

# **How Sex Got Screwed Up**

The Ghosts that Haunt Our Sexual Pleasure

**Book One**  
**From the Stone Age to the Enlightenment**

Written and Illustrated by

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**Series in Anthropology**



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Dedicated to the millions and millions of women, men, and children  
whose tribes, churches, politicians, pundits, and doctors  
tortured them, murdered them, or forced them to live in misery  
because of their sexuality.

Peace.



# Table of contents

<i>Foreword</i>		<i>vii</i>
<i>Preface</i>		<i>ix</i>
Chapter 1	<b>In the Beginning Was the Sex Drive</b> (3,600,000,000 Years Ago – Today)	1
Chapter 2	<b>The Rise of the Sexual Taboo</b> (Sex from the Stone Age to Today)	35
Chapter 3	<b>Ziggurats, Pyramids, and the Pentateuch</b> (Monuments to Sexual Slavery in the Near East: 12,000–1,200 BCE)	57
Chapter 4	<b>The Great Wall</b> (Sex in India and China: 12,000 BCE–1911)	99
Chapter 5	<b>The Boys Club on the Acropolis</b> (Sex in Greece: 800–310 BCE)	123
Chapter 6	<b>With the Hearts of Gladiators</b> (Sex in Rome and Its Empire: 500 BCE–100 CE)	157
Chapter 7	<b>The Anti-Sex Junta that Took Over the World</b> (The Early Christian Opposition to Sex: 1–400)	219
Chapter 8	<b>Celestial Sex, Terrestrial Sin</b> (Hindu and Christian Views of Sex: 400–750)	285
Chapter 9	<b>Romance on the Rise</b> (Courtly Love in Europe: 750–1200)	337
Chapter 10	<b>Déjà Vu All Over Again</b> (Sex as Heresy in Europe: 1100–1600)	417

Chapter 11	<b><i>Déjà Vu All Over Again — Part Two</i></b>	477
	(Sex Life in Europe: 1200–1600)	
Chapter 12	<b>Beyond the Shadow of the Cross</b>	559
	(Sex before Columbus in the New World: 1492–1850)	
Chapter 13	<b>Desexing the New World</b>	601
	(The Junta Takes Over the Americas: 1500–1830)	
Chapter 14	<b>From Sin to Sickness to Going Straight</b>	695
	(Gender Transformations in the Old World: 1600–1830)	
Chapter 15	<b>Voices of Resistance</b>	769
	(Women Cope with the “Age of Reason”: 1600–1830)	
Chapter 16	<b>Getting It On in the Enlightenment</b>	863
	(Sex Lives: 1600–1830)	
	<i>Appendices</i>	959
	<i>Bibliography</i>	967
	<i>Index</i>	1023

# Foreword

*How Sex Got Screwed Up* is a tremendous gift to our sexual health. It reports, from the beginning of life until today how sex got so screwed up that we've become uncomfortable with it. It also clears up myths and mistaken notions of how that happened. For example, as an avid reader of history, I was surprised to learn that ancient Greece and Rome had more rules about sex than I had learned.

The book is huge. People who are interested in the history of sex will read it avidly, as I did. Others may enjoy reading about periods of special interest and then bounce around through the book as one interest leads to another. As big as the book is, Jon did a fantastic job of condensing a vast world history into an easy-to-read and succinct outline. I have a lot of respect for the way he simplified a story that runs the course of more than 12 millennia.

Jon's "personal hauntings" from this history are very evocative. They not only describe the way our shared history affected his life. They will stir up the readers' memories of how that history has affected them. That was certainly my experience.

Most readers are unaware of the great volume of writing about the history of sex that has been accomplished in the last 20 years. Jon brings this information to light for them.

Jon and I have been colleagues for nearly 30 years. We served on the board of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality together. And we co-authored an important paper, "The Health Benefits of Sexual Expression". We share a belief that sexual pleasure is a basic human right and that the social history of the world has infringed upon that right in many ways. To know and understand how our history has affected us can help relieve us from some of the discomforts we feel about sex. For while it is true that none of us invented sex, it is also true that we did not invent most of our own hassles with it. We inherited most of them. *How Sex Got Screwed Up* helps us see this more clearly.

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# Preface

First of all, I want to make it very clear that I am not a credentialed historian. What I offer here is some of the information about sex and sexuality that I have found fascinating in my reading of much more accomplished, *real* historians. I offer the reader a simplified outline of that information in plain English, which I hope will be entertaining as well as informative. This book is especially for readers who are intrigued with sex and sexuality, but who might not have the time, patience, or interest to wade through volumes of often dense, sometimes difficult, language that many historians often use to talk with one another.

I did the research for *How Sex Got Screwed Up* to find out what were the forces that have made sex so difficult for a lot of us. My interest in how the sex drive works and how society deals with it crystallized in 1981 at the onset of the AIDS pandemic. I was in the first cohort of buddies that the Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) trained to care for people living with AIDS in New York City. I witnessed first hand — for 13 years — the enormous pain people suffer because of individual and social fears about sex and sexuality. I also co-facilitated a score of grief and healing workshops for GMHC volunteers who were experiencing burnout. Those were indelible experiences that demonstrated how difficult it is for many people — straight, gay, or bisexual — to cope with their sexuality.

In 1983, I got a position as a temp with Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA). Two years later, I became its sexual health writer — largely because I knew so much about AIDS at a time when few people did. I spent 30 years at Planned Parenthood. I recreated and expanded its body of sexual health information, in print and online. As a content editor for [plannedparenthood.org](http://plannedparenthood.org)'s teenwire, I was in direct contact with American teens and their struggles to come to grips with their sexuality.

In 1994, I joined the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality (SSSS) to increase my knowledge about sex and sexuality. As a member of the Society, I worked with Beverly Whipple. She was a former president of the Society and is the co-author of the landmark book, *The G-Spot — And Other Discoveries about Human Sexuality*. PPFA and SSSS published our paper “The Health Benefits of Sexual Expression” as a fact sheet on their Web sites. It put together, for the first time, a coherent, evidence-based argument that sex is good for us and has physical as well as emotional health benefits. The paper has had a positive impact on sexual health professionals. They had long viewed sexuality more in terms of risk than in terms of benefit.

Through GMHC, PPFA, and SSSS, I heard thousands of stories about how people cope with their sexuality and their sex lives. I wondered why health professionals saw sexuality mostly as a risk behavior and why most people seemed pretty ambiguous about their sex lives. And why the increasingly powerful, conservative right was so negative about human sexuality.

Early in my career as a sexual health writer, I asked a seasoned colleague for her advice on what I should read to understand the history of sexuality. She gave me a copy of Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. She told me that he was the world's greatest authority. But I couldn't read it. It was much too dense and too theoretical for me. I never admitted that to her, and I assume she believes that I read the book.

I am also unable to read other great authorities on human sexuality. These include, for example, Judith Butler. She is an expert theorist about gender and queer studies. But she also uses words such as "poststructuralism" and "denaturalize" and concepts such as "sexual difference fundamentalism" and "French theory" as though they were as simple to grasp as "Run, Jane, run."<sup>1</sup> Many of these words don't even appear in my home dictionary. Words like that stop me cold. I don't enjoy reading much of anything that I can't understand without constant referral to reference books.

I needed stories and studies about sex in much plainer language. So, I looked for other sources. And I found them. Hundreds of them. From Elizabeth Abbott to Bella Zweig. It all started with a multi-authored, six-volume study *A History of Private Life*. The first one came out in 1987. I had always thought history was about politics and war. It was a revelation to me that there could be such a thing as a history of private life. Why not a history of sex? The next year I read one: *Intimate Matters* by John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman. An amazing history of sex in North America. Then the *Journal of the History of Sexuality* came out in 1990. It is a terrific resource. An avalanche of studies and books followed. And I began to take notes and build a timeline.

The only single-volume world history of sex that I encountered was Reay Tannahill's *A History of Sex*. She first published it in 1980. It's a great read. But in her preface, she said that her book was neither "feminist or antifeminist". That seemed to me a needless limitation. Human sexuality may be the most political subject in history. I wanted to understand the politics around it even more than knowing about all the different sex practices around the globe. I wanted to understand what makes us so uncomfortable about sex. I believe

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<sup>1</sup> Butler, 2007 [1990], ix-x.

that knowing that would help me better comprehend my own life and the lives of those around me.

It may be that many of the writers whom I cite in my footnotes and bibliography will find that I have over-simplified the very complex events, experiences, and arguments that they have taken great pains to investigate and describe. I offer no other defense than that I wanted to make the whole story available to the general reader. Readers who have an interest in reading the original sources can refer to my citations and bibliography. Through them, they will find much more developed, intricate, and, for many, even more fascinating writing on these subjects.

