

From Campanella's *Bragmani* to Wittig's *Amazons*: On Sexual Kakotopias and the Idea of Potentially Infinite Sexualities¹

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Abstract

The study focuses at first on the implementation of the binary scheme of sexual distribution in Tommaso Campanella's (1568-1639) classic utopia *La Città del Sole* (1502) [The City of the Sun], and Charles Beaumont's (1929-1967) "The Crooked Man," a kakotopian short story published by *Playboy* in 1955. Against this backdrop, the elaborations assess the contributions of Charles Fourier (1772-1837), Charles Darwin (1809-1882), and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935) to the dissolution of dichotomous sexuality in the name of a continuous pattern of sexual diversity. Radicalizing the theoretical challenge posed by Fourier's *Le nouveau monde amoureux* (1817-1819) [The New World of Love], the first full-blown sexual utopia in the Western intellectual tradition, Monique Wittig's (1935-2003) utopian narratives culminate, as the final sections show, with the postulation of sexualities as diverse as the number of sexed individuals.

[**Keywords:** Amazons; bisexuality; Beaumont, Charles; Campanella, Tommaso; Darwin, Charles, evolution; Fourier, Hocquenghem, Guy; heterosexuality/homosexuality; lesbianism; natural continuities; sexual binary; sexual diversity; sexual intermediariness; third sex; utopia/kakotopia; Wittig, Monique.]

"[...] in the single circumscribed field of human behaviour
which I am studying I am recording variations in something more than
250 items for each individual who figures in the records.
Endless recombinations of these characters in different individuals
swell the possibilities to something which is, for all essential purposes,
infinity, even in such genetically and environmentally limited systems
as living organisms. The failure to recognize this unlimited nonidentity has,
even in biology, vitiated much of our scientific work."
Alfred Kinsey, "Individuals" 5

1. Prolepsis 1

Sexuality has played an increasingly important role in utopian discourses since the Renaissance, but mostly for the rather un-utopian reason of reasserting the immemorial pervasiveness of sexual binarity and its configuration in other-sex combinatories. The following elaborations begin with a brief analysis of Tommaso Campanella's (1568-1639) sanction of heterosexual normativity in *La città del Sole* (1602), one of the early utopias in modern European intellectual history. The focus then shifts to Charles Beaumont's (1929-1967) classic depiction of a sexual kakotopia in *The Crooked Man*, a short story published by the men's magazine *Playboy* in 1955. Although the two narratives uphold very

different societal aims as regards sexuality, they are both hinged on the premise of male/female binarity and the exclusive normativity of either other-sex or same-sex relationships.

2. Prolepsis 2

Against the backdrop of these assumptions, light will be shed on how sexual difference is conceptualized in Charles Fourier's (1772-1837) *Le nouveau monde amoureux*, the first full-blown sexual utopia in Western modernity, whose belated publication in 1967 considerably hindered its historical impact. Given the import of Fourier's philosophical assailing against the unshakable-seeming postulation of the sexual binomial, it is especially significant that his critical views converge with Magnus Hirschfeld's (1868-1935) Darwinian-based deconstruction of finite schemes of sexual distribution for the sake of potentially infinite, unique sexualities, whose adequate unfolding fosters the emergence of a historical framework beyond alienatory constrictions. Accordant with Hirschfeld's disruptive contentions, Monique Wittig (1935-2003) propounded a utopian vision of sexualities that radically transforms the age-old taxonomic understanding of sexual difference into a conception of sexuality as a marker of individual distinction.

3. Tommaso Campanella's *Pythagorean Brahmins*

Among the early modern utopian models, Tommaso Campanella's (1568-1639) *La città del Sole* (1602) (The City of the Sun) constitutes a foremost instantiation of how visions of radical social and governmental change were yoked to traditional Catholic teachings on sexual difference and the ethics resulting therefrom. Resonating with his closing reminder that, according to the apostle Paul, "heresy is the work of sensuality"² (Gal. 5: 19-20; 1 Cor. 3, 3), Campanella features the sexual mores of the Trinitarian monotheists inhabiting the City of the Sun in a way that strangely evokes the principled asceticism that informed the worldview of the Dominican's Catholic readership. Given that the Solarians traced their ancestry to "Pythagorean Brahmins"³ from India and organized their lives "philosophically and communally,"⁴ it does not come as a surprise when the narrative highlights that they engaged in sexual contacts "religiously for the common, not for the private good [...],"⁵ and that whoever renounced coital activity until the age of twenty-one was celebrated "with several honours and songs."⁶

4. Campanella's surveilled heteronormativity

Reducing sexuality to the parameters of reproductive finality, Campanella never questions the validity of the binomial sexual order, which, in the Western intellectual tradition, is grounded in the Creation narratives of Adam and Eve and the Pythagorean table of opposites transmitted by Aristotle.⁷ Indicatively, in the homosocially structured male world of

Campanella's utopia, women are shared in common, and the only permissible sexual combinatory is the male/female variant, regulated by a watchful regime of controlled reproduction. Thus, when dealing with the sensitive issue of sexual conformity, the story stresses that "it is necessary to be at the orders of the officials."⁸ As a corollary of the strict heteronormativity that pervades Campanella's utopia, Solarians caught in sodomitic acts are not only generally reviled. Their specific penalty consists in walking about for two days with a shoe tied to their neck, as a token that they "have perverted the order, putting their feet on their head."⁹ For those who relapse, the punishment is increased and eventually "becomes capital."¹⁰

5. Charles Beaumont's *The Crooked Man* and the reversal of the sexual norm

The sexual perversion that Campanella dreaded as a threat to the established order attains the status of an organizing principle of society in "The Crooked Man," Charles Beaumont's roughly 3000-word kakotopian story. While sharing Campanella's general assumption of dichotomous sexuality, Beaumont's narrative admits as normative only same-sex combinatories. The expected consequences of this option against the traditional heterosexual regime are pregnantly reflected by the opening editorial commentary: "a uniquely terrifying story," and more tellingly, by the quoted verses from the *Epistle to the Romans* condemning sexual deviance (1: 26-27). Since the title characterizes the protagonist Jesse Four Martin as a "crooked"—i.e., a non-straight man—it would seem at first that the Paulinian anathema applies chiefly to the narrative's apparent antihero. However, as the unfolding of the story soon makes it clear, Jesse's "crookedness" is not meant to connote homosexuality, but, on the contrary, his deviance from the homosexual normativity that the state's authority has declared compulsory. It is thus not Jesse that repudiates the Paulinian defense of the heterosexual order, but, rather, the same-sex societal regime that denigrates his inborn difference.

