies to the billy.* More dangerous is the effect of witnessing the notoriously obscene conduct of the dogs in the street. Phantasies thus aroused of perverse practises in sexual intercourse (onanism, pederasty, etc.) can be very pernicious psychosexually. The same is true of watching monkeys. Zola has described the effect of the sight of a sex act between animals in the beginning of *"La Terre."* Thus it is no accident that where there is more opportunity to see such performances, in the country, on estates, in agricultural schools, sexual relations between persons and animals more frequently occur. Sodomitic acts are committed chiefly by hired hands, milkmaids, farm employees, etc., as would undoubtedly be proved if all the known cases of sodomy could be collated.† The peculiar zoöphily of many city women too, which almost always has a sexual coloring, is due not to any diseased predisposition but to the influences of continued intimate association with the animal. The role which dogs have always played in this connection is well known, not less known is the fact that they are trained by women to carry out the most perverse practises (*cunnilingus, coitus, pedication*). Moraglia reports that women train dogs, cats, and at times even monkeys *genitalia lambere* by smear-

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*C. Hülsmeyer, op. cit., pp. 123-4. See also C. Wagner, op. cit., II, p. 123; p. 131. François I took his court ladies to the deer park at the rutting season of the stags, that they might delight in the love combats of these mighty beasts. Dufour, IV, p. 63.

†This is certainly indicated by the few cases which Moll has recorded. Op. cit., I, pp. 697 ff.

ing these parts with honey or putting sugar in them.* The wild lust of Pasiphaê are produced in most cases by external factors. Almost always it is the constant intimate proximity of animals, the sight of their sexual activity, which finally brings girls into perverse relations with them. The "lap dog" is by no means the consoler only of old maids yearning for love; it is to be found at least as frequently in the possession of married women, to whom the pleasures of normal sexual gratification are by no means unknown.

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*Moraglia, op. cit., p. 47. See also, in Oscar Mirbeau's novel *"Les Vingt et un Jours d'un Neurasthénique,"* the portrayal of the erotic desire of a Russian princess for stallions.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN — EROTIC AND OBSCENE LITERATURES: ANCIENT AND MODERN HIDDEN DOCUMENTS — IMMEMORIAL PORNOGRAPHY OF JAPAN AND ANCIENT EGYPT

Of tremendous importance in the development of sexual aberrations is literature, and specifically that branch which is designated as erotic and obscene.

What is an obscene book? The answer is very simple. That book is obscene which is written solely and only for the purpose of sexual excitation, of the baser animal sort.

This definition excludes all literary products which despite single erotic or indeed obscene passages fulfil quite different purposes from that specified, for instance, artistic, religious, scientific (culture history, medicine, folk lore, etc.).

Thus in judging an erotic writing we must apply the moral standard of its time. Much that seems obscene to us today was not so in the middle ages; on the other hand the ancients were familiar with obscene books which were written solely and only for excitation.

We must also take into consideration the individuality and

age of the reader. For children and immature persons those artistic, religious, and scientific literary works which we have described as not obscene may be dangerous under certain circumstances. In this connection the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers, which adults read with a certain historic perspective, must be mentioned. I quote the memorable words of John Milton, who certainly cannot be accused of impiety. He says in the *"Areopagitica,"* "Yea, the Bible itself . . . oft-times relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly." Dr. Hülsmeyer points to the pernicious effect on the childish mind of unselected Bible reading. "Outside of class, children, alone or together, on their own initiative or at the instigation of others, like to look through the Bible and hunt out passages where all phases and processes of the sex life, and the most frightful adulterous, incestuous, and bestial transgressions of a barbarous people are set forth openly. . . . Reports and confessions prove that great numbers of children have received from the Bible the first incentive to meditate on sexual matters and to form bad habits which they probably would not otherwise have learned."* Children's reading cannot be too carefully watched, as a very great part, even of the literature which is not really obscene, but which touches sexual matters, affects the childish imagination as really obscene books affect adults.

The latter effect is indisputable. Strangely, the obscene in writing and print has for the adult too a seductive fascination and is in the highest degree provocative of sensuality. A single obscene book can arouse perverse instincts, can fill the

*C. Hülsmeyer, op. cit., p. 38; p. 109. This view is shared by Rohleder and the educator H. Schiller (Rohleder, op. cit., p. 122).

imagination, perhaps pure hitherto, with images of bestial vice and completely derange ingenuous sexual emotions. Böttiger does not exaggerate when he attributes the unhappiness and viciousness of many persons to the reading of a single obscene book* nor does Bishop Porteus exaggerate when he says, "It flies to the remotest corners of the earth, it penetrates the obscure and retired habitations of simplicity and innocence, it makes its way into the cottage of the peasant, into the hut of the shepherd, and the shop of the mechanic; it falls into the hands of all ages, ranks, and conditions."† A Marquis de Sade and other lascivious authors who wish to infect all humanity with sexual vices refer emphatically to the service which obscene literature can render.

Obscene books are, of course, possible only among peoples who possess a written or printed literature. The fact that all such peoples, however, possess an erotic literature proves that the demand is independent of time and nationality. In fact ethnology teaches us that savages too possess the beginnings of an obscene literature in the form of erotic songs and the like, sung or recited, as for instance among the Australian "blackfellows," on festive occasions.

We know that the Greeks had a copious obscene literature. The "sotadic" writings (from Sotades Maronites, an Alexandrian lascivious author, the *"kinaedolog"* of Athenaeus' Deipnosophoi XIV, 13) portrayed the most perverse sex deviations, and even women like Astyanassa (see Suidas among others), Elephantis or Elephantine (*Suetonius, Tiberius* cap. *43; Priapeia III; Ovid Ars Amandi II, 680*), Kyrene (*Aristophanes, Frogs 1361-3; Thesmophor. 104*), wrote about the

*Böttiger, "London und Paris," Weimar, 1801, VIII, p. 243.
†Ryan, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

schémata synousiastikà, that is, the different kinds of sexual enjoyment. The same theme was handled by Polycrates, who wrote under the name of Philaenis (Priap. *LXIII*), Paxamos (Suidas), and Musaeus (Martial *XII,* 97). The Romans too had their erotic authors and poets, Martial, Petronius, Ovid. The *Ars Amandi* of the last named perhaps furnishes a yet more faithful picture of the prevailing sexual depravity than do the satires of Juvenal and Martial and the writings of the notorious *Priapeia.*

It may not be well known that the ancient Egyptians, thousands of years before, had an erotic literature. Love, among them, found mostly a "very drastic, realistic expression." The Papyrus of Turin contains many "erotic caricatures" and is important as "an example, at present unique, of a specifically erotic literature in the Nile Valley." The Egyptologist Wiedemann, however, does not doubt that such literature existed in ancient Egypt.* More detailed information of the obscene papyrus of Turin is given by F. von Oefele.† In it fourteen positions illustrating all the sophistication of sexual intercourse between man and woman around 1300 B. C. are shown. In a papyrus exhumed by Flinders Petrie at the entrance to Fayum the homosexual intercourse between Horus and Set is portrayed in the most obscene fashion.‡ This is doubly significant as documentation of religious pederasty in ancient Egypt.

The Indian erotic literature has already been discussed. In

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*Alfred Wiedemann, *"Die Unterhaltungslitteratur der alten Aegypter,"* Leipzig, 1902, p. 6; p. 13.
†F. von Oefele, *"Zum konträren Geschlechtsverkehr in Altägypten,"* in *Monatsheft für praktische Dermatologie von Unna und Tänzer,* XXIX, pp. 409-411; 1899.
‡Ibid.

Japan since time immemorial there has been a copious obscene literature. A catalogue in 1830 lists one hundred and seventy-seven obscene books. Especially voluminous is the pederastic literature of the Japanese. This kind of writing extends into the modern age. Thus in 1894 Ohaski Shiutaro published obscene "Erotic Essays" (Tokyo, two volumes.)* Schlegel reports the great distribution of sotadic books in China. The "Tchoen-hoeng-tse" (lascivious poems) purport only to describe the most perverse sexual aberrations in the most obscene phrases. These books have enormous circulation among the people, in spite of the fact that the governors of individual provinces have whole editions destroyed.†

In Europe the French, Italian, and English obscene literatures take the first place in quantity and distribution. "French is the language of love," as Winston Churchill said recently in a speech in which he compared the modern world languages. French obscenity has doubly dangerous effect because of its often beautiful form. Even the raw cynicism and brutal obscenity of de Sade appear seductive in comparison with the revolting crudity of the English erotica, which are perhaps the least dangerous and in this respect are like the German. In comparison with the above named the latter is also relatively scanty.

Characteristic of the European obscene literature of the last centuries is the progressive representation of different types and branches of sexual aberrations. Thus the times are mirrored not insignificantly. Wolff distinguishes various *genera* of obscene novels. "Complete impropriety for the basest excitation of thwarted sensuality (those of this species could

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**Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1900, p. 439.
†Schlegel, *"La Prostitution en Chine,"* Rouen, 1880, pp. 24-5.

well be called 'cantharid novels'); subtle and indecent mockery expressive of moral indifferentism; cynical moralization for the propaganda of subversive and lascivious ideas; lewdness in the service of thorough-going skepticism; completely objective representation of corruption without any glossing-over; and finally frivolous delight in the immoral, with brilliant presentation and great *bonhommie.*" These are the chief characteristics of the lascivious novels of the eighteenth century, according to Wolff.*

The entire "polite" literature of the eighteenth century was thus judged by the physician E. G. Baldinger† (1738-1804): "It seems to me our 'polite' literature—poetry, comedy, philosophy—has, in the last half of this century, contributed not a little to extending the domain of the Goddess of Paphos and to spreading the vices of Lampsacus and Rome. . . . Reading may have done little to increase the appetite of the laborer for the vices, but it has worked wonders in this respect among the other classes, courtiers, soldiers, scholars, professional men, merchants. Love and girls take up half our 'learning.' "

All the obscenities of Petronius were brought up to date by the notorious Marquis de Sade, a typical figure of the eighteenth century, in his many-volume novels *"Justine"* and *"Juliette."* These stand alone in the completeness with which they catalogue and portray the aberrations and perversions, for they by no means, as is usually assumed, refer only to "sadism." De Sade influenced the obscene literature of the nineteenth century powerfully, and his ideas in glorification of sexual vice recur in most books of this kind, which for-

*O. L. B. Wolff, *"Allgemeine Geschichte des Romans von dessen Ursprung bis zur neuesten Zeit,"* Jena, 1841, pp. 360-1.
†In *Neues Magazin für Aerzte,* 1780, II, pp. 333-354.

tunately cannot compare with his in the development of ultra-materialistic ideas nor in the crass cyncism of presentation.

The perniciousness of modern erotic-obscene literature lies mostly in the fact that today nearly every kind of sexual perversion has its defender. Leo Berg observes, "Poetic treatment of adultery and sensual excess no longer suffices; all the unnatural indulgences are now expounded to us in monographs, as it were. The most daring motives are taken from the sex life; there is hardly a disease symptom, at least with direct or indirect relation to the sex life, which has not been treated in dramas, short stories, novels, with scientific thoroughness and minuteness."* Fine and coarse erotica agree in this respect. Sadism, masochism, flagellantism, and homosexuality have their own literature. Even sodomy is glorified in the notorious story *"Gamiani,"* which is attributed to Alfred de Musset, and men like Guy de Maupassant (*"Les cousines de la colonelle"*) and Edmund Harancourt (*"La légende des sexes"*) place their superior art at the service of the commonest obscenity, to say absolutely nothing of the lascivious phantasies of a Baudelaire and a Verlaine.

