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Bremmer, Jan

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AN ENIGMATIC INDO-EUROPEAN RITE: PAEDERASTY*

JAN BREMMER

§1. **Problem:** One of the intriguing features of the Greeks is their active interest in **homosexuality**.¹ On the whole scholars have been rather reserved in tackling this problem, but in the course of time different solutions have been proposed of which two may be singled out as having received the most support in recent decades. First, the presence of homosexuality is seen as a consequence of the militaristic way of Greek life and parallels have been drawn with cases of homosexuality among soldiers during the second World War.² Second, it is seen as a rite of initiation and parallels are adduced from initiatory rites of various "primitive" peoples.³

The second solution evidently is the more convincing one, since it at least accounts for the fact that socially approved homosexuality in Greece was virtually restricted to paederasty — an affair between adults and boys -- and was not an affair between two adult males. Yet the adherents of this solution have not analysed the structure of Greek paederasty in any depth nor attempted an explanation of this puzzling phenomenon and they have ignored the existence of Indo-European (henceforth: I-E) parallels. For these reasons, while adopting this solution as a working hypothesis, it will be the aim of this article to take a fresh look at the problem of Greek paederasty, paying especially attention to the I-E evidence, as is appropriate in this special issue. As the Ionians had no proper initiatory ritual, at least not since the Archaic Age, we consequently cannot demonstrate that in their case paederasty belonged to the rites of initiation. Therefore we shall mainly restrict our analysis to the Dorian material, but elsewhere we hope to demonstrate that particularly the extensive Athenian evidence can only be understood as a development and transformation of an older form of paederasty which was still to be found among the Dorians.⁴

92. **Approach:** Since progress in the analysis of the I-E rites of initiation has primarily been made by comparing them to "primitive" ones, we shall first look at the practice of paederasty during "primitive" initiations. Unfortunately, these rites are always guarded in secrecy and the acts of copulation seemingly (understandably?) even more so. Yet, we

happen to have a fairly detailed description of the practice among the Papuans of the Trans-Fly by the late English social anthropologist F. E. Williams,⁵ who visited the area a number of times between 1926 and 1932. Williams tells us:

It was frequently maintained that *setiriva*, or bachelors, remained truly celibate until they entered upon sexual relations with their own wives. Without giving too much credence to this statement, we may note that the hospitable exchange above noted was nominally restricted to married adults. Some informants maintained that *setiriva* could secure the favours of married women at least times, but it seems evident that this was not definitely sanctioned.

The bachelors had recourse to sodomy,⁶ a practice which was not reprobated but was actually a custom of the country – and a custom in the true sense, i.e., fully sanctioned by male society and universally practised. For a long time the existence of sodomy was successfully concealed from me, but latterly, once I had won the confidence of a few informants in the matter, it was admitted on every hand. It is actually regarded as essential to the growing boy to be sodomized. More than one informant being asked if he had ever been subjected to unnatural practice, answered, 'Why, yes! Otherwise how should I have grown?'

The ceremonial initiation to sodomy and the mythological antecedents to it will be spoken of elsewhere (pp. 194, 308). In the meantime it is enough to note that every male adult in the **Morehead** district has in his time constantly played both parts in this perversion. The boy is initiated to it at the bull-roarer ceremony and not earlier, for he could not then be trusted to keep the secret from his mother. When he becomes adolescent his part is reversed and he may then sodomize his juniors, the new initiates to the bull-roarer. I am told that some boys are more attractive and consequently receive more attention of this kind than do others; but all must pass through it, since it is regarded as essential to their bodily growth. There is indeed no question as to the universality of the practice.

It is commonly asserted that the early practice of sodomy does nothing to inhibit a man's natural desires when

later on he marries; and it is a fact that while the older men are not debarred from indulging, and actually do so at the bull-roarer ceremony, sodomy is virtually restricted as a habit to the *setiriva*.

This description is confirmed (or at least not contradicted) by other ones and we can thus note the following four points as being important features of the practice:

1) Paederasty is indeed a part of at least some "primitive" initiations and should not be confused with homosexuality, since both initiators and novices will afterwards normally enter the married state.

2) Copulation, in which the novice is always the passive partner, takes place **anally**.⁷

3) The active paederasts are last-time novices. **Brelich** (93) already observed that the novices of the previous turn usually play a prominent **rôle** in giving instruction, as in Sparta (Calame I, 392), and in keeping discipline. We shall see below whether paederasty is connected with either of these two activities.

4) There is some uneasiness about the whole affair, since it is kept secret.

These four points we shall take as a guiding-line in our analysis of the I-E evidence. At first sight such an investigation hardly looks promising. Our knowledge of the I-E rites of initiation is still (and perhaps always will be) rather restricted,¹ and the conversion to Christianity, which considered homosexuality a most serious vice,⁹ would early have suppressed the practice, wherever it may have existed among the peoples of Western and Eastern Europe. And yet, there is some evidence which, perhaps not **un-**surprisingly, has been analysed insufficiently. Our contribution can hardly be more than a first exploration of this material, since no study of the I-E evidence has been made so far, but it will at least present more material than can be found anywhere else.

In the actual analysis we shall proceed as follows. First, we shall present the material, then we shall give an evaluation and finally attempt an explanation of the phenomenon of paederasty in the rites of initiation.

53. *Survey*: Since no information seems to be available about the early **Indians**,¹⁰ we pass straight on to the Persians. Our sources are divided as to whether they practiced **paederasty**¹¹ or **not**.¹² The latter view will be the more probable one, since the Zoroastrian **writings**¹³ time and again strongly forbid paederasty. It is perhaps indicative for this attitude that Agesilaos, although strongly in love with the son of a high-ranking Persian, refrains from any physical **contact**.¹⁴ On the other hand, the son of Pharnabazus is enamoured of a Greek **boy**,¹⁵ and the recurrence of the prohibitions of paederasty suggests that the Persians did not succeed in stopping the practice.

