

thing" for a time, secure in the knowledge that—unlike members of racial minorities—they could safely rejoin the mainstream when the time came. For much smaller numbers of people, of course, historic Bohemias had offered similar attractions. Here, as in the decaying inner cities of America, a small core of creative individuals was surrounded by a large mass of outcasts and the urban poor. Even though their travels in beatdom might only be temporary, graduates of the experience developed a degree of lasting estrangement from, or at least scepticism toward, the conventional pieties of the American Establishment. Among the views that were now brought into question was the automatic pigeonholing of sexual minorities as "sick."

In a larger sense, beat attitudes, with their stress on feeling instead of reason, are a manifestation of the perennial appeal of the Romantic reaction against Classical norms. The vagabond ideal of traveling lightly, with few possessions, has affinities with hobo life, with the gypsies, and ultimately with the "wandering scholars" of the Middle Ages. With its adoption of a variant of jive talk, largely derived from black urban speech, the movement has left a lasting impression on the English vernacular, as seen in such expressions as "cool," "spaced out," and "rip off." As has been noted, the stress on experiment and social unconventionality created a natural affinity with homosexuality, which had been marginalized by Anglo-Saxon culture. Because of this perceived link—and the vogue of such seductive slogans of the **polymorphous perverse** as "If it feels good, do it" and "Copulate, don't populate"—it is likely that many apprentice beatniks permitted themselves to delve into aspects of sexual variation that would otherwise have remained a sealed book to them.

In the 1970s hostile critics, and some who had outgrown their earlier enthusiasm, proclaimed with relief the demise of the hippie movement. Its themes

of rejection of worldly goods and the more materialistic aspects of the American dream seemed to be reversed by the yuppie trend. Yet insofar as hippiedom was only the latest manifestation of a recurring strand in Western civilization, celebration of its obsequies is unwarranted.

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BEAUTY COMPETITIONS

As a rule the heterosexual norms of the modern world have affirmed a dichotomy of physical contests: women may compete on the basis of beauty and charm, while men match their brawn and muscle development. The reason for this separation seems to be a fear of the consequences that could ensue if men were publicly adulated as sex objects. Ordinary language, for example, permits women to be called "beautiful," while men must be styled "handsome." Recently these distinctions have broken down, but only partially.

Ancient Greece. Greek mythology shows a number of competitions among women, notably the Judgment of Paris, which was won by Aphrodite, the goddess of love. In the daily life of ancient Greece, however, competitions among males were more important. There were three categories of these. The first, the *kallisteia*, were connected with cults and the winner had to perform a ritual for a deity. While character and deportment were significant, these contests seem to have been decided on the basis of physical beauty. The *euanthia* focused on athletic prowess where strength was important. Finally, the *euexia* stood somewhat between the two, emphasizing balance of form rather than physical strength as such. These events must be understood against the backdrop of several lasting features of Greek civilization: its agonistic (competitive) character, the famil-

iar display of the nude male body in the gymnasium, and the positive evaluation placed on the institution of pederasty in which the beauty of the beloved youth is a key component. The Romans seem to have had no equivalent, and the rise of Christianity, which prized modesty and prudery, put a stop to any public admiration of the body, whether male or female.

Modern Times. The Renaissance version of the medieval tournament seems to have sometimes given handsome young men a chance to impress powerful patrons, and even to gain the favor of such an exalted monarch as James I of England. However, these events were exceptional. In the nineteenth century the rise of athletics and the desire to escape the constrictions of Victorianism led to the physical culture movement. Among the first superstars of body building was Eugene Sandow, who seems to have been as notable for good looks as for muscles. As the rituals of this subculture developed, however, a simultaneous parallel and contrast emerged between physical culture events for men and beauty contests for women. A woman became, say, "Miss Norway" for comeliness and charm, while "Mr. Norway" was selected (or so it was maintained) exclusively on the basis of his hypertrophied muscles.

In due course several cracks in this edifice appeared. In the 1940s publishers of muscle magazines discovered that they could attract a homosexual clientele by emphasizing more sexy, somewhat less muscular models. In its own sphere the homosexual subculture had drag contests in which success in simulating the female was the criterion. With the coming of open gay liberation in the 1970s, "groovy guy" contests were sponsored by bars and gay organizations, but somehow the custom never went beyond the bar milieu. Male stripping ("burlesque") became common both for gay men and straight women patrons—though the purveyors of the latter entertainment have tried to keep men out, at least during certain hours, lest the

event "turn queer." At the same time the all-male domain of the muscle contest has been invaded by women body builders; how many of them are lesbians is unknown. The ambiguity that continues to envelop all these social phenomena seems to be rooted in the late-modern utopian longing for egalitarianism, with its characteristic difficulty in accepting the fact that human beings recognize a hierarchy of brain and beauty among their fellows, and in fact enjoy doing so.

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BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANA, MARQUIS (1738–1794)

Italian criminologist, economist, and jurist. Though of retiring disposition, he held several public offices in the Austrian government in Milan, the highest being counselor of state. Through the offices which he occupied and the books which he wrote he stimulated reforms throughout Europe, but especially in the sphere of penal law. His classic work on this subject was a small treatise entitled *Dei delitti e delle pene* [1764]. This book aroused such interest that further editions, translations, and commentaries appeared within a short time throughout Europe, and by the end of the eighteenth century the number of editions had climbed to sixty. Beccaria's critique of the criminal law and criminal procedure of the Old Regime was inspired by opposition to arbitrary rule, to cruelty and intolerance, and by the belief that no man had the right to take away the life of another human being.

His treatment of the sodomy laws is limited to a single paragraph in the chapter entitled "Delitti di prova difficile" (Crimes Difficult to Prove); in some editions it is Chapter XXXI, in others XXXVI. He introduces the subject as "Attic love, so severely punished by the laws, and so easily subjected to the tortures that overcome innocence," which implies that