

# 6

## “Homosexualism,” Gay and Lesbian Studies, and Queer Theory in Art History

Whitney Davis

WHAT is often called “gay and lesbian studies in art history” (e.g., Davis ed. 1994) is not a method in the strict sense. In professional art history, it draws eclectically on well-established documentary and iconographic as well as more recently elaborated semiotic, psychoanalytic, and other methods, considered elsewhere in this volume. It can, however, invoke specific theories – for example, Sigmund Freud’s concept of primary narcissism or Michel Foucault’s “repressive hypothesis.” These have been widely debated throughout the humanities and social sciences (see Abelove, Barale, and Halperin ed. 1993). Many projects influenced by gay and lesbian studies do not directly have to do with same-sex sexual attractions in history. Nonetheless they derive from and express broadly gay, lesbian, “queer,” or nonhomophobic interests, in certain artists, for example, or artistic themes.

In this chapter, I introduce gay and lesbian studies in art history as a long-term development from “*homosexualism*” to *gay and lesbian studies* and *queer theory*. I first review these terms in their broad sense, commenting on their past and present interrelations. After this introductory orientation, I offer a historiography – necessarily brief, selective, and personal – specific to art history and cognate humanistic disciplines.<sup>1</sup> I conclude with an example.

### Overview of the Intellectual Context, 1750–1996

By “homosexualism,” I mean the Euro-American tradition of self-consciously – if obliquely – highlighting the homoerotic personal and aesthetic significance and historical meanings of works of art or other cultural forms. Homosexualism became visible in a recognizably modern way in the middle of the eighteenth century, chiefly in J. J. Winckelmann’s concept of the *angeborenlich* or inborn nature of homoerotic aesthetic sensibility (as distinct from sodomitical and pederastic interest) (see Davis 1996a). It was highly developed by the end

of the nineteenth century and partly institutionalized in certain artistic movements and critical schools. Homosexualist history and criticism was produced not only by scholars (though rarely as the overt content of their research). It was also pursued by nonspecialist essayists, collectors, amateurs, and laymen who constituted a diffuse community of devotees of the arts and of belles-lettres.

Homosexuality was a cultural and to some extent an erotic and political practice. Partly by way of it, many middle-class men and women in the nation states of Europe and America and the colonies achieved their complex self-understanding – a sense of their personal and social situation, aesthetic interests and creativity, and legal-political status and responsibility – as being what we now call “homosexual.” Initially, and until the early 1870s, homosexualist criticism had no working discursive idea of “homosexuality” as such. This concept emerged organically in the recollection or discovery of homoerotic possibilities in the past or in imaginary worlds – for which works of art and literature were often the prime evidence – and in relation to contemporary legal, medical-psychiatric, anthropological, and literary investigations. (For the turning point, see especially Herzer 1985, Kennedy 1988.)

By the beginning of the twentieth century, homosexuality had largely become the self-conscious (if still often covert) acknowledgment of “homosexuality.” This can be described as a strong personal belief – apparently achieved in the face of harsh social rejection – in the irreducibility and incorrigibility and often the sociocultural universality and psychobiological inevitability of (one’s own) same-sex erotic attractions and sexual activities, often though not necessarily experienced and practiced as the exclusive form of personal sexuality.<sup>2</sup> Authored not only by “homosexuals,” homosexualist scholarship in science, medicine, psychology, and history (see especially Bloch 1902, Freud 1905, Hirschfeld 1914) succeeded in suggesting – to the satisfaction, at least, of many academics and substantial portions of the general public – that this belief is very probably a *true* belief. It adequately discovers a real phenomenon irrespective of the admittedly partial and ill-informed (and indeed to some extent hostile or anxious) social and discursive lens of observation itself.

The plausibility of this homosexuality – like physics or Catholicism, it is committed to what it urges is a true belief – has declined among a small (but highly visible) number of academic scholars today. The general prestige of *all* truth claims, of course, has declined, in part because twentieth-century philosophy places great stress on how the “reality” of natural or social phenomena can be created through interest-driven observations and ideologically determined discourses. (See Foucault 1980, Halperin 1990 for the intersections between homosexuality as a truth claim and homosexuality as a discursive construction.) But homosexuality remains virtually uncontested by the vast majority of non-academic middle-class Euro-American “gay people.” Indeed, it is, apparently, vitally necessary to them; in America, most of their principal contemporary spokespeople, whether on the right (Sullivan 1995), left (Vaid 1995), or center (Mohr 1988, 1994) of the political spectrum, accept it as the *sine qua non* of intellectual understanding and social decision. In the broadest forum, the homosexualist

view – that the homosexualist belief is a *true* belief – is the only one that has extremely wide evidentiary support and both public and scholarly credibility. In the simplest formula, homosexualism is the personal testimony of homosexuals that they exist.<sup>3</sup>

"Gay and lesbian studies" emerged in the second half of the twentieth century fully accepting the reality of "homosexuality" in the sense noted, whether or not previous generations would or could have done so. As an academic sub-discipline (or interdiscipline), gay and lesbian studies has now been established in most of the humanities and social sciences. It has transformed homosexualism by consolidating its deep but diffused learning and emancipatory ambition and by successfully professionalizing its factual basis and substantive argumentation. Retaining strong connections with homosexualist belles lettres and with civil-rights, feminist, and AIDS activism both inside and outside the academy, today it remains open to the empirical and theoretical frameworks of highly specialized disciplines in psychology, sociology, philosophy, literary criticism, history, and cultural studies. It is largely, though not exclusively, the institutional creation and arena of self-identified gay and lesbian – "homosexual" *and* "homosexualist" – teachers and students.

In turn, "queer theory" has attempted to "theorize," as some might put it, certain aspects of the personal, rhetorical, and analytic concerns of traditional homosexualism – for example, its stress on an aesthetics of marginality (and associated formations of appropriation and resistance), on the psychology of self-division, on the tropology of disguised or reserved meaning (for example, irony), and on the special stylization, inflection, and proliferation of texts and performances, verbal and visual. All of these can be the substantive concerns of criticism or history as well as the material of art itself, as they have been since the eighteenth century. But queer theory coordinates them in relation to high-level philosophies of consciousness or selfhood and of textuality or art – to the point of implicitly offering a *general* theory of *all* subjective identity and aesthetic creation, of all selves and texts and works of art, as "queer." In this way, it has revised nineteenth-century homosexualist perspectives on the peculiarity of certain selves and texts to create a late twentieth-century critique of the structural peculiarity of modernity or even mind itself. It presents itself as a systematic attempt to depathologize and demarginalize (or perhaps universalize) homosexualism and to purge its originally determining sense of its own unacceptability, abnormality, or impossibility. Although founded in the empirical and theoretical work of gay and lesbian studies and related disciplines, this approach can require a textual and historical – and possibly even the phenomenological or psychobiological – deconstruction of homosexuality itself.

This last direction is a move that gay and lesbian studies itself did not, and does not, always wish to take. On the one hand, queer theory tries to *dehomosexualize* homosexualism – to advance an ethics and critique of "queer" consciousness, selfhood, textuality, or art without centering it in the "gay" or "lesbian" belief in homosexuality. In this respect, the queer theorist can be close to her late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century predecessors – for example,

in her stress on the mutabilities of gender and the transformative, transgressive aesthetics of sensibility. On the other hand, queer theory tries to *homosexualize* the nonhomosexual – to extend the gay/lesbian belief in homosexuality to other phenomena of eroticism, intersubjectivity, and social relations about which an overarching “queer” belief should be *equally* true. In this respect, the queer theorist can be close to her late twentieth-century colleagues in feminism, African-American studies, postcolonial and subaltern studies, and the like. Either way, in queer theory the true belief of homosexuality tends to become, if not actually less true, certainly less necessary or interesting.

## Homosexuality in Art History

The apparent fact that disciplines such as art, architectural, design, theater, and music history have attracted many homosexual – if not always homosexualist – scholars has often been remarked (e.g., Rosen 1994). The historical determinations of this phenomenon deserve further study. By the nineteenth century, some interests in fine-art artifacts, in design and decoration, and in the idealization (or aesthetic reorganization) of the erotic, social, and built environments were stereotyped as nonstandard and perhaps sexually deviant – notable, for example, in public perceptions of J. J. Winckelmann, Queen Christina of Sweden, William Beckford, Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde, Gertrude Stein, and others. Roughly speaking, their interests were seen as “fetishistic”; in 1927, Freud formalized the long-standing idea that “fetishism” replaces a primary homosexuality (see Davis 1992). In turn, some people were attracted to social or professional milieus in which such interests were projected and protected. Here we should notice the long tradition of homoerotic and homosexualist analysis and criticism of the visual arts, much of it produced outside art history. This tradition provided the groundwork for contemporary gay and lesbian studies – for example, by establishing the very terms by which scholars understand themselves as persons and especially as art lovers or at least aesthetically interested viewers and interpreters. As such it has become one of the main topics for art- and cultural-historical investigation itself (e.g., Dellamora 1990, Jenkyns 1992, Davis 1993, Dowling 1994, Schmidgall 1994).

In 1755, J. J. Winckelmann recommended that modern artists imitate the forms, especially the outline contours, of Classical Greek painting and sculpture. Although Winckelmann’s preferred modern artists, such as Guido Reni, were supposedly doing this already, Winckelmann criticized artists such as Gianlorenzo Bernini, who worked, he believed, from nature. Winckelmann’s regard for an artist like Guido – hence the critical standard applied throughout his critical writings, especially *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1987; 1st ed. 1755) – was clearly motivated by eroticized interest in his painting of a youthfully beautiful Archangel Saint Michael and similar works. More important, Winckelmann imagined that the outline contour of the Classical Greek image had itself been secured homoerotically. The

ancient sculptor, Winckelmann implied, imitated the outline of the form of the young men he judged to be beautiful. In turn, these youths made themselves beautiful – for example, in gymnastic games – for the erotic and ethical appreciation of older male lovers. Indeed, Winckelmann imagined that the ancient artists actually copied the outline imprints of handsome youths wrestling in the sand. In imitating the contour of Greek sculpture, then, the modern artist would (at a kind of second remove) actually be restoring the homoerotic teleology of ancient art (see Davis 1993, 1996a; Potts 1994).