Such discrepancy between theory and practice could elucidate the remark of **Herodotus**¹⁶ that the Persians learned paederasty from the Greeks. Apart from the problem as to how Herodotus or his source could have possibly known this, we can reject this as utterly improbable since paederasty is almost universal (Karsch-Haack, *passim*). Nevertheless, this notice can still be valuable in a different way, for it seems characteristic that peoples who themselves practice paederasty impute this to others. Thus the Athenians called paederasty "doing it the Spartan **way**"¹⁷ or the "Chalcidian **way**";¹⁸ **Plautus**¹⁹ calls a paederast an "Ionian" and the Albanians (below) called the gypsies paederasts. The information of Herodotus would fit into this pattern: his source may well have been Persians who felt uneasy about the practice and wanted to disclaim responsibility for their fellow countrymen's behavior. It seems reasonable then to accept the occurrence of paederasty among the Persians — although it was forbidden — but our sources do not connect the practice with initiation or men's societies.²⁰

As regards Greece we will start with the Spartans, looking specifically for the different points enumerated in §2. The existence of a close connection between initiation and paederasty is demonstrated by the words of **Xenophon**²¹ in his discussion of the Spartan *agogē*: "I think I ought to say something also about intimacy with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education (*paideian*)." The fact is confirmed by **Plutarch**²² who adds that at the age of twelve the boys received lovers who were chosen from the reputable young men (*neoi*). This institutionalized rôle of the paederasty also clearly appears from the fact that the ephors penalized those who, although qualifying, did not have a beloved.²³

A rather complicated problem is the Spartan mode of copulation. **Xenophon**²⁴ elaborately tells us:

If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's

soul and tried 'to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion as an abomination; and thus he purged the relationship of all impurity, so that in **Lucedæmon** it resembled parental and brotherly love. I am not surprised, however, that people refuse to believe this. For in many states the laws are not opposed to the indulgence of these appetites.

The apologetic tone of Xenophon suggests that he was making a concession to the changing taste of his Athenian **public**,²⁵ since our Athenian sources on the whole thought **otherwise**.²⁶ A comedian (Dover 187) even coined the word *kusolakon* "anus-Spartan,"²⁷ which leaves little to the imagination, but from a methodological point of view it is dubious, as Dover (194) rightly stresses, to accept without reflection the Athenian allegations against Sparta. For the comedians, our principal source, were more concerned with good jokes than with faithfully reporting other peoples' customs. **Bethe**,²⁸ in a celebrated article, suggested another piece of evidence. According to him the Spartan word for the male lover, *eispnelas*,²⁹ should be explained as "in-blower" of seed. Yet, there is absolutely no proof whatsoever that the Spartans understood it this way and therefore his explanation must remain pure conjecture. Strictly speaking we cannot but conclude that there does not exist any certainty about the Spartan way of copulation.

Yet, this is unduly sceptical, for we know with certainty that on the island of Thera, a Spartan colony, the relations were not at all Platonic. A graffito of the early sixth century reads: "By (Apollo) Delphinios, Krimon here copulated with a boy, brother of **Bathykles**."³⁰ This graffito had already been adduced as evidence by **Bethe**³¹ and **Jeanmaire**,³² but it is only recently that we are properly able to understand its significance. Three important points should be made. First, the existence of anal copulation can hardly be doubted. Second, the invocation of Apollo Delphinios points, as Fritz Graf (13) has shown, to a connection with initiation. Third, Dover (123) has rightly pointed out that the person who wrote this graffito intended slander. This must mean that, as in Athens (Dover 146), so also in this community some people felt uneasy about paederasty.

We complete our Dorian picture with the description **Ephoros**³³ gives of paederasty in Crete:

They (*i.e.*, the Cretans) have a peculiar custom in regard to love affairs, for they win the objects of their love, not by persuasion, but by capture (*harpagēi*); the lover tells the friends of the boy three or four days beforehand that he is going to make the capture; but for the friends to conceal the boy, or not to let him go forth by the appointed road, is indeed a most disgraceful thing, a confession, as it were, that the boy is unworthy to obtain such a lover; and when they meet, if the abductor is the boy's equal or superior in rank or other respects, the friends pursue him and lay hold of him, though only in a very gentle way, thus satisfying the custom (to *nomimon*); and after that they cheerfully turn the boy over to him to lead away; if, however, the abductor is unworthy, they take the boy away from him.³⁴ And the pursuit does not end until the boy is taken to the men's house (*andreion*) of his abductor. They regard as a worthy object of love, not the boy who is exceptionally handsome, but the boy who is exceptionally manly and decorous. After giving the boy presents, the abductor takes him away to any place in the country he wishes; and those who are present at the capture follow after them and after feasting and hunting with them for two months (for it is not permitted to detain the boy for a longer time), they return to the city. The boy is released after receiving as presents a military habit, an ox, and a drinking cup (these are the gifts required by law, *nomon*), and other things so numerous and costly that the friends, on account of the number of the expenses, make contributions thereto. Now the boy sacrifices the ox to Zeus and feasts those who returned with him; and then he makes known the facts about his intimacy with his lover, whether perchance, it has pleased him or not, the law (*nomou*) allowing him this privilege in order that, if any force was applied to him at the time of his capture, he might be able at this feast to avenge himself and be rid of the lover. It is disgraceful for those who are handsome in appearance and also are descendants of illustrious ancestors to fail to obtain lovers. . . . So much for their customs (*nomima*) in regard to love affairs.

Before we look at the pederasty in particular we will first analyse this ritual in general. The whole affair starts with an obvious agreement between

the lover, whose age remains unspecified, and the friends of the boy: they guide the boy to an agreed place where the lover will be waiting. Such a set-up is typical for the start of the initiation and finds its exact parallel in "primitive" initiations.³⁵ The term Ephoros uses for the capture, *harpagē*, was evidently a terminus technicus, for it is also used for the capture of Chrysippus by Laius³⁶ and of Ganymedes by Zeus.³⁷

The boy offers a token resistance and the pursuit ends in his lover's *andreion*, which shows that the ritual was sanctioned by the community, since the *andreion* was the public mess." Here the boy received presents the size of which may have depended on the status difference between the lover and himself. It is typical of the archaic character of this ritual that presents play such an important rôle.³⁹ First, the boy received presents in the *andreion*, then he received presents from his own friends and his lover at the end of his "bushtime" and finally he in turn feasted "those who return with him." This last gesture finds its close parallel in the academic custom that the promovendus gives a dinner to his supervisor and others who have helped him after having received his doctorate, a custom still existing in Germany and Holland at the present day and going back to the earliest Middle Ages.⁴⁰