Warning! In these books, I criticize, ridicule, and even lampoon some very hallowed and beloved doctors, cultural commentators, organizations, philosophers, politicians, religious leaders, saints, and scientists. These books are about sex and sexuality. In them, I call to account the hallowed and beloved *only* for their misguided teachings on these two subjects — teachings that I believe have added difficulty to our lives and made them less pleasant. This is not to say that we should not admire such teachers for whatever good they may have left us in their posterity. But I will leave such praise to others. It would be misplaced here.

It took me 22 years of fairly constant research to put together the facts for this story. Throughout both books, I offer little analysis and even less theory. I do present, instead, stories about how ghosts from the history of our sexual past have haunted my life and the lives of my relatives, friends, neighbors, playmates, and workmates. They describe events that inspired my intellectual, emotional, and spiritual interest in sex and sexuality. And they have a direct relationship to the historical events I describe. I believe they are, in fact, directly descended from those events — which is why I wrote these books. Agree with me or not, I think you will find the story enjoyable, fascinating, shocking, weird, and, perhaps, helpful. Most of all, I hope these books will help you see how sex got screwed up.

Because I am a very western guy, because most of my reading was about figuring out *my* sexual heritage, and because the West played such a huge role in screwing up sex worldwide, these books have a western bias. To find more in-depth histories of non-western cultures take a look at the book listings at the back of any volume of the *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. There is a world of information about the history of sex out there. Enjoy it. And I hope you enjoy my take on the history of *How Sex Got Screwed Up*.

....

Many people have been very supportive of this project, and I could not have done it without them. I'm particularly indebted to Christopher Reed and Beverly Whipple who read every word of the manuscript for both of these books. Chris, a childhood friend, also read and reread the bibliography at various stages of development and checked the citations again and again. And Erica Conrick helped me figure out how to do the index! My family — my husband Jim Beers, our son Devin Adams, and his partner Jennifer Loiacano — also offered incisive insights and much-needed emotional support. And, of course, I have to thank my editor at Planned Parenthood for nearly 30 years, Barbara Snow, who taught me how to write. She'd review my texts as I watched. Once in a while, she would stop, point at a sentence and ask, "What do you mean here?" I'd explain. She'd respond, "Then write what you mean!" Always good to keep in mind.

These and many friends over more than 20 years helped me shape these books. Here they all are in alphabetical order: Devin Adams, Heather Altman, Jim Beers, PhD, Richard Brown, Karla Buitrago, Lois Clouthier, Erica Danielle Connerney, PhD, Ligia Cravo, May del Rio Dorfman, Charlie Fletcher, Julia Forth, Mardi Fritz, CSW, Rajiv Gulati, MD, PhD, Ross Davies Hooper, Sandy Hoyt, MD, Ben Jenkins, Greg Jennings, Sally Kagerer, Helene Kendler, LCSW, Jeff Kresser, Chris Karatnytsky, Deborah LaCoy, Kim Lafferty, Jennifer Loiacano, Ehtesham Majid, April Martin, PhD, Liz Mayers, Claire McCurdy, Jeffrey Miller, JD, David Pauley, MSW, Christopher Reed, Maurice Schroder, PhD, Nancy Schneiderman, M.S.W., Barbara Snow, Robyn Stein, John Russell Todd, Regina S. Todd, PhD, Curt Tow, Ann Tubbs, John Tweddle, Jeanne Van Gemert, MC, Tyrone Vincent, Sean Weibersch, Beverly Whipple, PhD, RN, FAAN, Celine Wood, and the students in Jim Beers' human sexuality courses during 1996 at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. And then, of course, thanks to Carolina Sanchez, Argiris Legatos, Javier Rodriguez and others at Vernon Press who took it on themselves to get these books into print. Also, special thanks to Carolyn Lane for inspiring the title — *How Sex Got Screwed Up*. Thank you all. Very much.

## Chapter 1

# In the Beginning Was the Sex Drive

(3,600,000,000 Years Ago – Today)

Well, not quite in the beginning. The sex drive didn't start to develop until more than a billion years after the Big Bang formed the earth. The first inklings stirred the oceans about three billion years ago. That's when one-celled life forms began to give each other their genes. Nestled up against one another, floating in the briny deep, they managed to wiggle bits of protoplasm through each other's membranes. Totally microscopic, but that's how sex was born.

Until then, all living things reproduced without sex. Many still do. They split, bud, throw spores, or break themselves into fragments to increase their numbers. But they don't *fuse*, and they don't *conjugate*.<sup>1</sup> Sex is now much more complex than it was three billion years ago. It's also much more fun — even though it's riskier.

Of course, saying “no” to sex is still easy for lots of bacteria, yeast, fungi, algae, and other plants.<sup>2</sup> It's easy for some fish and lizards, too.<sup>3</sup> They are all sexless clones.<sup>4</sup> They can never say “yes.” Not much fun for them. That's not all that's boring about reproduction without sex. The results are boring, too. You get exactly the same thing, every time. Clone after clone after clone. There is one great benefit, though — reproduction without sex is comparatively risk-free.

It's a whole other story when two different cells mix it up to form a new one. It couldn't be less like cloning. There's always something a little different in the results. It spawns all kinds of genetic diversity. In fact, that's how some

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<sup>1</sup> Maxwell, 1994, 3–16, 33–7.

<sup>2</sup> Harkavy, 1991, 915.

<sup>3</sup> Zimbardo, 1992, 400.

<sup>4</sup> And some are hermaphroditic. They have both female and male sexes. Some have them at the same time. Some have them at different parts of their lives. All sea basses, for instance, lay eggs. Thirty seconds later, they fertilize them. A female reef goby can become the dominant male when he dies. She can become female again if a bigger alpha male comes along (Callahan, 2009, 110–3).

germs develop their resistance to the drugs designed to do them in. They form hundreds of new strains out of sheer sexual promiscuity.<sup>5</sup> In this way, sex is the spark plug for evolution. The more sexual reproduction, the faster evolution moves.<sup>6</sup>

But sex is also a high-risk activity. When sex leads to reproduction, genetic change may also damage organisms and cause them to fail. And sex play has other risks, too. Most school kids know that the female praying mantis leans back and bites off her partner's head while they have sex.<sup>7</sup> Fewer know that the male honey bee plugs his sperm inside the queen by detaching his penis, and then he dies. Or that there's a tiny male Canadian fly who makes an even more gruesome sacrifice — he lets his mate pierce his head and suck up all of his body fluids *as* they mate. By the time they're done, he's only an empty husk hanging on to her genitals.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the risks animals take to have sex are very dramatic. Female and male salmon, for example, fling themselves against the rocks to get upstream to spawn. As soon as they fulfill their reproductive chores, they die of exhaustion.<sup>9</sup> The bowerbird makes arduous efforts to build a gaudy hut and courting ground to attract his mate. To seduce her, he dances and sings, and sings and dances — for days. But once he's had sex with her, he beats her nearly to death.<sup>10</sup>

Just imagine what would happen if the praying mantis, the honey bee, the salmon, and the bowerbird understood the risks that they were taking in order to mate. They might very quickly learn to say "No!" to sexual reproduction and find other ways to amuse themselves. Such a strategy might preserve their own lives, but it would be a deathblow to the survival of their species. That's where the sex drive comes in. It blinds animals to the risks they take when they have sex. It has to.

In the wild, the risks of sex play increase for animals that are lower in the food chain. Predators at the top, like lions, can take their time when they have sex. They have little to risk. No one's going to mess with them. If you're the lion's favorite meal, however, it's safer to get it over with as fast as you can. That's why antelope only risk a few seconds for their sexual pleasure —

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<sup>5</sup> Maxwell, 1994, 33–5, 38–40, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Eckholm, 1986.

<sup>7</sup> Achenbach, 1990.

<sup>8</sup> Sivinski, 1992, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Maxwell, 1994, 74–5; Maxwell, 1995, 36.

<sup>10</sup> Griffin, 1992, 80–82.

sometimes they even do it on the run!<sup>11</sup> But they risk everything for those fleeting few seconds.

The consequences of sex play can be risky, too — especially when reproduction occurs. Giving birth is the hallmark of warm-blooded creatures. But it is a dangerous proposition for most animals. Not only might some animal come along and eat you up while you're trying to get through pregnancy or labor or giving birth — giving birth, itself, might kill you.<sup>12</sup>

It seems that the more likely an animal is to figure out the risks of having sex, the more nature strengthens its sex drive. Perhaps that's why the species most capable of thought must have the most powerful sex drive. That's where you and I come in. We have a sex drive so strong that it seems purposely designed to overcome our common sense. And it often does.<sup>13</sup>

The human sex drive is more powerful than the social and religious efforts that have tried to curb it. That's why these efforts almost always fail.<sup>14</sup> Compared to the mantis, salmon, and bowerbird, we humans seem crazed with lust. We take all kinds of risks in order to have sex — even when the risk is HIV, which can kill us. And unlike other organisms, we know exactly what we're doing when we take those risks.