Winckelmann's neoclassicist prescription – embedding both his motivating homoerotic standards and his art-historical interpretation of ancient homoeroticism – had tremendous influence not only on modern art but also on the development of art history (modeled partly on his *History of Ancient Art* of 1764) in the decades after his death in 1768. To be sure, the actual visual evidence for Greek or other varieties of homoeroticism and related social formations concerned only a handful of specialists: For example, Richard Payne Knight (1786) and Jakob Anton Dulaure (1909) considered the artifacts used in "phallic," though not necessarily homoerotic, cults; Carl August Boettiger (1800: 62–6) studied the dedications of Greek painted vases made as love gifts between men; M. H. E. Meier (1837) and John Addington Symonds (1873, 1883) included visual evidence in their comparatively systematic histories of Greek pederasty; various editors presented the "Secret Cabinet" at Naples and similar collections, containing ancient phallic, hermaphroditic, and pederastic images (e.g., Millin 1814); and early homosexual-rights advocates like Otto de Joux (1897) and E. I. Prime-Stevenson (Mayne 1908) included the visual arts in their surveys of same-sex love. Moreover, the scholarly interests of many modern artist-intellectuals – Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, members of the Barbu movement, Gustave Moreau, Jean Cocteau, and others – encompassed an eroticized interest in homoerotic themes, such as the myth of Ganymede or the story of Sappho and the iconography of transcendent androgyny or of the mythically butch lower-class trick. Precisely because its social realization has been tentative and proscribed, modern homoeroticisms constructed both nostalgic antiquarianism and utopian connoisseurship in which certain images signified the imaginary possibility of a homoerotically fulfilling human order (see Aldrich 1993). In a more diffuse way, academic figure study of the male nude occasionally embedded a "Winckelmannian" acknowledgment of the homoerotic circuitry involved in a male artist's production of an image of a desirable male body for the visual admiration of a substantially male audience (and a complementary, if not identical, interest in such circuitries among women) (see Crow 1995). Finally, collecting and publishing (and an important industry of imitation) partly motivated by homoerotic interests – or even interests in the history of homosexuality – were partly responsible for the preservation of works of art, often sexually explicit and connected with otherwise inaccessible subcultures, that now form one of the empirical foundations of gay and lesbian scholarship in art history.<sup>4</sup>

Just as important as these isolated but direct engagements with the possible homoerotic significance of visual forms, however, was the broad, often

barely articulated, public awareness that a scholarly or artistic interest in Classical Greek art and certain other images could be carried to a pitch or to nuances of enthusiasm that could only be construed as sodomitical or pederastic. Euro-American society has always heavily penalized sodomy – nonprocreative sexual acts, including homosexual ones. Increasingly in the later part of the nineteenth century, modern society saw “homosexuality” – a homoeroticism supposedly intrinsic to a person’s character or nature, regardless of sexual practice, and possibly inborn – as pathological. After a period of relative openness from the 1780s to the 1830s, homoerotic material in the visual arts was generally suppressed or driven underground into very restricted circulation; scholarly interests in homoeroticism (even among self-acknowledged “homosexuals”) were frequently organized along homophobic lines. Thus Isidor Sadger, the Freudian writer most responsible for developing the psychoanalytic theory of homosexuality, regarded the homoerotic personal and cultural interests of his principal patient to be thoroughly neurotic. The man, a Scandinavian baron, conjoined his Winckelmannian profession as art historian (his supposed “infatuation with statues”) with real-life homosexual relationships. Sadger (1910, 1921) took the baron’s form of life to embody a fundamental “narcissism” – a self-love and inability to get beyond the value of his own sex and beloved images of its erotic desirability. Shortly thereafter, and extending Sadger’s idea, Freud (1910) thought he could discover such “narcissism” in the character of Leonardo da Vinci, supposedly as the very psychological origin of his adult (if nonactualized) “homosexuality” (see further Davis 1995b).

In this hostile climate – we can roughly date it from the 1840s (see Kaan 1844) to the 1960s and a broad transformation of many attitudes to gender and sex – historians of homoeroticism worked cautiously or, more usually, in euphemistic or obscurantist terms. In his *Social Life in Greece* (1874), for example, J. P. Mahaffy felt obliged, in the second edition, to drop his pages on Greek pederasty. In his standard *History of Modern Painting*, Richard Muther (1896) explained Michelangelo’s interest in young men by supposing that women spurned him because of his ugliness. (This was in spite of powerful reasons presented by John Addington Symonds [1877] to suppose that Michelangelo’s poetry was in part homoerotic.) From the 1920s through the 70s, art history was dominated by enormous catalogs, descriptive and comparative compendia, and monographic studies. But systematic treatments of artists like Donatello or Géricault and of major modern and contemporary artists from Gustave Moreau to Andy Warhol avoided – or were ignorant of – the homoerotic or “homosexual” dimensions of the life and work in question. With the exception of certain feminist and semiotic analyses, the major modes of art-historical analysis and interpretation were developed without reference to the social reality of same-sex eroticisms, past and present.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, in certain contexts, sometimes identified with specific subcultural homosexualisms and homosexual emancipation movements, historians did conduct research into homoeroticism and the visual arts. In fact, as gay and lesbian history has been refined in the past two decades, earlier engagements

with homoeroticism in visual culture can often be seen as having been quite innovative (or at least productively animated by critical tensions). For example, John Addington Symonds produced several studies that were fully conscious of, if not directly motivated by, homoerotic aesthetics, ethics, and politics – cobbled together from his own troubled personal experiences and his reading of Classical literature, Walt Whitman, current psychiatry, and other sources. His writing included not only a biography of Michelangelo (more realistic than Muther's) but also critical essays on the nexus of Greek literature, art, philosophy, and pederasty and on the erotics of Renaissance art. His correspondence and "memoirs" (published long after his death) document his homoerotic antiquarianism and art-critical attentiveness (see generally Grosskurth 1964). One might also consider the very different projects of Walter Pater (1880), beginning with his 1867 essay on Winckelmann, and of Oscar Wilde not only on their own complex terms (see Jenkyns 1992, Dowling 1994, Schmidgall 1994) but also in terms of their impact on later homosexualist culture, particularly in the Bloomsbury group (see Reed 1994). In his *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Magnus Hirschfeld published several important art-historical studies at the turn of the century, including L. S. A. M. von Roemer's (1904) study of hermaphroditism and androgyny in premodern and non-Western arts and religious traditions. In the 1930s and 40s, American and expatriate intellectuals in New York (largely Greenwich Village) circles published a varied, open, and sophisticated cultural history and criticism frequently engaged with homosexuality (see Ford and Neiman ed. 1991); Parker Tyler's *Screening the Sexes: Homosexuality in the Movies* (1973) is a fascinating late product of this tradition (cf. Tyler 1967). Lesbian feminists in the 1960s and 70s carried out research into the cross-cultural history of feminine erotic imagery, coupled with efforts to renew it (see Lippard 1983, Langer ed. 1993).

In part because of professional art history's involvement with the art market – it resists any threat to the exchange value of art objects – and accountability to influential collectors and museum publics, it was slow to respond to this homosexualist tradition in literary and art criticism and belles lettres broadly conceived (including many politically activist endeavors and texts). Indeed, the homosexualist tradition still tends to be seen as amateurish – naive, self-interested, or apologetic – even though it shaped the modern cultural identity and self-awareness of many "inverted," gay or lesbian, and queer men and women despite absorbing some of the homophobic stereotypes endemic in the society which produced it.

## **Gay and Lesbian Studies in Professional Art History**

The chief impetus for a self-acknowledged gay and lesbian studies in professional art history was the gay liberation movement of the later 1960s and the 70s. This politically motivated scholarship was not necessarily more objective than the homosexualist criticism that it partly replaced. In keeping with its partly

introspective excavation of minority social formations and proscribed subjectivities, gay and lesbian studies and queer theory today remain highly personalized and subjective (see, e.g., Camille 1994, Rand 1994). Indeed, they often aim to criticize myths about historical objectivity and to invoke a more realistic sense of social and psychic intersubjectivities.<sup>6</sup> But the gay liberation movement did provide a new sense of intellectual authority and flexibility for the individual gay and lesbian scholars who participated in it, despite their relative professional ostracism. The movement publicly demanded social tolerance, equal rights under the law, and cultural visibility and political representation for gays and lesbians. This ambitious agenda was seen to require that a diffused homosexuality, however extensive and knowledgeable, must formalize its aspirations and knowledge and assert them publicly according to the most widely accepted canons of argument. In this crucible a professional gay and lesbian art history was fashioned.

As the last point implies, the methods employed in the first major professional treatments of homosexuality and the visual arts were traditional in the fullest and best sense of the term. Often appearing in the 1970s in gay-friendly galleries or gay periodicals, by the early 80s they began to appear in mainstream professional contexts. Here I cannot discuss individual scholarly works and the many forms of evidence, method, and theory they deployed: They are very different one from the next. But they are united by their common concern to establish gay and lesbian inquiry within the discipline in the discipline's own accepted and often most legitimate or prestigious terms and formats – the documentary exhibition, compendium, or history offering stylistic, thematic, and sociopolitical analysis (with at least a minimum and often a maximum of conventional scholarly apparatus).<sup>7</sup>

Given the small number of participants, their limited resources, and their precarious academic situation, the initial contributions to gay and lesbian studies in art history tended to analyze “homosexual” artists, major homoerotic motifs or themes in the visual arts, and gay and lesbian cultural networks and institutions or ancestral and comparable social formations (largely in the postmedieval West). Stylistic analysis was occasionally set to the task of identifying distinctively gay or lesbian modes of production or response – a project sometimes wedded, in turn, to homosexualist concepts of specifically homosexual nature or identity at a biopsychological level. Whatever the status of such claims, the research method was productive. Many cultural homoeroticisms and homosexualisms have had a minority social realization and often a fundamentally oppositional component, however continuous they might have been with dominant conventions in other ways. Thus they could be documented as specific – even socially unique or independent – traditions consolidated in the work of well-defined groups of historically identifiable, sometimes self-acknowledged, homosexual men and women.