After the presents were given the whole group spent **two** months in the country, eating and hunting. Hunting is the activity par excellence to prove the valor of the *initiand*⁴¹ and as such an important part of the "primitive" initiations (Brelich 77) and initiatory scenario's in fairy tales.⁴² On their return to the city the lover, with the financial help of the boy's friends, presented the boy with a military suit, an ox and a wine-cup. What, we may ask, is the relevance of these presents? The present of the military suit evidently meant that the boy had now become a man, for in Thebes the lover made his beloved a present of such a suit when he registered as a man.⁴³ The ox reminds us of the lifting of the bull by Theseus and the Athenian adolescents, the *ephehes*: a connection **with** the final stage of the initiation (Graf 14f.). But why the cup? The only thing known about the cup is that in Gortyn it resembled a *therikleios*,⁴⁴ a cup used in symposia.⁴⁵ Gernet⁴⁶ considers it to be an "instrument de libation et 'objet précieux'," but this is hardly enough. It was a present prescribed by law which indicates that it must have had a more central meaning. Evidently the military suit and the ox were closely connected with the final stage of the initiation and it seems therefore reasonable to look for such a **significance** for the cup, too. Gernet⁴⁷ himself had already pointed to the Oenisteria, a ceremony for the moment the *ephebes* have their long hair cut off, *i.e.*, when they enter the final stage of the transition from adolescence into adulthood.

In this ceremony they offer a cup to Heracles and give a drink to their companions, presumably at their own cost as Gernet persuasively suggests, which reminds us of the meal offered by the Cretan **initiaid**.

Why this connection between drinking and the final stage of the initiation? Drinking wine played an important part in the existence of Greek men as appears from the central place of the **symposium**.⁴⁸ This is even reflected in the way in which Greeks looked at neighboring peoples, for whereas Greeks themselves drank mixed wine, they ascribed the drinking of unmixed wine, milk, or water to others. In many Greek cities women were forbidden to drink wine.⁴⁹ In Rome women,⁵⁰ slaves⁵¹ and, for our problem very important, young men until the age of thirty⁵² were prohibited from drinking wine. It seems therefore reasonable to conclude that the present of the drinking-cup meant admission as a qualified member to the world of adult men.⁵³

The assumption that young men were not yet allowed to drink wine probably also explains the fact that among the Romans wine-pourers were youths of noble birth.⁵⁴ We find a similar function for youths of Greece such as the young noblemen at Greek symposia,⁵⁵ the son of Menelaus,⁵⁶ the young Euripides,⁵⁷ Larichos⁵⁸ (the brother of Sappho), the boys at the Ephesian festival for Poseidon,⁵⁹ and the wine-pourers of Alexander⁶⁰ and Pyrrhus:⁶¹ the fact that they had to pour out the wine but were not allowed to drink it stressed the difference of status between them and the adult men.

The mythical counterpart of these boys is **Ganymedes**, the wine-pourer of Zeus. The place in the Troad where Zeus supposedly captured him was significantly called **Harpagia**⁶² (above), but in the Cretan version the abductor was **Minos**, although the name of the place remained the same: **Harpagias**.⁶³ The Chalcidians, on the other hand, claimed that the capture happened in their territory at a place called **Harpagion**, and there has indeed recently been found a statue of Ganymedes in their area.⁶⁴ It was precisely this Ganymedes who was the beloved of Zeus, as numerous **testimonia** tell us.⁶⁵

Finally it is important to note that being captured by a lover was a must, since it was considered a disgrace not to have one.⁶⁶ It is therefore completely understandable that Plutarch calls the practice the "so-called capture" (*harpagmós*).⁶⁷

As we turn from ritual back to paederasty as such, two points may be observed. First, paederasty in Crete is clearly part of the initiatory ritual. Second, the whole ritual is subjected to the supervision of society as a whole, as **can** be inferred from the frequent occurrence of the words

nomos and *nomimon* in the report of Ephoros. Unfortunately, the lengthy report does not inform us of the other features of the practice in which we are interested. And yet, we are not altogether without additional data.

Regarding the age of the *erastēs*, "lover," we are informed by an anecdote related by Aelianus.⁶⁸ A Cretan wamor, who had a boy of noble birth as his *paidika* – one of the Greek terms for the beloved (Dover 16f.) – stumbled during a fight over a dead body and fell. When an enemy wanted to strike him in the back the man exclaimed: "Do not deal me a shameful and cowardly blow, but strike me in front,⁶⁹ in the breast, in order that my loved one may not judge me guilty of cowardice and refrain from laying out my dead body" (tr. Scholfield [Loeb]). The wamor is called a *neanias*, "young man," which nicely agrees with what we were led to expect on account of the "primitive" and Spartan evidence.

What about the nature of copulation? Again, we have no direct information but it seems to fit in with the other evidence that a poem glorifying the *derrière* of a boy is written by the *Cretan Rhianos*.⁷⁰ As regards the existence of ambiguous feelings about paederasty we have no information.

The Cretan relationships were felt to be rather shocking by the Romans⁷¹ and an embarrassed *Nepos*⁷² notes: "In Crete it is considered praiseworthy for the young men to have as many lovers as possible." The Romans even thought that paederasty was one of the main causes for the Greek *enslavement*.⁷³ Yet, Valerius *Maximus*⁷⁴ presents a number of stories, the earliest going back to the fourth century, demonstrating that the practice was known to the Romans too, albeit disapproved of till the end of the Republic. By that time, paederastic friendships were frequently adopted in higher circles and even the moralistic *Augustus* had had his friend in his younger years.⁷⁵ About the Empire we need not go into detail. Any reader of Juvenal, Martial and Petronius can find examples galore.

However, during the Republic one case of homosexuality occurred which deserves special attention. From *Livy's* account of the suppression of the Bacchanalia scandal in 186 B.C., we learn that adolescents, when being initiated in the Bacchic mysteries, had to submit to a homosexual act,⁷⁶ a submission untestified for the Greek Dionysiac *mysteries*.⁷⁷ *Festugière*⁷⁸ has rejected the notice as slander. Even if this is the case, *something* which has to remain undecided in the absence of other testimonies, the report would still be valuable in showing the existence, on the level of collective representations, of the connection between initiation and submission to a homosexual act.⁷⁹

It is important to observe that the Romans explicitly forbid paederasty with free boys but not with slaves⁸⁰ in the so-called *lex Scantinia*, a law dating probably from before Cicero's time." The practice was evidently considered to be a humiliating one and thus fit only for slaves. The active rôle in the relationship, however, was beyond reproach, as follows from the fact that orators, such as Gaius Gracchus⁸² and Cicero,⁸³ only slandered their opponents by suggesting a passive rôle in a paederastic relationship.