Although no new obscene books have been published in Germany since the middle of the seventies—till then Altona, Stuttgart and Leipzig were the principal publishing centers for erotica—the older ones, like *"Priapische Romane," "Denkwürdigkeiten des Herrn von H.," "Die Memoiren einer Sängerin," "Die Bekenntnisse einer Amerikanerin,"* and many more, are distributed as widely as ever. The increased international book trade exposes them to strong competition from the French, English, Italian, and Spanish novels which are circulated in Germany in the original languages or (most-

*L. Berg, *"Das sexuelle Problem in Kunst und Leben,"* pp. 54-5.

ly the French and English) in very bad translations. Most French erotica are published, or reprinted, in Brussels, like the Works of De Sade, Nerciat, Jouy, Baudelaire, and others. Most English pornography is from Paris and New York. Many Italian obscene works come from Turin, the Spanish mostly from Barcelona and New York. According, however, to Dr. Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, section director in the Anthropologic Museum in La Plata, obscene works are also printed in Spanish South America, especially Buenos Aires, and marketed locally.

At present obscene books have a tremendous circulation among the middle and higher classes, and we make no mistake in attributing to this a great share of responsibility for the development of sexual perversions. The etiologic importance of this kind of reading for the genesis of sexual aberrations is proved, above all, by the fact that most sexually abnormal individuals are eager readers of such books, which have fallen into their hands when they were extremely young. It is the merit of A. Eulenburg and von Schrenck-Notzing to have pointed this out. The former, for example, thinks it very probable that Rousseau's "Confessions," with the well known flagellation scene, have had the effect of propaganda for that aberration, since in the last half of the eighteenth century the desire of masculine youth to be flagellated by dazzlingly beautiful ladies *en grande toilette* increased conspicuously.* He mentions one of his patients who, from reading Havelock Ellis' "Man and Woman," in which a gradual approximation of the masculine type to the feminine, a progressive "feminization," is represented as the aim of modern cultural development, became firmly convinced that he "was turning into a

*A. Eulenburg, op. cit., p. 123.

woman." This man was not at all psychopathic.* Von Schrenck-Notzing points to the great influence which the reading of homosexual books has on the ideas of the sexual activity of many individuals. He observed a case of sexual *paresthesia* in which the subject submitted the following characteristic confession: "Unfortunately I had opportunity to read many lascivious books. I can, I regret to say, claim a very extensive knowledge of erotic literature. From the tedious garrulity of a Casanova to the wanton dalliance of the *'Elegantiae Latinae Sermones,'* of the *'Alcibiade fanciullo a scuola'* (for instance, in this notorious pederastic novel the pedication of a boy by his tutor is described most obscenely), the frivolous sophistries of a *'Thérèse philosophe'* and the insane phantasies of a Marquis de Sade, nothing has escaped me. Scenes in these books stamped themselves ineradicably in my memory, until my imagination was completely obsessed with pictures of the commonest, coarsest vice. I do not know whether I ever possessed a trace of what is currently called 'morality,' but if I did I lost it completely; I simply yearned to be able to prostitute myself, to be desecrated."†

From most of the biographies in von Krafft-Ebing and Moll we see how the sexually abnormal revel in obscene reading, and how learned they are in their literature. Ulrichs' writings, which teem with obscene details, are in the hands of all intermediates. He himself was fabulously erudite in erotic literature. A very great deal of misery must have been caused by one book alone, describing the most shocking excesses both hetero- and homosexual (*"Die Memoiren einer Sängerin"*). I think I can identify one Krafft-Ebing case as a direct product of this lascivious book. The subject was a cavalry officer who

*Ibid., p. 129.
†Von Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., p. 251.

was known in a Cologne brothel as "Oil" because he obtained sexual gratification only from having a *puellam publicam nudam* get into a tub filled with oil and anointing her body all over.* In *"Die Memoiren einer Sängerin"* there is a completely analogous description. The man anoints the entire body of the woman *ante coitum.* Very probably this passage so excited the imagination of the reader that he proceeded to imitate it. The writings of the Marquis de Sade, expatiating on the raptures of the individual sexual aberrations, are especially dangerous and bear an especially great responsibility for the genesis of sexual perversions, as a recent study of de Sade points out.† In anamnestic investigation therefore the physician must be thoroughly acquainted with the reading of the infected individual, as it can give him extraordinary enlightenment.

Analogous to the effect of the books cited above on the upper classes is the effect on the lower classes of horror novels calculated to excite the coarsest instincts by scenes of passion, crime, murder and execution; and, worse yet, of "self-knowledge" and "self-pollution" books which purport to instruct the common man in the mysteries of the sexual system. The English counterpart of the *"Selbstbewahrung"* of Retau is "The Works of Aristotle," of which there are different editions, one setting forth sexual facts in popular language, another merely a collection of obscenity. On my last walk through Holywell street, in the middle of August, 1901, two days before the demolition of this old London book street was begun, I saw one of the popular editions, a little red duodecimo with gaudy plates of foetuses and pregnant wom-

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**Psychopathia sexualis,* 1890, p. 76.

†Dr. Jacobus X. . . ., *"Le Marquis de Sade et son Oeuvre,"* Paris, 1901, pp. 225-6.

en, miscarriages, etc. It contained in addition a treatise on venereal diseases, a *vademecum* for midwives, a *physiognomica* and the "problems" of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Marcus Antonius Zimaras Sanctipertias. These very books, with their lurid exaggeration of the consequences of "secret sins," etc., excite the imagination of uneducated and young persons in a quite special way. It is established, for instance, that Retau's book against onanism has created many onanists. Casanova's Memoirs, with their numerous piquant descriptions of ambiguous love adventures have become, in bad editions and extracts, favorite reading of the lower classes. Among the lower orders such books perhaps arouse a grosser sensuality than among persons of higher station who at any rate generally possess greater mental self-discipline.

*Ibid.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN — OBSCENE PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE — PORNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHS AND ALBUMS

What has been said of the influence of literature is also true of that of art. The impressions made by sculptural and pictorial images can very decisively condition the first sexual stirrings. Young people learn of love in books before they do in life, subsequently too they are influenced by the books which have first awakened their love. Similarly they are acquainted with the other sex in pictures before they are in nature. Thus art introduces youth to life and love. Love develops through the imagination among civilized peoples."*

The desire to represent sexual acts pictorially is found among primitive and civilized peoples. Ploss and Bartels mention such erotic representations in West Africa, the Philippines, the island of Bali, Egypt, China (the notorious "secret games" or "spring tablets"), Peru†; Mantegazza notes those in India (among others, monstrous enlacements of persons and ani-

*Leo Berg, *"Kunst und Sinnlichkeit,"* in *Die Zukunft,* 1900, no. 2, p. 60.

†Ploss-Bartels,op. cit., I, pp. 439-443.

mals).* Where, however, all things sexual are more in the open, as among the primitive peoples, artistic representations of them are less dangerous than in the civilized countries where everything sexual is rigidly private. I assume that the origin of obscene pictures and statues among the primitive peoples is to be attributed to the sexual cults. First the generative parts were reproduced, then the generative act. In India, for instance, *lingam* and *yoni* were represented not only separately but joined. Then, among primitive as well as civilized peoples, the sexual orgies and erotic festivals at which sexual acts were consummated in front of spectators may have enkindled the imagination so that the reproduction of such scenes was desired.

A preliminary to the obscene picture is the mirror image. The mirror plays a certain role in the genesis of sexual aberrations. Lessing's "Vindications of Horace" may have "vindicated" the Roman poet of the charge of exciting himself sexually by watching coitus in the mirror, but it proves the existence of this sophisticated means of titillation in antiquity. This means of intensifying *libido* has been described in most obscene writings since Horace. It is also undeniable that many boys and girls are first excited sexually by the sight of their own mirror images. The reflection of one's own naked self in the mirror can also influence the imagination toward the abnormal, especially if the individual's impulses as yet are undifferentiated and he has no knowledge of the other sex. Moll mentions a heterosexual man who had a passion for taking off all his clothes and examining himself in the mirror and comparing his beauty with that of other men. He then exhibited his *genitalia virorum* and manifested

*Mantegazza, op. cit., p. 128.

homosexual desires.*

In this class are the voyeurs of the brothels, who pay to witness sex acts, mostly perverse. They too are excited by image alone, and thus are frequently seduced into imitating what they have seen. According to Coffignon such persons even hide themselves in the bushes of the Champs Elysées at night to watch the sexual intercourse of prostitutes with their *maquereaux* or with other men.†

As to actual obscene pictures, a distinction must be made in advance between the products of artistic creation and those of photography from life.

Art, in the delineation of the obscene, almost always restricts itself to mythologic or historic material or the illustration of scenes from novels. The obscene photography of the modern era presents scenes from life, mostly taken from the brothel. Certainly the former is dangerous, too, but less so than the photographic reproduction of sexual aberrations in the actual process of expression. The latter form produces a much higher degree of associative connection with actuality, with the *vita sexualis* of the beholder, than the obscene representation of fictitious procedure could possibly bring about. "Our sensuality," says Berg, "reacts much more promptly to the photograph of a modern actress than to a classic statue. Between our impulse life and the young lady of our time there is much closer kinship than is possible between the two-thousand-year-old Grecian lady and the modern man. Even with her eternal youth she is too old for him. Carriage, posture, dress, ornament, style, but especially expression, physiognomy, complexion, coiffure, briefly the en-

*Moll, *"Libido sexualis,"* I, p. 824.
†Coffignon, op. cit., p. 321.

tire feminine *habitus* of the modern woman takes quicker and deeper hold in the emotional system of the modern man. An erotic *fluidum* goes out from her which is almost directly transmitted from the picture to the masculine beholder and establishes the association of erotic emotions quickly and surely."* To this must be added the fact that obscene works of art have a relatively small public, and are mostly in the possession of art connoisseurs on whom the obscene motive has less effect than has the artistic execution of it. On the other hand, obscene photographs have tremendous circulation among the great masses of the people. At present, therefore, the element of danger in the artistic delineation of the obscene can be almost entirely overlooked.

Certainly in antiquity the abundant obscene paintings (on vases, walls, etc.) and statues† as representations of lascivious scenes of reality, must have been just as dangerous for the imagination as photographs are today.

In later times great artists have debased their art to the delineation of the obscene, as, in Italy, Giulio Romano, the Carracci,‡ in France Fragonard and Boucher, in Belgium Félicien Rops, in England H. K. Browne, George Morland and J. R. Smith, even Hogarth, and above all, Thomas Rowlandson. Mostly they have illustrated free or lascivious novels or handled obscene *genre* subjects. We cite Romano's drawings for the *"Sonetti lussuriosi"* of Pietro Aretino, Gavarni's *"Scènes de la vie privée,"* Girodet's *"Les extases de l'amour,"* Félicien Rops' pictures for the publications of Gay in Brussels, Morland's and Smith's lascivious illustrations to Rousseau's

*L. Berg, op. cit., pp. 62-3.
†There is detailed discussion of the obscene wall- and vase-painting of the ancients in my *"Der Ursprung des Syphilis,"* Part II.
‡See Goethe's diaries Vol. VIII, p. 174, Weimar edition.