One did not, however, simply assume that a preexisting “homosexuality” had created particular visual traditions – art history's business being merely to retrieve or reconstruct them. It was understood that cultural practices – such as certain



Classical iconographies, academic modes of teaching art, or various art criticisms – shaped possibilities for “homosexual” expression, response, or identity in the first place. Winckelmann had argued that young men in Greece fashioned themselves in relation to the model projected to them by Pindar’s poetry and Phidias’s sculpture. In the preferred term of early nineteenth-century German Hellenism after Goethe and Wilhelm von Humboldt, such homoeroticism (it could have modern forms) was “ethical” – *a complex product of highly personal, often troubled, partly unconscious, and socially circumscribed self-cultivation in the cultural field of aesthetic forms*. This theory remains the mainstay of modern gender and gay and lesbian studies in culturalist disciplines and of queer theory, often more indebted to nineteenth-century German philosophy than its overt or claimed relationships to poststructuralism might imply.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the underlying culturalist theory, as a point of *method* it was convenient and proper to begin with those arts tied – in seemingly one-to-one correlations – to homosexual biographies and social groups or to undeniably “homosexual” themes. For indeed there were artists, artworks, or arts to be seen, as this method both assumed and discovered, as homoeroticist or homosexualist – as having attempted aesthetically and ethically to *realize* same-sex eroticism as such, which otherwise subsists (it has been claimed) as a universal potentiality of all sexual, social, and cultural relations. Artistically *unrealized* homoeroticism, of course, was not the concern of an art history conceived along traditional lines. As a formalization of previous traditions of belles-lettristic interpretation, this art history was the academic equivalent of the gay-liberationist project of achieving legal-political representation and cultural visibility. Representation obviously requires a preexisting constituency to be represented and visibility an entity to be recognized.

There were well-known limits, however, to the scope of the project. Obviously, the positive historical record of past social and cultural realizations of same-sex sex and eroticism might be extremely fragmentary. Substantial material has been lost or destroyed. Moreover, modern Western homoeroticisms had been *created* homophobically; they had partly accepted their impossibility, imaginariness, or unacceptability as the very condition of social and cultural expression. Thus the evidence for same-sex meanings or desires – or even practices or institutions – in the visual arts might be the very *absence* of evidence for such meanings or institutions.

At the level of method, historians are always uneasy about arguments from silence, whether or not theory expects that the silences must be necessary, indeed constitutive, features of historical experience and therefore of the historical record. The gaps can be filled through acts of imagination on the part of interpreters or they can be addressed in a hermeneutic procedure, a text-critical, psycho-biographical, or structural analysis of the causes of the gap. But activating such procedures – launching a codicology to show where variants can be presumed or a psychoanalysis to suggest where a “repression” occurred – requires that one be able to identify a gap *as* a gap in the first place, that is, to endorse a theory of representational transmission or replication in which gaps are

predicted. The *culturalist* theory of modern homoeroticism – for example, Winckelmann's, Symonds's, Sadger's, or Foucault's – has always offered such predictions, partly because modern homoeroticism has often imagined itself (especially when it has been socially labeled as deviant) as the lack or loss of certain ideal possibilities for social life, mourns for them, and aims to restore or creatively invent them. But this theory has not been congruent with popular biopsychological or sociological theories, which clearly have little place for an empirical account of homosexuality as a constitutive *lack* of homosexuality. And to the extent that gay and lesbian scholarship worked with these, rather than cultural-historical, theories, it was unable completely to fulfill its own interpretive aims: it avoided thoroughgoing hermeneutics in order to render homosexuality visible according to the canons of positivism, but it could not, for just that reason, recover the whole historical field of same-sex eroticism in its constitutive *invisibilities*. Gay and lesbian historians know perfectly well that their positive documentations and successful interpretations touch the tip of the iceberg. But analytic techniques for diving below the surface remain uncertain, highly theoretical in both the positive and negative senses.

### **Recent Gay/Lesbian Studies and the Development of Queer Theory**

In the later 1980s and early 90s, several developments led to an extension and refocusing of gay and lesbian studies.<sup>9</sup> Throughout, as in gay and lesbian social and intellectual life generally, the impact of the AIDS crisis has been enormous, engendering a second wave of political, artistic, and intellectual activism (see especially Crimp 1988, 1989; Owens 1992). This antihomophobia movement includes many straight scholars: Antihomophobia can be “theorized” as such and has renewed academic interest (having a long but often uncited ancestry in homosexualist *belles lettres*) in *all* nonstandard or “queer” sociosexual formations, such as transvestism or fetishism (see Butters, Clum, and Moon ed. 1989, Garber 1992). In recent gay and lesbian studies, three intellectual developments stand out.

First, partly following the lead of feminism, Anglo-American scholars have absorbed Continental poststructuralist thought – especially deconstruction – and the discourse-deterministic sociocultural theory of Michel Foucault. In some ways, queer theory, most simply put, can be seen as the effect of deconstruction on gay and lesbian studies. Some of the central theoretical ideas of queer theory derive from intensive engagement with and critique of the Hegelian, Heideggerian, and phenomenological traditions, influenced by other poststructuralist claims about consciousness, knowledge, and power (see especially Butler 1987). As such, it would have been impossible for late eighteenth- or nineteenth-century thinkers to be queer theorists, although homosexualism and queer theory have much in common. We will consider the matter in more detail momentarily.

The impact of Foucault’s conceptualizations on gay and lesbian historical studies has been profound. The *Introduction* to Foucault’s *History of Sexuality* (1980) stressed that whatever its empirical biopsychological correlates, “homosexuality” should be seen (as the background culturalism requires) as the historical product of a social process of cultivation – namely, the formation of subjects imprinted by, and identifying with, cognitive classifications the chief effect, if not the sole cause, of which is to secure the integrity, purity, intelligibility, and reproducibility of the social order. Foucault’s deft blend of Freudian, Althusserian, and Lévi-Straussian insights offered a model for, if not quite a method of, diving below the surface – for a history positivism could not quite achieve. His investigations employed eclectic historical–critical methods and did not really engage the primary sources critically, let alone discover new ones. But they did set an agenda for many projects in the “history of sexuality” which have greatly enriched the base of evidence to which social, cultural, and art historians can turn.

Foucault asserted that “the homosexual” was “called into being” as an effect of “repressive” juridical, medical, and psychiatric “discourses” which represented his or her erotic desires, social practices, and cultural productions to be the result of a natural, that is, inborn or constitutional, character – in other words, as an effect of the new classification of (and for) “homosexuality,” a term first used in 1869. Foucault’s argument here is structurally very similar to Jean-Paul Sartre’s notion in *Anti-Semite and Jew* (1948: 13) that anti-Semitism “invents” the “Jew.” Sartre had a concrete sense of who the anti-Semite is and of his or her irrational psychology. Foucault, by contrast, rarely speaks of actual or concrete homophobes. If they too are the “effect” of discourse – as the general theory would seem to require – they must have been “invented” by the antionanism discourse (e.g., Kaan 1844) that substantially predated the discourse on homosexuality itself, for they are supposedly the *authors* of the discourse on homosexuality. Consistent with his earlier work, however, Foucault generally avoids attributing the authorship of texts or discourses to concrete persons or even to well-defined institutions. Thus he envisioned a much more abstract and diffuse “power” vested in the modern “pastoral” state and its systems of knowledge pitted against a kernel of “freedom” – here, the freedom *not* to be invented, homophobically, as a “homosexual” – possessed by every human being. But the problem of authorship – and thus of the complex sociopolitical authorizations and authenticities – of the concept or cultural discourse of homosexuality cannot be waved away quite so easily or by theoretical fiat.

Despite the dramatic force of Foucault’s critique of modern society and its creation and regulation of “homosexuality,” his specific historical proposals about this process were sometimes inaccurate and often incomplete. The medical–psychiatric concept of “homosexuality” was indeed connected with developments in law, psychiatry, and sexology. But Foucault did not study the discursive passage from established homoeroticist theory to legal reform, psychiatry, and sexology of the 1860s and 70s; he simply assumed that it was exclusively psychiatry which offered a discursive theory about, and for, “homosexuals.” Thus

he failed adequately to recognize that the “inborn” (*angeborenlich*) character of homoeroticist taste had been one of the principal arguments of cultural homoeroticism since the mid eighteenth century (one of the rallying cries, for example, of a publicly debated “antiphysicalist” politics in the French Revolution). It was endorsed by nineteenth-century emancipationists – again, predating the emergence of the terminology of “homosexuality” – who fought strenuously against the psychiatrization of their autobiographical testimonies. Indeed, the discursive concept of homosexuality was as much homosexualism’s resistance to psychiatry as it was psychiatry’s repression of nonstandard sexuality. (In his later works, Foucault seems to have recognized this, but it was not initially included in his highly influential, but one-sided, “repressive hypothesis” about the construction of sexuality [Foucault 1980].) Moreover, Foucault simply ignored the fact that many major psychiatrists and sexologists of the 1870s through the 90s did not in any sense regard homosexuality as “congenital” or “constitutional,” as a natural character, kind, or species, whether mundane or morbid. In the interests of their own therapeutic industry, they saw it as socially acquired in postnatal development, a construction of the homosexual social practices and cultural forms that Foucault claims were the result of the concept of indigenous or congenital “homosexuality.”<sup>10</sup>

These and other historical blind spots do not vitiate Foucault’s theoretical framework. They do, however, suggest that historians must approach it cautiously. Supplementing Foucault’s studies of medicine and sexology with a more systematic appraisal of homosexualist art and literature, for example, is likely to yield a picture of nineteenth-century developments different from Foucault’s. In addition, many queer theorists have moved away from discourse determinism of the Foucauldian variety toward renewed insistence on human agency, accountability, and responsibility – whether homophobic, homoeroticist, or otherwise. (Again, in his later work Foucault himself took this turn.)

The second intellectual development is that the Freudian legacy has been reassessed, owing to developments in psychoanalysis itself and, increasingly, the research of social and cultural historians (e.g., Sulloway 1979, McGrath 1986, Appignanesi and Forrester 1992, Gilman et al. ed. 1994, Davis 1995a). Many elements of Freud’s general psychology have come to be seen as a powerful imagination – but also as an unwarranted generalization – of specific social relations, erotic practices and histories, and cultural representations in Freud’s client pool and in the historical traditions he reviewed. This research has not completely refuted Freudian concepts of the unconscious, repression, sublimation, identification, anxiety, phobia, and the like – central to all accounts of homoeroticism, homosexuality, and homosociality from the belles-lettristic through the positivist to the poststructuralist. But whether the unconscious and so forth are natural kinds – real psychic and social processes requiring our *metapsychological* description and providing viable components of any general *theory* of eroticism in the social field – now seems highly questionable.