Regarding the Celts,⁸⁴ there is general agreement in our sources that they practiced paederasty. **Athenaeus**⁸⁵ even tells us that they often slept with two boys at the same time, but this looks as if it is a typical Greek dream-wish. This is the only detailed report we have that goes beyond the pure mention of the practice and the possibility cannot be excluded that it is just one of those features ascribed by the Greeks to the *Randvolker* to contrast them unfavourably with themselves.⁸⁶ Early Irish and Welsh literature has no mention of the practice at all."

To the ancient Germans also paederasty was ascribed. We may suspect that for those sources that do not give any precise information⁸⁷ the same attitude as regards the Celts exists, but there are others which deserve a closer inspection. **Tacitus**⁸⁹ tells us that those who are *corpore infames* were thrown into a marsh. This points to a contempt of homosexuals. **Tacitus** gives no other precise information, but from the Icelandic sagas⁹⁰ we learn that this contempt is directed exclusively at the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.⁹¹ How the Germans imagined this relationship clearly appears from the words of **Skeggi** in the *Gisla saga* (c.2) when directing a carpenter to make wooden figures of Gisli and **Kolbjorn**: "and have one stand close behind the other; and the nastiness of that will always be there to shame them" (tr. G. Johnston).

For our purpose two other texts are of great importance. **Procopius**⁹² relates of the Heruli that they practiced homosexuality. It is evident that he pictures the Heruli as a kind of exceptionally bad **rogues**,⁹³ and the possibility therefore cannot be excluded that this is just pure slander. On the other hand we must note that the Heruli practiced a kind of initiation, for we also learn from **Procopius**⁹⁴ that a distinction existed between the lords and the youths whom he calls *douloi*, literally "slaves." The young men had to fight without a shield and only received one after having demonstrated their courage. **Otto Höfler**⁹⁵ already noted that the word "slave" must have a special meaning, and recently **Widengren**⁹⁶ has succeeded in giving a proper explanation. He showed that terms such as "slave, servant, etc.," when used for young men and warriors, are typical of the *Gefolgschafts-*

wesen, itself often a development of the men's societies.⁹⁷ The **Heruli** evidently were in the process of such a development, since the obligation to show courage is typical for novices. Since the **Heruli** knew a kind of initiation, it is quite possible to assume that paederasty constituted a part of it, but in the light of Procopius' aversion of them this must remain uncertain; not so, however, our next case.

Ammianus Marcellinus⁹⁸ tells us that among the Taifali, a tribe connected with the **Goths**,⁹⁹ the boys lived in a state of paederasty until they had killed a boar or a bear. The killing of a boar was a typical heroic **ordeal**,¹⁰⁰ and had also initiatory value in Macedonia, where a man could only recline at dinner, *i.e.*, have the status of an adult, when he had speared a boar without a hunting-net. The rule was still retained in Alexander's time, since Cassander had to sit at the table at the age of thirty-five, because he had not yet speared his **boar**.¹⁰¹ As the paederastic relationship continued only till the boy reached adulthood, it seems reasonable to consider this case similar to those we have observed with the Greeks, although Germanic scholars have consistently tried to explain it away or have considered it slander.¹⁰²

We have now arrived at our final example. In 1894 Von **Hahn**¹⁰³ noted a strong resemblance between the Dorian customs and those in Albania. This is a highly important observation – although, except for **Bethe**,¹⁰⁴ no attention has been paid to it – since, if anywhere in Europe archaic customs remained alive till nearly the present day, it was precisely in this highly remote and mountainous¹⁰⁵ **area**.¹⁰⁶ The paederastic relationships were between boys from the age of twelve and adolescents from the age of sixteen: a striking resemblance with the "primitive" and Dorian relationships. Unfortunately, we are not told whether the practice was supposed to have educational goals, but the relationship was sanctioned by society: the pair of lovers together took the **eucharist**.¹⁰⁷

As regards the other features in which we are interested, there is one other, if curious, source. In 1904 the folklorist F. R. Krauss started a journal for scientific study of scatology which was only sold to libraries and responsible scholars.¹⁰⁸ In this journal he also published, besides countless erotic stories, lists of erotic vocabulary of most of the European countries. From a list of Albanian **words**¹⁰⁹ I take the following: "**büthar** = paederast (literally: 'Arschman')." The word may speak for itself. Another extract from the list makes apparent the Albanian attitude towards paederasty: "**madziip**, eig. = Zigeuner; davon die Albeitungen **madzüpi** = Paderastie; **madzüpoj** = Paderastie iiben." Whereas the Albanians were themselves convinced paederasts they denounced the gypsies for paederasty. This

ambiguous attitude is also apparent in Von Hahn's report, since his source, a young Albanian, assured him that the relationships were fully Platonic, whereas the great Balkanologist **Weigand**¹¹⁰ could assure **Bethe** that nothing was further from the **truth!** It seems reasonable then to recognize in Albanian paederasty the same pattern as we have found among "primitive" and Dorian initiations.

§4. Evaluation: Comparing the Greek, Germanic and Albanian evidence we can note the following points. Among the Greeks and ancient Germans paederasty belonged to the transitional period into adulthood, as was the case among the Albanians. Among the Greeks and Albanians the active paederasts were young men, if not adolescents. Anal copulation seems certain for Greeks and Albanians, and, considering the attitude of the ancient Germans regarding passive homosexuals, it seems reasonable to postulate that adult men would not have acted thus — which suggests that the young boys had to submit to the passive **rôle**. Ambiguous feelings we have noted for Greeks and Albanians, and among the ancient Germans, a strong condemnation of passive homosexuality.

Admittedly, our material is scarce, but all the evidence we have coincides to a striking degree with the features we noted for "primitive" paederasty during initiation. For that reason it seems not unreasonable to arrive at the conclusion that paederasty, like other features of "primitive" initiation, once constituted a part of the I-E initiation. Having accepted this conclusion, we shall now proceed to attempt an explanation of the practice.