"Nouvelle Héloïse," to Cleland's obscene novel "Fanny Hill," to Fielding's "Tom Jones," H. K. Browne's "Pretty Girls of London," Rowlandson's "Pretty Little Games for Young Ladies and Gentlemen," etc.

Charles Antoine Coypel even undertook to reproduce all mythology and world history in sixty-eight obscene pictures. In this odd *"Histoire universelle"* we find, among others, treatment of the following subjects: Mysteries of the *Bona Dea;* Domitian Shaves his Concubines; Nero Violates the Vestal Rubrica in the Temple of Vesta; Initiation of a Young Man at the Festival of Priapus; Offering of the Four Virginities to Jupiter Ammon; Nero Enamored of Sporus; Tiberius at Capri with his Little Fishes; Alcibiades and Pharnabazus; Achilles between Patroclus and Briseis; Absalom Enjoys his Father's Wives Before the People; Lot Saves the Two Angels from the Brutality of the Sodomites; Incest of Thamar; Rape of Ganymede; there are also scenes from Petronius' "Satyricon" and Greek mythology, a pictorial representation of "The Ordinary Principle of Friendship between Women," etc. Another obscene mythologic album bears the title: *"Amusements de l'Innocence. Tableux Tirés de la Mythologie."*

Of these representations of the obscene by prominent artists mostly only a very few copies exist. They are in the possession of a few rich amateurs who have acquired them as *"curiosa"* and "rarities" and perhaps more or less overlook the sexual element in them. There may, of course, be individual exceptions, resembling the aristocrat widow portrayed by Catulle Mendès in *"La Dame Seule"* who has, in her chateau in Normandy, a great pornographic picture gallery and there abandons herself to excessive phantasies while contemplating the obscenities surrounding her.

This exclusive art has nothing to do with the usual pornographic pictures such as are distributed in great quantities among all classes of people, in Europe, in Asia, and in America. Hildebrandt reports that in Japan children of the tenderest years peddle *erotica,* obscene pictures and lascivious dolls, in the streets, and that *phallic* ornaments are to be seen on the doors of all the houses.* According to Carl von Scherzer there are "infinite numbers" of erotic pictures in China. In variety and in infamy they exceed the most extravagant imagination, and they have an even greater sale than books, as not every one can read, but almost every one can see. These pictures are prepared not only by men but even by girls eleven to fourteen years old, as they have a lighter touch and apply the color more delicately.†

In Europe obscene photographs are produced in greatest number, diversity, and—not the least consideration—cheapness, and have a tremendous circulation. To give a faint idea of the scale on which lascivious pictures are distributed, 130,248 obscene photographs from life and five thousand plates were confiscated, in London, in March, 1874, from a photographer named Hayler. The persons shown in scenes of the most frightful vice with each other were the photographer himself, his wife and two sons. The correspondence confiscated at the time proved a colossal trade in these obscene pictures all over Europe and in British Africa.‡ The mass circulation of obscene pictures in Germany is proved by an account in *Der Tag,* Feb. 1, 1902, of the arrest of the proprietor of a stationery booth at the Stadtbahn in Berlin.. In his place

*E. Hildebrandt, *"Reise um die Erde,"* Berlin, 1872. II, chapter 12.
†Carl von Scherzer, *"Zur Geschichte der Prostitution in China,"* in Das Ausland, 1868, no. 2 and 3.
‡Times, April 20, 1874.

of storage "a wagon load of the most indecent photographs, drawings, objects, etc., with which he had been flooding Berlin," was confiscated. Today Spain is a center of the trade in obscene pictures. From Barcelona car-loads of erotic photographs are sent to all European countries and to North and South America, although the latter, according to the authoritative statement of Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche, has its own native industry. Next to Spain is Italy, with Turin as chief distribution point.* In France the agents of this questionable branch of commerce are at present under sharp surveillance, nevertheless considerable quantities of obscene Parisian photographs still reach the trade, especially in the form of post cards. It is significant that these are frequently stamped "Leipzig" as place of origin, because the Russian custom officials are less rigorous about admitting them thus than if they bore the Paris imprint.† The obscene photographs most circulated in Germany come from France and Spain. So far as I have been able to ascertain, no considerable quantities of these pictures are actually produced in Germany. It is a fact, however, that year in, year out, numerous dealers find an enormous sale for these erotic representations here too, and not only in the big cities among pleasure-seekers and *demimondaines,* but in towns and in the country, among clerks, students, peasant boys. There are albums of obscene photographs, some of which come from Spain (for instance with the title *"Mesa revuelta," "Costumbres sociales intimas"*). Obscene snuff boxes, playing cards, etc., are sold also.

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*Binder, too, (op. cit., p. 67) observes that the most and worst erotic pictures come from Italy and Spain.

†In this connection see Carl Lahm's amusing *"Deutsche Neujahrsgeschenke für die Franzosen"* in the Berliner Tageblatt, January 1, 1902.

As to subject matter, there is no sexual aberration, no perverse act, however frightful, that is not photographically represented today. Onanism is shown as practised by men and women with all possible apparatus and in all imaginable ways. There are series of *feminae gravidae; poses lubriques* of entirely and half naked women and men (women as statues, as soldiers, women contemplating their charms in the mirror, posing in the artist's studio). Photographs of separate parts of the body, mostly the genitals, enlarged, even in the act of copulation, are sold as *lunes*. Fetishistic lusts are served by pictures of women in sophisticated disarray, wearing only corset or hat or chemise; of naked women on the trapeze, on the bicycle, or in a frame; persons in the act of defecation or urination (the notorious *pisseuses*). The sadist and the masochist can revel in flagellation scenes with all possible variations, in crucifixions of naked women, in lust murders and tortures. All kinds of coitus by all possible methods are shown, as are tribadism and pederasty, and sodomy with asses, monkeys, and dogs. Violations of children by grown men and women, vice of children with each other, intercourse between nun and monk, nun and society woman, tramp and baroness, monk and negress, mother and son, brother and sister, briefly the kind of situations, bizarreries, monstrosities, beastly passion which only the wildest imagination can devise, are represented, mostly in series of from fifteen to twenty pictures. Especially popular in recent times are sadistic and masochistic photographs and series which have a fetishistic appeal. Of the latter, the so-called *"erotic costume piquanteries"* are important. Clothing alone, the article of clothing corresponding to a specific bodily part which is exposed or emphasized, has in these the sexually exciting effect. There are representations too, of the *symplegmata* and *schémata* of the ancients, the

spinthriae of Tiberius, known today as "daisy chains," in the most ingenious homo- and heterosexual combinations.

In view of these facts I do not hesitate to claim that the great distribution of obscene pictures with their representations of all sexual aberrations, perverse acts, and shocking vice is more responsible for the genesis and increasing frequency of sexual perversions than is any congenital predisposition or disease. No doubt many persons with already fixed sexual perversions stimulate themselves with pictures of a corresponding kind, but most of the pictures come to the attention and into the possession of persons thoroughly normal sexually or decidedly not subject to a specific perversion, as is proved by their collecting photographs of all possible varieties. The effect on such persons is frightful. Further evidence for the proposition that mostly normal individuals are endangered by pictures of this kind is the fact that most prostitutes possess obscene pictures and use them to stimulate the customer and entice him, *lucri causa,* into perverse acts. Not the least important consideration is the fact that prostitutes are in many cases the agents of the dealers and sell these pictures to their customers.*

Long ago Brantôme in *"Vies des Dames Galantes"* pointed out very plainly the extremely dangerous effect of obscene pictures on the imagination. Dufour agrees with him that the sight of such obscenities can make the most shameless courtesan of the purest, most austere matron. In fact a single pornographic picture can poison the imagination, especially of a young person, irremediably, can have more frightful effect than seduction itself. It is unfortunately a fact that precisely among the very young such pictures have great circu-

*See Jeannel, op. cit., p. 118.

lation. There must be few persons who will not remember to have seen them in the possession of their school comrades.* Long preoccupation with obscene delineations must excite the *vita sexualis* intensely and so deflect it that physical perversions will result.

Other pictorial representations which can influence the imagination more or less powerfully are not very important in comparison with actual pornographic pictures. Obscene tattooing is very rare in Germany, more frequent in the Latin countries. It must naturally have a strongly exciting effect, as the obscene picture is directly connected with the living person. The purpose of it is perhaps chiefly to increase the *libido* of the partner. Such obscene tattooings are, according to Moraglia, applied to discreet parts of the prostitute's body to titillate the lust of the man and direct his attention to the concealed body parts. This is confirmed by Laurent in his *"Les Habitués des Prisons de Paris."*† Obscene tattooing on men, especially sailors and criminals, is not rare. That the images often relate to homosexual intercourse is important.

Museums of ancient and modern sculpture, and more decidedly the so-called anatomic museums containing plastic representations of masculine and feminine sex parts, play a great role in the premature awakening and abnormal conditionment of the *vita sexualis*. H. Cohn has established in numerous cases of sexual precocity and obstinate onanism a connection with visits by the subjects to such places. Further evidence is the analogous role which the anatomic museum

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*See the statement of a patient of Moll about obscene pictures, with which he first became acquained in school (*Libido sexualis,* I, p. 823), and Ryan's reports of the distribution of obscene snuff boxes in English girls' schools (op. cit., pp. 106-7).

†See Moraglia, op. cit., p. 15.

plays in an erotic short story *"Die Bekenntnisse einer Amerikanerin."* Moll reports a sexual pervert who had a predilection for visiting anatomic museums and especially the secret departments reserved for "the structure and pathology of the sex organs."*

The peculiar erotic relation which persons can form with statues is well known. According to Berg this can be explained only esthetically. "The erotic man sees Helen in every woman, the esthetic man sees in Helen all women; simply, feminine beauty. Thus the sensual is elevated into the spiritual, and the erotic is silenced. It does not rest, however; it is only converted into different, refined, generalized intellectual forces; it is discharged in a more subtle erotic. Finally one no longer loves woman created by nature but only woman created by art. There certainly have been men who have actually fallen in love with marble Hebes, Aphrodites; and many Grecian women must have yearned for a satyr or Dionysus. Precisely the refinement of the spiritual process facilitates this conversion and the operation of the erotic in those higher spheres. Art, then, plays in common sensuality no small role, although a barrier is placed before the sensuality of the uncouth."† This purely esthetic concept may apply to some cases, hardly, however, to those in which the sight of statues has had sexually exciting effect in earliest youth,‡ or those in which actual violation of statues has been attempted** especially by persons quite untrained esthetically.|| We must re-

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*Moll, op. cit., p. 825.
†Berg, op. cit., p. 70.
‡Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 34.
**P. Fürbringer, *"Die Störungen der Geschlechtsfunktionen des Mannes,"* Vienna, 1895, p. 126.
||Kraft-Ebing, op. cit., p. 321.

member, too, that fine esthetic perception and ardent sensuality frequently go together. Indeed Berg says, "The same person may be purified today and led into transgression tomorrow by the same work of art."