In particular, Freud’s model of the earliest infantile eroticism or “sexuality” – what he called “bisexuality,” a lack of gender differentiation in an infant’s

erotic object choice – was an ideological, albeit innovative, effort metaphysically to describe sexual variations in order to constitute them as the apparent object of a hermeneutic archaeology (and therapy) of personal postnatal development. This metaphysics has been useful to antinaturalistic and constructionist or developmentalist theories of gender and sexuality. But it is largely inconsistent with contemporary nonpsychoanalytic thought. To the extent that non- or antipsychoanalytic psychologies have little currency in the humanities today, this debate has not yet been directly joined. At the moment, subpsychoanalytic theories of primordial undifferentiated sexuality and of a developmental history of complex, crosscutting, and always incomplete and anxious identifications remain a touchstone for some recent work in gay and lesbian studies and queer theory.

Some queer theorists, for example, continue to invoke a model of subjectivity, namely, the primal “undifferentiated sexuality” of the young infant, polymorphously perverse and narcissistic. For them, the continuing reproduction of this sexuality – despite Oedipal triangulation, pubescent maturation, and adult object choices – implies that no adolescent or adult eroticism could be completely stable. But according to its most general principles, noted below, queer theory probably does not really require (and actually hobbles itself with) this highly essentialist and deterministic Freudian legend about an early phase of (non)consciousness, of human instinct, sensation, and feeling. The instability of sexuality and gender can be derived from the partial noncoordination – or queer intersubjectivity – of persons (bodies and minds) in the social field without invoking an *essential* instability of sexuality or, at the same time, denying the existential truth of homosexuality by *reducing* it to a formation of originally undifferentiated eroticism. In general, although gay and lesbian studies and queer theory are compatible with homosexuality, Freudianism is almost certainly not. (This rift was dramatically clear at the very institutionalization of psychoanalysis itself, when, after a very short period of fellow-traveling, homosexualist theorists detached themselves from the psychoanalytic movement [see especially Herzer 1992: 92–119].) The implication of this feature of the conceptual landscape of homosexuality, gay and lesbian studies, and queer theory is not yet clear. Does it mean that queer theory will ultimately dispense with Freudianism? Or that Freudianism will (as its own theory of homosexuality intended) defeat homosexuality?

The third intellectual development is that the basic social and cultural history and anthropology of same-sex social formations and relations, on a worldwide and transhistorical scale, has been greatly enlarged. Earlier historians tended to rely on a few, often outdated, sources, however rich, in part because there had been little opportunity for primary research. Increasingly, however, archival materials have been published. Original ethnographies have been completed. New historical detective work has yielded its harvests; the premodern history of homoeroticism has received new attention reflecting contemporary text-critical and hermeneutic methods. Greek homosexuality itself – the point of reference for many modern Western homoeroticisms – has been subjected to

intensive new historical and critical evaluation. (For one selection of these developments, see Abelow, Barale, and Halperin ed. 1993.)

Indeed, for the first time *visual* evidence came to play a major role in historical and critical analysis of the origins, nature, or history of homoeroticisms and homosexualities themselves. Poststructuralist cultural studies does not limit itself to texts narrowly construed (e.g., Fuss ed. 1991). Post-Freudian interpretation and queer theory have both stressed the construction of fluid identities in the specifically imaginary (or imagistic) dimension (e.g., Rose 1986, Silverman 1992) and in the fields of gestural, sartorial, and interpersonal action and performance (e.g., Butler 1990, Garber 1992, Meyer ed. 1994). Most historians have accepted that visual productions must, by definition, index phenomena partly or wholly unknown through the printed word – circulating through distinct social spaces, such as private or even “clandestine” viewerships that did not require printers (a little-studied determinant of the history of homoerotic textual representations in the modern West) or attract censors.

Although gay and lesbian studies, in its full contemporary variety, does not have a single method or overarching theory, it addresses a coherent sociocultural possibility of meaning: Works of art regularly sustain same-sex eroticisms, regardless of the “homosexuality” of the artist and his or her viewers or of the homoerotic significance of particular visual motifs and themes, precisely because the management of same-sex sociality, always including an element of sexual desire and social attraction, is one of the fundamental functions of human social systems. Such management can be more or less “homosexual,” directly permitting sexual activity between members of the same sex, or more or less “homophobic,” prohibiting it; indeed, these possibilities tend to be reciprocally defining (Butters, Clum, and Moon ed. 1989, Sedgwick 1990). But the homoerotic, in this broad sense, is one of the unavoidable inflections of representation. It is a species of difference carried, by way of formal and thematic agreement, through entire systems of concord and coherence among representational elements – however concentrated or diffused the totality might seem to be according to some measure of actual “homosexuality,” real or represented.

## Queer Theory

Contemporary queer theory in the humanities (see, e.g., Fuss ed. 1991) urges that all modern human eroticisms and subjectivities are equally, but differently, peculiar in the strict sense of that term. Each arises in a highly specific interaction between an individual consciousness, person, or self (or closely related groups of such) and other people (or groups of people) to whom it can only be partly similar. To use a simple formula, every subjectivity exists in an obliquely overlapped or “queer” position in relation to every other subjectivity encountered, or realizable, in its wider society.

For example, from the vantage point of "heterosexuals" in modern Euro-American society, "homosexuals" – or homosexual forms of life – tend to be seen as it were obliquely or from the side. Thus they often appear to be largely (and for many people contemptibly) "queer," as the pejorative label of Anglo-American colloquial speech has long had it. But from the vantage point of "homosexuals" in the same society, their alleged "queerness" must be one of the central features of their experience, grounded in specific forms of life. Although homosexuals cannot avoid assimilating the majority view that being "queer" is unusual, unnatural, or immoral – peculiar in the pejorative sense – they can also occupy their position as a more or less self-consciously recognized species of difference, privately meaningful and sometimes publicly performed. And from this position, "heterosexuality" – or heterosexual forms of life – exists in a position overlapping with but lateral to it; from a homosexual vantage point, heterosexual forms of life appear equally "queer."<sup>11</sup>

By the most general terms of the underlying theory, the same possibility must be extended to *all* people and groups in the social field: queer-theoretical analysis describes subjective and intersubjective positionality and perspective, and the social practices and cultural forms engendered in and legitimated by them, across social spaces and through historical time. Thus a queer theory might well describe heterosexual forms of life as a difference from homosexual positions or potentialities. Here it often draws on neo-Freudian ideas about the formation of an unstable – if socially normative – heterosexual genital masculinity in relation to its attempts to forget, revise, and restore other possibilities for erotic pleasure and gender identity; for Freud, the emergence of normative heterosexual masculinity will be both an "overcoming" of desired homosexual positionalities and a "fixation" on – a neurotic quasi-fetishism of – a frightening femininity (see, e.g., Silverman 1992).<sup>12</sup>

In the end, we might conclude that such reciprocally defining formations of subjectivity cannot be captured by concepts of single or stable (more accurately, nonrecursive and uninflected) sexuality in the first place. Instead of identifying "homosexuality" or "heterosexuality," then, one simply observes continually varying psychic and social inflections of queerness. One way to cope with the analytic complexity entailed in this approach extends the fundamentally "grammatical" model of gender (i.e., the inflection of both the forms and the acts of speech) (see further Davis 1996b). A closely related terminology highlights the "performative" (or what might be called the pragmatic) dimension of sexuality (see further Butler 1990).

Queer theory, then, acknowledges the peculiarity – the specificity, distinctiveness, and originality – of every sexual and subjective position in relation to every other one *and* asserts that no such position could be a general model of *all* sexualities and subjectivities. As a point of both method and politics, it must insist that no single one of the overlapped but queerly situated positions should be privileged: None should be regarded a priori to be the *most* or the *least* peculiar in the history of the social realization of persons – even though each one

probably requires, and has often asserted, its peculiar reality, necessity, centrality, normality, ineradicability, exclusiveness, or independence.

Methodological and political questions arise not only from the premises of queer-theoretical analysis but also from its results. For some critics, queer theory tends to introduce a *relativism* potentially inconsistent with the standard liberal belief that society must protect individuals from the rights-denying interferences of others, a belief held by many queer emancipationists themselves when it comes to their own civil and constitutional rights. (Obviously such relativism must be incompatible with any philosophy of sexual normality and subjective normativity.) It might seem to such critics, for example, that queer theorists go too far in legitimating the subjectivity represented in, or relayed by, works of art or literature that could socially incite sadism or pedophilia – even though analysis might distinguish homoerotic sadomasochism or intergenerational pederasty from such formations. For others, by contrast, queer theory tends to guarantee the *perspectivalism* from which the very description of modes of sexuality and subjectivity must be conducted: What is the *difference* – real and represented – between pathological sadism and homosexual sadomasochism, or between pedophilia and pederasty, and what are their historical, intersubjective, and ethical coordinates? Painstaking care here ensures maximum recognition of different intersubjective erotic universes, even though we might ultimately resolve that certain ones cannot be freely tolerated.

Even within the academic and artistic community of feminists, gay/lesbian scholars, and queer theorists today, political tensions are increasingly visible. Most notably, queer-theoretical reasoning might not always be readily compatible with at least some of the political urgencies perceived by many self-identified gay and lesbian people. Thus David Halperin (1995: 222), responding to queer theory, writes: “Lesbians and gay men can now look forward to a new round of condescension and dismissal at the hands of the trendy and glamorously unspecified sexual outlaws who call themselves ‘queer’ and who can claim the radical chic attached to a sexually transgressive identity without, of course, having to do anything icky with their bodies in order to earn it.” Others have complained that queer theory tends to validate the cultural production – more accurately, the commercial consumption – of malleable or disposable touristic psychosexualities exactly where actual communities grounded in specific historical experiences continue to fight for recognition.