§5. Explanation: It is sometimes forgotten that our I-E evidence in fact constitutes the oldest historical evidence for initiatory practices, on the whole about **2500** years earlier than much ethnographic material. Our "primitive" material concerning paederasty is exclusively restricted to Melanesia, New Guinea and neighbouring **regions**,¹¹¹ a marginal area compared with the rest of the world, where we can expect to find the more archaic features of social institutions. Consequently, paederasty will belong to the oldest historical strata of the initiatory ritual.

From the evidence presented it seems clear that often mixed feelings exist about the practice. In addition we should note that, if a distinction is made between the passive and the active **rôle**, it is the passive **rôle** which is considered to be despicable, a feeling which indeed seems to be very widespread."*

Why, however, is it the passive **rôle** which is despised and not the active one? Here, I suggest, we can be helped by a socio-biological approach. This is, admittedly, a new branch of the social sciences, and its results are still a source of profound **dissension**,¹¹³ but some insights can hardly be refuted. One of these insights is of special importance for our theme. The German ethologist I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt¹¹⁴ has noted: "Bei sehr **vielen** Saugern **reiten** Mannchen zur Rangdemonstration aggressiven Characters auf Artgenossen des **gleichen** Geschlechts auf." Fehling (18-27), in an excellent discussion of the subject, has collected many historical examples of this kind of **Rangdemonstration**, which continued to exist up to the recent past, especially as a penalty for intruders or adulterers. I shall therefore confine myself to one example, albeit a ritualized one, which is not mentioned by Fehling. In a **review**¹¹⁵ of a study of the notorious Attica revolt in 1972 we are told that

long before the showdown, while observers swore to the hostages' safety, wild stories multiplied baroquely in the peaceful New York countryside of rape and sexual humiliations (!) and castration inflicted on the hostages. The stories were not true; but they prepared the guards for 'retaliatory' sexual fiendishness when the prisoners were retaken — **one was prodded back to his cell with a screwdriver up his rectum**. No doubt the guards who did this, or watched it being done, thought it a mild and fitting return for all the outrages that had filled their dreams during those four days when few people slept easy around **Attica**.

Now **Rangdemonstration** is exactly the feature which we would expect in the initiatory ritual, since the novices have to be shown their modest place in the hierarchy, and to that end they are continually humiliated. As Raymond Firth¹¹⁶ notes concerning Tikopia initiation: "The suppression of the individual, the disregard of his normal freedom of choice is important. . . ; at initiation, he must submit." This accent on obedience can be found in Greece too. Both **Cretan**¹¹⁷ and **Spartan**¹¹⁸ initiation stress obedience and the young boys are likened to unruly foals which have to be **domesticated**.¹¹⁹ This, in turn, explains why we found that the active paederasts were the novices of the previous initiation, for they, as we have seen above, were charged with the keeping of discipline.

On the other hand, the fact that the passive **rôle** was considered to be humiliating will explain the early disappearance of the practice among

the Indo-Iranians and the Romans. As soon as the initiation proper disappeared or became transformed, the practice of paederasty must have come under heavy censure, which normally will have led to its disappearance.

Our explanation then has accounted for all the features of paederasty during the initiation. However, it would be less than fair if we did not point out that other scholars have approximated this explanation. Already in 1909 (!) Arnold van Gennep¹²⁰ compared what he termed the homosexual practices of Melanesian novices with those of Greek ephebes. More recently Lionel Tiger¹²¹ hesitantly suggested a connection between the occurrence of homo-erotic practices during initiation and the mounting by dominant male primates of subdominant ones. This aspect was elaborated in a detailed way by Fehling (21), but the Greek parallel escaped him.

We would like to close this article with an observation on method in I-E studies. Georges Dumézil¹²² once scornfully rejected the use of Melanesian parallels, as adduced by my compatriot Wagenvoort, to acquire a better understanding of the Roman terms *gravitas* and *maiestas*. Yet, our analysis has, I believe, demonstrated that such a comparison can (though it need not) be useful. Both cultures represent more archaic stages of human civilization at a time when cultures were less differentiated in themselves and from one another as compared with more modern times. Similarly, Karl Meuli¹²³ had succeeded in explaining many features of Greek sacrificial ritual by a comparison with another marginal culture: the Siberian hunting peoples. A corollary therefore suggests itself: that I-E scholars ought not to restrict themselves to studying only the I-E material, but must ever be prepared to look for explanations to "primitive" materials as well, in particular the practices of more marginal societies.

APPENDIX

INITIATION AND LESBIAN LOVE

Plutarch¹²⁴ relates that in Sparta the noble women loved the girls. Also the Academic philosopher Hagnon¹²⁵ states: "Among the Spartans it was customary (*viz.* for adult women) to have intercourse with girls before their marriage, as one did with boys." And Calame (II) has shown that some poems of Alcman¹²⁶ clearly show a connection between initiation of the girls and Lesbian love. It may therefore be considered proven that male paederasty in Sparta had a Lesbian relationship as its counterpart

in female initiation. In the case of Sappho¹²⁷ the same ritual background is still visible.

However, when looking at the quite extensive "primitive" evidence of Lesbian love, as collected by Karsch-Haach (449-511), or at general discussions of female initiation¹²⁸ we do not find any parallel for Spartan behavior. This may be due to the secretive nature of the female ritual, which in any case has yet to be properly analyzed. But it may well be the case that in Greece Lesbian love in initiation developed after the analogy with male paederasty. Indicative of such a development seems to be the fact that the term for the female beloved, *aïtis*,¹²⁹ is taken from the male sphere. Unfortunately, our data are too scarce for any further detailed investigation.

The Center for Hellenic Studies
Washington, D.C.

NOTES

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The following studies will be quoted by their author's name only: F. Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (München 1911); A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome 1969); D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (München 1974); C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en grèce archaïque* (Rome 1977); K. J. Dover, *Creek Homosexuality* (London 1978); "Apollon Delphinios," *Museum Helveticum* 36 (1979) 2-22.

¹ The best survey of the evidence, with an excellent bibliography, is Dover. Although his study is full of excellent *Einzelbeobachtungen*, it does not succeed in presenting a coherent picture. Moreover, it is rather unhistorical, entitling the chapter on the Dorians, by all accounts the more archaic tribe, "Changes."