The human sex drive needs to be very powerful if we are to survive as a race.<sup>15</sup> Despite modern medicine, reproductive risks for women are still much higher than for other female animals. One of the reasons is that the human brain is just too big for an easy birth. It barely fits through the birth canal.<sup>16</sup> So why is it we don't use our big brains and stop taking risks to have sex?

### **The sex drive and its opposite**

The notion that we are born with *drives* to satisfy our basic needs dates from 1918.<sup>17</sup> Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) popularized the idea of the *sex drive* in 1920 and '23 with his books *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* and *The Ego and the Id*.<sup>18</sup> Sex drive became a household phrase in '48 with the revolutionary bestseller,

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<sup>11</sup> Zimbardo, 1992, 439.

<sup>12</sup> Leary, 1996.

<sup>13</sup> Banfield *et al.*, 2001, 121.

<sup>14</sup> Kinsey *et al.*, 1948, 269.

<sup>15</sup> Zimbardo, 1992, 439.

<sup>16</sup> Fisher, 1982, 82.

<sup>17</sup> Sternberg, 1995, 557.

<sup>18</sup> Freud, 1989 [1920 & 1923], 594–625, 628–58.

*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, by Alfred Kinsey (1894–1956).<sup>19</sup> Kinsey didn't care for Freud's theories about sex because he did not base them on real sex research,<sup>20</sup> but he used the term for lack of a better one. He agreed with Freud that social pressure was powerless to curb the sex drive.<sup>21</sup>

Freud named the sex drive, *Eros*, after the Greek god of love and sexual desire. In ancient myth, it was the power of *Eros* that bound the elements of the world together.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, Freud believed that *Eros* is the life force that keeps all living things eager to stay alive.

Freud also believed that an opposite and equally powerful drive held *Eros* in check. He named this one after a Greek god of death —*Thanatos*.<sup>23</sup> Freud seemed to be on to something. The belief that *Eros* and *Thanatos* were weaves of the same cloth was an ancient one. The Greeks and Romans believed that *Eros* was also a bringer — *genius* — of death. That's why it was difficult to distinguish portrayals of *Eros* and death from one another.<sup>24</sup>

According to Freud, *Eros* drove us to seek erotic pleasure — to connect with others, to live, to feel. *Thanatos* drove us to deny pleasure — to disconnect from others, to die, to kill our feeling for ourselves and others — sometimes in destructive and aggressive ways.<sup>25</sup>

A lot of people are pretty skeptical of Freud's drive theories, nowadays. Kinsey and many other's thought that it was more social than biological or psychological for a person to oppose connecting or to give in to the sex drive. Even so, *Eros* and *Thanatos* are interesting metaphors for the way we experience our search for pleasure. On the one hand, we desire stimulating interactions with the world, novelty, and erotic pleasure in our lives — whether or not we call it *Eros*. On the other, we want to avoid risk and hurt and have peace, quiet, and time to get away from other people and the world — whether or not we call it *Thanatos*.<sup>26</sup>

Each of our sex drives is different. Some people want sex three times a day. Others want it three times a year.<sup>27</sup> And some want none at all. Some delight

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<sup>19</sup> D'Emilio & Freedman, 1988, 285.

<sup>20</sup> Gathorne-Hardy, 1998, 159.

<sup>21</sup> Kinsey *et al*, 1948, 269.

<sup>22</sup> Seyffert, 1964, 225–6.

<sup>23</sup> Freud, 1989, [1920 & 1923], 594–625, 628–58.

<sup>24</sup> Seyffert, 1964, 225, 249.

<sup>25</sup> Zimbardo, 1992, 521.

<sup>26</sup> Gay, 1988, 400–1, 410–11.

<sup>27</sup> Rensberger, 1987.



in taking risks for sex. Others avoid every risk they can. But just as our minds drive us to connect, they drive us to disconnect. We may desire to merge, and we may have a fear of merging.<sup>28</sup> While we desire the approval of others, we also want to be independent and self-reliant. *Eros* pulls us one way. *Thanatos* pulls us another. It's a struggle that goes on all our lives.<sup>29</sup>

Whether it's a drive we were born with or whether it's a result of our sexual histories or social pressures, or whether it's the ebb and flow of our sex hormones<sup>30</sup> or whether it is a combination of all of those,<sup>31</sup> *Thanatos* is a good name for the ghost that haunts our sexual pleasure. It can have a dramatic, sometimes deadly, effect on our sex lives. We want to get close to our lovers, but we create distance. We want their love but may lash out at them. Sometimes we frustrate our sexual pleasure with our urges to run away. Even when we are making love, we may find ourselves thinking, "Maybe I shouldn't be doing this."

Very often *Eros* and *Thanatos* are difficult to tell apart. Which is driving us to take risks. Which dominates in sadomasochistic sex play? Which compels some of us to tell our kids to go without sex until they are married? Which makes us risk HIV, unintended pregnancy, and the judgments of our moralizing relatives and neighbors in order to have sex? Which is it that inspires us to high-risk sex after a lover dies?

### **No risk seems too great — even for the great**

Getting a sex infection and giving birth are not the only risks associated with having sex. There are plenty of others. There are serious social risks, for example. But no matter how well we understand the dangers of the personal risks we take for sex — most of us take them. Some of us take them *over* and *over* again. Why?

We convince ourselves that unwanted pregnancy or a sex infection or being caught doing something our family disapproves of is something that will happen to other people, not to us. This is because none of us believes that our own risks are as great as those that other people take.<sup>32</sup> That's the way our sex

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<sup>28</sup> Oxenhandler, 2001, 157.

<sup>29</sup> Freud, 1989, [1920 & 1923], 594–625, 628–58.

<sup>30</sup> Money, 1989, Rako, 1996, 41–53; Regan, 1999, 1–16.

<sup>31</sup> Rensberger, 1987.

<sup>32</sup> Zimbardo, 1992, 416-7; Quadrel, *et al.* 1993 102–116.

drives overcome our big brains. And if we get away with taking a risk once, we tend to take it again.<sup>33</sup> The desire to enjoy sex blinds us to the costs.<sup>34</sup>

Lots of women and men tempt fate in order to have sex — no matter what the consequences might be for them. They have done so for centuries and still do. The 15<sup>th</sup>-century church burned men alive in public for having sex with other men. It did this to frighten others out of having same-sex sex. It didn't work. Today, in those parts of the world where women and men are stoned for adultery or hung by the neck for same-sex sex — many still take the risk.<sup>35</sup>

Millions of women, men, and adolescents around the world risk disgrace by breaking with their community's sex customs or their religion's doctrines about sex.<sup>36</sup> In fact, it seems that when social leaders use shame, fear, and other social pressures to keep people from having sex, they very often have more sex than those whose leaders teach them that enjoying sex is their natural birthright.<sup>37</sup> Young people who know their parents will punish or disown them for having sex — or for the *way* they have sex, or *with whom* they have sex — still do it.<sup>38</sup> Give most of us a chance to catch a miserable infection in exchange for sex — we'll take it.<sup>39</sup> Will we also risk an unintended pregnancy? Sure thing! Most of us have — at least once.<sup>40</sup>

Many people don't want to admit how powerful the sex drive is.<sup>41</sup> They want to believe that people can repress it by *understanding* the risks. So they try to scare them out of having sex.<sup>42</sup> They frighten kids and each other with grim stories. They describe the penalties that people will pay if they have sex. Then they withhold information about how to have sexual pleasure *and* how to protect themselves on the grounds that it will turn them on.<sup>43</sup>

We might as well throw coins in a fountain to wish away our kids' drive for sex. Trying to chasten them with stories about disease and the struggles of being a single parent will do just about as much good. When we pat them on the head, get real stern, and declare, "Just say 'no,'" it does even less. In the

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<sup>33</sup> Luker, 1975.

<sup>34</sup> Freud, 1989 [1920–1923]; Kinsey *et al.*, 1948; Zimbardo, 1992, 439.

<sup>35</sup> Tannahill, 1992, 63; Burns, 1996, 4; Iran hangs two young homosexuals, 2005.

<sup>36</sup> Sangster, 1996.

<sup>37</sup> Weinberg *et al.*, 1998.

<sup>38</sup> Herdt & Boxer, 1993, 215.

<sup>39</sup> Laumann, *et al.*, 1994, 428–31.

<sup>40</sup> Zelnik & Shah, 1983, 64–70.

<sup>41</sup> de Mauro, 1990, 1–9.