Queer theory might retort, however, that any partly achieved erotic positions, such as the classic “homo” positions described with great acuity by Leo Bersani (1995), however transgressive in themselves, will tend to reject and resist their *further* mutation. Gays might resist and repress queers; at least, and by definition, for those who already occupy a sustainable eroticism – frequently due to the achieved privileges and institutionalization that others have yet to attain – little excitement lies elsewhere. If the “homos” must fight for recognition among the straights, must not the “‘homos’” – using the quotation marks advisedly – fight for recognition among the homos *and* the straights? And if their strategy (as well as their pleasure) is closer to a straight image of being



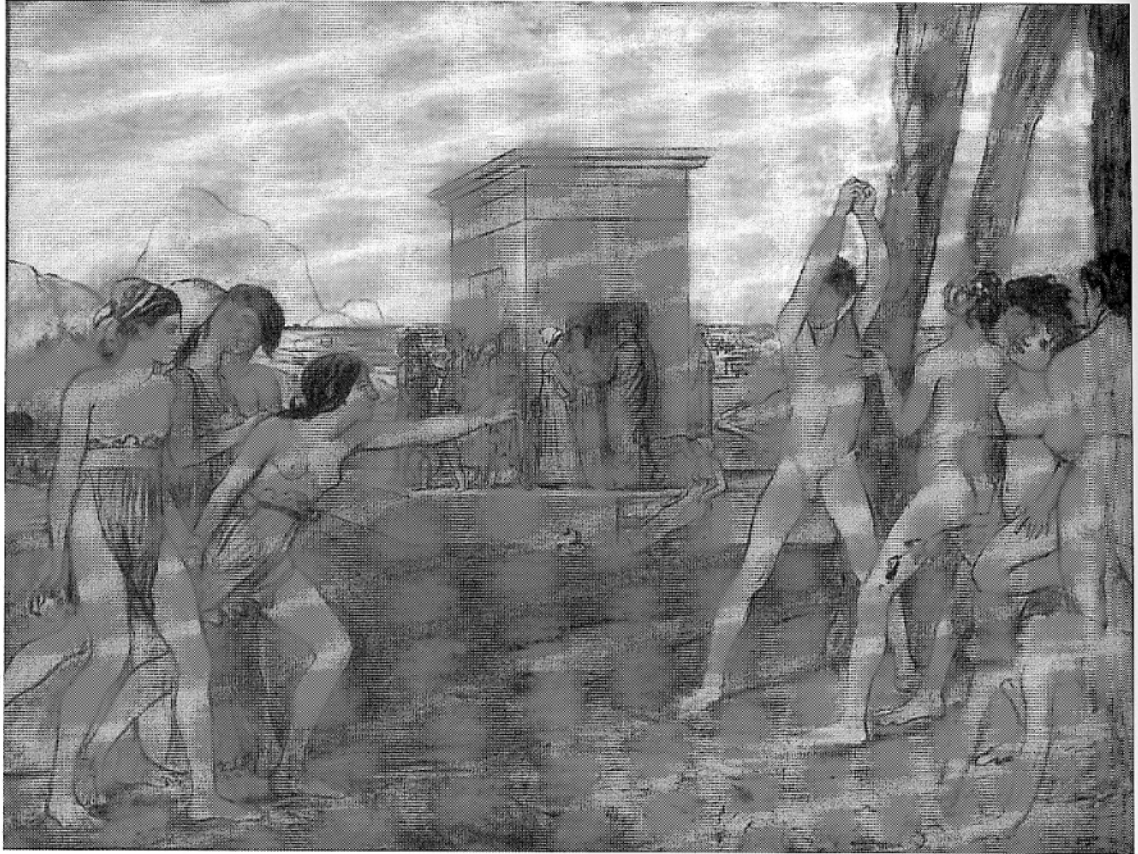
“homo” than to a “homo” image of being straight, is this proof of accommodation, commodification, or capitulation – or the expected aesthetic productivity of an emergent intersubjectivity?

Although it might be self-important, the construction or performance of “outlaw,” queer identities does not necessarily delegitimize homosexual forms of life, normalize the sexually specific into the general commodity culture, or mainstream the “sexually transgressive” into domesticated chic. After all, viewed historically, the modern homosexual identities, positions, or forms of life – which Halperin and Bersani hope to rescue from vaporization, in present-day queer chic – have largely been the product of the transgressive imaginations and aesthetics, no doubt often ersatz and touristic, of earlier generations of queerly situated men and women, “homosexual” or not (see Davis 1993, Jackson 1995).

## **A Brief Example**

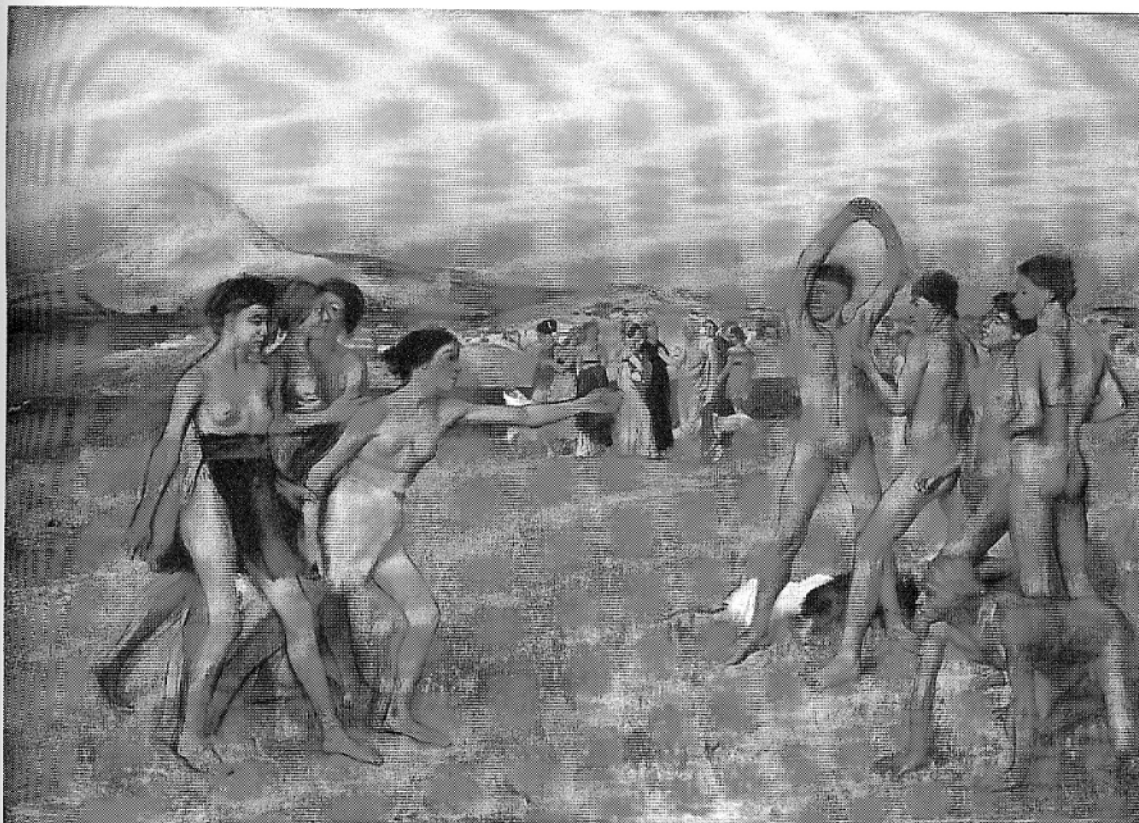
In Edgar Degas’s *Young Spartans*, ca. 1860, now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 19), the group of girls on the left is clearly distinguished from the group of boys on the right.<sup>13</sup> Each is a tight cluster of figures, separated by a pathway in the foreground continuing the vertical bisection created by the pavilion in the background. In the later (and much reworked) version of the painting, ca. 1860–80, now in the National Gallery in London (Fig. 20), Degas removed pathway and pavilion. But he juxtaposed the two groups more dramatically by organizing gestures and glances to suggest a relay of responses proceeding outward from the same-sex clusterings toward a future, but quite ambiguous, amalgamation of the groups. By repeating the shape of the houses in the town in the distance, the pavilion in the background of the Chicago painting represents the ideal form of Spartan society. In front of it, a stately lawgiver (presumably Lycurgus) converses quietly with two sturdy, dignified Spartan matrons. The group symbolizes the goal toward which the girls and boys should ideally develop – in the painting’s projected history – along the path initiated by their interaction in the foreground. But the wide space between foreground and background (in the London canvas, Degas clarified it considerably) shows that they have some way to go. The girls are not matrons (although Degas, in an early study, did treat the gesturing girl as an older woman) and the boys are not Lycurgus. Thus there are two major orders of difference clearly marked in the composition – between Spartan girls and boys and between Spartan youth and adulthood. The visual prominence of these pictorial divisions suggests that the painting, whatever its specific theme, addresses the division of the sexes and their relations both because of and despite it – a narrative of gender difference relayed by the particular story of contest and courtship and, more important, of their psychic and social definition in a “Spartan” world known for its unique erotic and legal norms.

To explore this latter point, however, we must go beyond the differences marked in the division of left and right and foreground and background zones. In both



**Figure 19.** Edgar Degas (1834–1917), *Young Spartans*, ca. 1860. Oil on canvas. 4'6<sup>9</sup>/<sub>16</sub>" × 3'2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" (140 × 97.8 cm). Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Collection, Art Institute of Chicago. Photo courtesy of Art Institute of Chicago.

versions of the painting, subtle similarities obtain between the girls' and boys' poses, gestures, and glances. These do not simply reproduce the basic compositional distinction of gender. In fact, Degas partly aims to suggest *less* difference between the sexes than might have been assumed by viewers familiar with the conventions of neoclassical history painting. The athletic Spartan girls actively engage the boys from a position of comparative strength, unlike the modest, helpless women in paintings like J.-L. David's *Oath of the Horatii* (1785). Their half-nakedness and short hair differentiate them from mature, married, child-bearing Spartan women, in the background, and partly assimilate them *to* the boys. Indeed, Spartan girls – the painting implies – are virtually “boys” until they become “women” (granting that a Spartan matron was unlike her sequestered Athenian counterpart). At the same time, to assume Lycurgus's position the boys must control the girls. But Degas depicts several boys as virtually unsexed or partly “girls” – an approximation of the point – until they become “men.” Distinct from the background domain of adulthood, both girls and boys are inflected by youth. This status permits same-sex eroticism, as the couplings



**Figure 20.** Edgar Degas, *Young Spartans*, ca. 1880. Oil on canvas. National Gallery, London (L. 70).  
*Photo courtesy of National Gallery.*