6. The homosexual supersedure of reproductive behavior

Within the logic of the story, non-homosexual, "crooked" Jesse embodies a type of sexuality, which, to his disadvantage, keeps its original link to the heterosexual conditions of reproduction. His plight constitutes a severe liability in a society that had introduced "the use of artificial insemination—not even five hundred years ago" (Beaumont 10), but still struggles to impose same-sex relationships as the only legally admissible form of sexuality. Those who, like Jesse, resist to be straightened out, are regarded as outlaws, who harbour a recessive animal instinct that contradicts the state efforts to uproot all libidinal traces favouring once regnant biological reproduction. On these assumptions, the story unfolds during an evening in an orgy club called *The Phallus*, where Jesse is waiting for his presumed male fiancé to discuss pressing issues. As it soon becomes apparent, however, the "someone--special" Jesse is expecting is

not a man, but his girlfriend Mina in male drag. As an indispensable requisite for being admitted to the club of their date, her disguise is a telling commentary on the pervading sexual alienation that undermines the couple's life.

7. The new victims of the old methods

As the conversation between Jesse and Mina in the club suggests, legislation had been passed making mandatory the cure of "[t]he disease that throws men and women together" (Beaumont 8). Interestingly enough, to combat heterosexuality, Beaumont's kakotopian state recurs to criminalization and pathologization, which—as most *Playboy* readers certainly realized—were the mechanisms of choice deployed even by twentieth-century democracies to subdue homosexuality. Notwithstanding the memories that "years ago [...] men and women [...] married and had children together" (Beaumont 10), the official sexual indoctrination proved to be so successful that Jesse and Mina could hardly cope with the discrepancy between their feelings and the internalized social pressure. Thus, trying to reassure her, Jesse utters a sentence that he might well have repeated to himself: "We're not the queers. You've got to believe that" (Beaumont 10). This mot d'ordre is Jesse's reaction toward the end of the story, when, in the process of being arrested and conducted to the ward, he suddenly realizes that Mina "thought she was exactly what the authorities told her she was" (Beaumont 10).

8. Curing from heterosexuality as a form of state terror

Evoking, in reverse, the discourse of alterity commonly associated with the homosexual condition, the narrator stresses that Jesse, despite his raising and education, never relinquished his *inborn* heterosexuality, and therefore felt "terribly different from the rest" (Beaumont 8).¹¹ As part of the punishment due to his "crime," Jesse is forced to realize the extent of his and Mina's forlornness. Accordingly, the authorial voice eventually discloses:

"She had been trying to tell him something all evening, but hadn't let her. Now he knew what he had feared. He knew what she had come to tell him: that even if they hadn't been caught, she would have submitted to the Cure voluntarily" (Beaumont 14).

Considering the narrative's insistence on the futility of resisting the state's terror policy, it does not come as a complete surprise that the final scene evinces the man in charge of arresting the couple as a member of the "Vice-squad," who had cruised Jesse while he was waiting for his "fiancé." What is unanticipated, however, is that just before closing the door of the wagon that will take them to the ward, the officer betrays the motivation and expectancy behind his unacknowledged turpitude, when he insidiously tells Jesse: "It'll make a new man of you" (Beaumont 10).

9. The moral of the story

Beaumont's story is undeniably "terrifying," inasmuch as the intolerance inherent in the same-sex paradigm it premises mirrors in reverse the all too familiar functioning of the heterosexual regime in contemporary society. On this assumption, the narrative avoids straightforwardly raising awareness for the plight of the homosexual minority, seeking, instead, to produce a Brechtian de-familiarization effect by inverting the historically given power relationships between heterosexuals and homosexuals. In an alienatory world dominated by its same-sex majority, the story takes on the "minority" perspective of a subjugated other-sex couple in order to elicit an empathetic reaction among *Playboy* consumers that would facilitate their reception of a message of tolerance. Contrary to the author's expectations, however, his kakotopia provoked an enraged outcry in some quarters. In response to this reaction, Hugh Hefner, the magazine's founder and editor, deemed appropriate to explicate the moral of the narrative, stating: "It was wrong to persecute heterosexuals in a homosexual society, then the reverse was wrong, too" (*The Crooked Man*). With his intervention, Hefner made it sufficiently clear that Beaumont's story was not targeting any specific sexual orientation, but, rather, the strategies and mechanisms deployed by a hypothetical sexual majority against its disjunctive alternative. Thus, since historical utopias have prevalently reflected the self-assertive bias of the heterosexual majority, Beaumont's fictional reversion of the sexual premises was enough to disclose the quintessentially kakotopian character of most utopian blueprints.

10. Heterosexuality, homosexuality, and the sexual binary

The futuristic plot of "The Crooked Man" presupposes an epochal shift from the heterosexual ideal of procreative (i.e., *animal* or *pre-human*) success hinged on biological processes, to a homosexual teleology of individual (i.e., *human*) fulfilment dependent on a technology that has severed the ties between sexuality and reproduction. Since Beaumont's story sufficed itself with ascertaining the mutual exclusion of heterosexual and homosexual combinatories, it failed to examine and challenge the epistemic adequacy of the binary scheme of sexual distribution on which both combinatories rest. It is on account of this commonality that the average heterosexual male consumer of *Playboy's* soft-porno ideology was presumed to readily grasp the story's structural reversal of the power relationship between the sexes. However, a utopian conceptualization that would have left behind the binary structuration of sexuality would certainly miss the magazine's criteria of smooth readability, and counterproductively undermine its intellectually modest advocacy of sexual tolerance. Thus, in view of Beaumont's strategy of plain inversions, it is all the more significant that already in the early nineteenth century, French utopian thinker Charles Fourier had conceptualized a radical alternative to the dichotomous scheme of sexual distribution.