<sup>42</sup> Job, 1988.

<sup>43</sup> Cagampang *et al.*, 1997, 109–14; Kirby *et al.*, 1997, 100–8.

21<sup>st</sup> century, we let our government spend more than a billion dollars on just-say-no propaganda in our schools.<sup>44</sup> Not because it worked, but because a lot of us like to hear simple solutions to complex problems. In fact, one out of ten parents in the U.S. refuses to talk with their kids about anything to do with sex. One out of four parents sees no *reason* to do so. A similar number refuses to talk about birth control or safer sex.<sup>45</sup>

Our nation's youth aren't the only ones who take risks to have sex. The media is always buzzing about one sex scandal or another. It seems that every day, it offers us another example of how the power of the human sex drive can get seemingly upright citizens to risk daunting social consequences. Responsible heads of state can't keep their marriage vows. Not only President Bill Clinton (b. 1946),<sup>46</sup> but at least 13 other American presidents got caught risking their political futures by having sex outside of marriage.<sup>47</sup> Who knows how many others took the risk and didn't get caught? Princes and princesses have risked their thrones in pursuit of forbidden liaisons. Powerful men and women have risked their positions by following same-sex desire, and others have lost their families and communities.<sup>48</sup> Many devoted nuns and priests have been unable to keep their religious vows to go without sex.<sup>49</sup> The list of public figures who were sexual risk-takers is endless. It includes the wise, the noble, and the beloved — heroes like Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948),<sup>50</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–68),<sup>51</sup> John F. Kennedy (1917–63),<sup>52</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt (1882–1962),<sup>53</sup> and Margaret Sanger (1879–1966).<sup>54</sup> It also includes countless less heroic or beloved bishops and popes throughout history.

Gandhi was a good example of a totally moral guy who couldn't repress his sexual desires, no matter how hard he tried. Gandhi was the father of modern, democratic India.<sup>55</sup> He was acclaimed for his flawless faith in pacifism and the unyielding physical and emotional self-control with which he invented non-violent civil disobedience as a powerful political tool. He also believed in total

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<sup>44</sup> Reiss, 1990, 21–3.

<sup>45</sup> Harris & Associates, 1988 13–15.

<sup>46</sup> Bennet, 1998; Broder & Van Natta Jr., 1998, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Ayers, 1998.

<sup>48</sup> Morton, 1997.

<sup>49</sup> Kenkelen, 1990.

<sup>50</sup> Green, 1993.

<sup>51</sup> Fairclough, 1995.

<sup>52</sup> Spoto, 1993.

<sup>53</sup> Roosevelt & Hickok, 1998.

<sup>54</sup> Chesler, 1992, 107–20.

<sup>55</sup> Dugger, 1998.

renunciation of sexual activity — *brahmacharya*. He believed that sexual desire was “fatal” to the human spirit. He said that

*For the sake of a momentary pleasure, we sacrifice in an instant all the stock of vital energy that we have laboriously accumulated. The infatuation over, we find ourselves in a miserable condition. The next morning we feel hopelessly weak and tired, and the mind refuses to do its work. Then in order to remedy the mischief, we consume large quantities of milk, bhasmas, yuktis and what not. We take all sorts of "nervine tonics" and place ourselves at the doctor's mercy for repairing the waste, and for recovering the capacity for enjoyment. So the days pass and years, until at length old age comes upon us, and finds us utterly emasculated in body and in mind.<sup>56</sup>*

One can't help but wonder what sexual athletics left the Mahatma so wasted. But in any case, Gandhi came to believe that he had to be pure and that, to be pure, he had to test his capacity for *brahmacharya* by sleeping with some of the more attractive women in his ashram. This behavior caused a major sex scandal, especially since his critics claimed that, on more than a few occasions, the Mahatma had failed to restrain himself from coitus<sup>57</sup> with these women.<sup>58</sup> Responding to such accusations, the women wrote to Gandhi urging him to feel no remorse about the scandal, saying, “we slept with you as with a mother.”<sup>59, 60</sup>

Whether or not he had sex with any of them, Gandhi, according to his own words, was often preoccupied with his struggle against his sexual desires:

*I have myself been guilty of lapses even after having fully understood the value of brahmacharya, and have of course paid dearly for it. I am filled with shame and remorse when I think of the terrible contrast between my condition before and after these lapses.<sup>61</sup>*

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) believed that Gandhi was obsessed with sex. Perhaps so. It may have been guilt. As a young man, he had left his father's

<sup>56</sup> Duncan, 1951, 159.

<sup>57</sup> Vaginal intercourse — penis in vagina. Preferred for brevity.

<sup>58</sup> Green, 1993, 237–40, 336–41, 367–70, 374–7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 368–70.

<sup>60</sup> Gandhi was also a prude about ancient depictions of sex. In 1920, he sent squads of his disciples to smash the erotic images on the temples in India. He put a stop to his massacre at the urging of the poet Rabindranath Tagore (Daniélou, 1994, 5).

<sup>61</sup> Duncan, 1951, 163.

deathbed to have sex with his wife, and his father died in his absence. He came to believe that nothing he could imagine was “as ugly as intercourse between a man and woman.” Perhaps that is why, when after 36 years, wet dreams interrupted his practice of *brahmacharya*. He called this experience his “darkest hour,” “the blackest moment of my life.”<sup>62</sup>



**Figure 1-1** One of the inspirations for Gandhi’s disturbing wet dreams was Margaret Sanger. She met with him in his ashram for a few days to try to talk him into endorsing birth control for the families of India. He politely refused and insisted that the only way for people to plan their families was to go without sex (Lal, 2000, 120–4).

If Gandhi himself failed at suppressing his sexual impulses, how do we expect kids to suppress theirs? Millions of ordinary, good adults also fail to control their sex drives after promising to do so under extreme cultural pressure. Up to one out of 10 children in the U.S. are not the offspring of the men who thought they were the biological fathers.<sup>63</sup> And up to half of our friends and neighbors have broken their marriage vows.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, we tell our kids that they can do without sex entirely. They just have to say, “No.” The \$1.5 billion in federal and state programs that we paid for abstinence-only education muscled any sex-ed program out of our schools if it included information about birth control and safer sex. We used the money to

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<sup>62</sup> Lal, 2000, 120–4.

<sup>63</sup> AP, 1998.

<sup>64</sup> Wolfe, 1981; Lampe, 1987; Fisher, 1992, 64.

teach kids that they are supposed to say “No” until they are married!<sup>65</sup> But was it reasonable for us to expect *all* of our kids to have more self-control than most adults? More even than Gandhi? After all, our kids are just like *us* when it comes to sex. Fewer than one out of four of us did without sex until we got married.<sup>66</sup>

Many people are deluded about sex and the sex drive. Struggle as he did, Gandhi expected all people to be able to say no to sex — indefinitely. In this way, a lot of us are like Gandhi. But no matter how hard we try, our sex drive often undermines our efforts to ignore it. It seduces us to give in — whether or not we admit we want to — just one more time. And for a good reason.

### **Risk — A seasoning for our sexual appetites**

Getting horny can be a natural reaction to stress. This is not only true for adults. It’s also true for kids. Especially kids who don’t feel okay about themselves. If they feel stress, they are much more likely to take sexual risks than kids who feel safe and secure. Young people who are badgered, humiliated, ignored, or unloved look for comfort in sex — even if it is high-risk. Just like us.

The sex drive is death-defying. Attempts to postpone death with sex are natural. Millions have gotten hot and horny as death approached. They have tried to quench their terror by making love. It’s nothing new. Volcanic ash buried the city of Pompeii during the first century. Archeologists found the bodies of women and men locked in sexual embrace strewn throughout its ruins. Their death-defying acts of sexual abandon have survived nearly two thousand years.

The Black Death is another example. This catastrophe began in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Fleas from infected rats killed up to 75 percent of the people in Europe and parts of Asia. That horror inspired a legendary bout of sexual excess that lasted 20 years.<sup>67</sup>

There were similar events in modern times. World War II provided good examples. There are thousands of stories about great sex in London during the blitz. Huddled in total blackout or in underground bomb shelters, women and men made love with complete abandon. Sometimes with total strangers. They were doing their best to defy death as bombs hurtled toward them from the sky.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Lewin, 1999, April 4, 18.

<sup>66</sup> Laumann *et al.*, 1994, 214.

<sup>67</sup> Richards, 1994; Harkavy, 1991, 137, 165.

<sup>68</sup> Personal communication.