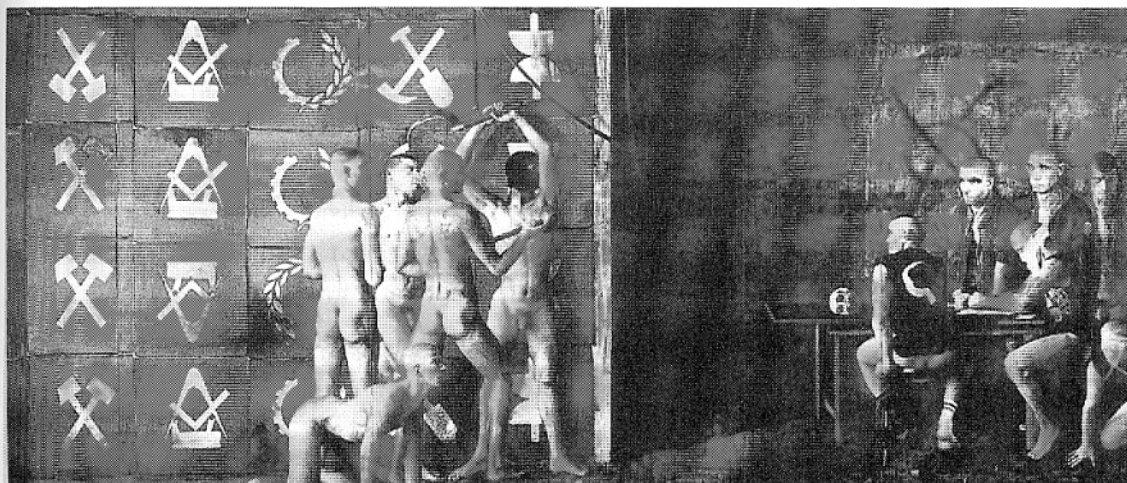
in the centers of the two clusters imply, and even a kind of animality, displays of desire, strength, or fear, suggested by the centermost girl and boy and by the recoiling girl and crouching boy in the corners of the composition.

In the Chicago canvas (Fig. 19), although Degas indicates the genitals of two boys and the breasts of three girls, the young people's hair, faces, and slim, long-legged bodies, equally important in the pictorial metaphors, are very similar in both groups. Sex characteristics have been exchanged or wholly eliminated. The girl cupping another's breast seems to lack developed breasts herself; she has even been seen as a boy. Four boys have essentially unsexed forms, since Degas provides no direct sign of sex. But clearly we are not meant to see hermaphroditic bodies here. Instead, the notation inflects the designation of male sex – established by the agreements between the body of the boy frontally facing us, showing prominent if indistinct genitals, and the “unsexed” bodies of the others – with the signs of immaturity, variability, transformation, and uncertainty. The rightmost boy with back turned echoes familiar images of Classical male athletes. The boy with upturned face seems to echo images of St. Sebastian. A Classical athlete and a St. Sebastian have somewhat diverging traditional connotations – more or less masculine, more or less homoerotic –

that Degas enfolded in depicting the cluster of boys. It is formally and thematically somewhat "queer," although what this could imply historically about Degas's and his viewers' gender identity or erotic position, at least in relation to this painting and its depicted objects, would need extensive analysis.

As Degas's sources recounted, the boys belonged to the Spartan *syssitia*, a homosexually organized communal band that prepared them for war and leadership. The conventional male gender and erotic position of Degas's boys has been inflected, it seems, by this reimagined, sexualized gender; not quite a "homosexuality," it is clearly homoerotic in visual tone and thematic import in the Chicago canvas and has been recognized, for example, in Attila Richard Lukacs's 1988 replication and revision of the painting (Fig. 21) (see further Dompierre 1989). Apart from Degas's depiction of the slightly sadomasochistic eroticism of the boys' society, his early work for the painting included a study for a boys' footrace and (possibly) boxing match and an extraordinarily sexualized study for the boy on his hands and knees (losers in the Spartan boys' contests owed sexual gratification to the winners). In turn, these elements agree with the rest of the painting, spreading a *homoerotized* masculinization to the girls. It is not incompatible to note, of course, that the girls' erotic bonding is transferred to the boys' group, which, however, suppresses its overt marking. In the longstanding conventions of Degas's culture, partial "feminization" of the youthful male form could designate its erotic desirability (see further Davis 1994) as long as sexual arousal was not depicted (indeed, the feminizing inflection or emasculation prevented it), for such marking of the object would identify an improper pederastic interest of the observing subject. It would seem, here, that Degas understood himself to be entering dangerous territory, like other artists in this period of the pathologization of homoeroticism; his images of homoerotic social relations – including the studies for and production of the Chicago canvas – tended to be organized, in the ongoing development of a final image, in anxious, defensive, even homophobic ways. In the London canvas, the homoerotic subinflections of male and female were *reinflected* more conventionally. Degas reorganized the gestures and glances of the boys and reduced their number to help establish *cross*-sex rather than *same*-sex interactions in the narrative. Moreover, the idealization of the faces – evoking the Classical referents and hence the specific norms of Dorian pederasty and male and female homoeroticism – was reduced; although this revision has been seen as an effort at greater contemporary "realism," it might also be seen as a retrospective attempt to moderate homoerotic fantasy.

Needless to say, although such observations are sensitive, as far as possible, to the full range of pictorial materials and historical evidence bearing on the production of Degas's paintings of the young Spartans, they are highly interpretive. The point, again, is not to determine whether Degas was a "homosexual" or himself experienced recognizably homoerotic sensations; it is, rather, to identify the ways in which same-sex desire and sociality operates as a determinate inflection in and of representation. In one sense, the theme of youthful Spartans necessarily entrained homoerotically charged connotations – for



**Figure 21.** Attila Richard Lukacs, *Junge Spartaner fordern Knaben zum Kampf heraus*, 1988. Tar, oil, enamel, and varnish on canvas. 8'11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub>" × 21'6<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub>" (275 × 662.5 cm). London Regional Art and Historical Museum. Photo courtesy of Diane Farris Gallery, Vancouver.

Sparta had long been interesting to modern observers precisely because of its distinctive political and erotic culture – and any representation of tightly bonded communities of young men or women necessarily confronted, whether or not it ultimately depicted, the possible eroticism of their interrelations. As an inflection in and of representation, the homoerotic may be homosexual or homophobic, barely visible or concentrated enough to offer, in itself, a complex representation of a particular homoeroticism rendered visible by a consciousness that clearly takes itself to be attentive to the subject as such.

### Notes

- 1 For fundamental bibliographies, see Bullough et al. 1976; Herzer 1982; Dynes 1987, ed. 1990; Simons 1988; Langer ed. 1993; and Saslow and GLC ed. 1994.
- 2 To avoid anachronism, I use the term "sexuality" here in its early nineteenth-century sense – that is, to refer to the teleological organization (the direction and "aim") of human generative or sexual activity, even though in this context homoerotic sexuality often had to be seen as preposterous, excessive, distorted, incomplete, or vicious – as earlier canon doctrines of sodomy, generalizing across all nonreproductive sex acts, had it. Throughout the nineteenth century, emphasis increasingly shifted from the *action* of erotic attraction to its *feeling* or even its *instinct* (see further Davis 1995a: 115–40).
- 3 This matter is sometimes put as a supposed opposition between "essentialist" and "constructionist" accounts of homosexuality. But this polarity can (though need not) be misleading. Few deny that the "essentialist" homosexualist account of "homosexuality" is a *belief*, a socially determined cognitive and discursive construction based on highly specific and contingent observations or perspectives. So too are all beliefs or truth claims – for example, about gravitation, phlogiston, evolution by natural selection, the Trinity, or price fluctuations. The question is whether this belief is true – whether the "constructed" origins of the belief that homosexuality is some type of natural kind (or "essence") do, or do not, invalidate or discredit (for they clearly enabled) the belief. It is the belief of the present author that they do not. Nonetheless, it remains an open question *what* type

of natural kind (or “essence”) homosexuality might be. It is, for example, probably in part a “socially constructed” natural kind (like a variety or species under natural selection), although not necessarily a culturally determined one (like a text or performance); even more probably, whatever *else* it might be, “homosexuality” is a partly culturally determined socially constructed natural kind of intersubjectivity (like a cognitive faculty or category, a human person, or even an attitude or aesthetic). Part of the confusion in this debate stems from the widespread fallacy that “essences” or “natural kinds” cannot be socially constructed and culturally determined – as if, for example, culture itself were not an essence or natural kind among human beings.

- 4 This crucial matter has yet to be treated systematically by art historians. Important collections (and/or publications of collections) included those assembled by Cardinal Albani from the 1720s to the 60s; P. F. Hugues d’Hancarville in the 1780s; William Beckford in the early 1800s; Henry Spencer Ashbee, Louis Constantin, and other collectors of erotica in the 1860s and 70s; Hans von Marees, Franz von Stück, and other German artist-intellectuals in the 1880s and 90s; Magnus Hirschfeld, Curt Moreck, Eduard Fuchs, and other scholars from the early 1900s into the 30s; Alfred C. Kinsey, Betty Parsons, Roger Peyrefitte, and other collectors and dealers in the 1940s and 50s. To date, both gay/lesbian studies and queer theory in the humanities have tended to study the composition and circulation of texts – or works of art treated as texts – rather than the manufacture and distribution of artifacts. But the specific artifactuality (or concrete archaeology) of texts is often the site of their homoerotic or “homosexual” constitution. A modest example: Many homosexually explicit illustrations were included in only some copies of some editions of well-known (if often quasi-clandestine) literary works, and are forgotten when the texts of these works are (re)printed. Or again: Patterns of mutilating classical statuary provide an important guide to changing modern standards for the erotically normative or comfortable.
- 5 However, these modes of analysis – especially iconography and iconology – did allow well-informed if somewhat muted treatments of historical homoeroticisms (e.g., Wind 1938–9, Panofsky 1939, Wittkower and Wittkower 1963). My point is that they were formulated independent of the demand motivating recent gay and lesbian studies and queer theory as such – namely, that they be specific accounts of, and more broadly accountable to, the histories and experiences of homoeroticisms.
- 6 A commitment to historical objectivity is not incompatible, of course, with identifying and interpreting the experiential realities of homoeroticism, and a more subjective or hermeneutic approach does not in itself guarantee that such realities will automatically be made visible. For example, Ernst van Alphen’s (1993) study of Francis Bacon’s work is a self-avowedly reflexive exploration in which the writer continually asserts his subjective position and deals at length with (his own sense of) Bacon’s pictorial sense of “masculinity.” But the book sidesteps Bacon’s homosexuality and the homoeroticism of his images and of their potential reception. By contrast, in O. K. Werckmeister’s (1991) analysis of how Bacon’s work has been exhibited and interpreted – a treatment rooted in a commitment to realistic reportage and evaluation – such avoidance of gay significance, a politically symptomatic misunderstanding of Bacon’s life and work, is identified as one of the principal objective characteristics of Bacon’s reception.
- 7 See, e.g., Chadwick 1990; Champa 1974; Cooper 1994; Fairbrother 1981; Fernandez 1989; Hood 1987; Lambourne 1985; Langer 1981; Lloyd 1984; Saslow 1986, 1991; Sokolowski 1983. Extensive documentation is available in the bibliographies cited in n. 1.
- 8 Current variants of “social constructionism” in these fields, for instance, tend to be variants of this ethicist culturalism, revised in the light of Marxist, Freudian, and Saussurean concepts of ideology, desire, and language and filtered through twentieth-century critical sociologies. At the limit, however, ethicist culturalism must be incompatible with some versions of deconstructionist and Lacanian thinking (see Butler 1990, Benhabib 1992), a debate we can expect to be joined more fully in the next few years.