11. Charles Fourier's re-conceptualization of the world of love

Between 1817 and 1819, Fourier wrote *Le nouveau monde amoureux*, a masterwork that for reasons thoroughly explained by its editor (Debout-Oleszkiewicz vii-xxviii), remained unpublished until 1967. As an opponent of the ontological patterns derived from theological creationism, Fourier broke with the traditional dichotomous scheme of sexual distribution preponderant "en civilisation" (in civilization), reframing sexual difference within the natural continuities that, in the utopian world of Harmony, sustain the deployment of human relationships. Hence, it is not surprising that Guy Hocquenghem (1946-1988), one of the leading French advocates of the sexual revolution in the 1960s, epitomized Fourier as "the culture of the new culture,"¹² and assigned to him the status of a philosophical hero comparable only to that of Karl Marx. Agreeing with Fourier's contention that civilization has blocked, diverted, and divided the original productive movement of the passions (Hocquenghem, "Fourier" 65), Hocquenghem considered his call for restoring the cosmic flux of desire as the single most important element that distinguishes the Fourierian conception of man from the Marxian dominator of nature in accordance with the Cartesian matrix. Consequently, the figure of the "homme passionnel" (*Le nouveau monde amoureux* 458-461) (passionate man), which emerges from Fourier's philosophy, fosters a new "alliance with the earth,"¹³ as a necessary condition for overcoming the civilizatory compartmentations and abjections of love's diversity.¹⁴

12. Palliating the cleft of dichotomies

Seeking to grasp the continuity of beings and qualities in Nature, Fourier resorts to the formation of structural series in which specific segments of concrete instantiations function as neutral passages or transitions from one class to another. As Roland Barthes pertinently explains, the neuter represents in Fourier's philosophy

"that which occupies the space *between* the mark and the non-mark, a sort of buffer [...] whose role is to choke, to mitigate, to liquefy the semantic *tic-tac*, the metronomic noise that signals obsessively the paradigmatic alternance: yes/no, yes/no, yes/no, etc."¹⁵

Acting as a transition on account of the duplicity of contraries it encompasses (Barthes 112-113), the neuter constitutes a class that engulfs everything that tries to escape the grip of clear-cut taxonomies. Generally regarded as a "triviality" by the knowledgeable in the regime of civilization, these neutral transitions (also called "the mixed" or "the ambiguous") are all the more relevant in the regime of Harmony (Fourier, *Le nouveau monde* 34-35, 447-449), as, according to Fourier, each and everything is dependent on its capacity to mix and combine with everything else.¹⁶

13. The neuter and the universalization of sexual intermediariness

Being in factual agreement with Barthes's views on the relevancy of Fourier's *neutre* to the relativization of age-old dichotomies, Hocquenghem was obviously predisposed to appraising in depth the attempt by German-Jewish sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld to dismantle sexual binarity in the name of the universal validity of what he termed *sexuelle Zwischenstufenlehre* – "the doctrine of sexual intermediary stages." Although Hirschfeld never dealt with Fourier's oeuvre in detail,¹⁷ and passed away decades before the publication of *Le nouveau monde amoureux*, his groundbreaking conceptualization of a scheme of sexual distribution beyond sexual binarity and its ad hoc finite supplementations concurs with Fourier's fundamental insights into the pervasive continuities of the sexual. Thus, countering the closed patterns that organize what is representable as sexuality, Hirschfeld outlined an essentially open-ended distributional scheme, in which the nuance-blind disjunction between man and woman is overcome by the assumption of a *provisory* third-sex alternative that opens up the potentially infinite series of sexualities as unique passages or transitions within the continuities of nature.¹⁸

14. On Charles Darwin's natural continuum and the hermaphrodite

Magnus Hirschfeld and other sexologists critical of dichotomous sexuality in the early decades of the twentieth century were well aware of the import of Darwinian evolutionary theory to their own theoretical pursuits (Bauer, "Der androgyne Vorfahr"). Correspondingly, Hirschfeld recurred in his elaborations on the universalization of sexual intermediariness to what Darwin throughout *The Origin of Species* designated as the old canon of natural history: "Natura non facit saltum" (Darwin, *Origin* 223, 233, 236, 263, 435, 445). Moreover, Hirschfeld adopted premises that Darwin had initially hinted at around 1838, and according to which not only "[e]very animal surely is hermaphrodite" (Darwin, *Notebooks* 380 [Notebook D (1838), No. 154]), but, more to the point, "[e]very man & woman is hermaphrodite" (Darwin, *Notebooks* 384 [Notebook D (1838), No. 162]). Thus, Darwin's significance for Hirschfeld was not limited to the theory connecting man to the other quadrumana through their descent from a lower ape-like creature, and culminating in the dethronement of humankind qua species from its splendid isolation at the summit of creation. As Hirschfeld's texts make abundantly clear, Darwin's sexological relevancy consisted primarily in the postulation of an evolutionary link of all vertebrata to a "hermaphrodite or androgynous" (Darwin, *Descent* 207) progenitor. On account of this assumption, Darwin was able to embed the specific history of human emergence in an overarching evolutionary framework that necessitates a theoretical reassessment of the complexities and intricacies inherent in human sexuality.

15. Restoring the *ur-idea of human bisexuality*

Among its foremost consequences, Darwin's evolution theory effectively implied a wide-ranging dismantlement of the simplistic constructions deriving from sexual binarity, which, concentrating on the individual's sexual traits relevant to reproduction, disregard the ever-present perplexities resulting from the phylogenetic residues of humanity's bisexual ancestry. Since evolution challenges the reductive sexual dichotomization of post-hermaphroditic animals, "the great principle of gradation" (Darwin, *Origin* 248) operating through variability bridges the cleft between the species, as well as the hiatus between the binomial sexes, and by so doing, evinces itself as the pervasive nexus of life's diversity. Against this backdrop, Hirschfeld underscored that owing to his conception of purely quantitative differences between the sexes, Darwin became one of the first natural scientists in the nineteenth century to restore "the *ur-idea of human bisexuality*"¹⁹ that had lain buried under "the rubble of Hellas and Rome."²⁰

16. Magnus Hirschfeld and G.W. Leibniz's principle of natural gradation

Accordant with Darwin's recourse to the "old canon" of natural history, Hirschfeld postulated that the pervasive continuity of nature constitutes the actual background against which the discrete sexual varieties created by sexological taxonomies throughout cultural history manifest themselves as what they actually are: transitions of the sexual. Consequently, Hirschfeld set as epigraph of his 1905 treatise titled "Geschlechts-Übergänge" (Sexual Transitions) a sentence from Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's *Nouveaux essais* that reads: "Tout va par degrés dans la nature et rien par sauts" (Hirschfeld, *Geschlechts-Übergänge*, title page)²¹ (Everything goes by degrees in nature, nothing by leaps). After mentioning in the body of the treatise further authorial sources (including John Amos Comenius and Carl Linnaeus),²² Hirschfeld stated that the "most eminent meaning [of the natural principle enunciated in the epigraph] has not yet been fully assessed even in the present" (Hirschfeld, *Geschlechts-Übergänge* 18). Thus, despite his enthusiastic recognition of the sexological import of Darwin's evolutionary biology, Hirschfeld seems not to have overlooked his timidity in articulating the unsettling implications that his insights into the evolution of vertebrate sexuality had for the understanding of humanity's bisexual constitution.

