

government of Alexander III in 1890, Chizh was named to the chair of nervous and mental diseases, a post he held to the end of his career. After attending the Fifth International Congress of Criminal Anthropology in Amsterdam in 1901, he wrote an unsympathetic account of Arnold Aletrino's paper on "The Social Situation of the Uranist" that was published in "Piaty' mezhdunarodny' kongress kriminal'no' antropologii v Amsterdame 9-14 sentiabria 1901 g." in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* in 1902. His article reveals that the President of the Congress, Gerard Anton van Hamel (1842-1917), asked the representatives of the press not to print anything about the discussion of Aletrino's paper. This is an early example of how the psychiatric profession, when challenged by the homophile movement, took an overtly hostile stance in the hope of denying the public access to the new understanding of the subject which the experts who rallied to its support were promoting.

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## CHRISTIANITY

The body of beliefs and practices characterizing Christianity, a religious tradition based on the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth ("the Christ") (ca. 3 B.C.-A.D. 33), was defined by the Christian church as it took shape under the empire of Rome. Inasmuch as this consolidation was achieved gradually and obscurely, it is difficult to say when the church and its ideology crystalized. By about A.D. 200, however, the church had come to recognize the texts making up the **New Testament** as a single canon. After some hesitation, the Hebrew Bible, known to Christians as the **Old Testament**, was taken from Judaism and also accepted as divinely inspired. From this point onwards, Christian doctrines were elaborated by a group of intellectuals, known as the **Fathers of the Church** or the **Patristic writers**, beginning with such figures as Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

It was these theologians who pieced together the often contradictory and ambiguous scriptural statements about sex and homosexuality into a consistent doctrine. Though they based their exegesis upon the Bible, they were inevitably influenced by philosophical and religious currents of their own time, especially **Greek Stoicism** and **Neo-Platonism** and by rival mystery cults such as **Manichaeism** and **Gnosticism**. Not all these interpreters of what the Christian message entailed agreed, and as a result there were competing Christian groups, most of which were eventually eliminated. Still today there are differences on such sexually related topics as divorce, celibacy, and so forth between Roman Catholics and members of various eastern branches of Christianity which date from the foundations of Christianity, including Coptic, Nestorian, and various Orthodox Churches. In practice, most of these churches have been more tolerant of homosexuality than the Roman Catholic Church and its Protestant offshoots.

*Augustinianism.* The dominant Christian attitude in the west has been what might be called the Augustinian one which essentially regarded celibacy as more desirable than marriage and only tolerated sexual activity within marriage for the purpose of procreation. St. **Augustine** (d. 430), one of the great scholars of the ancient world, had converted to the austere faith of Manichaeism after receiving a classical education. It seemed to his mind more suited to his Neo-Platonic and Stoic ideals than the Christianity of his mother. In Manichaean belief, which drew heavily from **Zoroastrianism**, intercourse leading to procreation was particularly evil because it caused other souls to be imprisoned in bodies, thus continuing the cycle of good versus evil.

Augustine was a member of the Manichaean religion for some eleven years but never reached the stage of the Elect in part because of his inability to control his sexual appetites. He kept a mistress, fa-

thered a child, and according to his own statement, struggled to overcome his lustful appetites everyday by praying: "Give me chastity, and continence, but do not give it yet." Recognizing his own inability to give up sexual intercourse, Augustine finally arrived at the conclusion that the only way to control his venereal desire was through marriage. He expelled his mistress and his son from his house, became engaged to a young girl not yet of age for wedlock (probably under 12 years of age), and planned a marriage. Unable to abstain from sex, he turned to prostitutes, went through a religious crisis, and in the process became converted to Christianity.

Miraculously, he found he could control his sexual desires and no longer even desired a wife. Once he managed to gain control of his own "lustful" desires, Augustine expressed hostility to the act of coitus. He reported that he knew nothing that brought "the manly mind down from the heights [more] than a woman's caresses, and that joining of bodies without which one cannot have a wife." It was through concupiscence or lust that the genitals lost the docility of innocence and were no longer amenable to the will. He accepted the Biblical statements that the Christian God had commanded human beings to multiply and propagate, and thus reproduction was to be tolerated, but he insisted that it be done without lust. He concluded that "We ought not to condemn marriage because of the evil of lust, nor must we praise lust because of the good of marriage."

Through marriage, and only through marriage, could the lust associated with coitus be transferred to a duty, and then only when the act was employed for human generation. In his mind, abstinence from sex was the highest good, but marriage was second, providing that the purpose of sex within marriage was for the purpose of procreation. All other sex was sinful including coitus within marriage not performed in the proper position (the female on her back and facing the male)

and using the proper appendages and orifices (penis in vagina).

St. Augustine's views became the views of the western church centered in Rome. Taken literally, the Augustinian view was no more hostile to homosexuality than to any other form of non-procreative sex. In general there was no extensive discussion of homosexuality by any of the early Church Fathers, and most of the references are incidental. What references do occur, however, leave no doubt as to the basic hostility of these early theologians, and homosexual activities were usually classified as on the level of adultery. The Eastern Orthodox Churches on the other hand looked upon it somewhat less seriously, classifying it as equivalent to fornication.