² Cp. Dover 185; see, e.g., H. -I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité, 1948*¹ (Paris 1965⁶) 63.

³ See especially Brelich 35, 84f., 120f.; Calame I, 421 / 7.

⁴ In this yet unpublished study I shall discuss relationships such as those between Socrates Alcibiades, which are, as I hope to demonstrate, a development of the paederastic ones.

⁵ F. E. Williams, *Papuan of the Trans-Fly* (Oxford 1969²) 158f.

⁶ Surely by anal copulation; cp. Williams (309) on the mythological first occasion: "Gambadi informants describe the initial occasion more vividly. The father bids his son stoop to drink and as he does so catches him at a disadvantage."

- ⁷ This is also observed by Brelich 85. There seems to be one exception; cp. H. P. Duerr, *Traumzeit* (Frankfurt 1978) 89: “. . . bei der Initiation auf einer kleinen melanesischen Insel legen sich die erwachsenen Männer auf den Bauch und bieten den Initianten ihren After dar.” Unfortunately, the author does not give any specific reference which would enable us to determine the meaning and place of this behavior.
- ⁸ See the survey by M. Eliade, *Rites and Symbols of Initiation. 1958*¹ (New York 1965) 81-136, *The Quest* (Chicago 1969) 118-123. Important studies which have appeared since are especially Widengren (see below, note 96), Brelich and Calame. For “primitive” initiations, cp. Eliade, *op. cit.*; Brelich 13-112, with an excellent survey of the individual motifs of the initiation; V. Popp (ed.), *Initiation. Zeremonien der Statusänderung und des Rollenwechsels* (Frankfurt / M 1969); M. Vizedom, *Rites and Relationship Rites of Passage and Contemporary Anthropology*. Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences 4 (1976).
- ⁹ Cp. H. J. Kuster, *Over homosexualiteit in middeleeuws West-Europa* (Diss. Utrecht 1977); M. Goodich, *The Unmentionable Vice: Homosexuality in the Later Medieval Period* (London 1979).
- ¹⁰ Cp. R. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien* (Berlin 1904). I owe this reference to Professor J. Gonda.
- ¹¹ Her. 1.135, Sext. Emp. *P.* 1.152.
- ¹² Plato *Symp.* 182b; Curt. 10.1.26; Amm. Marc. 23.6.76.
- ¹³ Vendidld 8.32; Dādīstān 70.7; Denkart 8.35.13; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London 1908) II, 486f.
- ¹⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.39f.; *Hell. Oxy.* 21.4 Bart; Plut. *Ages.* 11; Max. Tyr. 19.5.
- ¹⁵ Plut. *Ages.* 13.
- ¹⁶ Her. 1.135.
- ¹⁷ Hesch. A 224 and 226; Suda A 62.
- ¹⁸ Hesch. X 85 Schmidt; Suda X 42.
- ¹⁹ Plaut. *Stich.* 769.
- ²⁰ Professor Geo Widengren, letter 10 / 22 / 79.
- ²¹ Xen. *Lac.* 2.12, tr. Marchant (Loeb).
- ²² Plut. *Lyc.* 17.1.
- ²³ Ael. *VH.* 3.10.
- ²⁴ Xen. *Lac.* 2.13, tr. Marchant (Loeb). This Platonic view of Spartan paederasty is shared by Cic. *Rep.* 4.4; Max. Tyr. 20.8.
- ²⁵ Cp. E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* I (Stockholm 1965) 164, 460.
- ²⁶ Cp. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven / London 1975) 218 n. 37 (all references).
- ²⁷ Cp. Henderson (above, note 26) 131 n. 123: “*kusos* = anus (Hsch.) is used by comic poets only of the male anus and only in the abuse of paederasts.”
- ²⁸ E. Bethe, “Die dorische Knabenliebe,” *RhM* 62 (1907, 438-475) 460 / 4.
- ²⁹ For *eispnelas* (or *-os*) and *eispnein*, cp. Theocr. 12.13 and schol. *ad loc.*; Call. fr. 68Pf.; Plut. *Ag.* 24 and *Cle.* 3; Ael. *VH.* 3.12; Choerob. in *Theod.* 166.33; *Et. Gen.* sv. *eispneles*; *EM* 43.31 and 306.22.
- ³⁰ *IG* XII.537.
- ³¹ Bethe (above, note 28) 449f., 453.
- ³² H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes* (Lille 1939) 456-460.
- ³³ Ephoros *FGH* 70 F149 (= Strabo 10.4.21), tr. Jones (Loeb, slightly amended).
- ³⁴ This must mean that the friends can hardly have been the ones of the lover, as is supposed