17. Hirschfeld's core sexological contention

In his first sexological treatise titled *Sappho und Sokrates* (1896) (Sappho and Socrates) Hirschfeld places the purely biological, non-pathological conception of same-sex love within a definite scheme (Ramien [= Magnus Hirschfeld], *Sappho und Sokrates* 27), which is not wholly new, but theoretically more ambitious than comparable attempts by his predecessors. Going far beyond the mere normalization of the so-called third sex as a fact of nature, the treatise anticipates Hirschfeld's universalization of sexual intermediariness as

the systematic core contention of his sexology. Resuming and expanding on Darwinian leitmotifs, Hirschfeld resorts in his elaborations not only to the theory that ontogenesis recapitulates phylogenesis, but also to the evidence of a bisexual primary disposition, whose traces or 'remainders' can be readily perceived at the physiological level: "Every man keeps his stunted womb, the uterus masculinus and the superfluous nipples until death; likewise, every woman [keeps] her useless epididymis and her spermatic cord."²³ Since a purely male man or a purely female woman would be, strictly speaking, *para physin*—i.e., contrary to nature—Hirschfeld takes the Darwinian principle of androgynous (or gynandrous) variability to its last consequences, dissolving the pseudo-naturalistic fixations of sexual binarity (and its ad-hoc suppletions through third-sex constructs) for the sake of each individual's uniquely constellated bisexuality (Bauer, "Gender" 153-171).

18. On Hirschfeld's nature-based reframing of sexual emancipation

Arguing analogically, Hirschfeld pointed out that, with regard to the psychic center of sexual sensibility, one can definitely assume that, here also, residues of the drive subsist, which, on the whole, are eventually destined to disappear (Ramien [= Magnus Hirschfeld], *Sappho und Sokrates* 10-11). Since "in their primary disposition all human beings are with respect to their body and soul bisexual,"²⁴ the inexhaustible diversity of sexualities results not from qualitative, but from quantitative differences that are determined by the way the primary sexual disposition reacts to processes that hinder or advance its development. As a consequence, Hirschfeld unmasked the supposed naturalness of the binomial sexual hiatus as an unwarranted concealment of sexuality's endless transitions deployed in consonance with nature's pervasive continuities. Moreover, he foresaw the liberatory implementation of his universalized conception of sexual intermediariness within a temporal framework, which is primarily marked not by the other-worldly idealism of Renaissance and modern utopias, but, rather, by the old-testamentary imperative to realize justice in the concreteness of history (Bauer, *Ahasver* 280-284). In correspondence with his life motto "per scientiam ad justitiam" (through science to justice), Hirschfeld's deconstructive pursuits as a sexologist were designed to benefit not only the alleged sexual minorities created by the regnant regime of binary sexual distribution, but also the members of the presumed sexual majority, which, internalizing the identitarian constrictions of binomial sexuality, renounce life options to which they are entitled by the irreducible complexity of their individual sexual intermediariness.²⁵

19. Monique Wittig: The phallic subterfuge of the *straight mind*

Notwithstanding the generational and cultural differences between Hirschfeld and Monique Wittig,²⁶ her overarching critique of binary sexuality and the conception of sexual emancipation it implies concur in essential aspects with Hirschfeld's critical endeavours on behalf of the individual's

uniquely constellated sexuality. In both her fictional and theoretical writings, Wittig deploys critical strategies aiming at the exposure and disruption of the binary scheme of sex and gender that she considers a most efficacious subterfuge of the "straight mind," designed to subjugate women and disempower sexual minorities. In this connection, Wittig further argues that vaginal depth is not the mere opposite of phallic apotheosis, but the token of a deconstructive principle devised to reduce the idealized phallus to the prosaic reality of a penis. Since Wittig's basic credo runs: "[...] I distrust symbols, I believe in the literal [...]" (Wittig, *Across the Acheron* 87),²⁷ her work does not advocate a post-phallic sacralisation of female genitals, but, rather, explores and dissolves femininity through a form of lesbianism that opens up to an as yet not articulated dimension of the human.²⁸ The actual scope of Wittig's sexual de-mythologization is clearly conveyed when, at the end of her parable *Paris-la-politique*, she states the maxim of her newly won insights: "ni dieux ni déesses, ni maîtres ni maîtresses" (Wittig, "Paris-la-politique" 51) – "neither gods nor goddesses, neither masters nor mistresses."²⁹

20. Encoding the future in an irretrievable past

Wittig rejects the presumption of naturalness or divine conformity attributed to the historically victorious patriarchy, and, at times, even to its complementary heterosexual alternative: matriarchy. Both are dismissed on the same grounds, since, as Wittig is careful to underline, "[m]atriarchy is no less heterosexual than patriarchy: it is only the sex of the oppressor that changes" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 10).³⁰ Explaining her own stance, Wittig points out that homosexuality is not merely the desire for one's own sex, but "the desire for something else that is not connoted," namely, "resistance to the norm" (Wittig, "Paradigm" 114).³¹ On account of the prevalent heterosexual framework in which cultural memory has been transmitted and transformed, it is no wonder that the history of lesbian resistance has been deeply marked by its lacunary character. Well aware that historical science can offer no adequate basis for grounding the emancipatory claims of her lesbianism, Wittig does not aim at reconstructing its historical past. Rather, she attempts to fill up the intervals and gaps left over by official heterosexual historiography with clearly utopian narratives, which, despite their declared orientation toward a hardly discernable yore, actually encapsulate the premises of a radical alternative futurity. It is not by chance that *Lesbian Peoples*, the book Wittig wrote along with Sande Zeig, begins with a motto that seems to parody the Johannine and Goethean speculative contentions of an original Logos (John 1,1) or Act (Goethe, *Faust* 44).³² The quotation runs: "In the beginning, if there ever was such a time" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* [v]).³³