Therefore we should not be surprised if the charge of immorality and of seduction to sexual aberrations has been made very often even against public art exhibitions. We must grant too that such unfortunate results are not infrequent. Simply, not every one is mature enough and otherwise qualified to visit such exhibitions. The great Berlin Expositon of 1895 was especially assailed for "immorality" and "prostitution," from many quarters. The most thorough-going attack was made by a probably pseudonymous writer, Sebastian Brant, in an odd pamphlet.* Its criticism certainly is carried too far. Especially he denounces Room 40, "the witch *sabbat* of the obscene and the naked," "more like a brothel boudoir than a cabinet of nudes," "constantly filled with visitors, who called each other's attention to the most piquant specimens."† Among others he mentions Fernand le Quesne's "Torrent" in which a forest waterfall is symbolized by "about twenty naked life-size women in the maddest postures of the most audacious gesticulation"; and quite in a class with this "woman brook" the "child brook," Léon Frédéric's *"Murmure du Ruisseau,"* in which "hundreds of naked little children, boys and girls mingled together, the warmth of the flesh tones exaggerated, the private parts delineateed with anatomic exactitude," are supposed to personify the murmur of the brook. Wilhelm Trübner's *"Damenwäsche am Rande des Sees"* shows feminine clothing, blue and white striped silk stock-

*S. Brant, *"Die Prostitution auf der Grossen Berliner Kunstausstellung 1895. Eine kritische Studie."* Berlin, 1895.
†Ibid., pp. 17-18.

ings, dainty shoes and the like, on the shore, guarded by a bulldog, while the imagination infallibly wanders from the clothing to the woman who is bathing, concealed. The pamphleteer characterizes as "downright swinishness" Julian Story's "Nymph and Satyr" and Hans Koberstein's *"Larghetto Amoroso."* We must certainly disagree with these complaints and object to some meddlesome restrictions which the pamphleteer would like to impose on the artist—for instance he would require that no *demi-mondaine* ever be represented —since modern art cannot be judged by a one-sided moral standard alone and without reference to esthetics and culture history. Nevertheless Rohleder is right when he states that such exhibitions can be "a great source of sexual excitement,"* as very few possess the necessary degree of culture for the disinterested appreciation of works of art. In our opinion it is no accident that the *demi-monde* was conspicuously present at the exhibition. One is reminded of the statement of Berg cited above. *"Le nu au salon,"* offered in such quantity and often questionable quality, certainly does produce an exciting effect, even when not taken home like the well known collections of Armand Silvestre.

Ballets, dances, certain performances of equestriennes, of variety soubrettes (Five Sisters Barrison), with costume often calculated on sensual titillation, the sight of women on the trapeze in tight-fitting tricot modeling all parts of the body, "living pictures," *poses plastiques* of heroic or idyllic nature, of men in women's clothing and women in men's, have a sexual effect which is not to be disregarded.

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*Rohleder, op. cit., p. 125.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN — ETIOLOGY OF STRANGE SEXUAL PRACTISES: GREEK, SOCRATIC, SAPPHIC AND LESBIAN LOVE — EUROPEAN CRUSADES AND ORIENTAL PERVERSIONS

The above studied universal etiologic factors in the genesis of sexual anomalies form the basis for the specific etiologies, to the investigation of which we now proceed. The special factors which determine the origin of the individual sexual perversions must be considered chiefly from the points of view established above if we are to attain accurate knowledge of the respective abnormal states, whose special etiology is conditioned entirely by the universal etiology.

We shall examine the special etiology of homosexuality (Greek, Socratic, Sapphic, Lesbian love), and inversion (uranism and tribadism).

The first question of great importance to be answered is this: are there really such great numbers of genuine intermediates? Is homosexuality really so vastly widespread as those infected with it claim? The exaggerated statements as to the number of intermediates explain alone how there can be a true "cult of intermediatism" today. Von Schrenck-Notzing observes, "It is regrettable that the cult of homosexuality, for which

there is absolutely no justification in fact, is served today by hosts of authors and pamphleteers, who have created the fiction of a specially constituted class of persons demanding by the right of birth (their alleged congenital anomaly) that homosexual gratification of the sex impulse be sanctioned, and refusing to hear of a correction of this anomaly, refusing *a priori* on the basis of the congenital theory."*

Intermediatism would in fact possess social importance if the assertions made by individual homosexuals about the great number of homosexuals, especially of congenital inverts, were accurate. The claim that "of ffity men one is homosexual"† is naturally pure nonsense; even the estimate of one intermediate to five hundred men is considerably exaggerated. Mostly the enumeration is made by simply counting as homosexual all men with whom the respective urning had sexual connection.‡ As the desire of intermediates to have intercourse only with heterosexual men is well known, these statistics are contrary to reason. Others even draw their conclusions from what is observed in the public toilets, and divide the homosexuals found there into such as (1) showed their genitals; (2) wanted to see others; (3) produced an erection before they left. It is obvious that there is much room for error here, and perhaps the most presumptuous conclusions were drawn from purely fortuitous and insignificant motions and gestures.|| Another source of error is autosuggestion, to which recently Cramer, von Schrenck-Notzing and others have

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*Von Schrenck-Notzing, *"Homosexualität und Strafrecht,"* in *Die Umschau,* 1898, no. 50, p. 836.
†Jäger, in Moll's *"Konträre Sexualempfindung,"* p. 146.
‡See the enumeration in Moll's *"Konträre Sexualempfindung,"* p. 146.
||Ibid., p. 147.

pointed especially. The perverse sexual literature has fostered these auto-suggestions to a great degree.* Thus the declarations, the "confessions" of the intermediates are to be regarded "with great caution."† Another aid to the fantastic assumption by intermediates of a very great prevalence of homosexuality is their own morbid mania for pouncing upon innocent expressions of famous men as confessions of homosexuality. Rightly the historians have their doubts about the imposing array of kings, generals, artists, writers, scholars, philosophers, which this mania for literary intermediate-hunting, auspiciously inaugurated by Ulrichs, has managed to assemble. If a great thinker has remained unmarried and not been especially fond of the ladies, then he must necessarily have been an intermediate; if he had a pronounced friendship with a young man it was an amorous infatuation; if a poem is addressed to a masculine friend and not to a sweetheart at least "the suspicion of homosexuality is justified"; for instance, Goethe's splendid lyric *"An den Mond"* has been proclaimed, in all seriousness, a homosexual expression.‡ Why then have no homosexual elegiacs of Goethe been published? Even if Goethe and other writers, to whom nothing human was alien, should mention this kind of aberration poetically, can the conclusion be drawn that the authors themselves were infected with perverse desires? How far the "smelling-out" of homosexuals can be carried is shown by the following statement of Gustav Jäger: "A very shrewd observer can see that often in masculine circles when lascivious stories about women are told there are individuals who

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*Cramer, op. cit., p. 964.
†Von Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., p. 195.
‡*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* II, 67. Moll, op. cit., pp. 76 ff.

make a long face as dogs do when one speaks humorously to them and they wonder what is so funny."* So, because a few men with feelings of delicacy do not participate in such conversation they must necessarily be homosexual. This is the "shrewd" conclusion that Jäger draws. *Difficile est satiram non scribere.*

These exaggerations of the intermediates are assailed by all experienced investigators. Joux speaks of "monstrous statistics of the mixed sex," of allegations "which sound so astonishing, so improbable, that one must often suspect conscious hoax."† Moll says, "One must not take at face value all that the homosexuals say about this; many have the urgent desire to exaggerate the number greatly. I know intermediates who say of almost every third man, yes, of every other man, that he is like them, and who tell the most incredible tales of *liaisons.* Universally known persons, particularly princes, great generals, statesmen, are thus declared homosexual."‡ Wollenberg, too, stresses the great overestimation of the number of true homosexuals,|| similarly Havelock Ellis calls true homosexuality "a relatively rare phenomenon."¶ Kraepelin and Fürbringer likewise regard the assertions of Ulrichs about the frequency of homosexuality "considerably exaggerated."** It is very significant that Effertz, whose writings be-

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*Jäger, *"Ein bisher ungedrücktes Kapitel über Homosexualität aus der Entdeckung der Seele,"* in *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen,* 1900, II, p. 74.

†Joux, op. cit., p. 124.

‡Moll, op. cit., p. 148.

||Wollenberg, *"Uber die Grenzen der strafrechtlichen Zurechnungsfähigkeit bei psychischen Krankheitszuständen,"* in *Neurologisches Centralblatt,* 1899, no. 9.

¶*"Sexual Inversion,"* p. 1.

**Op. cit., p. 192.

speak great clinical experience, claims never yet to have seen a true homosexual.* So perhaps the statement of the intermediate "Count Cajus" that to ten thousand men there is one intermediate has more claim to accuracy than have those of his fellow sufferers. Finally we must not overlook the fact that heterosexuals too, and even students of *psychopathia sexualis* tend to deceive themselves about the number of the homosexuals in that they frequently interpret feminine appearance, vanity, fastidious dress, etc., as symptoms of homosexuality. I know several very feminine-looking men who are the greatest lovers of women and who would repel the thought of homosexual intercourse with indignation and repugnance. We must judge cautiously in this connection too. All in all, the endeavors to pump up intermediatism artificially to a great social importance are not supported by facts. Fortunately homosexual relations do not take such a place in social life and the life of the state as is claimed by the exaggerated fancies of the *urnings* and their literary spokesmen. On the contrary,it cannot be stressed often enough that homosexuals, according to the verdict of qualified authorities, represent a constantly diminishing fraction of the population, and that intermediatism absolutely is not so conspicuous in social life as is claimed. If the proposition that sexual inversion is a natural manifestation is to be proved by the great number of persons so affected the case is invalidated by the actual facts. At most homosexuality may be a rare "sport of nature"; it certainly is not a natural manifestation equal in importance to normal love.

Most homosexuals who consider their condition "congenital" base this supposition on the recollection that they felt homosexual impulses in earliest childhood. The occurrence of such

childish impulses does not, however, prove natal predisposition. We know that impressions of a sexual character received in childhood can plant themselves so firmly as later to pass for originary, congenital. The imagination of the adult is able to free itself readily of such accidental impressions, the imagination of the child is permanently possessed by them. How many trivial episodes of childhood, sexual or not, remain vivid in memory, while important events of later times are forgotten! We can say that indeed the first impressions and influences of *vita sexualis* may be of drastic importance for the character it later takes. *La première flétrissure* often gives the tone to the entire emotional life. Tarnowsky's classic account of the development of homosexuality in puberty finds a place here. In my opinion it presents the prototype for the usual genesis of homosexuality.