- by L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la grèce antique* (Paris 1968) 193 and Jones in his translation.
- ³⁵ See my observations in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.). *Studies in Hellenistic Religions*. EPRO 78 (Leiden 1979) 15f.
- ³⁶ Athenaeus 13.603A; Apollod. 3.3.5. According to Praxilla (fr. 751P), who uses the same term, Zeus carried him off.
- ³⁷ Ibycus fr. 289P; Thgn. 1347.
- ³⁸ Graf 11, with all references; add A. J. Beattie, *Kodmos* 14 (1975) 43-47.
- ³⁹ For the dynamics of gift-giving, cp. M. Mauss, *The Gift*, 1925¹ (London 1954); E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1969) I, 65-79; J. v. Baal, *Reciprocity and the Position of Women* (Amsterdam 1975) 11-69.
- ⁴⁰ Cp. J. Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age* (Paris 1977) 147 n. I: "coutume, très ancienne."
- ⁴¹ Cp. A. Schnapp, "Pratiche e immagini di caccia nella Grecia antica," *DArch* NS I (1979) 36-59. For the hunt as a preparation for war, cp. K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975) II, 699-729 ("Ein altpersischer Kriegsbrauch").
- ⁴² V. Propp, *Le radici storiche dei racconti di fate*. 1946¹ (Torino 1972) 189f.
- ⁴³ Plut. *M.* 761B.
- ⁴⁴ Athen. 11.502B.
- ⁴⁵ Athen. 11.470 / 2.
- ⁴⁶ Gemet (above, note 34) 190.
- ⁴⁷ Gemet, *loc. cit.*; F. T. van Straten, "The Lebes of Heracles," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 54 (1979) 189-91.
- ⁴⁸ Cp. J. Trumpf, "Über das Trinken in der Poesie des Alkaios," *ZPE* 12 (1973), 139-160; P. v. d. Mühl, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Basel 1975) 483-505.
- ⁴⁹ On the whole subject of wine, see the fundamental study by F. Graf, *Milch. Honig und Wein. Zum Verständnis der Libation im griechischen Ritual*, in *Perennitis, Studi in memoria di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980). For waterdrinking neighbours, see also the ancient Germans (Athen. 4.153E), Thracians (Plato *Leg.* 637E) and the, regards the mainland of Greece, marginal Euboeans (Apollodorus fr. 281K). The theme of the waterdrinking Scythians (Antiphanes fr. 35K) is again taken up by Asterius *hom.* XIV.11 *Datema*, but the topos has not been recognized by O. J. Maenchen-Helfen, *Die Welt der Hunnen* (Wien 1978) 144, who sees in the notice a reference to the behavior of the contemporary Huns.
- ⁵⁰ Cp. M. Durry, "Les femmes et le vin," *REL* 33 (1955), 108-113. In Montaignou also the women are excluded from the drinking of wine, which looks like a survival of this custom; cp. E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaignou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris 1975) 282.
- ⁵¹ Athen. 10.429B.
- ⁵² Athen. 10.429B. Ael. *VH.* 2.38 states as age thirty-five.
- ⁵³ A connection between drinking and initiation also existed in ancient Scandinavia; cp. M. Cahen, *Études sur le vocabulaire religieux du vieux-scandinave: la libation* (Paris 1921) 38. The theme deserves a wider investigation.
- ⁵⁴ Athen. 10.425A.
- ⁵⁵ Schol. *II.* 20.234.
- ⁵⁶ *Od.* 15.141; note also *II.* 1.470.
- ⁵⁷ Theophr. fr. 119; Hieronymus fr. 28 Wehrli.
- ⁵⁸ Sappho fr. 203LP = 203 Voigt.
- ⁵⁹ *Amerias apud Athen.* 10.424F.
- ⁶⁰ D.S. 12.14.5.
- ⁶¹ Plut. *Pyrr.* 5.

- ⁶² **Strabo** 13.1.11.
- ⁶³ Echemenes *FGH* 459 **F1**; Dosiadas *FGH* 458 **F5**.
- ⁶⁴ **Athen.** 13.601F, op. P. G. Themelis, *M A* 2 (1969) 163-165.
- ⁶⁵ Cp. H. Sichtermann, *Ganymed: Mythus und Gestalt in der Antiken Kunst* (Berlin 1952); see more recently M. Bonghi Jovino, "Una *tabella* Capuana con *ratto* di Ganimede." in *Homomages à M. Renard* 3 (Brussel 1969) 66-78; G. Schwarz, "Iris und Ganymed auf attischen Vasenbildern," *JöAI* 51 (1976 / 7) 1-10; S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, "Zeus und Ganymed auf einer Pelike des Hermonax," *AK* 22 (1979) 49-54.
- ⁶⁶ Cp. **Athen.** 11.782B; Cicero *apud Serv. Aen.* 10.325.
- ⁶⁷ Plut. *M.* IIF.
- ⁶⁸ Ael. *HA.* 4.1.
- ⁶⁹ For wounds in the front as honorable ones, cp. D.S. 15.33.6; Plut. *Ant.* 43, *Cat. Ma.* 1, *Crass.* 11, *Pel.* 4.
- ⁷⁰ *AP.* 12.38.
- ⁷¹ Nep. *Pro.* 4.
- ⁷² Plut. *M.* 274D.
- ⁷³ Val. Max. 6.1.7ff.
- ⁷⁴ For Romans and paederasty, cp. M. H. E. Meier / L. R. de Pögey-Castries, *Histoire de l'amour grec dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1952) 177-200, and F. Gouffroy, *Un fait de civilisation méconnu: l'homosexualité masculine à Rome* (unprinted 'Thtse IIIe cycle,' Poitiers 1972).
- ⁷⁵ Cp. J. Griffin, "Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury," *JRS* 66 (1976) 86-105, esp. 100 / 2. I owe this reference and the one to **Nepos** to Nicholas Horsfall.
- ⁷⁶ Liv. 39.10.8 and 39.13.10.
- ⁷⁷ Cp. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977) 435f.
- ⁷⁸ A. J. Festugire, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris 1972) 98.
- ⁷⁹ We may compare the stereotyped connection between cannibalism and secret societies, cp. W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berlin / New York 1972) 47, and N. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (London 1975) passim.
- ⁸⁰ Plut. *M.* 288A.
- ⁸¹ Cp. F. Münzer, RE IIA (1923) 352. The fullest collection of sources is J. Oehler on Tert. *Monog.* 12.
- ⁸² Plut. *CG.* 4.4.
- ⁸³ Cp. F. Gouffroy, "Homosexualité et l'idéologie esclavagiste chez Cicéron," *DHA* 4 (1978) 219-262.
- ⁸⁴ *Arist. Pol.* 2.6.6; Posidon. *FGH* 87 **F116** (= D.S. 5.32.7); Strabo 4.4.6; *Pto. Tetr.* 2.3; *Bardesanes liber legum regionum*, p.592f. Nau = (in Greek translation) Eus. *PE.* 6.10.
- ⁸⁵ **Athen.** 13.603E.
- ⁸⁶ For this practice, cp. S. Pembroke, "Women in Charge: the function of Alternatives in Early Greek Tradition and the Ancient Idea of Matriarchy," *JCWI* 30 (1967) 1-36; I. Chirassi-Colombo, "The role of Thrace in Greek Religion," *Thracia* II (Sofia 1974) 71-80; M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris 1977) 133-160.
- ⁸⁷ **Brinley** Rees, letter 12 / 5 / 79.
- ⁸⁸ Sext. *Emp. P.* 3.199; Bardesanes (above, note 84).
- ⁸⁹ *Tac. Germ.* 12.
- ⁹⁰ Cp. Anonymous, "Spuren von konträrsexualität bei den alten Skandinaviern," *Jahrb. f. sex. Zwischenstufen* 4 (1907) 244-263.