21. The clash between *mothers* and *Amazons*

Indicatively, the "materials for a dictionary" collected in *Lesbian Peoples* repeatedly refer to the presumptive origins of lesbianism at the dawn of history. Since the presented strains of vague recollection can lay no claim to historical

factuality, they only serve to sketch out an essentially speculative narrative. Despite this epistemic limitation, the hypothetical depiction of the deeds of the immemorial Amazons sheds light on Wittig's decision to inscribe present-day lesbian reflection in the framework of an age-old libertarian thrust toward the concrete realization of universal humanness. In this connection it is significant that the entry on "conflict" in the French version of *Lesbian Peoples* begins with the quote: "There are traces of dark conflicts in the fables of the bearers of fables."³⁴ Hinting at the unreliability of the sources, the sentence, which is attributed to the probably imaginary "Julienne Borge," is designed to introduce the extant data of a fable of origins, according to which an archetypical clash between "mothers" and "Amazons" not only marked the historical past indelibly, but keeps repeating itself to the present day. The reported reason for the female ur-dissension was the "breach" that the Amazons tried to find in the mothers' "dream of absolute and totalitarian engendering" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 36).³⁵ The secession that followed was ultimately conducive to contradictory worldviews and practices manifested first and foremost at their communal gatherings.

22. The sacred and its symbols

While the Amazons came together on the hills "for festivals, assemblies, [and] sojourns in the woods," the mothers began building "places of worship" dedicated to the goddesses and surrounded by woods that became "sacred" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 73).³⁶ The introduction of the fundamental distinction between the sacred and the profane by the mothers, that is, by "those who reign and who engender" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 73), signals a turning point of humanity depicted by Wittig and Zeig in the entry on "history." Although some narrative details of the conflict between mothers and Amazons in this entry are at variance with other depictions of the same incident, they all consistently portray the mothers as playing a pre-eminent religious role, since they "began fabricating representations of themselves in dried mud, sculptured stone, or on flat surfaces with colours" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 75). As "reigning goddesses who demanded sacrifices" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 76), the mothers eventually modified "the original tongue by introducing the sacred into the 'meaning,' and confused its basic literal sense with their symbols" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 78).³⁷ While according to one account the Amazons manifested their opposition to the instauration of maternal sacrality by just occupying alternative spaces for their gatherings, according to another account, they resisted the far more consequential induction of the sacred through symbolism by keeping "the 'old language of letters and numbers'" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 78).³⁸

23. Reclaiming the Amazons' sense of the literal

In an important respect, the Amazons' anti-matriarchal struggle clearly functions as a proleptical cipher of Wittig's own lesbian attempt to re-

appropriate the literalness concealed by the alienating systems of symbolic representation that structure the history and historiography of heterosexual power. In this context, Wittig's resistance is primarily directed against the sexual implications of the disjunctive logic that perpetuates the pattern of mutual exclusion initiated by the sacred/profane binomial. Suitably, her strategy is that of the "Trojan horse," a "war machine" functioning in the "hostile territory" of heterosexual language with the intent of turning it against itself. While the immediate goal of Wittig's warfare is "to pulverize the old forms and formal conventions," the final aim of her belligerency is to recreate not a vision of things, but of "the first powerful vision of words" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 72). Wittig's corrective rephrasing of views expressed by Russian Formalist Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984) remits to the actual kernel of her reflection on a utopian new language that attempts to regain a non-symbolic access to reality by means of the literalness she attributed to the Amazons' language of "letters and numbers." Accordantly, the entry on "Language" in *Lesbian Peoples* asserts that "the mothers lived in permanent representation" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 94),³⁹ while surmising that, in the ancient language of the Amazons, "[t]he significations and the phonemes had [...] a different relation between them" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 94).⁴⁰

24. The utopian language of continuities

In her depiction of the Amazons' language, Wittig points out that "[o]ne cannot imagine that [it] was composed of 'sentences' with a construction and a syntax as rigid, rigorous, repressive as those we know" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 94).⁴¹ In view of this precision, Wittig's contention that, with respect to language, "everything has to be remade starting from basic principles" (Wittig, *Les Guérillères* 1985, 134),⁴² attains an unexpected scope, as it implies accomplishments far beyond the reach of what Wittig herself or any individual author could possibly achieve in a lifetime. Ultimately, Wittig was envisaging a "language without consonants" that resembles the song of the "white whale," for it is not composed of sentences, but of modulations (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 162). Not by chance, this characterization is mentioned in the article on "vowel"/"voyelle," which is the closing entry in the French version of *Lesbian Peoples*. In this prominent locus, Wittig describes a utopian language, which, free from consonantal obstructions, consists only of acoustical continuities that would seem to resonate with the ululation of Minerva's owl (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 157), or, more significantly, with what in *Les Guérillères* is termed "the music of the spheres" (Wittig, *Les Guérillères* 1985, 136). Such a language follows out the realization that "Being as being is not divided" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 81), and is therefore suitable for opening up a horizon of thought where the principle of "either...or" is no more valid (Wittig, *Across the Acheron* 74).

25. The philosophical roots of patriarchal heterosexuality

In accordance with the anti-essentialism that results from Wittig's pervasive historicism, the liberatory language she intimates is deemed to overcome the separateness of things by resorting to the literalness of continuous Being. As a consequence, Wittig assigns to such a language the capacity not only to supersede the divide between the sacred and the profane, but to reflect the potentially infinite variabilities of the sexual beyond the male/female categorical disjunction. In this regard, Wittig is keen to differentiate between the mothers' heterosexual regime as a "poetical, imaginative" projection into the past, and the well identifiable structures of binary thought inherent in patriarchal heterosexuality ever since the emergence of Western philosophy. As Wittig underscores, it was Aristotle who, after contending that the Pythagorean school had introduced duality in thought, went on to interpret metaphysically the Pythagorean conceptual series of opposites, whose original purpose had been to serve as tools for measurement and classification. Thus, in the first table of oppositions as recorded in the first book of *Metaphysics* (Aristotle 34 [986 a 22-30]), the series including the concepts of male, right, light and good functions as the antithetical complement of the series encompassing the concepts of female, left, dark and bad. Since, according to this scheme, Being and the One mark the essence of godlike maleness, while non-Being and the Many constitute the ontological determinants of unrestful femaleness (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 49-51), the immemorial, but unwarranted conceptual separation between male and female eventually morphed into an insurmountable axiological difference sanctioned by ontology.