Today, we cling in desperate embraces when earthquakes rumble through the landscape. And sometimes, when there is no real danger afoot, we invent one. We take our dates on roller-coaster rides to get their sexual juices going. Or we speed along the highway faster than we ought to. Some of us even take the risk of joining street gangs to have more sex.<sup>69</sup> Or we get ourselves going with fantasies about being at risk. For example, forced sex play is the most common fantasy that women use to turn themselves on.<sup>70, 71</sup>

Risk inspires our sexual appetites. Perhaps that's one of the reasons we seldom begin a sexual relationship with close friends. Perhaps there's not enough risk to make it exciting. Researchers wonder why so many of us don't bother to protect ourselves against pregnancy and infection — even when we fear the risks.<sup>72</sup> The arousal of fear is why teen couples go to horror movies. It's a turn on.<sup>73</sup>

Alfred Kinsey interviewed thousands of young men about their sexual histories. He asked them to tell him what gave them erections. Risky situations seem to do the trick for many of them. John Money (1921–2006) called them “panic erections”.<sup>74</sup> Here are some non-sexual excitements that get got these young men hard:

- being scared
- fear of an intruder
- having near accidents
- being chased by the police
- setting fires
- hearing gunshots
- war movies
- fear of punishment
- fear of a bully

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<sup>69</sup> Palmer & Tilley, 1995.

<sup>70</sup> Strassberg & Lockerd, 1998.

<sup>71</sup> In 1978, Glenn Daniel Wilson showed that sexual fantasy could be a full, developed story or just a passing thought (Bivona & Critelli, 2009, 33).

<sup>72</sup> Cohen & Bruce, 1997.

<sup>73</sup> Lewis *et al.*, 2000, 73.

<sup>74</sup> Money, 1993, 20.

- losing balance in high places
- looking over the edges of tall buildings
- watching stunt airplanes
- running away from home
- dreams of fighting, accidents, wild animals, falling from high places, being pursued, being frightened<sup>75</sup>

Risk or no risk, the sex drive sustains our interest in life. In fact, men who don't have sex are more likely to kill themselves than men who do have sex.<sup>76</sup> Our sex drive keeps us alive. It also shapes our interactions with the world. It stimulates our appetite for risk. It gives us great pleasure. It can also frighten the hell out of us.

No wonder. Sexual desire can seem very overpowering. It can make us want to get naked and expose our most vulnerable parts to somebody else. The hornier we allow ourselves to get, the more inhibitions we want to fling away. In the throes of sexual ecstasy, we yearn to reveal our most intimate desires. In this defenseless state, we share some of our most profound secrets. At the same time, we also fear discovery. "What will happen to me if I get caught doing this?"

Butt-naked, we are all *very* vulnerable.

A million years ago, our ancestors kept one eye peeled for saber-toothed tigers while they made love. Today, we don't need to worry about delicacy-seeking carnivores loping around to eat us up. But the need to worry is still in our memory banks. We *have* to stay alert to risk, and we *like* the feeling it gives us.

We have sex in our parents' bedrooms just before they're supposed to come home from the movies. We watch for the flight attendant as we grope feverishly under the blanket to earn our way into the "Mile-High Club". Half of us have had sex on the job. Our favorite spot is the boss's desk.<sup>77</sup>

However, whenever we do let go of our inhibitions and reveal our secret selves, we may fear exposure, even in the sanctity of our own bedrooms. We worry what our parents, kids, or neighbors would think if they saw us in this position or that position, feeling good all over. We even worry about what our partners will think. "When we get our clothes back on, will I still be respected?"

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<sup>75</sup> Kinsey *et al.*, 1948, 164–5.

<sup>76</sup> King, 1996.

<sup>77</sup> Stains & Bechtel, 2000, 272.



Our fear of exposure drives us to balance our need to take risks with our need to have sex with people we can trust. Our sex partners are sure to see how vulnerable we become when we give in to sexual passion. We need them to keep our secrets. The more we trust them, the more vulnerable we let ourselves become, the more we need to trust them.

When we have sex, we like to let go of our self-control. But only as much as we dare. It's not the easiest thing to do. We also like to hold *on* to our self-control. It is just as important for our survival as our sex drive. Self-control and the sex drive are our most basic tools for survival. Keeping them in sync is a real balancing act.

The sex drive pulls us one way. Self-control pulls us in another. Risk pulls us one way. *Eros* and *Thanatos* all over again. Safety pulls us in another. The tension between them helps shape our sexual identities. Of course, sexual identity is also about gender. And it is also about how gay or straight we are. But sexual identity is more than the combination of the two. It is how we handle them as we balance our sex drives with our needs for self-control in our lives. It is also the world's opinion of how we manage the sexual balancing acts it requires of us.

### **Woman — The most sexual female animal**

Nothing has a better design for sex and social bonding than a woman. She is superior to all other females in the animal kingdom in this way. For example, many female mammals, from rabbits to rhesus monkeys, have orgasms.<sup>78</sup> But, none can match woman for her capacity for intense, repeating, complex, and often multiple orgasms — nor can most men for that matter.<sup>79</sup>

Most female mammals who desire sex with males want it when they are most likely to get pregnant. Biologists call this time “estrus”.<sup>80</sup> A woman has no period of estrus. She can get turned on and turn others on at any time in her fertility cycle. She can enjoy sex during ovulation, menstruation, or any time in between. Her design meant her for an energetic, non-reproductive sex life.<sup>81</sup> She can have lots of sex, throughout her fertility cycle and throughout her life — even when her fertility cycles have ended — with men or women,

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<sup>78</sup> Gathorne-Hardy, 1998, 321.

<sup>79</sup> Ladas *et al.*, 1982, 19-21.

<sup>80</sup> Bagemihl, 1999.

<sup>81</sup> Fisher, 1982, 91, 102, 220.

one partner or many. This increased capacity for sex increases the capacity for social bonding among humans.

Most male animals that breed<sup>82</sup> operate on the love-them-and-leave-them principle. They go into rut, for example, when they catch the odor of a female in estrus. The male courts her and then mounts her. He loses interest in her as soon as she is out of estrus. Then he moves on, from one fertile female to another. When no females in estrus remain, he goes out of rut. His need for sex becomes much less urgent. And he pretty much loses interest in the opposite sex. Usually, his interest in his offspring doesn't last long, either.<sup>83</sup>

A lot of scientists think the same thing is basically true for men. We are as promiscuous as other mammalian males. Our instinct is to satisfy our urges, whether or not they lead to a relationship and whether or not we want to breed or are straight, bisexual, or gay. This is in direct contrast to women, who, they tell us, are more interested in having a long-term companion, settling down, and making a home.<sup>84</sup>

Because the woman is very different sexually from most other females, she can bridge the gap between man's desire to wander and her desire to build a nest. She can get herself turned on at any time. Just like him. Unlike a female elk, if she's interested in a guy, or just wants help with the baby, she can keep him interested in her every day of the year — whether she's fertile or not. He gets to have plenty of sex without running around looking for a female in heat. As long as she stays interested in sex with him, he doesn't need to take his chances with other women or compete with other men for them. All he's got to do is get her to like him. And help her with the kids. It's also a perfect setup for companionship, love, and long-term commitment to grow.<sup>85</sup> This trade-off is one of the important building blocks of civilization.

This sexual pair-bonding is another way that humans — gay, straight, or bisexual — are very unlike most other mammals. Throughout history, many of us have bonded with only one important partner for a long-term relationship.

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<sup>82</sup> In a pack of gray wolves, for example, it is often only the highest ranking males that breed. The other males do without or mount one another, especially when low ranking females are in heat. It is also true that many females, low ranking red fox vixens for example, do not breed. Many of them only have sex with other vixens throughout their lives (Bagemihl, 1999, 438–9).

<sup>83</sup> Bagemihl, 1999.

<sup>84</sup> Frey & Hojjat, 1998, 267.

<sup>85</sup> Fisher, 1982.

Only five percent of all the mammals in the world form such sexually *monogamous* relationships.<sup>86</sup>

**A Personal Haunting — If women are so sexual, why don't they all know it?**

Once, in the early 60s, when I was a college freshman and home for a holiday, I heard my mother and three of her girlfriends shrieking with laughter in the kitchen. They shouted my name and called me in to talk with them. They were laughing so hard they were crying and gasping for breath. My mother tried to speak to me, but she and her friends would go off in another gale of laughter each time she would point at me and try to speak. Finally, after many minutes of painful laughing, my mother asked, "Jon, you've been to college, maybe you can tell us the truth. Mari's been lying to us. She's been lying. She says that she, she, she, gets off, you know, has an orgasm, just like men do. That's not true is it, Jon? Women don't have orgasms, do they, Jon?"

It was the saddest question anyone's ever asked me. All four of the women in the room were in their late 30s or early 40s. Each had at least three children. But only one had ever had an orgasm. The other three believed that the woman who claimed to have had an orgasm was lying. They had never even heard of such a thing. Worse, their worlds had taught them that only men enjoyed sex and that women couldn't get off, even if they wanted to.