- ⁹¹ Cp. N. Beckman, *Ett ställe hos Tacitus* (Germ. c. 12), Nord. Tidss. f. filologi IV 9 (1920) 103-108; J. Weisweiler, IF41 (1923) 16-27; O. Hbfler, *Kultische Geheimbiindeder Germanen* (Frankfurt / M 1934) 268.
- ⁹² Prowp. *Goth.* 2.14.
- ⁹³ Cp. L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen* (München 1941²) 548-564.
- ⁹⁴ Prowp. *Pers.* 2.25.
- ⁹⁵ Hofler, *Kultische Geheimbinde*, 267-269.
- ⁹⁶ G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iron* (Köln 1969) 9-44, 50f.
- ⁹⁷ Cp. S. Deger-Jalkotzy, *E-ge-ta. Zur Rolle des Gefolgschaftswesens in der Sozialstruktur mykenischer Reiche* (Wien 1978), with an excellent survey of the I-E evidence (118-212).
- ⁹⁸ Amm. Marc. 31.9.5: *Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem ac obscenoe vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut opud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulenter maribus puberes, aetatis viriditotem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro siqui iam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemerit ursum immonem. colluvione liberatur incesti.*
- ⁹⁹ Schmidt, *Ostgermanen*, 546 / 8.
- ¹⁰⁰ H. Beck, *Das Ebersignum im Germanischen* (Berlin 1965) 154-176.
- ¹⁰¹ Hegesandros *opud Athen.* 1.18A.
- ¹⁰² Cp. K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme* (München 1837) 435; R. Pallmann, *Knoppen bei den Germanen in der Zeit der Völkerwanderung*, *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 3 (1863) 229-236; Hbfler, *Kultische Geheimbinde*. 268; Schmidt, *Ostgermanen*, 548.
- ¹⁰³ J. G. v. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* (Jena 1854) 166-168.
- ¹⁰⁴ **Bethe**, *Dorische Knabenliebe*, 475.
- ¹⁰⁵ For mountainous areas as retaining archaic customs, cp. F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris 1966) I, 30-34; P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London 1978) 31f.
- ¹⁰⁶ This is stressed by virtually every study of Albania. For a useful bibliography, cp. I. Whitaker *opud* I. M. Lewis (ed.), *History and Social Anthropology* (London 1968) 288-293.
- ¹⁰⁷ P. Nacke, "Über Homosexualität in Albanien," *Jahrb. f. sex. Zwischenstufen* 9 (1908, 327-337) 328. Unfortunately, this article is less informative than the title suggests. Dr. Peter **Bartl** kindly supplied me with an English version: "On Homosexuality in Albania," *Intern. Journ. of Greek Love I* (1965) 39-47.
- ¹⁰⁸ Cp. H. Lixfeld, "Anthropophyteia," in K. Ranke (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens I* (Berlin / New York 1977) 596-601.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cp. "Erotisch-skatologisches Glossar der Albanesen," *Anthropophyteio* 8 (1911) 35-39.
- ¹¹⁰ Weigand *opud* **Bethe**, *Dorische Knabenliebe*, 475.
- ¹¹¹ As can be inferred from **Karsch-Haach** 91-115; **Brelich** 85; A. Dundes, *Man* 11 (1976), 233f.
- ¹¹² Cp. Westermarck (above, note 13) 475-477; A. Dundes *et al.*, "The strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes," *Am. J. Folklore* 83 (1970) 325-349; V. L. Bullough, "Homosexuality as Submissive Behavior," *J. Sex Research* 9 (1973) 283-288 (with interesting examples from ancient Egypt); Dover 105.
- ¹¹³ See, e.g., M. Sahlins, *The Use and Abuse of Biology* (Ann Arbor 1976); M. Ruse, *Sociobiology: Sense or Nonsense* (Dordrecht 1979).
- ¹¹⁴ **Eibl-Eibesfeldt**, quoted by Fehling 18.
- ¹¹⁵ G. Wills, *New York Review of Books*, 34. (1975) p.4.
- ¹¹⁶ R. Firth, *We the Tikopia* (London 1959) 466.
- ¹¹⁷ **Ephoros loc. cit.** = Strabo 10.4.20.

- ¹¹⁷ Plut. *Lyc.* 16 and *Cle.* 9.
- ¹¹⁹ Calame I, 374f; add Plut. *Ages.* I.
- ¹²⁰ A. v. Gennepe, *The Rites of Passage*, 1909¹ (1960) 171.
- ¹²¹ L. Tiger, *Men in Groups*, 1969¹ (London 1971) 147.
- ¹²² G. Dumézil, "Maiestas et gravitas: de quelques différences entre les Romains et les Australonésiens" (!), *RPh* 26 (1952) 7-28 = (slightly abbreviated but with a new preface) *Idées romaines* (Paris 1969) 125-152. Wagenvoort's reply (*Mnem.* IV 5 [1953] 287-306) is reprinted in H. Wagenvoort, *Pietas. Selected Studies in Roman Religion* = "Studies in Greek and Roman Religion" I (Leiden 1980) 39-58.
- ¹²³ K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel 1975) II, 907-1021.
- ¹²⁴ Plut. *Lyc.* 18.
- ¹²⁵ Hagnon *apud Athen.* 13.602D. I follow Calame (I.434), as against G. Devereux, *SO* 42 (1968) 83f. (who is followed by Dover 188), in not seeing in this text anal intercourse of boys with girls.
- ¹²⁶ Alcman fr. 1 and 3P.
- ¹²⁷ Calame II, 94-97; see also R. Merkelbach, "Sappho und ihr Kreis," *Philologus* 101 (1957) 1-29 = C. Calame (ed.), *Rito e poesia orale in Grecia* (Rome 1977) 123-136, 214f.; B. Gentili, *La veneranda Saffo*, *QUCC* 2 (1966) 37-62 = Calame, *Rito*, 139-155, 216-220.
- ¹²⁸ Cp. A. Winterstein, "Die Pubertätsriten der Mädchen mit deren Spuren in Marchen," *Imago* 14 (1928) 199-274; J. K. Brown, "A cross-cultural study of female initiation rites," *Am. Anthropol.* 65 (1963) 837-853; D. Visca, *Le iniziazioni femminili: un problema de reconsiderare, Religioni e civiltà* 2 (1976) 241-274; N. J. Girardot, "Initiation and Meaning in the Tale of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs," *Am. J. Folklore* 90 (1977) 274-300.
- ¹²⁹ References: Calame I, 435 n.173.