*The Medieval Church.* The Augustinian views were modified in the thirteenth century by St. Thomas Aquinas, who held that homosexual activities, though similar to other sins of lust, were more sinful because they were also sins against nature. The sins against nature in descending order were (1) masturbation, (2) intercourse in an unnatural position, (3) copulation with the same sex (homosexuality and lesbianism), and (4) sex with non-humans (bestiality). Aquinas was willing to concede that on the surface such sins were not as serious as adultery or rape or seduction, sexual activities which injured others, but he argued that since God had set the order of nature, and these activities contravened it, they were an injury to God and therefore more serious.

Communicating these theological concepts to the believers was not easy and was not always done consistently. Sermons, homilies, illustrations, were used by the early church although there was an ambivalence over whether people were more likely to adhere to the church belief system if the rewards of heaven were emphasized or whether the punishments of hell received the greatest attention. The medieval period saw both approaches used at different times and by different groups.

In general the church took control over sexual matters until the fourteenth century, and so church teachings and laws are a key to understanding attitudes. One of the key sources in the early medieval Church is the **penitential** literature. Originally penance had been a way of reconciling the sinner with God and had taken place through open confession. The earliest penitentials put sexual purity at a high premium, and failure to observe the sexual regulations was classified as equal to idolatry (reversion to paganism) and homicide. Ultimately public penance was replaced by private penance and confession which was regulated by the manuals or penitentials designed to guide those who were hearing them. Most of the early penitentials classified homosexual and lesbian activities as equivalent to fornication. Later ones classified such activities as equivalent to adultery although some writers distinguished between inter-femoral intercourse and anal intercourse and between fellatio or oral-genital contacts. Anal intercourse was regarded as being the most serious sin. There was, however, wide variation in the treatment of sexual activities in the penitentials, and this variation drew the scathing denunciation of St. Peter Damian (1007–1072), a homophobe, who in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* blasted the church's tolerance of homosexuality. He urged Pope Leo IX to set more rigorous standards for penitentials and to deal with the widespread homosexuality among the clergy and others. The pope accepted Peter's dedication of his work to him but emphasized that it was necessary for him as pope to season justice with mercy. Peter's treatise, however, was the beginning of growing hostility to homosexuality which also coincided with the growing power of the church.

Aiding and abetting these stronger actions against homosexuality was the growth of **canon law**. Among the earliest collections was the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (1000–1025), a contemporary of Damian, and Ivo of Chartres (1091–1116),

who made a more complete collection than Burchard. Both collections contain numerous canons condemning sodomy, bestiality, fellatio, pederasty, and lesbianism. Building on these pioneering efforts was the work of the jurist Gratian who in about 1140 completed his *A Harmony of Discordant Canons* which revolutionized the study of canon law and gave it the intellectual coherence which it previously had lacked. In spite of the earlier efforts of Ivo and Burchard, Gratian paid relatively little attention to homosexuality although he did indicate that such activities were far more heinous than adultery or fornication. By the late twelfth century, the hostile attitudes of Peter Damian had found their way into both the legal codes and the theological writings.

Increasingly, in fact, deviance from the church's code on sexual preference was equated with deviance from accepted church doctrine, that is homosexuals could be regarded as proponents of **heresy**. Sodomy came to be regarded as the most heinous of sexual offenses, even worse than incest, and as civil law began to take over from canon law, it could be punished as a **capital crime**. This seems to be most noticeable in the civil law enacted by various municipalities who starting from the church doctrine of heresy branded homosexuality as something which would bring divine wrath upon the inhabitants of those cities where it was widely practiced. These fears of homosexuality were particularly noticeable in the fourteenth century when the advent of the Black Death led to some homosexuals' suffering particularly grisly punishments. Increasingly, in fact, civil law became far more hostile to homosexuality than canon law although the justification for the civil law provisions was often a religious one.

*Protestantism*. The trend toward civil control of sexuality was accentuated by the development of Protestantism in the sixteenth century although the Protestants were not any less hostile to homosexuality than the Catholic Church. Mar-

tin Luther, for example, stated that homosexuality came from the devil and should be treated as the work of the devil. While John Calvin was not quite so hostile, he emphasized that homosexuality was a sin against nature.

In the sixteenth century accusations of sexual licence, including sodomy, became part of the lexicon of invective of the Protestant-Catholic quarrel. Catholics denounced Calvin for his supposed pederasty, a charge that was completely unfounded. In the case of Calvin's lieutenant, Théodore de Bèze however, a relationship with one Audebert seems to have some substance. In compensation Protestant writers repeatedly denounced the Papacy as a sink of sexual iniquity. Somewhat surprisingly, Henry VIII's investigators were unable to find much evidence of homosexual behavior in their enquiries leading to the dissolution of the monasteries in England. In 1730-31 the great Dutch persecution of sodomites occurred, and in the accompanying propaganda the old charges against Roman Catholicism were revived. In Catholic countries themselves, the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 was preceded by accusations of sodomy.