### Love and sex

We call it love when we feel tender and passionate for another person.<sup>87</sup> Like sex, love is one of our basic techniques for survival. It is also one of the links to our sex drive,<sup>88</sup> the way we have sex,<sup>89</sup> and how we fantasize about it.<sup>90</sup> Like the sex drive, love seems to be located in a special part of the brain.<sup>91</sup>

Oxytocin is the hormone of love. It makes brief or prolonged attachment possible between partners — same-sex or mixed-sex. It also provides the glue between parents and children. In women, oxytocin provides pleasure during orgasm. It also saturates a woman's senses during childbirth, cuddling, and nursing. Oxytocin gives men sexual pleasure and guides their attachment to children as well as to their partners.

That oxytocin is the same hormone that attaches us to our partners and to our infants may shed some light on why lovers use infantile expressions in the

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<sup>86</sup> Bagemihl, 1999, 48.

<sup>87</sup> Steinmetz, 1997.

<sup>88</sup> Mellen, 1981.

<sup>89</sup> Frey & Hojjat, 1998.

<sup>90</sup> Leiblum & Rosen, 1991.

<sup>91</sup> Eakin, 2000.



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# Index

(This index does not include names for places or religions or common names and terms, such as “Jesus” and “marriage” that appear in the text more than 50 times.)

## A

- à Kempis, Thomas, 433  
Abbott, Elizabeth, x  
Abélard, Pierre, 358, 364, 365, 366,  
367, 396, 472  
Abimelech, 85  
Abington, Frances ‘Fanny’, 876  
abomination, 72, 73, 80, 85, 86,  
118  
Abraham, 80, 82, 85  
Abram, 84  
*Abregé de la Somme des péchés —  
The Reduction of Sin in the  
Somme*, 532  
*accabussade*, 549, 553  
Achilles, 89, 90  
Achumawi, 598  
*acllas*, 566, 569  
Act Against Intemperance,  
Immorality, and Profaneness,  
and for the Reformation of  
Manners, 689  
Act for the Punishment of  
Buggery, 643  
*Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 221  
*Acts of Thomas*, 268  
*Ad extirpandum*, 428  
Adam, 49, 84, 86, 229, 233, 254,  
255, 256, 408, 410, 464, 467, 835  
Addison, Joseph, 780, 842  
Adonis, 21, 22, 145, 146  
*adulescens*, 174, 175  
Adultery on the Part of Married  
Women ..., 916  
*Adversus Jovinianum*, 245  
*Adversus oppugnatores vitae  
monasticae*, 272  
*Advice for the Privy*, 868  
Advice to a Young Man on the  
Choice of a Mistress, 687  
*Advice to Mothers*, 823  
áed mac Bricc, 309  
Aelred of Rievaulx, 392, 393, 394,  
396, 415  
Aeschylus, 152  
Æthelthryth — Audrey, 352  
*affectio maritalis*, 180  
*Afonsine Ordinances*, 490  
Afonso V, 490  
Africanus, Leo, 495  
Agamemnon, 90  
*agape*, 16, 123  
Age of Exploration, 605  
Age of Reason, 695, 712, 730, 734,  
751, 768, 778, 800, 803, 808, 814,  
815, 816, 817, 824, 829, 856, 857,  
860, 861, 865, 869, 893  
Aglasia, 320  
*agnus castus* — chaste lamb, 229,  
454  
Agricultural Revolution, 57, 95, 96,  
750, 808  
Agrippa — Henricus Cornelius  
Agrippa von Nettesheim, 202,  
466, 830, 835  
*āhāryarāga* — love out of habit,  
294

- Ai Ti, 113  
 AIDS, ix, 34, 552, 553  
*aiguillette*, 426, 444, 545  
 Al Hassan Ibn Muhammad Al  
     Wazzan, 495  
 al Rashid, Caliph Harun, 334  
 al-Abbar, Ibn, 388  
 Aladdin, 934  
 Alam II, 905  
 Albertus Magnus, 407, 452, 455,  
     456, 473, 477, 478, 502, 517, 528,  
     529  
 Albigensians, 369  
 Al-Bukhārī, 407  
 Alcuin, 338, 339, 347, 507  
 Alden, John, 674  
 Alexander II, 391, 404  
 Alexander IV, 428  
 Alexander of Neckam, 477  
 Alexander the Great, 150, 152  
 Alexandrian Rule, 226  
 Alfhild, 318  
 Alfonso IX of Castile, 356  
 Alfonso X, 479, 519, 534, 544  
 Algonkian, 575  
 Ali Baba, 934  
 Ali Shah, Wajid, 607  
 Allah, 332, 335, 398  
 Allen, Edgar, 849  
 al-Mu' tamid, 388, 397  
 Aloisia Sigea, 932  
 al-Rahman, Abd, 388  
 Al-Ramadī, 388  
 Alvarez, Vincente, 650  
 Amazons, 93, 94, 95, 315  
 Ambrose, 244, 245, 261, 262, 284  
 Amemilianus, Scipio, 201  
*American Calendar; An Almanack  
     for the Year of Our Lord 1768, The*,  
     669  
*amicitia*, 179, 369  
 Amitābha, 102  
 Ammar, Ibn, 388  
*Amores — Affairs of the Heart*, 269  
*amour lointain — love of distant  
     women*, 371  
*Amusements*, 884  
*An Essay to Revive the Ancient  
     Education of Gentlewomen ...*,  
     833  
 anal sex, 27, 69, 107, 129, 203, 248,  
     363, 429, 434, 446, 562, 563, 584,  
     601, 641, 679, 697, 705, 725, 767,  
     889, 930, 932, 935, 937, 939, 942,  
     952, 957  
 anathema, 245, 251, 312, 516, 528,  
     635  
*Anatomical Exercitations  
     concerning the Generation of  
     Living Creatures*, 825  
*Anatomie of Abuses, The*, 548  
*Anatomy*, 811  
*Anatomy of Abuses in England in  
     Shakespeare's Youth*, 504  
 Anderton, Thomas, 682  
*Andreas Capellanus*, 380, 381, 386,  
     395, 400  
 androgyny, 232  
*andrones*, 142  
 Ankhsheshonk, 79  
 Anne, Queen, 739  
 Anselm, 371, 391, 404  
 antelope, 2  
 Anthony, Archbishop of Florence,  
     446  
*Anti-Jacobin Review*, 845  
 Antinoüs, 176  
*Antonii Parnormitae  
     Hermaphroditus*, 535  
 Antony, Marc, 168, 176, 187, 188  
 Anubis, 215  
 Apache, 565, 567, 568, 576, 578,  
     584, 586, 599  
*aphrodisazein*, 135

- Aphrodite, 21, 22, 133, 135, 145,  
 151, 319, 907  
*Apocalypse of Peter*, 268  
*apokalypsis*, 137  
 Apollo, 133, 145, 908  
*Apologia*, 283  
*Apology for the Life of Mrs.*  
*Shamela, An*, 814  
 Appolinaris, Sidnonius, 259  
*Apsu*, 69  
 Apuleius, Lucius, 208  
 Aquaviva, Claudio, 956  
 Aquinas, Thomas, 27, 439, 447,  
 451, 455, 458, 471, 473, 477, 478,  
 502, 517, 520, 524, 530, 531, 815  
 Arapesh, 37  
 Ardhanārīshvara, 299  
 Aretaeus of Cappadocia, 223  
 Aretino, Pietro, 539, 540, 541, 542,  
 543, 930, 939  
*Aretinus Redivivus*, 934  
 Ariosto, Ludovico, 501  
 Aristophanes, 134, 148  
 Aristotle, 27, 31, 132, 134, 150, 151,  
 152, 228, 283, 363, 447, 455, 470,  
 473, 475, 815, 831  
*Aristotle's Masterpiece*, 811, 812,  
 814, 852, 928  
 Armstrong, John, 662, 682  
 Arnaud Daniel, 371  
 Arnaud-Amaury, 424, 468  
*Arraignment of Lewd, idle,*  
*froward, and unconstant women*  
*... The*, 834  
*Art of Courtly Love, The — De*  
*amore*, 380, 385, 533  
*Art of Love, The — Ars Amatoria*,  
 208, 216  
*Art of Preserving Health, The — A*  
*Poem in Four Books*, 662, 682  
*Art of the Bedchamber, The*, 107,  
 108  
 Artemis, 319, 907  
 Artemisia, 128  
*artha shāstra*, 289  
 Artus, Thomas, 496  
*As You Like It*, 878  
 Asańga, 101  
 asexuality, 232  
 Ash Wednesday, 249, 302, 755, 908  
 Asherah, 82, 83  
 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, 747  
 Aspasia, 142  
 Assiniboine, 589, 598  
 Astell, Mary, 770, 823  
 Astrolabe, 364  
 Astruc, Jean, 681  
 Astyanassa, 130  
 Athanasius, 244, 268  
 Atherton, John, 720  
*Atlas*, 457  
 Atsugewi, 598  
 Attis, 22, 556  
 Atwood, Elizabeth, 609  
 Auda, Domenico, 437  
 Augustine, 27, 31, 170, 228, 229,  
 230, 231, 244, 245, 246, 247, 251,  
 253, 255, 256, 257, 260, 261, 272,  
 275, 276, 277, 280, 281, 283, 286,  
 346, 363, 369, 408, 422, 434, 446,  
 447, 475, 544, 547, 618  
 Augustinians, 417, 489  
 Augustus the Strong, 913  
 Augustus, Octavius, 25, 26, 165,  
 172, 174, 175, 185, 202, 210, 213,  
 214, 275, 366, 425  
 Augustus, Phillip, King, France,  
 397  
 Aurelianus, Caelius, 221, 328  
 Aurelius, Marcus, 180, 211, 221,  
 227, 259  
 Ausonius, Decimus Magnus, 227,  
 327  
 Austen, Jane, 840, 841