- 9 Again, I cannot be comprehensive; these studies are very differentiated. See, e.g., Ablove, Barale, and Halperin ed. 1993; Aldrich 1993; Barkan 1991; Bergman ed. 1993; Davis 1992, 1994, ed. 1994; Dellamora 1990; Fuss ed. 1991; Gilman 1988; Katz 1993; Meyer ed. 1994; Ockman 1993; Rand 1994; Saslow 1992; Silver 1992; Simons 1994; Warney 1990; Weinberg 1993.
- 10 As a small but typical and telling example of these slippages, Foucault (1976: 44) would use Carl Westphal's 1870 article (he gives the date and place of publication but not its title) to "stand for the date of birth" of the "psychological, psychiatric, medical concept of homosexuality" as "characterized . . . less by a type of sexual relations than by a certain quality of sexual sensibility, a certain way of inverting the masculine and feminine in oneself." Although this is broadly true in the long-term history or, better, retrospective political assessment of modern thought about homoeroticism that Foucault projects in his book, Foucault's historico-bibliographical comment elides some of the most difficult historical issues. For example, Westphal did not use the term "homosexuality" (*Homosexualität*) at all. This was the invention of Karl Maria Kertbeny, a maverick who was not part of the Central European medical establishment, unlike Westphal, a leading psychiatrist (Herzer 1985). And Kertbeny's concept was closely connected with homosexualist emancipationism: It was designed in part as an argument to absolve homosexual defendants of criminal responsibility in the farcical sodomy trials in which they were frequently embroiled. (It was, however, distinct from Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's embryological speculations, of the later 1860s, designed to *explain* the phenomenon as the appearance, in male homosexuality, of a "woman's soul in a man's body.") Westphal's (1870) own term, *conträre Sexualempfindung*, was distinguished from irresponsible instinct; *Empfindung* was a perversion of moral feeling (or even a vice or sin) for which a defendant could in principle be held responsible. Indeed, even setting aside the difference in Kertbeny's and Westphal's terminologies, it was not at all clear that Westphal's principal case of a man in *Frauenkleidern* matched Kertbeny's concept of a constitutional *Homosexualität* which is not necessarily marked by any particular erotic practice or overt behavior whatsoever. By 1900, the term *Homosexualität* covered both congenital *Instinkt* – Kertbeny's "homosexuality" – and casual or what Freud (1905) called "amphigenic" homosexual sexual activity (i.e., "a type of sexual relations"). Whether or not it denoted a pathology or morbidity, it was specifically distinguished, at this point, from a "sensibility" – denoted, in German, by such terms as *gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe* ("same-sex love") or *Lieblingsminne* ("chivalric love of comrades"), used by thinkers who wanted to see homoeroticism as an ethical-aesthetic taste (akin to Winckelmann's [1972] original *Empfindung*, the "ability to perceive the beautiful in art") instead of an instinctualized, organic, or involuntary state (see, e.g., Friedlaender 1904). Considering Foucault's own emphasis on the sociopolitical significance of discursive categories and conventions, it is worth noting that in the statement quoted he conflates at least three distinct, and partly opposed, concepts and attributes them to the wrong writer.
- 11 A similar conceptual framework has been used in recent anthropological work on "central" and "marginal" culture areas – for example, on the "centrality" of Greco-Roman civilizations and its traditions, in relation to which the provincial, hinterland or "barbarian" cultures appear to be ex-centric, or on the "centrality" of the Maya heartland in relation to which lower Central American prehistoric cultures appear as it were to be "queer." Of course, from the vantage point of the Danish or Costa Rican contemporaries of Roman imperial or classic Maya civilization, these "centers" probably appeared equally ex-centric. Much of the language of cultural history – with its intricate vocabularies for "primitive" and "civilized," "nonliterate" and "literate," "cosmopolitan" and "provincial," "high" and "low," "mainstream" and "marginal," "traditional" and "modern," etc. – can be approached queer-theoretically in the general sense.
- 12 Compare Davis 1995a: 221–5 for the Adlerian sources of this approach to "organ inferiority," now quite popular in art- and cultural-historical writing that blends Freudian,

feminist, and Adlerian concepts (for a typical example, see Bryson 1994). In some queer-theoretical work, the structural role and sociopsychic dynamics of "homophobia" – the psychologically internalized social bar against the realization of nonreproductive and specifically homoerotic sexualities – has been highlighted (e.g., Butters, Clum, and Moon ed. 1989, Sedgwick 1990).

- 13 This and the following four paragraphs are adapted from Davis 1996b, which presents a fuller discussion of gender and sexuality as phenomena of "agreement" – in the system of "difference" – in representation. For the paintings, see esp. Burnell 1969; Brettell and McCullagh 1984: 32–5; Salus 1986; Thomson 1987: 33–9, 1988: 40–8; Boggs et al. 1988: 98–100; Broude 1988. More generally, see Armstrong 1992, Kendall and Pollock ed. 1992.

## References

- Abelove, Henry, Michele Aina Barale, and David Halperin, eds. 1993. *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Aldrich, Robert. 1993. *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art and Homosexual Fantasy*. London: Routledge.
- Alphen, Ernst van. 1993. *Francis Bacon and the Loss of Self*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Appignanesi, Lisa, and John Forrester. 1992. *Freud's Women*. New York: Basic/HarperCollins.
- Armstrong, Carol. 1992. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Barkan, Leonard. 1991. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 1992. *Situating the Self: Gender, Community, and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*. New York: Routledge.
- Bergman, David, ed. 1993. *Camp Grounds: Style and Homosexuality*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Bersani, Leo. 1995. *Homos*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bloch, Iwan. 1902. *Beiträge zur Aetiologie der Psychopathia sexualis*, part 1. Dresden: H. R. Dohrn.
- Boettiger, Carl August. 1800. *Griechische Vasengemälde*, vol. 1, part 3. Magdeburg.
- Boggs, Jean Sutherland, Douglas W. Druick, Henri Loyette, Michael Pantazzi, and Gary Tinterow. 1988. *Degas*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Brettell, Richard R., and Suzanne Folds McCullagh. 1984. *Degas in the Art Institute of Chicago*. New York: Abrams.
- Broude, Norma. 1988. Edgar Degas and French feminism, ca. 1880: "The Young Spartans," the brothel monotypes, and the bathers revisited. *Art Bulletin* 70: 64–79.
- Bryson, Norman. 1994. Géricault and "masculinity." In *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed. Bryson, Keith Moxey, and Michael Ann Holly, pp. 228–59. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England.
- Bullough, Vernon L., W. Dorr Legg, Barrett W. Elcano, and James Kepner. 1976. *An Annotated Bibliography of Homosexuality*. 2 vols. New York: Garland.
- Burnell, Devin. 1969. Degas and his "Young Spartans Exercising." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 4: 49–65.
- Butler, Judith. 1987. *Subjects of Desire: Hegelian Reflections in Twentieth-Century France*. New York: Columbia University Press.
1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butters, Ronald R., John M. Clum, and Michael Moon, eds. 1989. *Displacing Homophobia: Gay Male Perspectives in Literature and Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Camille, Michael. 1994. The abject gaze and the homosexual body: Flandrin's *Figure d'Etude*. In *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. Whitney Davis, pp. 161–88. Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press (= *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, nos. 1/2).