"Violent, at times morbidly intensified sexual excitement beginning with puberty and remaining unsatisfied; an urge for embraces, caresses; sleeping two in a dormitory bed—these facilitate the first seduction. Habit and the instinct of imitation later have their share. The older, stronger, more skilful schoolboy becomes the model of the weaker, younger. Under the influence of example, of the wish not to be left behind, to show their audacity, the poor little fellows conquer their repugnance to the dirty act, kindle their minds with images of women, and tolerate pederasty. The more frequently such abnormal processes are repeated the more the normal, healthy activity of the sex sense is distorted under the influence of the acquired habit. At first, great exertion of the imagination is necessary; the image of a woman has to be evoked; the reality is regarded as unpleasant, but as the only possible way of appeasing the intensified excitement. Yet in time the feel-

ing of disgust gradually decreases, the reality comes more and more to take the place of the phantasy and finally can produce the usual excitement even without it. In dream as well as in the waking state sexual excitement, through habit, is associated with the image of passive pederasty. The image of woman, on the other hand, loses its glamor, and the ideal of feminine beauty is altered. More delight is found in women who resemble men, with cropped hair, undeveloped breasts, narrow pelvis. When the vicious habit is firmly fixed, woman loses completely the ability to excite sexual desire. The developed active pederast becomes completely impotent toward women, or at any rate loses the ability to practise copulation normally."*

That is the typical history of the homosexual from initiation to the establishment of permanent perversion.

To be sure, there are introductions earlier than these described by Tarnowsky. Von Schrenck-Notzing mentions a case in which the patient at the age of four accidentally saw his father's *membrum* and since then had had an engrossing preoccupation with male genitals. As secondary developments from this, in connection with onanism, came an interest in naked masculine figures and finally homosexuality. "The undifferentiated sex impulse was thus directed, by external causes and by a retroactive effect of onanistic habits, toward pathological inversion."† Similarly a six-year-old boy developed homosexuality after manipulation of his genitals by an older comrade and subsequent onanism.‡ Mutual onanism in childhood by persons of the same sex decidedly fosters homo-

*Tarnowsky, op. cit., pp. 63-4.
†Von Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., pp. 288-9.
‡Ibid., p. 182.

sexuality. Dr. J. Agrippa observes, "I have told what frightful proportions the disease assumed at the age of puberty. The boy who has become addicted to the practises of onanism at this period is too often lost irrevocably. One fact to be noted is that, in many, the first needs of love which make themselves felt modify the vicious habits and, without extirpating them, regulate and control them in a singular way. The carnal infection then corrupts the intelligence, and we observe the rise of those montrous yet sincere loves which Plato and Virgil have idealized."*

Other causes for the development of homosexuality are to be sought in any circumstances which foster an unconquerable aversion to women. The proverb that abnormally ugly men often have astonishing success in love is to be taken *cum grano salis*. There are men of such repulsive ugliness that they must, from childhood, have felt the lack of woman's love, and so, unable to develop the natural instincts, have directed their emotions toward men. Michelangelo was so ugly that "in youth he never knew love, and was reduced to homosexual impulses which declared themselves in his sonnets to Tommaso Cavalieri, Luigi del Riccio, Cecchino Bracci. Rapturous poems addressed to Cavalieri, a Rape of Ganymede signed for him, merely show how the lonely man seeks consolation for the love of woman which has been denied him."† If we learn that surprisingly many homosexual men are married and have children,‡ hence practise heterosexual intercourse, the conclusion is not always to be drawn that they

*J. Agrippa, *"La Première Flétrissure,"* Paris, 1877. p. 37.
†R. Muther, *"Geschichte der Malerei,"* Leipzig, 1899, III, p. 63; p. 67.
‡More than half the homosexuals are said to be married. See Moll, *"Libido Sexualis,"* I, pp. 237-8.

married in spite of their homosexuality, but, frequently, that long cohabitation with incompatible spouses has disappointed their expectations, given them an aversion to woman in general, and driven them to men. Frequently then, as in cases previously mentioned, relations formed in youth are resumed. Effertz has a peculiar theory about the cause of uranism in men and women who formerly practised heterosexual intercourse. He thinks that those "who find in the other sex no understanding of their sexual friction-need seek it in their own sex."* One noteworthy case in which illness of the wife was the cause of active pederasty of the man is reported by Cramer.†

The fear of venereal disease is a not rare cause of homosexual practises. Tarnowsky reports, "Pederasts are generally inclined to believe that venereal infection cannot be produced by sodomy (that is, pedication), and by this motive some explain their passion for that way of gratifying the sex impulse."‡ Even the syphilitic thinks he cannot infect another by pedication.|| The superstition extends to the pedication of woman. Ricord tells of a woman with anal chancre, who confessed to him that her husband had sores on his penis and that for fear of infecting her had had intercourse with her *a praepostera venere.*¶

Often passive pederasty originates in an abnormal condition of the anal region, making this an erogenous zone.

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*Effertz, op. cit., p. 191.
†Cramer, op. cit., p. 963.
‡Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 92.
||Von Krafft-Ebing, *"Drei Konträrsexuale vor Gericht,"* in *Jahrbuch für Psychiatrie,* 1900. XIX, no. 2, case 3.
¶P. Ricord, *"Briefe über Syphilis,"* translated by C. Liman, Berlin, 1851, p. 36.

Mantegazza supposes that an anatomic anomaly underlies this condition: "Anatomists know the structure of the spinal nerves involved in coitus and what close relations exist between nerves which lead to the rectum and those which lead to the genitals. I believe that an anatomic anomaly at times diverts the latter branch of the nerves to the rectum; therefore the excitement of them causes the *pathici* that irritation which in normal cases can be caused only by the genitals. I remember very well a great writer telling me that he was not at all sure whether he experienced greater pleasure in coitus or in defecation."* Effertz thinks even that in such cases the entire *nervus pudendus* does not reach the *glans penis* at all but terminates in the pelvis.† (I strongly question this). Normal connections between the nerves of the anus and those of the penis (*plexus pudendo-haemorrhoidalis*) might explain the whole phenomenon. Also local affections of the anal region, like true *pruritus ani* and the symptomatic *pruritus ani* in eczema, haemorrhoidal conditions, *oxyuris vermicularis* and others, might cause an erogenous zone to be established there. First these sensations lead to anal masturbation. This is done *cum digito* or by putting objects *in anum.* Long continued onanistic practises of this sort can gradually produce a permanent sexual perversion, as sexual gratification is obtained only in this way and is sought in sexual intercourse, that is, in passive pederasty.

Hammond tells of a young cigar salesman in New York who from the age of seven was in the habit of thrusting objects *in anum* in order to obtain a sensual excitation. He claimed to have hit upon the idea after watching the coitus of a dog

*Mantegazza, Sexual Relations of Mankind—Falstaff Press.
†Effertz, op. cit., p. 183.

with a bitch, as he supposed the act was anal. First he inserted a wooden pencil, which caused him pain but also a peculiar pleasant sensation at the same time. He repeated the process after a few days with an oiled toothbrush handle which afterward he used very frequently for that purpose. At ten he let other boys pedicate him. In consequence of continued passive pederasty he feminized himself in his external appearance more and more, wore feminine clothing and took a feminine name, and never experienced the slightest impulse toward women.* Von Schrenck-Notzing reports a similar case of early anal masturbation by means of a pencil, with subsequent development of homosexual desires.†

Frequently anal masturbation and consecutive passive pederasty are taken up in later life simply as new means of excitation and sexual gratification. The Paris prostitutes very frequently have to practice anal masturbation on their clients; it is known as *l'épée de Charlemagne* (*introductio digiti*) and *effeuille des roses* (*lambitus ani*). Often it is effected also by means of an artificial *membrum virile* (called *gaude-mihi, godemiché*). From that to passive pederasty is only a step. In fact Taxil reports that there are many brothel customers who *in coitu cum femina* have themselves pedicated at the same time by the pimp.‡ This practise naturally develops, very frequently, a homosexual intercourse which may turn the formerly heterosexual profligate into a typical *urning*. Such occurrences were quite frequent in classic antiquity.|| In

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*Hammond, op. cit., pp. 34-40.
†Op. cit., pp. 297 ff.
‡Taxil, op. cit., pp. 223-3; p. 245.
||The passage in Petronius' "Satyricon" is well known. There is exhaustive discussion of anal masturbation in antiquity in Part II of my *"Ursprung der Syphilis."*

other countries, too, these peculiar preliminary steps to pederasty are known. I remember a passage in Bernal Diaz del Castillo's History of the Conquest of Mexico telling how the ancient Mexicans, to procure a special pleasure, put tubes in their *ani* and had wine poured through these. It made them drunk; probably, however, the chief consideration was not the alcoholic intoxication but the sensual titillation. Of a similar nature is the notorious "anal violin" of the Chinese, mostly used by worn-out old men in a bestially sophisticated way which is sufficiently evident from the name.* The impotent often resort to this peculiar excitation means, whose connection with passive pederasty has already been explained.†

Other *impeti* to the anal region, as especially those provided by flagellation, can create there an erogenous zone of great influence in turning the later *vita sexualis* toward homosexuality. Another of the correlations of homosexuality and flagellation is the fact that pederasts naturally are excited erotically by seeing the nates and seek to obtain a sight of them by administering flagellation. Doppet has stressed vigorously the bad effects of flagellation in its important etiologic relation to the genesis of pederasty. He says, "I concede that corporal punishment is sometimes necessary for children, but must the blows be applied to the buttocks? In the first six years of life we learn that we must keep the private parts concealed, and then at this tender age our teacher himself compels us to unbutton our breeches, take off our shirts, and expose our nakedness. I noticed frequently enough in my school days that the thin, ill-favored boys very rarely had to take their turn. The evil custom of applying the blows to the buttocks gives occa-

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*See "Untrodden Fields of Anthropology," I, p. 99.
†Moll, op. cit., I, p. 828.

sion for administering the castigation very frequently with the bare hand. The children thus learn to perform this service for each other reciprocally. Violence to the private parts excites sensuality, and propriety and virtue are gone forever. Boys who receive a public education become communally ribald, when this kind of punishment is in use among them. They caress each other reciprocally, and all too readily become pederasts as are found in such numbers in the Jesuit cloisters."* The correctness of this observation of an experienced physician of the eighteenth century, when castigation was frequently administered in the free-and-easy fashion described, is confirmed in the following case reported by Hammond.

"That passion (pederasty) first appeared in him when he was twelve years old, and quite suddenly. He was violently punished in school for a silly prank and shortly afterward experienced such peculiar sensations in his genital organs as he had never known before, simultaneously with an erection which lasted over half an hour." Since then the glutaeal region had had an irresistible attraction for him. He practised active and passive pederasty with other boys, became completely homosexual and had a strong aversion to the other sex.†

That homosexuals frequently have the lust for flagellation Tarnowsky also testifies. Obviously this is to be traced back to childhood impressions.‡ Many flagellants are fond of artificially effeminating their masculine victims, dressing them in women's clothes, a practise which must contribute to the in-

*Doppet, op. cit., pp. 402-3.
†Hammond, op. cit., pp. 41-2.
‡Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 89.

culcation of perverse instincts in the boys. Frusta tells: "I knew a Hungarian cavalry captain who delighted in having the cornets and cadets whipped; he was even more fond of whipping girls whom with more or less justification he could accuse of some offense. This passion grew on him so that he had some young men, whom he liked very well, dressed in girls' clothes, had them beaten or beat them himself, addressing them meanwhile by feminine names, calling Louis 'Louise' and Joseph 'Josephine.' "* At a festival of the Muras of the Magellan Straits to celebrate the accession of the boys to puberty, the men ranged themselves in pairs according to choice and beat each other with long belts made of the hide of the tapir or the manatee, until the blood came. According to Martius these whippings were acts of love and declarations of homosexual relations.†

Frusta points out that feminine homosexuality too is often produced by flagellation. He reports a trial of several young girls of fourteen to seventeen who had developd into tribades only as a result of flagellation by older women.‡ Certain young French girls "beat each other with rose twigs in the garden, and enacted Milesian postures."** Jouy describes a similar scene in his *"Galérie des Femmes,"* (Paris, 1799).