Austin, Ann, 628  
*autos da fé*, 429, 480, 582, 707, 708  
 Auvergne, Gillaume d', 470, 477,  
 478  
 Avicenna, 352, 363, 408, 825  
*Ayamegusa* — *The Words of*  
*Ayame*, 748  
*āyur Veda*, 297  
 Azo, 407  
 Aztec, 562, 565, 570, 571, 573, 591,  
 603, 680

## B

*Bacchanalia*, 193  
 Bacchus, 193, 194, 204, 340, 341  
 Bachelor, 671  
 Bacon, Anthony, 493  
 Bacon, Francis, 493, 719, 878  
 badge of distinction, 546  
 Bage, Robert, 822  
 Bagemihl, Bruce, 29, 30  
 Bai Xingjian, 108  
 Baksh, 905  
 Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 602  
 Baldwin II of Guînes, 354  
 Baldwin, James, 946  
 Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, Lord,  
 608  
 Ban Gu, 107  
 Bangs, Issac, 686  
 Baptista, Juan, 637  
 Barbelo, 233  
*barbiponiente*, 389  
*bardassoes*, 707  
 Barends, Trijntje, 738  
 Barnabas, 226, 281, 282, 400, 470,  
 477  
 Barnard, Richard, 858  
 Barrin, Jean, 941  
 Bartelomy of Exeter, 313  
 Bartholin, Thomas, 698, 811, 945  
 Bartolome, Regina, 858  
 Basil I, 341  
 Basil the Great, 263, 272, 283  
 Bassin, Marie Ann, 793  
 Báthory, Erzsébet, 432  
*Battle of the Sexes, The* — *A*  
*Descriptive Dissertation on the*  
*Various Modes of Enjoyment*,  
 881  
 Baudour, Adrienne, 792  
 Baudri of Bourgueil, 360, 394  
 Baxter, Richard, 628  
 bears, 20, 50, 166, 270, 599  
 Beccadelli, Antonio, 534  
 Bedlow, Henry, 686  
 Beggars' Benison, The, 757  
 Begochídiín, 599, 600  
*begum*, 903, 905  
 Behn, Aphra, 706, 839, 934  
 beholders — *consistentes /*  
*congregatii*, 250  
*Being the Life and Adventures of Moll*  
*Placket-Hole*, 686  
 Beissel, Johann Conrad, 632  
*bella figura*, 216  
 Bellarmino, Roberto, 454  
 Benbow, William, 730  
*Benedicio thalami*, 472  
 Benedict of Nursia, 329  
 Benedict XIII, 957  
 Benedict XIV, 766  
 Benedicti, Jean, 532  
*Benefit of Farting Explain'd, The*  
*...*, 868  
*Ben-Hur*, 158  
 Benincasa, Catherine, 507  
 Bennett, Helen — Halima, 905  
 Benny, Jack, 86  
 Bentham, Jeremy, 730, 731  
*berdache*, 449, 592, 593, 596, 597,  
 598, 599, 600, 648  
 Berkley, Theresa, 922

- Berle, Milton, 86  
 Bernard of Clairvaux, 361, 396,  
     401, 472  
 Bernhardt, Sarah, 86  
 Berthold of Regensburg, 460  
 Bertulf of Ghistelles, 357  
 bestiality, 330, 420, 421, 426, 428,  
     429, 478, 619, 635, 643, 709, 714,  
     715, 895  
*Bestiary*, 400, 401, 477  
*Bettmeister*, 630  
*Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, 3  
*bibi*, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905  
 Bible, 47, 62, 65, 66, 80, 85, 87,  
     158, 244, 270, 284, 400, 430, 466,  
     513, 515, 718, 865  
 Big Bang, 1  
 bigamy, 429, 544, 619, 655, 656,  
     657, 776  
 biological exuberance, 30  
*Biological Exuberance — Animal  
     Homosexuality and Natural  
     Diversity*, 29  
 Black Death, 10, 434, 435, 440,  
     483, 534, 556, 869, 871  
 black Sabbaths, 314  
 Blackfoot, 38, 576, 589, 598, 599  
 Blackmore, Richard, 826  
 Blackstone, William, 658, 721, 722,  
     789, 790, 804, 805, 807, 829  
 Blake, Christopher, 615  
 Blannbekin, Agnes, 434  
 Bloch, Iwan, 504  
 Blount, Charles, 524  
 Blundell, Molly, 778  
 Blundell, Thomas, 778  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 534, 535, 543  
*Bodhisattvabhūmi — The Stages of  
     the Bodhisattva*, 101  
 Boerhaave, Hermann, 882  
*Bon Ton Magazine*, 845, 892, 893,  
     949  
 Bonaparte, Napoléon, 767, 872,  
     876, 940  
 Bonasone, Giulio, 538  
 Bonaventure, 433, 519  
 Bonchet, Marie Bonchet, 796  
 Boniface, 322, 343, 346  
 Bonnet, Stede, 646  
 Bonny, Ann, 647  
 Bonny, James, 647  
 bonobos, 18  
*bonzi*, 744  
*Book of Gomorrah, The — Liber  
     Gomorrhianus*, 390, 391  
*Book of Good Love, The — Libro de  
     buen amor*, 534  
*Book of Hermes Trismegistos*, 264  
*Book of Rites*, 110  
*Book of the City of the Ladies, The*,  
     464  
*Books of Sentences — Quator libri  
     Sententiarum*, 401  
 Bororo, 45  
 Borromeo, Carlo, 550  
 Boschi, Charles, 657  
*Boston Evening-Post*, 690  
 Boswell, James, 169, 893, 910, 952,  
     954  
 Botrys, 130  
 Bouboulina, Laskarina, 799  
 Boucher, François, 872, 910  
 Boucher, Guillaume, 534  
 Bowdler, Thomas, 947  
 bowerbird, 2, 3  
 Boy Is Worth More Than a Girl, A,  
     334  
 Bracciolini, Gian-Francesco Poggio,  
     440  
 Bradamante, 501  
 Bradford, William, 621, 622, 639  
 Braganza, Giovanni, 487  
*brahmacharya*, 8, 9  
*Brahmans*, 99

*Brahmavaivarta Purāna*, 296  
 branding, 548  
 Branson, Richard, 721  
*braye*, 456  
 Breüning, Hans Jacob, 421  
*Breviarium practica*, 343  
 bride of Christ, 231, 232, 234, 239,  
 246, 258, 259, 262, 345, 393, 404,  
 510, 518, 627, 629  
 bride-prices, 74  
*Brief Discourse of a Disease called  
 the Suffocation of the Mother*,  
 857  
*briganti*, 507  
 Brigid of Kildare, 309  
 Briseis, 90  
 British Adultery Act, 792  
 Bronze Age, 57, 59, 60, 65, 67, 75,  
 80, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95,  
 96, 100, 123, 126, 137  
 Browinrigg, Elizabeth, 891  
 Brown, Susannah, 624  
 Brown, William, 728, 763  
 Brown, William Hill, 691  
 Browne, Tom, 884  
 Brudwell, Frances, 943  
*brujería* — witchcraft, 676  
 Brummell, Beau, 759, 876  
 Brun, Archbishop of Cologne, 347  
 Bruno, Juan, 613  
 Bucahn, Wlliam, 823  
 buccaneer, 657  
 Buckley, William F. Jr., 552  
 Buddha, 26, 100, 101, 102, 153,  
 228, 559, 745  
 buggery, 492, 639, 640, 643  
 buggery statute, 640  
*bukumatula*, 37  
 bundling, 623, 849  
 bundling board, 850  
 Burchard of Worms, 308, 322, 401  
 Burke, Edmund, 730, 845, 846