26. Denaturalizing the sexual binary in the name of sexual diversity

Notwithstanding the age-old allegations to the contrary, Wittig never tires to stress that the sexual dichotomy and its inherent asymmetry do not ensue from a "natural" or "eternal" necessity. Rather, they are designedly generated and sustained by the contingencies of political and societal interests that have recast the arbitrary binary division of the sexes as if it were a natural one. Basically, the ideology of the binomial sexual difference functions as a censorship that masks "on the ground of nature, the social opposition between men and women" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 2). In this thoroughly constructed system of heterosexual distribution, females become not only the possession of men (as indicated in the etymology of "wo-men": "those who belong to another" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 165),⁴³ but also carry the burden of compulsory reproduction. With this plight in view, Wittig calls for "the destruction of heterosexuality as a social system which is based on the oppression of women by men and which produces the doctrine of the difference between the sexes to justify this oppression" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 20). However, far from implying the negation or rejection of sexual diversity as such, Wittig's critical line of argument assumes that the consequent

emancipatory acknowledgement of the existing sexual diversity can only take place once the naturalizing ideology of sexual binarity has been superseded.

27. Reviewing anatomical differences

In the self-interpretive introduction to her parable "*Les Tchiches et les Tchouches*," Wittig maintains that there is no "différence anatomique" (anatomical difference) that would justify the construction of two mutually exclusive groups which, effectively, correlate with "women" and "men." Given the oppression of one group by the other, the "*aspects physiques*" (physical appearance) of the Tchiches and Tchouches become ever more divergent and are invested with a disproportionate significance. These occurrences, however, do not invalidate Wittig's fundamental ascertainment that "*on a affaire à la même race*" (Wittig, "*Les Tchiches et les Tchouches*" 122) (one has to do with the same race). Thus, when reverting the parable to its sexual literalness, it becomes apparent that Wittig's line of thought aims at depicting a commonality of the human liable of encompassing the profuse diversity of the sexual beyond the two asymmetrical groups established by the historically victorious patriarchy. In this connection, Wittig underscores that it is the very factuality of sexual diversity that dents from within the dominion claims of any self-constituted group according to allegedly sexual or gender criteria. However, despite the theoretical untenability of the assumption that there is an essential difference between two mutually exclusive sexes related by the patriarchal bond of unilateral dependency (Wittig, *Les Guérillères* 1985, 102), heterosexuality, as Wittig indicates, has attempted all along history to justify its system of female subordination and homosexual phobias by referring to an allegedly "'already there' of the sexes" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 4).

28. As many sexes as there are individuals

With Wittig there is no silencing of the fact that the *raison d'être* of her libertarian design lies beyond the mere reassessment and reassertion of any stable lesbian identity. Thus, while contending that "for the moment" (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 20) lesbianism provides the only social form for a free existence beyond the categories of "man" and "woman," Wittig envisions a futurity that coincides with the inception of Subjectivities, which have overcome the alienatory ideology of binomial sexual difference for good. Significantly, in a philosophical essay entitled "Paradigm" Wittig makes explicit the core premise of her reflections in this regard: "For us there are, it seems, not one or two sexes, but many (cf. Guattari/Deleuze), as many sexes as there are individuals" (Wittig, "Paradigm" 119).⁴⁴ Since Wittig's lesbian utopia can only be one if it is for all, its realization presupposes that the historical subsumptions under categories of sexual difference finally yield to the incontrovertible evidence that the corporeality of each Subjectivity bears the mark of a unique, unclassifiable sexuality. Thus, Wittig's adoption of the originally Volterian concept of *mêmeté* (Wittig, *The Straight Mind* 56) as an abbreviation for irreducible Subjectivity ultimately envisages an ambit of overarching

commonality, which enables the unfolding of individually diverse sexualities within the framework of humanness.

29. The oblique mind and the clitoral *kleís*

Wittig's theoretical stance is defined by the obliqueness of a minority perspective that guards against the delusion of a "straight" appropriation of humanness. Thus, the oblique mind challenges the history of millennia by testifying to the necessary fragmentation of the human commonality in the irreducible sexual diversity of its individual manifestations.⁴⁵ Signally, in the as yet non-existent, anti-patriarchal and anti-matriarchal world envisioned by Wittig, Subjectivities viewed as female are not marked by the absence of a penis, but by the presence of a clitoris, "the only organ in the body to have pleasure as its function" (Wittig and Zeig, *Lesbian Peoples* 33).⁴⁶ Consequently, Wittig's lesbian affirmation of this critical, clitoral presence counters the pervasive denigration and silencing of female genitals in cultural history, and necessitates a radical re-negotiation of the relationship among the sexes, which, as has been shown, are not two, but as numerous as the individuals in which they inhere. Once the constraints of the sexual binomial and its resulting hetero- and homosexual combinatories are left behind, the commonality granted by the homology between the penis and the clitoris liberates the "lesbian body" from the predicament of being determined by the vagina as the site of a void, which, at times, has been conceptualized as a "negative phallus" (Laqueur 152).⁴⁷ Even though toward the end of her life Wittig stressed that she had never denied having a vagina, the sentence "*Je n'ai pas de vagin*" (Preciado 181, 205) (I do not have a vagina) attributed to her among others by Leo Bersani (45), can be read as a radical refusal of the imagery of the "non-penis," and thus as a clue to Wittig's revolt against the thought of binomial sexual difference that subordinates women to an ontology of absence. Having debunked the patriarchal ideology of feminine non-Being, Wittig gained access to the clitoral "*kleís*," the key capable of opening up the path to the common human uniqueness beyond the all too *topical* arbitrariness of categorial divides.

30. In lieu of closures

Regardless of the genealogical question whether Monique Wittig was directly acquainted with Magnus Hirschfeld's oeuvre, it is notable that her postulation of sexualities as diverse as the number of individuals, in which her utopian line of argument culminates, factually coincides with the systemic core of the Hirschfeldian sexology. Although Wittig does not explicitly refer to Hirschfeld in her elaborations, she does remit, in a passage already quoted, to Félix Guattari and Gilles Deleuze. Since the authors of *L'Anti-Œdipe*—one of the fundamental works of French philosophical post-modernity—had close ties to philosopher and Hirschfeld expert Guy Hocquenghem, it is reasonable to assume that the sexologist's chief contentions were discussed among them. Thus, it is perhaps not by chance that the passage in *L'Anti-Œdipe*, to which

Wittig seems to refer, propounds a view of "n-sexes" that is remindful of Hirschfeld's postulation of a non-finite scheme of sexual distribution.