We have already seen that the artificial effemination of man plays a certain role in the genesis of homosexuality. It is of interest to know what the intermediates think of the effeminate man. Ulrichs has described this type in a poem *"Der*

*Frusta, *"Der Flagellantismus und die Jesuitenbeichte," Stuttgart,* 1846, p. 307.

†C. F. P. von Martius, *"Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens,"* I, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 110 ff.

‡Frusta, op. cit., pp. 264-5.

**Ibid., p. 268.

Weibling," which contains the following lines:

Weibling, Werk der Natur, von erschaffenden Händen gebildet!
Dir ist des Leibes Geschlecht Mann und die Seele ist Weib.
Weiblich ist dir das Gemüt und das Herz und der dürstenden Seele
Sehnsuchtsvolles Erglühn; weiblich das Beben der Brust.
Hauchte ja doch die Natur selbst über den Körper die Zartheit,
Hauchte den Weichheitsduft, den sie dem Weibe verlieh.
Dir blüh'n rosig die Wangen, so hold, wie Wangen der Jungfrau;
Feucht wie Jungfraunblick schmachtet in Tränen das Aug'.
Zartsinn deine Natur. Dein Wesen errötende Anmut,
Wie sie des Männergeschlechts rauhere Herzen bestrickt.

Woman-man, fashioned by the creative hands of Nature,
your body is masculine, feminine your soul.
Feminine your mind and heart and yearning and aspiration,
feminine the palpitation of your breast.
Nature herself breathed over your body the tenderness,
the delicacy which is woman's bouquet.
Your cheeks bloom pink, pure as the cheeks of the virgin.
Tears well to your eyes, free as the virgin's tears.
Gentleness is your nature, blushing charm your being
such as ensnares the coarser hearts of men.*

There are feminine-looking men who fit the ideal here described, but whether they are always "women-men," that is, homosexual, I strongly doubt. Many men of somewhat ef-

*K. H. Ulrichs, *"Auf Bienchens Flügeln. Ein Flug um den Erdball in Epigrammen und poetischen Bildern."* Leipzig, 1875, pp. 121-2.

feminate *habitus* have thoroughly heterosexual impulses, indeed are passionate lovers of women and are just as passionately loved by women. Reality very frequently gives the lie to the theory of *anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa.* Havelock Ellis ("Sexual Inversion") has ascertained that most homosexuals cannot say whether their emotions are like those of a man or of a woman. Consistent with this is the fact, which can be verified by the autobiographic statements of patients and the data of the investigators, that many homosexuals practise sexual intercourse now with women, now with men. This alternation is called "psycho-sexual hermaphroditism" today, and certain writers are fond of regarding it as congenital. This explanation is hard to prove; the alternation would really seem to be symptomatic of a powerful "titillation hunger." In this connection it is interesting that Kurella characterizes the prostitute as a type of invert. The fact that "prostitutes so frequently incline to homosexuality, and that in them the tertiary characteristics of woman are very often only weakly developed while those of man are often developed unmistakably," according to Kurella is evidence that prostitution represents "a not yet complete inversion of woman" comparable to the psycho-sexual hermaphroditism of man. "Let him to whom that seems a paradox remember clearly two unmistakable qualities of prostitutes, their lack of the feminine sense of honor, their lack of pleasure in normal sexual intercourse. Another element in the make-up of the prostitute must indeed be considered: social parasitism. But reflect that the social energy of a human being springs for the most part from his sex life."*

*H. Kurella, *"Zum biologischen Verständnisse der somatischen und psychischen Bisexualität,"* in *Centralblatt für Nervenheilkunde,* 1896, XIX, p. 239.

Ingenious and tempting as this concept—obviously influenced by Lombroso's theory of prostitution—may appear at first sight, it is untenable, in my opinion.

That prostitutes very often are inclined to homosexuality (see below) is true enough. This, however, is not because of somatic conditions, but is developed by the growing repugnance against intercourse with men, and by the intimate association with their fellow-prostitutes—for only toward these, not toward other women, is their homosexual urge directed—and by the deep solidarity which makes all prostitutes natural friends. If the prostitute were homosexual from congenital predisposition, or even merely by an inversion begun in childhood, she would certainly feel genuine passion also for feminine non-prostitutes, as is almost never the case. The underdevelopment of the tertiary feminine characteristics in prostitutes is much more frequently a result of their profession than a reason for choosing it. Most prostitutes have done more or less violence to the functions of the feminine body, have completely disordered their sex life, and are sterile. It is no wonder that at times this is evident in their external appearance, for instance in the under-development of the breasts, which frequently are actually atrophied. The "unmistakable development" of masculine tertiary characteristics in individual prostitutes is due mainly to an assumption of masculine ways of living and masculine habits which in the long run cannot fail to influence the constitution, such for instance as smoking and the excessive indulgence in alcohol, the café life. The "deep masculine voice" of many prostitutes is perhaps only a result of copious indulgence in nicotine and alcohol. At any rate most young prostitutes are of thoroughly feminine appearance. Not until more advanced age does the above delin-

eated type usually emerge; therefore it is evidently a product of external influence. The "lack of pleasure" in normal intercourse, which Kurella remarkably postulates as a sign of psychosexual inversion, is certainly only a result of having to indulge the lusts of countless men. The prostitute, to earn a living, must give herself to every man, old or young, good-looking or ugly, ill or well, potent or impotent, must often perform, or permit to be performed on herself, the most disgusting practises, many times a day. It is no wonder that she manifests "lack of pleasure."

Quite rightly Kurella also makes "social parasitism" responsible for the physical deterioration of the prostitutes. Prostitution simply is produced by purely external factors rooted in social conditions. The prostitutes themselves are subject, somatically too, to the influences of this parasitism, which they incorporate. This explanation suffices perfectly without invocation of "congenital predisposition" and of purely somatic factors.

Just so, the real "woman-man" is mostly a product of training. That such change of sex is by no means an impossibility is proved by the important fact that even every normal person in moments of heterosexual ecstasy may be seized by the fugitive desire to identify himself entirely with the loved person, to become one with her, to be transformed into her. "To be one flesh" expresses this wish in the purely material aspect. Behind it, however, are also the psychic desires. In these would seem to be the original, the anthropologic source of the motives which produce the sexual metamorphosis of the homosexual. Another manifestation of these is the fact that even in the normal sex act the woman often plays the role of the man, the man that of the woman, even among quite primitive

peoples.* In such moments the normal person, too, is a "psychosexual hermaphrodite."

Thus we can readily understand the powerful effect of external influences toward effemination. If a man devotes himself constantly to a feminine occupation, is constantly obliged to appear in a woman's role, to portray feminine character, feminine feeling, gradually these activities must feminize him more and more. Effemination makes itself evident not only in the *psyche* but also in the physical appearance. Apposite here is Fränkel's case of the *homo mollis* who from doing feminine tasks (sewing and knitting) at the bidding of his mother, became completely effeminate, plucked his beard, "put up" his hair, padded his breast and hips and behaved in every respect as a woman. His voice, naturally deep, became fine and high, and his gait mincing. He called himself Frederica and began to pursue men. He managed to deceive them so completely about his sex that they performed *coitus in anum* with him.† The implications of this significant case are confirmed by the statement of the director of the House of Correction in Brandenburg-Westphal that the performance of feminine tasks by men in the prison may finally cause feminine behavior.‡ Just so, it is no accident that female impersonators, that is, actors who play feminine roles on the stage, are almost always homosexual. The apparently purely external effemination can also transform the entire inner man.

An important role in the etiology of homosexuality is played,

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*In *"L'Ecole des Filles"* (Paris, 1655, p. 138) the wish *"se transformer l'un dans l'autre"* is the cause given for this exchange of the role *in coitu*.

†Fränkel, *"Homo mollis,"* in *Medicinische Zeitung des Vereins für Heilkunde in Preussen,* 1853, XXII, p. 102.

‡Von Schrenck-Notzing, op. cit., p. 178.

further, by the misogyny of the profligate and the pleasure seeker. Long ago Burdach wrote, "Aversion of man to woman is quite usual after immoderate indulgence, and we find even more frequently that the voluptuary is indifferent to women, despises them, or even hates them."*

According to Cramer, woman can no longer stimulate the roué when he has exhausted all the pleasures. "Here again it is the titillation hunger (Hoche), the desire for new variations, which drives them to homosexual intercourse. That by such individuals, many of them thoroughly depraved, simulation in the sense of the Krafft-Ebing theory is attempted and easily accomplished is readily comprehensible if we rely only on this symptomatology."† Wollenberg, too, considers homosexuality in most cases the result of a vicious sex life.‡ Joux reports demoralization in certain highly fashionable London clubs in which peers and newsboys, dukes and bakers' boys meet. These peers are absolutely not "unfortunates, but profligates of the profligates, who having enjoyed the feminine sex to satiation have turned to the masculine youth in order, like the pederasts of Hellas, to regenerate themselves."||

For the origin of homosexuality through external influences perhaps the best evidence is the fact of the epidemic spread of pederasty among a morally pure people after contact with demoralized nations. The Greeks became acquainted with pederasty through contact with the Asiatic Orient and them-

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*K. F. Burdach, *"Die Physiologie als Erfahrungswissenschaft,"* Leipzig, 1826, I. p. 450.

†Cramer, op. cit., p. 964.

‡*Neurologisches Centralblatt,* 1899, no. 9.

||Joux, op. cit., p. 129.

selves introduced it into Rome. Just so, with the Persian influence the vice of boy love, originally unknown to them, spread among the Arabs, becoming shockingly general. After the Crusades the pederasty of the Orient was introduced into northwestern Europe and for the first time became indigenous there.*

It is no accident that we find an extreme salacity among homosexuals. In all their autobiographies the inordinately powerful sexual urge of the *urnings* and *tribades* is conspicuous. Otto de Joux observes, "The most ardent lover would probably rather give up his adored one than, for the sake of his passion, plunge himself into infamy, let himself be led into ignominous captivity. Not so the real son of Eve, the real daughter of Adam. The feminine intermediates, especially, say that one must have tasted their passion with one's own senses and nerves, must have experienced in oneself the tremendous excitations which it offers, in order to know its seductive, intoxicating poison, in comparison with which ordinary love is pale and feeble."† "The male Messalinas outdo in cynicism and forced graciousness the most brazen Laïs."‡

The glowing sensuality and intense sexual excitability which very frequently are in advance of the actual development of homosexual desires must possess etiologic importance for the genesis of the latter. The salacity of the homosexuals declares itself also in the striking frequency of lascivious dreams. Näcke believes it is possible to utilize the dream-content for diagnosis, as the real homosexual will always have homosexual dreams, but the psycho-sexual hermaphrodite

*Hellwald, p. 508; Schrenck-Notzing, p. 147; Dufour, IV, 46.
†Op. cit., p. 161.
‡Ibid., p. 127.

will have now homo- now heterosexual ones.* The latter, too, will be characteristic of acquired, the former of congenital homosexuality. Can we really conclude from the purely homosexual content of dreams a congenital predisposition toward homosexuality? As we have seen that homosexual sensations can originate in external "occasional" causes in earliest childhood and permanently distort the sense life, exclusively homosexual dream content can also be dictated by the sensations of thus acquired homosexuality, and not necessarily by a congenital condition. However Näcke's discovery of the importance of dreams for the diagnosis of the different sexual anomalies in the heuristic respect is very valuable and deserves great attention.