- Chadwick, Whitney. 1990. *Women, Art and Society*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Champa, Kermit. 1974. Charlie was like that. *Artforum* 12 (March): 54–9.
- Cooper, Emmanuel. 1994. *The Sexual Perspective: Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Crimp, Douglas, ed. 1988. *AIDS: Cultural Analysis, Cultural Activism*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
1989. Mourning and militancy. *October* 51: 3–18.
- Crow, Thomas. 1995. *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Davis, Whitney. 1992. HomoVision: A reading of Freud's "Fetishism." *Genders* 15: 81–118.
1993. Homovisibility: Male Homosexual Desire in the Visual Field, 1750–1920. The Tomas Harris Lectures in the History of Art, University College London, May.
1994. The renunciation of reaction in Girodet's *Sleep of Endymion*. In *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey, pp. 168–201. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England.
- ed. 1994. *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press (= *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, nos. 1/2).
- 1995a. *Drawing the Dream of the Wolves: Homosexuality, Interpretation, and Freud's "Wolf Man."* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- 1995b. Leonardo und die Kultur der Homosexualität. *Texte zur Kunst* 5, 17: 56–73.
- 1996a. Winckelmann's homosexual teleologies. In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, ed. Natalie Boymel Kampen, pp. 262–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1996b. Gender. In *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert Nelson and Richard Shiff, pp. 226–36. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dellamora, Richard. 1990. *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Dompierre, Louise. 1989. *Attila Richard Lukacs*. Toronto: Power Plant.
- Dowling, Linda. 1994. *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Dulaure, Jakob Anton. 1909. *Die Zeugung im Glauben [Les divinités génératrices]*, 1st ed. 1805; 2nd ed. 1825], ed. and trans. Friedrich S. Krauss and Karl Rieskel. Berlin: Anthropophyteia.
- Dynes, Wayne. 1987. *Homosexuality: A Research Guide*. New York: Garland.
- ed. 1990. *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*. 2 vols. New York: Garland.
- Fairbrother, Trevor. 1981. A private album: John Singer Sargent's drawings of male nude models. *Arts Magazine* (December): 70–9.
- Fernandez, Dominique. 1989. *Le rapt de Ganymède*. Paris: Grasset.
- Ford, Charles Henri, and Catrina Neiman, eds. 1991. *View: Parade of the Avant-Garde: An Anthology of View Magazine (1940–1947)*. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *History of Sexuality*, vol. 1. *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books. (Originally published 1976 in French.)
- Freud, Sigmund. 1905. *Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*. 1st ed. (3rd ed. 1915). Vienna: Deuticke.
1910. *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*. 1st ed. Vienna: Deuticke.
1927. Die Fetischismus. In *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 14, pp. 311–17. Frankfurt: S. Fischer.
- Friedlaender, Benedict. 1904. *Die Renaissance der Eros Uranios*. Berlin: Verlag "Renaissance." (Reprinted New York: Arno, 1975.)
- Fuss, Diana, ed. 1991. *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*. London: Routledge.
- Garber, Marjorie. 1992. *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*. London: Routledge.
- Gilman, Sander L. 1988. *Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- Gilman, Sander L., Jutta Birmele, Jay Geller, and Valerie D. Greenberg, ed. 1994. *Reading Freud's Reading*. New York: New York University Press.
- Grosskurth, Phyllis. 1964. *The Woeful Victorian: A Biography of John Addington Symonds*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Halperin, David. 1990. One hundred years of homosexuality. In *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*, pp. 15–40. London: Routledge.
1995. *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Herzer, Manfred. 1982. *Bibliographie zur Homosexualität*. Berlin: Rosa Winkel.
1985. Kertbeny and the nameless love. *Journal of Homosexuality* 12: 1–26.
1992. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen, und sozialistischen Sexologen*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus. 1914. *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*. Berlin: Louis Marcus.
- Hood, William. 1987. The state of research in Italian Renaissance art. *Art Bulletin* 69: 174–86.
- Jackson, Earl. 1995. *Strategies of Deviance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jenkyns, Richard. 1992. *Dignity and Decadence: Victorian Art and the Classical Inheritance*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Joux, Otto de. 1897. *Die hellenische Liebe in der Gegenwart*. Leipzig: Max Spohr.
- Kaan, Heinrich. 1844. *Psychopathia sexualis*. Leipzig: Voss.
- Katz, Jonathan D. 1993. The art of code: Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg. In *Significant Others*, ed. Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kendall, Richard, and Griselda Pollock, eds. 1992. *Dealing with Degas: Representations of Women and the Politics of Vision*. London: HarperCollins/Pandora.
- Kennedy, Hubert. 1988. *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement*. Boston: Alyson.
- Knight, Richard Payne. 1786. *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus and Its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients*. London. (Reprinted New York: Dorset Press, 1992.)
- Lambourne, Lionel. 1985. *Solomon: A Family of Painters*. London: Geffrye Museum.
- Langer, Sandra [Cassandra] L. 1981. Fashion, character and sexual politics in some Romaine Brooks lesbian portraits. *Art Criticism* 1, 3: 25–40.
- ed. 1993. *A Selective Bibliography of Feminist Art Criticism*. New York: G. K. Hall.
- Lippard, Lucy. 1983. *Overlay: Contemporary Art and the Art of Prehistory*. New York: Pantheon.
- Lloyd, Phoebe. 1984. Washington Allston: American martyr? *Art in America* 72, 3 (March): 144–55.
- Mahaffy, J. P. 1874. *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*. 1st ed. London. (2nd ed. 1875, suppresses pp. 305–13 of 1st ed.)
- Mayne, Xavier (pseud.). 1908. *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexuality as a Problem in Social Life*. Florence: Privately printed. (Reprinted New York: Arno, 1975.)
- McGrath, William J. 1986. *Freud's Discovery of Psychoanalysis: The Politics of Hysteria*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Meier, M. H. E. 1837. Päderastie. In *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künsten*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, sect. III, vol. 9, pp. 149–88. (Trans. and expanded L.-R. de Pogey-Castries as *Histoire de l'amour grec dans l'antiquité*. Paris, 1930.)
- Meyer, Moe, ed. 1994. *The Politics and Poetics of Camp*. London: Routledge.
- Millin, A. L. 1814. *Description d'un vase trouvé à Tarento*. Paris: C. Waserman.
- Mohr, Richard D. 1988. *Gays/Justice: A Study of Ethics, Society, and Law*. New York: Columbia University Press.
1994. *A More Perfect Union: Why America Must Stand Up for Gay Rights*. Boston: Beacon.
- Muther, Richard. 1896. *History of Modern Painting*. 3 vols. New York: Macmillan.

- Ockman, Carol. 1993. Profiling homoeroticism: Ingres's *Achilles Receiving the Ambassadors of Agamemnon*. *Art Bulletin* 75: 259-74.
- Owens, Craig. 1992. *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture*, ed. Scott Bryson, Barbara Kruger, Lynne Tillman, and Jane Weinstock. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Panofsky, Erwin. 1939. The Neoplatonic movement and Michelangelo. In *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, pp. 171-229. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pater, Walter. 1980. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry (The 1893 Text)*, ed. Donald L. Hill. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Potts, Alex. 1994. *Flesh and the Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rand, Erica. 1994. Lesbian sightings: Scoping for dykes in Boucher and *Cosmo*. In *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. Whitney Davis, pp. 123-39. Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press (= *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, nos. 1/2).
- Reed, Christopher. 1994. Making history: The Bloomsbury group's construction of aesthetic and sexual identity. In *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. Whitney Davis, pp. 189-224. Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press (= *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, nos. 1/2).
- Roemer, L. S. A. M. von. 1904. Ueber die androgynische Idee des Lebens. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 5: 707-940.
- Rose, Jacqueline. 1986. *Sexuality in the Field of Vision*. London: Verso.
- Rosen, Charles. 1994. Music à la mode. *New York Review of Books* 49, 12 (June 23): 55-62.
- Sadger, Isidor. 1910. Ein Fall von multipler Perversion mit hysterischen Absenzen. *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalyse* 1: 59-87.
1921. *Die Lehre von den Geschlechtsverirrungen (Psychopathia sexualis) auf psychoanalytischer Grundlage*. Vienna: Deuticke.
- Salus, Carol. 1986. Degas' *Young Spartans Exercising*. *Art Bulletin* 67: 501-6.
- Sartre, J.-P. 1948. *Anti-Semite and Jew*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes. New York: Schocken.
- Saslow, James. 1986. *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1991. *The Poetry of Michelangelo: An Annotated Translation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1992. "Disagreeably hidden": Construction and constriction of the lesbian body in Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair*. In *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, pp. 187-205. New York: HarperCollins.
- Saslow, James, and Gay and Lesbian Caucus, eds. 1994. *Bibliography of Gay and Lesbian Art*. New York: Gay and Lesbian Caucus, College Art Association. (Reprinted 1995.)
- Schmidgall, Gary. 1994. *The Stranger Wilde: Interpreting Oscar*. New York: Dutton/Penguin.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1990. *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Silver, Kenneth E. 1992. Modes of disclosure: The construction of gay identity and the rise of Pop art. In *Hand-Painted Pop: American Art in Transition, 1955-62*, ed. Russell Ferguson, pp. 179-204. Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art/Rizzoli.
- Silverman, Kaja. 1992. *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*. London: Routledge.
- Simons, Patricia. 1988. *Gender and Sexuality in Renaissance and Baroque Italy: A Working Bibliography*. Power Institute Occasional Paper 7. Sydney: Power Institute of Fine Arts, University of Sydney.
1994. Lesbian (in)visibility in Italian Renaissance culture: Diana and other cases of *donna con donna*. In *Gay and Lesbian Studies in Art History*, ed. Whitney Davis, pp. 81-122. Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press (= *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, nos. 1/2).

- Sokolowski, Thomas. 1983. *The Sailor 1930–45: The Image of an American Demigod*. Norfolk, Va.: Chrysler Museum.
- Sullivan, Andrew. 1995. *Virtually Normal*. New York: Knopf.
- Sulloway, Frank J. 1979. *Freud, Biologist of the Mind: Beyond the Psychoanalytic Legend*. New York: Basic.
- Symonds, John Addington. 1873. *Studies of the Greek Poets*, 1st ser. London: Smith, Elder.
1877. *The Renaissance in Italy*, vol. 3. *The Fine Arts*. 1st ed. London: Smith, Elder.
1883. *A Problem in Greek Ethics*. London: Privately printed.
- Thomson, Richard. 1987. *The Private Degas*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain.
1988. *Degas: The Nudes*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Tyler, Parker. 1967. *The Divine Comedy of Pavel Tchelitchew*. New York: Fleet.
1973. *Screening the Sexes: Homosexuality in the Movies*. New York: Holt. (Reprinted with afterword by Charles Boltenhouse, New York: DaCapo, 1993.)
- Vaid, Urvashi. 1995. *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation*. New York: Doubleday (Anchor Books).
- Watney, Simon. 1990. *The Art of Duncan Grant*. London: John Murray.
- Weinberg, Jonathan E. 1993. *Speaking for Vice: Homosexuality in the Art of Charles Demuth, Marsden Hartley, and the First American Avant-Garde*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Werckmeister, Otto Karl. 1991. *Citadel Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Westphal, Carl. 1870. Die conträre Sexualempfindung. *Archiv für Psychiatrie* 2: 73–108.
- Winckelmann, J. J. 1987. *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton. LaSalle, Ill.: Open Court. (Originally published 1755.)
1972. Essay on the beautiful in art [Abhandlung von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst, und dem Unterrichte in Derselben]. In *Winckelmann: Writings on Art*, trans. and ed. David Irwin, pp. 89–103. London: Phaidon. (Originally published 1763.)
1880. *History of Ancient Art*, trans. G. H. Lodge. 4 vols. Boston: Little, Brown. (Originally published 1764.)
- Wind, Edgar, 1938–9. “Hercules” and “Orpheus”: Two mock-heroic drawings by Dürer. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 2: 206–18.
- Wittkower, Rudolf, and Margot Wittkower. 1963. *Born under Saturn: The Character and Conduct of Artists*. New York: Norton.