In this connection it is also significant that, whereas Hirschfeld had calculated in his *magnum opus* the existence of "43,046,721 Sexualtypen" on the basis of a very conservative estimate of sexual variables (Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde* I, 1926, 594-599), Félix Guattari edited—the year after *L'Anti-Œdipe* was first issued—a collective work under the telling title *Trois Milliards de Pervers. Grande Encyclopédie des Homosexualités* (Three Billion Perverse: The Grand Encyclopaedia of Homosexualities), which included work by Deleuze and Hocquenghem. On this account, Wittig's elaborations on sexual individuality suggest her being cognizant of a mostly overlooked school of sexual thought, which sought to dismantle sexual binarity (along with its finite suppletions) for the sake of potentially infinite sexualities, and whose pre-eminent and most articulate exponent had been Magnus Hirschfeld.⁴⁸ Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that Wittig not only rejected the mere advocacy of tolerance among the existing configurations of dichotomous sexuality, but went on to expose the theoretical insufficiencies of the binary scheme of sexual distribution itself. Taking on the utopian challenge posed by sexes as diverse as the individuals they mark, Wittig redefined the immemorial issue of sexual determination in a way that strikingly resonates with Hirschfeld's fundamental premise: "Die Zahl der denkbaren und tatsächlichen Sexualtypen ist unendlich [...]." (Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde* I, 599) -- "The number of imaginable and factual sexual types is infinite [...]."

Notes

¹ An earlier version of the present study was delivered at the Anniversary Conference *From Francis Bacon to William Golding: 450 Years of Utopias and Dystopias*, organized by the Philology Department (Faculty of Letters) of the North University of Baia Mare, Romania, October 20-23, 2011.

² "L'eresia è opera sensuale [...]" (Campanella 59 [line 1312]). The translation of all French, German and Italian passages quoted in the present essay has been done by the author.

³ "[...] Bragmani pittagorici [...]" (Campanella 27 [line 567]).

⁴ "[...] alla filosofica in commune [...]" (Campanella 10 [line 163-164]).

⁵ "[...] religiosamente per ben publico, non privato [...]" (Campanella 22 [line 464-465]). Accordant with his eugenic concerns, Campanella further underscores that "se si guasta la generazione, in nullo modo si dispensa tra loro il coito, se non quando ella è pregna o sterile" (23 [line 481-483]).

⁶ "[...] con alcuni onori e canzoni" (Campanella 19 [line 378-379]).

⁷ The relevant Aristotelian passage will be discussed further below in connection with Monique Wittig's philosophical critique of patriarchy (§ 25).

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- ⁸ "[...] è bisogno stare al detto dell'uffiziali" (Campanella 22 [line 465-466]).
- ⁹ "[...] pervertîro l'ordine e posero li piedi in testa [...]" (Campanella 18 [line 476]).
- ¹⁰ "[...] diventa capitale" (Campanella 19 [line 377]).
- ¹¹ Unwittingly or not, Beaumont's phrasing is reminiscent of "Anders als die Anderen" (Different from the Others), the title of a groundbreaking film released in 1919, and written by Richard Oswald with the assistance of German-Jewish physician and sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld to promote the understanding and emancipation of homosexuals.
- ¹² "[...] culture de la nouvelle culture [...]" (Hocquenghem, "Fourier, culture" 63).
- ¹³ "[...] alliance avec la terre [...]" (Hocquenghem, "Fourier, culture" 66).
- ¹⁴ See in this regard Fourier's elaborations in *Le nouveau monde amoureux* under the caption: "Transitions d'amour généralement proscrites chez les modernes": "On condamne le saphisme ou amour de femme à femme qui est un lien ambigu; on condamne également d'autres ambigus, comme l'extrême lubricité ou messalinisme qui souvent dégénère en maladie hystérique nommée priapisme et dégrade l'individu au niveau des brutes. Ces différents excès ont en harmonie un essor tout opposé à celui que leur donne les coutumes civilisées. En examinant ces contrastes on se convaincra que l'harmonie sait changer en sources de vertu les ressorts les plus infâmes de la civilisation et en des métamorphoses aussi brillantes que celui de la chenille en papillon" (447).
- ¹⁵ "[...] le neutre est ce qui prend place *entre* la marque et la non-marque, cette sorte de tampon [...] dont le rôle est d'étouffer, d'adoucir, de fluidifier le *tic-tac* sémantique, ce bruit métronomique qui signe obsessionnellement l'alternance paradigmatique: *oui/non, oui/non, oui/non, etc.*" (Barthes 112).
- ¹⁶ See Fourier's precisions in *Théorie de l'unité universelle*: "Rien ne serait lié sans ambigu. Les transitions sont en équilibre passionnel comme les chevilles et les emboîtements d'une charpente" (135).
- ¹⁷ In *Geschechskunde* however, Hirschfeld's five-volume opus magnum, he points out that a large number of prominent socialists and communists had treated the problem of free love with profundity, mentioning among them Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier (Hirschfeld, *Geschechskunde* III, 256).
- ¹⁸ For a general presentation in English of Hirschfeld's core sexological contentions, see: Bauer, "Hirschfeld"; and Bauer, "Third Sex." For a discussion concerning the issue of "infinite sexualities" in the context of early twentieth-century German sexology, see: Bauer, "On the nameless love."
- ¹⁹ "[...] die Uridee der menschlichen Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit [...]" (Hirschfeld, *Geschechskunde* I, 485).
- ²⁰ "Die Trümmer von Hellas und Rom [...]" (Hirschfeld, *Geschechskunde* I, 485).
- ²¹ The sentence cited by Hirschfeld can be found in: Leibniz, *Nouveaux essais* 155 [IV, 16, 12].
- ²² On the title page of the publication, Hirschfeld attributes the French sentence not only to Leibniz, but also—not quite correctly—to Czech philosopher, theologian and pedagogue John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) and to Swedish botanist and zoologist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778). In a footnote of the text, however, Hirschfeld goes on to

explain that the axiom "natura non facit saltus" does not come from antiquity, but was formulated for the first time in this form in Linné's *Philosophia botanica* (1751). Furthermore, Hirschfeld states that Leibniz sentence remits lastly to Comenius' 1613 dictum: "Natura in operibus suis non facit saltum" (Hirschfeld, *Geschlechts-Übergänge* 17-18).