The principal etiologic factor, the chief cause of the spread of pederasty, is represented by the intermediates and the male prostitutes themselves. Most homosexuals find satisfaction only in sexual intercourse with normal persons of the same sex, whom they attempt to seduce for this purpose. "In seduction lies almost the entire and only danger of this excess. Almost every homosexual leads astray some persons previously indifferent, who thus are deprived, for the future, of a certain courage to seek woman. Anxiety inhibits erection, and the victim, tortured with self-reproach and unnerved by vice, shuns the natural gratification of the sex impulse forever."† The danger is greatest for children and immature youths, those whose sexual senses are still of undecided nature or not awakened at all. It is a sad fact that many inter-

*P. Näcke, *"Die forensische Bedeutung der Träume,"* in *Zeitschrift für Kriminal-Anthropologie,* 1900, V, no. 1; and *"Die sexuelle Perversionen in der Irrenanstalt,"* in *Wiener klinische Rundschau,* 1899, no. 29-30.

†K. Kautzner, op. cit., p. 160.

mediates are most attracted to boys young enough to retain some feminine characteristics, and form sexual unions with such children, which can be of terrible consequence for the latter. "Pederasty," says Tarnowsky, "and especially senile pederasty does great harm to society, chiefly to children and young boys."* Even Ulrichs cannot overlook the fact that "even a satiated old sinner of an *urning* can still perhaps be stimulated by an immature boy."† Evidence for this fact and its frequency is the existence of an extensive boy prostitution in southern Europe (Naples) and in the Orient (Constantinople).‡ Many *urnings* are attracted only to adult heterosexual men, and say expressly that they find no pleasure in other *urnings*.|| Ulrichs goes so far as to preach unlimited freedom of *urnings* in intercourse with normal men, whom he calls *"dionings."* He even demands that the heterosexual at times "voluntarily repress" his natural desire for woman and his repugnance to homosexual intercourse and "vouchsafe to the beseeching intermediate the boon of love." For "Nature gave man the wonderful ability to impart not only to woman but also to the *urning* the pure ecstasy of love consummation, that is, the complete satisfaction of natural sexual needs spiritual as well as physical; thus Nature intended him not for woman alone but just as much for the *urning* too."¶ He then follows up this monstrous claim in a note, "Whenever I saw a lusty young fellow so truly in the bloom of youth, vigor and beauty, pining in vain, the thought rose in me, it is certainly contrary

*Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 79.
†Ulrichs, *"Argonauticus,"* Leipzig, 1869, p. 43.
‡Compare also the case of systematic boy-corruption, Tarnowsky, op. cit., p. 100.
||Moll, op. cit., I, p. 62.
¶K. H. Ulrichs, *"Ara spei. Moralphilosophische und socialphilosophische Studien über urnische Liebe,"* Leipzig, 1898.

to God's will that you, by your social arrangements, that is by prosecuting and stigmatizing uranian love, prevent him from fulfilling his second natural destiny, perhaps even from knowing, indeed from suspecting what it is. You permit him to fulfil only his first destiny, that of imparting love to woman. From his other, that of giving love to us, too, you wrest him away. To how many *urnings* could he, by a single embrace, restore lost peace of mind, to how many could he be healing balm! Yes, perhaps he too has a sympathetic heart, he would perhaps be ready to put me back in paradise by a handshake, a look, a smile! But as it is, all his charms, all these splendid and wonderful abilities must fade and wither away, of no avail to us." As to the incredible demand which Ulrichs here has the presumption to make, Rudolf Virchow was absolutely right in asking Ulrichs, in a letter of August 19, 1864, "Do you not realize that you are attacking the dignity of man when you would have him perform a 'service' for which he most decidedly is not 'destined by nature'?" (Ibid p. 72). Ulrich's postulation of "the second natural destiny" of the normal man to give himself to the intermediate as well as to woman justifies the vehemence of the attack by A. Geigel (*"Paradoxon der Venus Urania"*) against this demand reminiscent of the conditions in ancient Hellas.

The fact is that intermediates thrust themselves on heterosexual men in all possible ways, sometimes trying to seduce them by passing themselves off as women. "This intermediate is compelled to appear as a woman in order to satisfy his sexual desires. As is true of so many others, he has not the slightest desire for other *urnings*. He is attracted by sexually normal men with heavy growth of beard; he attempts, by feminine garb, rubber breasts, feminine deportment, to make them think that he is a woman. Very frequently men are thus de-

ceived and let themselves be seduced into sexual intercourse."* Thus *urnings* systematically draw normal men away from their "natural destiny" as Virchow points out in the letter quoted above: "You are so selfish as to plead only for yourself and to prostitute your beloved to the depravation of his nature."† Frequently these men never marry, but continue intercourse with their homosexual seducers. De Joux reports a case: "Josef, although by nature not an *urning,* loves his Guido passionately. He has sworn never to marry."‡

Not only because of extortion is male prostitution more dangerous than female. There are men and boys who prostitute themselves to *urnings* and to masculine profligates to make money, certainly, but without any idea of blackmail. Ulrichs, too, sharply distinguishes these ordinary male prostitutes from those who ply the shameful trade only for the sake of extortion.|| That of the first mentioned group some who originally perhaps were pseudo-homosexuals in time graduate as genuine intermediates cannot be questioned. To that extent male prostitution, too, has importance for the etiology of homosexuality.

A certain etiologic interest is offered also by the circumstance that pedication (*immissio membri in anum*) very often is connected with pederasty. Many *urnings,* and yet more their literary champions, will not admit this, and claim that sexual intercourse between homosexuals is limited to caresses, *coitus inter femora,* and *fellatio;* they do not reflect that the latter

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*Moll, op. cit., pp. 159-160; pp. 253-4.
†Ulrichs, *"Ara spei,"* p. 55.
‡De Joux, op. cit., p. 176.
||*"Ara spei,"* p. 51.

act is at least as repulsive as the pedication they deny. Aretino, in the *"Ragionamento dello Zoppino,"* speaking of "fascinations of the buttocks," thus points to the real motive for numerous homosexual relations. From the very fact of the extreme salacity of most homosexuals it might be assumed that they will utilize all possible means of gratification, hence pedication too. Reliable data confirm this. Fürbringer observes, "The latter (pedication) is described as relatively rare; so it may be accident that of half a dozen *urnings* four were pederasts."* Havelock Ellis found among thirty-one homosexuals thirteen cases of pedication, a much greater number than he had expected; he adds in a note that in the former edition he could point to pedication in more than half the cases as the *modus* of the sexual intercourse.† A patient of Moll likewise declares that sixty percent of the homosexuals perform pedication. Active and passive pederasty occur very frequently, according to this authority whose laboratory was his own body.‡ In another case reported by Moll pedication was the usual means of gratification.|| A proof for the great frequency of pedication is also its extraordinary prevalence among the homosexuals of antiquity, as is shown with documentation in Part II of my *"Ursprung der Syphilis."*

Eulenburg's report that in the brothels there are "popular women specialists in anal coitus,"¶ and Taxil's descriptions of this and of *l'épée de Charlemagne* would seem to confirm the conclusion that pedication among homosexuals is frequent, that even the intermediate sometimes uses the man as

*Fürbringer, op. cit., p. 125.
†"Sexual Inversion," second edition, 1901, p. 166.
‡*"Konträre Sexualempfindung,"* pp. 237-8.
||*"Libido sexualis,"* I, p. 148.
¶Eulenburg, op. cit., p. 100.

"woman."

The etiologic factors of feminine homosexuality, tribadism, Lesbian love, are similar to those of masculine inversion, except that purely Platonic relations between women are found more frequently than between men. Friendship between men never reaches the degree of intimacy of that between women, who at once entrust their most intimate being to each other. According to Welcker the friendships of the women of the romantic period manifested this character of Platonic love. When the dominance of Romanticism "moved the susceptible youth in the most various ways, in more than one morally austere circle two feminine friends would be found, so inseparable and so indispensable to each other that their acquaintances often joked about them for 'being in love with each other,' although a worse suspicion would have been out of the question."* One kind of Platonic tribades are those described by Catulle Mendès as *protectrices,* in a sketch of that title. These are aristocrat ladies who permit themselves the luxury of a *protégée,* mostly a young girl in a theater. During the performance they exchange glances; they go driving; the "protectress" pays the bills. The affair consists of distant adoration and imitation without physical connection.

Eulenburg is perhaps the first to point out definitely that in the majority of cases feminine homosexuality is acquired and not "congenital."† Frequently so-called "Sapphism," the mu-

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*F. G. Welcker, *"Ueber die Oden der Sappho,"* in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie,* new series, 1856, XI, p. 237. These are the relations aptly described by the well known phrase of Brantôme, "an apprenticeship for the love of man." Real tribadism mostly does not develop until after acquaintance with the latter.

†Op. cit., p. 144.

tual masturbation of the clitoris *cum digito et lingua,* about which and its consequences Martineau and Moraglia have written extensively, is a preliminary stage of real tribadism.

The *masseuses* in the great capitals have not only, as is often assumed, the patronage of men, they number many women, especially of higher social position, in their clientele; these visit them to indulge in active or passive Sapphism. "The Lesbians let themselves be carried away into the practise of Sapphic love either because of inordinate sensuality or because of the moral or material considerations which frighten them out of having sexual intercourse with men."* Sapphism need not be identified with homosexuality, but if long practised may lead to it. Thus tribadic love relations develop in girls' boarding schools, among factory women, even, according to Martineau, very often in the women's wards of hospitals. Prison is "the great school of tribadism." (*Parent-Duchatelet*). A second etiologic factor of genuine tribadism is satiation, repugnance to intercourse with man. This explains the extreme frequency of homosexuality among prostitutes. The constant compulsion to gratify the bestial sensuality of blasé men of pleasure by the most disgusting practises finally gives them an unconquerable repugnance to masculinity, so that they apply all their tender feelings to their own sex. Eulenburg observes, "The apparent prevalence of the homosexual *parerosia* even in the circls of the *haute cocotterie* and especially among the inmates of the most luxurious and expensive lupanars is obviously due to the fact that these creatures, who must continuously cater to the most varied erotic perversions of the masculine world, must give themselves on order to all possible filthy and cruel acts, in time contract a repugnance

*Moraglia, op. cit., p. 25.

to man and to heterosexual intercourse; thus homosexual union with each other appears to them in a certain ideal light, as something higher, purer, and more innocent."* The tribade Claudine in Georg Keben's story *"Unmögliche Liebe"* (in *"Unter Frauen, Pariser Geschichten,"* Jena, 1901) says, "Because I hate men I console our sex. Men love so coarsely. For them love must be white hot like an iron in the fire. Believe me, there is a considerate devotion which transcends man. In it there is no dishonor, but infinite tenderness." Similar motives drove the heroine of Zola's "Nana" to tribadism. Most tribades are found in brothels, therefore, because in such places the etiologic factor just discussed is most operative and many such women are in intimate association.† However, ladies of the higher *demi-monde* and of the aristocracy become tribades for similar reasons. The theater has always furnished an important contingent of disciples of Sappho. Martineau, who has studied the physical alterations of the feminine genitals by *Amor Lesbicus* says that this is becoming ever more widespread, not only among prostitutes but also among married women and girls.