The most detailed of the Anglican writers on sexual matters, Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), did not regard homosexual behavior as any worse than any other sexual sins. He insisted in all cases that such matters as motive, occasion, and consequences of the act be considered; this perhaps is the first breakthrough in western Christian attitudes since St. Augustine. Unfortunately, English civil law did not reflect this tolerance, and it was the civil law which by this time was dominant.

*Modern Developments.* In nineteenth-century England, the rise of the Anglo-Catholic movement within the established Church, with its strong aesthetic component, attracted many homosexual communicants. Yet no real changes in official church attitudes took place until the twentieth century, when a number of churches, led by the Quakers, the Angli-

cans and the Unitarian-Universalists, in the period following World War II, modified their stand on homosexuality. Their action was followed by many of the mainline Protestant Churches in the United States and elsewhere. Similar changes took place in some segments of Judaism, particularly Reform Judaism, and even Conservative Judaism.

To counter the refusal of evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants to change, the Metropolitan Community Church developed, emphasizing that Biblically, homosexuals were not anathema. Even among Churches which officially did not modify their stands, special homosexual groups and organizations such as Dignity, which has considerable support from many elements in the Catholic Church. Some religiously oriented organizations such as the Affirmation (gay Mormons), however, remain ostracized by the main religious body with which they would like to be affiliated.

*Conclusion.* Christian religions traditionally have been hostile not only to homosexuality but to sexuality in general. They were the dominant institutions in establishing attitudes about homosexuality which were not so much Biblical or even particularly Christian, but a reflection of undercurrents of thought in existence at the time Christianity emerged. These extraneous ideas about sex and homosexuality were incorporated into Christian teachings by theologians and canon lawyers who then erected a belief system upon them, and from the church they were communicated to the wider public at large. Only when these extraneous ideas are effectively challenged, as they have been in the last few decades, can the churches think through their attitudes and concepts about sexuality and homosexuality; this has been taking place in the last few decades, but there is still a long way to go.

*See also Churches, Gay; Clergy, Gay; Monasticism; Protestantism.*

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### CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN (1626–1689)

The daughter of Gustavus II Adolphus and Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, she lost her father at the age of six when he was killed in the Thirty Years War. Until 1644 Sweden was ruled by a regency headed by the Imperial Chancellor Axel Count Oxenstierna. The talented girl received an excellent education and was reared almost exclusively under male guidance. On December 17, 1644, she assumed personal rule, but remained another two years under Oxenstierna's influence, then chose Gabriel de la Gardie as her chief counselor. More interested in science and art than in politics, she took little part in the negotiations at Bromsebro (1645) and Osnabrück (1647) that culminated in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which redrew the political map of Europe on lines that largely remained until the French Revolution. She was a generous patron of the sciences, supported native scholars and corresponded with foreign ones, and attracted such intellects as Descartes and Grotius to her court. The former she is reputed to have asked for advice on her amorous disposition.

Her aversion to official duties, her extravagance, and the favor that she accorded to constantly changing and unworthy courtiers earned her the displeasure of her subjects, and her growing sympathies for Catholicism provoked the resistance of the Lutheran clergy. At a session of the Parliament in Uppsala in 1654 she abdicated in favor of her cousin Karl-Gustav of Pfalz-Zweibrücken and his

male descendants. In Brussels she converted secretly to Catholicism, then at Innsbruck she formally adopted the new faith and journeyed to Rome, where she kept a brilliant court and soon became the center of a circle of scholars. She undertook numerous travels, and attracted attention by her political activity in papal and ecclesiastical affairs and also in French, Polish, and above all Swedish matters. The friendship of Cardinal Azzolino, her adviser in financial and economic affairs, played a great role in the last years of her life. She died in Rome in 1689.

Contemporary accounts of Christina unanimously emphasize the masculine qualities of her personality. Her deep voice and her fondness for men's clothing are particularly noted. A description of her by the Duc de Guise mentions that "her hand is white and well-shaped, but resembles a man's more than a woman's. The face is large, all the features quite pronounced. . . . The footwear resembles a man's, and likewise she has a male voice, and almost her whole deportment is male too. She sets great store on appearing as an Amazon. She is as proud as her father. She speaks eight languages, French in particular like a native Parisian." Another account of her tells that "all in all, she struck me as a handsome little boy." The ascription of her homosexuality is based on the fact that she refused marriage, even with so distinguished a suitor as the Kurfürst of Brandenburg. On the other hand she is supposed to have had a series of erotic escapades with men, in particular the Italian Monaldesco, whom she later had murdered, allegedly because he learned of her lesbian tendencies. Only one of her female partners is known, Countess Ebba Sparre, whom she met in Paris in 1654 after her abdication. Many of her letters to the Countess contain the epithet "belle." The German historian Leopold von Ranke said of her that she was "the greatest princely woman from the race of intermediate types. Women's tasks she never assumed, . . . but