²³ "Jeder Mann behält seine verkümmerte Gebärmutter, den *Uterus masculinus*, die überflüssigen Brustwarzen, jede Frau ihre zwecklosen Nebenhoden und Samenstränge bis zum Tode" (Ramien [= Magnus Hirschfeld], *Sappho und Sokrates* 10).

²⁴ "In der Uranlage sind alle Menschen körperlich und seelisch Zwitter" (Ramien [= Magnus Hirschfeld], *Sappho und Sokrates* 9-10).

²⁵ On Hirschfeld's life motto and the ethical scope of his sexological insights, see: Bauer, "Magnus Hirschfeld: *per scientiam ad justitiam*," and Bauer, "Über Hirschfelds Anspruch."

²⁶ For an expanded version of the following reflections on Monique Wittig's oeuvre, see: Bauer, *Mémeté*.

²⁷ The French original runs: "[...] je méfie des symboles je crois à la lettre [...]" (Wittig, *Virgile, non* 102).

²⁸ In general, the relationship between "feminism" and "lesbianism" in Wittig's work is dialectical and complex. In an early text she writes for instance: "On the level of theory lesbianism and feminism articulate their positions in such a way that one always questions the other. Feminism reminds lesbianism that it must reckon with its inclusion in the class of women. Lesbianism warns feminism against its tendency to treat as immutable and determining essences what are simple physical categories" (Wittig, "Paradigm" 118). On these assumptions, Wittig's demarche shows not only that feminism is not necessarily identical with the ideology of female heterosexuality, but that lastly it is designed to be dissolved in view of the radical sexual individuation lesbianism discloses. In this connection, see the elaborations below on Wittig's resumption of Guattari and Deleuze's views on sexual individuality (§ 28 and 30).

²⁹ The line of argument concerning Wittig's critique of feminist religious approaches is corroborated by the tongue-in-cheek ejaculation toward the end of the protagonist's infernal peregrination in *Across the Acheron*: "Ah, if only you existed, Divinity, that I might shower you with gratitude!" (88). The French original runs: "Ah que n'existes-tu, divinité, afin que je fasse éclater ma gratitude!" (Wittig, *Virgile, non* 103).

³⁰ The French original runs: "Le matriarcat n'est pas moins hétérosexuel que le patriarcat: seul le sexe de l'opresseur change" (Wittig, *La Pensée straight* 53).

³¹ In the revised French version of the text the passage runs: "L'homosexualité est le désir pour une personne de son propre sexe. Mais c'est aussi le désir pour quelque chose d'autre qui n'est pas connoté. Le désir est résistance à la norme" (Wittig, "Paradigmes" 102).

³² Interestingly, Goethe mentions, besides "Tat" (deed/act), "Sinn" (meaning) and "Kraft" (force) as alternative German renderings of John's "Wort" (word).

³³ The French original runs: "Au commencement, s'il y a eu un commencement" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* [7]).

³⁴ The French original runs: "Il y a des traces de conflits obscurs dans les fables des porteuses de fables' [...]" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 64). There is no equivalent to this passage in the English version of the book.

³⁵ The French original runs: "[...] un rêve d'engendrement absolu et totalitaire [...]" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 64).

³⁶ There is no corresponding entry in the French version.

³⁷ The French original runs: "Les mères ont modifié la langue originelle en introduisant dans le 'sens', le sacré, en brouillant les sens premiers, littéraires avec leurs symboles, elles ont créé tout un tas de mots adaptés à leurs fantasmes" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 128).

³⁸ The French original runs: "[...] la vieille 'langue des lettres et des chiffres'" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 128).

³⁹ The French original runs: "C'étaient des langues tout à fait adaptées aux mères qui vivaient en représentation permanente" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 150).

⁴⁰ The French original runs: "Les significations et les phonèmes avaient sans doute un rapport différent entre eux" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 151).

⁴¹ The French original runs: "On ne peut pas imaginer que cette langue était composée de 'phrases' avec une construction et une syntaxe aussi rigides, rigoureuses, répressives que celles que nous connaissons" (Wittig et Zeig, *Brouillon* 151).

⁴² The French original runs: "[...] tout est à faire à partir d'éléments embryonnaires [...]" (Wittig, *Les Guérillères* 1969, 192).

⁴³ Since this is a reference to the English etymology of the word, there is no corresponding passage in the entry on "Femme" in *Brouillon*.

⁴⁴ The French original runs: "Pour nous, il existe semble-t-il non pas un ou deux sexes mais autant de sexes (cf. Guattari/Deleuze) qu'il y a d'individus" (Wittig, *La Pensée straight* 107-108). The piece was not included in the antecedent English edition of the book: *The Straight Mind and Other Essays*. The text to which "Guattari/Deleuze" refers is included in: Deleuze and Guattari 352.

⁴⁵ Magnus Hirschfeld held similar views. For a detailed discussion on the issue of sexual individuality in the context of his "doctrine of sexual intermediaries," see: Bauer, "Der Tod Adams" 1998, or Bauer, "Der Tod Adams" 2003; and Bauer, "43 046 721 Sexualtypen."

⁴⁶ There is no corresponding entry for "clitoris" in the French version of the book. A similar formulation to the one used by Wittig and Zeig can be found in Anne Koedt's classic essay titled "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm": "The clitoris has no other function than that of sexual pleasure."

⁴⁷ As Laqueur specifies: "In the one sex model, dominant in anatomical thinking for two thousand years, woman was understood as man inverted: the uterus was the female scrotum, the ovaries were testicles, the vulva was a foreskin, and *the vagina was a penis*" (236). This model of isomorphic equivalents of male and female sexual organs goes back to Galen, who contended that "women were essentially men in whom a lack of vital heat—of perfection—had resulted in the retention, inside, of structures that in the male are visible without" (Laqueur 4). In this connection, see Sándor Ferenczi's brief account of "Ein analer 'Hohlpenis' bei der Frau" (56).

⁴⁸ Given Wittig's theoretical concerns, it can be presumed that she perused Guy Hocquenghem's *Race d'Ép. Un siècle d'images de l'homosexualité*, where the author depicts some of the basic premises of Hirschfeld's *doctrine of sexual intermediary stages*, without resorting to sexological technicalities (147-148).

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