To this spread of tribadism the homosexual women themselves contribute most. Martineau distinguishes two types of tribadism, the permanent and the intermittent.

The woman practising Lesbian love only at intervals is the victim of an intense titillation hunger. She has recourse to tribadic practises as a new, more refined excitation to inflame her blasé senses. For her purposes a tribadic prostitution is

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*Eulenburg, op. cit., pp. 143-4.

†The brothel keepers mostly encourage the tribadic loves of the prostitutes as keeping them from having intercourse with pimps. L. Martineau, *"Leçons sur les Déformations Vulvaries et Anales,"* Paris, 1885, p. 21.

available. In Paris it has assumed great proportions. It is quartered in the brothels, in rooming houses, in perfume and glove shops, in *brasseries,* and the like, and its recruits are adult women and little girls of ten to fifteen who practise Sapphic manipulations for pay.* In the brothels, according to Taxil, the lowest rate for an act of Sapphism is two *louis d'or.* The number of the tribadic visitors to the brothels and to the Lesbian prostitutes is at present *"incalculable à Paris."*†

While the temporary tribades mostly obtain gratification from prostitutes, the permanent tribade is extremely dangerous to feminine innocence. "The *urninde,* often a veritable feminine Don Juan, once she has tasted the fiery joys of the love of Lesbos, casts aside all considerations, and with brutal determination and ardent zeal assails the virtue of lively virgins. Frequently she has little difficulty, as the dear weaker sex is indeed doubly weak when its sensuality is once wakened, if it knows itself entirely safe from all consequences of a misstep."‡ The tribades set about a seduction with such resoluteness and cunning as a man could never bring to bear. Moraglia gives an exhaustive description,|| and G. Keben in the short story cited before describes how Claudine, an older tribade, corrupts the innocent young Lorette to the very core.¶ Tribadism can spread like an epidemic, it can become a fad, as in J. de Vaudère's *"Les Demi-sexes."*

A peculiar role is frequently played by men in the etiology of tribadism. Voyeurs get the brothel inmates, who in this con-

*Martineau, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
†Taxil, op. cit., p. 258.
‡De Joux, op. cit., p. 25.
||Op. cit., pp. 27-8.
¶Sometimes prostitutes seduce other women to homosexual love, as is described in *"Comment cela commence,"* by R. O'Monroy.

nection are known by the choice name of *puces travailleuses,* to exhibit various poses and practises of tribadism.* Even—*horribile dictu*—husbands, as a sadistic indulgence, compel their wives to subject themselves to Sapphism and other tribadic maneuvers in the brothels and special places. Martineau reports that many decent women have been turned into tribades in this way and developed permanent homosexual desires.†

In my opinion a quite serious etiologic factor in the genesis of tribadism is the modern feminist movement, which makes woman rely on herself alone, and fosters masculine characteristics, an intimate solidarity of women, an *esprit de corps* which is essentially different from that of men and of unemancipated women. It is the solidarity of "the third sex." Kurella too observes, "One finds not rarely among the champions of the present day feminist movement the conviction that woman does not need man and can solve all the problems of civilization without his help; this, often enough, is accompanied by an aversion to the whole male sex. Naturally the aversion develops into the conscious effort to seek erotic excitation and gratification from woman, not man; this is a very dangerous side of the feminist movement. Young girls, not yet sexually differentiated, can, under such influences, acquire incurable sexual perversities."‡ These feminine Strindbergs of the modern feminist movement have been portrayed by Elisabeth Dauthendey in her novel, *"Vom neuen Weibe und seiner Liebe; ein Buch für reife Geister,"* Berlin, 1900. The type is the character Nasti Tabera, "directress" of a great bank in northern Germany. She proclaims as her maxim of

*Taxil, op. cit., p. 229; p. 245.
†Op. cit., pp. 34-5.
‡Kurella, op. cit., p. 240.

life, "Man is something that must be got around." (P. 98).

At the same time this superwoman is consumed with desire for love. She finally makes a tribadic attempt of the most serious nature on her friend, but is successfully resisted. If such things are already being described, in modern novels written by women, as results of feminine emancipation, it must be conceded that the feminist movement has indeed these dangers within it.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN — PRACTICAL PROCEDURES AS REGARDS STRANGE SEXUAL PRACTISES

We have learned that in the great majority of cases homosexual love originates from external "occasional causes," that a congenital predisposition to it is improbable, or at any rate is very rare. The idea of a *prophylaxis* for homosexual aberrations is by no means chimerical, it has solid foundation in fact. We have learned, for instance, from von Schrenck-Notzing that homosexual love can be cured by psychic therapy. What can be cured can be prevented in the first place. However, even if "congenital" homosexuality really were frequent, human society must "demand the control of the impulse just as it demands the control of the impulse toward the opposite sex, specifically toward minors, and as it demands the control of the many impulses to possess oneself of the property of others."* Even Ulrichs acknowledges this and regards voluntary abstinence as "a morally justified solution of the uranistic conflict." The *urning,* he admits, has

*Von Schrenck-Notzing, *"Homosexualität und Strafrecht,"* in *Die Umschau,* 1898, no. 50, p. 837.

more reason for renunciation than has the *"dioning"* or the woman.* Kautzner, Cramer, and Hoche also make a similar demand of the homosexuals.**

Wonders can be accomplished by a good *prophylaxis,* which naturally must begin in childhood.† All harmful influences must be kept away. There must be no packing-together of persons of the same sex; no mutual onanism, no contact with sexually perverse individuals, no access to obscene books and pictures and places of ill repute. Every affectation in dress and deportment must be checked. Self-control must be developed. At puberty the more powerfully stirring sexual impulses should be diverted by physical exercise, not intensified by mental strain and long periods of sitting still. Casually, gradually, they must be directed toward the natural object of them, the opposite sex.

More will be accomplished by sane, reasonable explanation than by austerity and evasion, or, worse yet, euphemistic, veiled hints at the facts of *vita sexualis.* All sexual anomalies appearing in childhood, even if they have been acquired through external seduction, should be treated, for pedagogic and therapeutic reasons, as illnesses which can be cured only by the most circumspect and careful therapy. The quintessence of every regimen directed at the regulation of the sex impulse is that by every means the impulse may be prevented from engrossing the person and becoming the be-all and end-all of life.

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*"*Ara spei,*" p. 76.

**Op. cit. See also the very fine studies of A. Eulenburg in disproof of the harmful effects of sexual abstinence. Op. cit., pp. 14-15.

†A patient of Krafft-Ebing's believes that even "congenital" homosexuality can be cured by suggestion. Von Krafft-Ebing, op. cit., p. 279.

If we realize the intensity of the sex impulse, which often enough overwhelms the normal person too, and with which, according to the Indian doctrine, no other physical and mental impulse can be compared; if we regard the sex impulse and its aberrations as an anthropologic-ethnologic ubiquitous phenomenon; even if we do not accept the hypothesis of a diseased basis of *"psychopathia sexualis,"* we must be more lenient in our judgment of sexual deviation. Here above all the text applies, "Judge not that ye be not judged." A Protestant minister says with much justice, "The great majority of men and women who set themselves up for judges of morality themselves violate its commandments at every opportunity; they lie every minute of their lives; their attitude is based on hypocrisy and lies."* This leniency of judgment is decidedly not inconsistent with vigorous procedure against the antisocial consequences of sexual aberrations. Complete repeal of the well known Paragraph 175 of the Penal Code would be equivalent to an official sanction of homosexuality, which thus would have the status of equality with normal intercourse between men and women. This would contribute tremendously to the ruin of youth, the increase of sterility and of the male prostitution which at present exists only on a relatively small scale. The inevitable result would be progressive moral and physical deterioration of the human race. The state must vigorously suppress homosexuality in man and woman† if this is not to threaten the foundation of society, the normal sexual relations between man and woman. Even if the theories of Moll, Krafft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis as to

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**"Auch eine konventionelle Lüge. Studie über Liebe, Ehe, und Unsittlichkeit. Von einem evangelischn Geistlichen."* Leipzig, no date, p. 7.

†Oddly, Paragraph 175 says nothing about tribadism.

congenital predisposition to sexual inversion should finally be established as correct—and my investigations lead me to think that this is impossible—even if we had to deal with "degenerates" who were so from birth, legal measures to restrain them must still remain in force.

P. J. Möbius, whose brilliant and valuable writings have illuminated many obscure phases of the nerve- and psyche-life, fully justifies the punishment of degenerates. He says, "If criminals are designated as defectives, as degenerates, the objection is raised that such persons cannot equitably be punished but must be treated as sick. This is partly misunderstanding and quibble. Nobody denies that the wolf's behavior is wolf nature; we take beasts as they are and treat them accordingly. We ought to be just as dispassionate toward human beings. Crime should be prevented in as far as this is possible. First and foremost we should combat what tends to produce crime (especially alcohol, idleness, want), for the criminal disposition alone does not make the criminal, and on the other hand many in whom such native disposition is negligible are made criminals by 'occasional causes.' Hence there must be a threat of punishment for the forbidden actions. It is absurd to claim that the penal code has no restraining effect on criminal natures. Fear of punishment is an inadequate deterrent only when there is an extreme degree of degeneration or else when the 'occasional causes' are very powerful. The differences are only of degree, and if the penal laws were removed most persons would immediately commit forbidden actions. For just that reason we can identify the criminal only after the act, because only the act shows what is in the man; without an act there are only suppositions, probabilities. Naturally, punishment must follow upon the act, for

a penal law without penalty would be nonsense. Thus far we have made no fundamentally new demand. The degenerate, if he is not insane in the legal sense, must bear the consequences of his act like everybody else. The new demand that must be made is only that the punishment serve its purpose. If it is regarded as expiation or revenge, negative results must follow; if we view it as a necessary evil for the repression of evil impulses on one hand, for the protection of society on the other, we shall have firmness without cruelty and find the means of punishment which promise the relatively best results."* Even if, then, the homosexuals, without exception, were degenerate, they must still be made harmless, for the common welfare. This necessity is all the more imperative if, as we have hypothesized, homosexuality in the majority of cases is acquired through external influences, if it originates only in the universal human desire for variation in sex relations, and above all if it is preventable and curable.

If one homosexual can spread the infection and start many new cases, he must be segregated as a preventive measure. Certainly prison is—to put it mildly!—no curb to homosexuality. Rather, compulsory internment in special sanitariums would be indicated, where all therapeutic methods for the real extirpation of the wretched impulse could be applied. The only norm of judgment and of practical procedure in checking the spread of homosexuality must be the best interests of society. These would be served by a modification of Paragraph 175 along the lines traced or similar ones. Complete repeal would produce the most disastrous results.

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*P. J. Möbius *"Ueber Entartung,"* Wiesbaden, 1900, pp. 120-1.

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