Burney, Fanny, 840, 841  
 Burnham, Margery, 518  
 Burton, Richard, ethnographer,  
 121  
 Bussy-Rabutin, Roger de, 940  
 Butler, Eleanor, 742  
 Butler, Judith, x  
 Butler, Nell, 608  
 Buttlar, Eva Margaretha, 912  
 Byron, George Gordon, Lord, 742

## C

Cabeza de Vaca, Álvaro Núñez, 593  
 Cadogan, William, 823  
 Caecilius of Cyprus, 252, 278  
 Caesar, Julius, 20, 165, 166, 188,  
 203, 206  
 Caesarius of Arles, 288  
 Caesarius of Heisterbach, 411  
 Cafferelli, 766  
 Cainnech of Agaboe, 309  
 Cairán of Saigir, 309  
 Caligula, 158, 171, 271  
 Callistrate of Lesbos, 130  
 Calvin, John, 443, 492, 506, 549,  
 556  
 Cam, Joseph, 700  
*camayoa*, 592  
 Cambridge Songs, 368  
*Camilla*, 840  
 Canadian fly, 2  
*Canons and Decrees*, 536  
*cansos*, 371  
*Canterbury Tales, The*, 481  
 Cantor, Peter, 402  
 Capel, Richard, 696  
*Captainen*, 630  
 Caracalla, 202, 283  
 Caramuel, Juan, 532  
 Cardanus, Hieronymus, 442  
 Caribs, 563, 592, 602, 603

- caritas conjugalis*, 325  
 Carletti, Francesco, 605  
 Carlile, Richard, 810, 811, 851, 881  
 Carlini, Benedetta, 490  
*Carmen Astrologicum*, 264  
*carmen famosum*, 164  
*Carmina Burana*, 377, 402  
*Carmina Priapeia* — *Songs of the Pricks*, 535  
 Caroline, Queen, 828  
 Caroline, Queen of Naples, 907  
 Carolingian divorce, 343  
 Carracci, Agostino, 538  
 Carthusians, 417, 478  
*casa de corrección*, 614  
 Casanova, Giacomo, 738, 851, 852, 885, 906, 908, 909, 910, 958  
 Cassian, John, 246, 408  
*castas*, 661  
 Castelloli, Luis, 479  
*castrati*, 121, 359, 458, 766, 767  
 Catechism, 446, 447, 520, 521  
 Catharine of Aragon, 828  
 Cathars, 361, 369, 411, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 452, 480  
 Cato the Elder, 159, 207  
 Cats, Jacob, 879  
 Catullus, Gaius Valerius, 211  
 Cavendish, Margaret, 838  
 Cayuga, 573  
 Celsus, 284  
 Celts, 259, 265  
 Ceres, 198  
 Ch'in Dynasty, 119  
*Chaireas and Callirhoe*, 208  
 Character and Effects of Modern Novels, 692  
 charivari, 754, 802  
 Charlemagne, 322, 338, 339, 340, 343, 347, 349, 355  
 Charles I, 719, 756, 884  
 Charles II, 705, 706, 839, 876, 884, 898, 941, 942  
 Charles III, Spain, 613  
 Charles IV, Spain, 777  
 Charles V, Emperor, 446, 447, 532, 603  
 Charles V, France, 546  
 Charles V, Spain, 563  
 Charles VII, 466  
 Charles VIII, 553  
 Charlotte, Queen, 742  
 Charnock, Job, 901  
 chaste voluptuousness, 326, 327  
*chateau de derrière*, 720  
 Chateaubriant, Françoise, 466  
 chattel, 88, 769, 774, 803  
 Chaucer, Geoffrey, 481  
 cheetahs, 20  
 Cherokee, 587, 589  
*Cherub, or Guardian of Female Innocence, The*, 891  
 Cherubino of Siena, 520  
 Chesterfield, Lord, 872, 953  
 Cheyenne, 565, 567, 583, 585, 589, 598  
 Cheyne, George, 826  
 Chiarugi, Vincenzo, 766  
 Chickasaw, 579, 580, 589  
*Chigo no soshi* — *Chigo Notebook*, 747  
 child beating, 786  
 Childe, John, 720  
*Children's Hour, The*, 743  
 Chilula, 598  
 chimpanzees, 18, 19, 20  
 Chin Dynasty, 105  
 Chinook, 579, 582, 589  
 Chipewya, 576  
*Choise of Valentines or the Merie Ballad of Nash His Dildo, The*, 543  
 Chorier, Nicholas, 908, 932, 933

- Chou Dynasty, 109  
 Chrétien de Troyes, 378, 379, 386  
 Christina, Queen, Sweden, 737, 761, 940  
*Chronicles of Peru*, 594  
 Chrysostom, John, 227, 231, 233, 238, 272, 274  
 Chumas, 598  
 Church, John, 801  
 Churchill, Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, 739  
 Cibber, Colley, 762  
 Cicero, 176, 179, 210, 369  
 Cihuacoatl, 577  
*cinaedi*, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 264  
 circle jerks, 306, 708, 758  
 Cistercians, 417, 478  
 Citizenship Laws, 25, 140  
*City of God*, 408  
 Clare of Montefalco, 434  
 Clary, John, 657  
 Claudius, 158, 167, 211  
 Cleland, John, 741, 937  
 Clement of Alexandria, 223, 226, 233, 239, 254, 263, 265, 283, 557  
 Clement VI, 435, 545  
 Clement VII, 428, 541  
 Clement VIII, 766  
 Clément, Jacques, 496  
 Cleopatra, 176, 188, 932  
 Cleverly, Elizabeth, 655  
 Clinton, Bill, 7  
*Clitophon and Leucippe*, 208  
 Cloots, Anacharsis, 734  
 Clotaire II, 317  
 Clovis I, 318, 321  
 Clowes, William, 554, 555  
 Cluniacs, 417, 556  
 Cocopa, 587  
 Code Napoléon, 735, 807, 866  
*Code Noir*, 612  
*Code of Hammurabi*, 68  
*Code of Ur-Nammu*, 66  
 codpiece, 444, 456, 873  
*Coemptio*, 180  
*coitus interruptus*, 191, 662, 851  
*coitus reservatus*, 363  
 Coke, James, 718  
 cold water bathing, 871  
 Collatina, 163  
*Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 781  
 Collier, Mary, 840  
 Collins, William, 660  
 Columban, 305, 324  
 Columbus, Christopher, 559, 560, 592, 602  
 Comanche, 566, 580  
*Commentaries on the Laws of England*, 721  
 Commodus, 172  
 Common Council, 508  
 Common Law, 654, 662  
*Common Sense*, 668  
 common-law marriage, 803, 804  
*Commonwealth v. Bangs*, 663  
*Commonwealth v. Sharpless*, 692  
 communion, 221, 226, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 261, 262, 271, 286, 313, 321, 350, 361, 434, 485, 521, 530, 549, 642, 654, 859  
 companion of the bedchamber, 341  
*Compendio*, 480  
 Conces, William of, 470  
*Concordantia Discordantium Canonum — Decretum Gratiani*, 362  
*concubinage*, 317, 324, 329, 525, 619, 652, 903  
 conditions ascribed to solo sex, 703  
 Condorcet, 734, 843, 844

- confarreatio*, 180  
*Confessionario en lengua Mexicana y Catellana*, 637  
*Confessionario mayor*, 679  
*Confessions*, 170, 253, 276  
 Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 427  
 Confucius, 109, 112, 116, 119, 155, 167, 169, 228, 559, 747  
 Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, 427  
 Congreve, William, 802, 882  
 conjugal debt, 449  
 Conrad of Marburg, 468  
 Constantine, 236, 237, 240, 241, 243, 244, 255, 257, 275, 285, 307, 314, 329, 417  
 Contempt of the World, 401  
*Contemptus virorum*, 698  
 contract to marry —  
     *instrumentum sponsaliti*, 521  
*contre danse*, 780  
*Convent as Hell, The*, 835  
*Convent for Those Who Had Freely Chosen It, The*, 835  
 Cook, James, 724, 725  
 Cooper, John 'Princess Seraphina', 723  
*Coquette, or, The History of Eliza Wharton, The*, 691  
*Corpus Juris Civilis*, 327, 328  
 Correal, Fancisco, 595  
*Correspondance secrète*, 948  
 Corry, John, 821, 824  
 corsairs, 646  
 Cortese, Isabella, 437  
 Cotton, John, 653  
 Council of Auxerre, 321  
 Council of Chaleuth, 304  
 Council of Clermont, 404  
 Council of Elvira, 232, 271  
 Council of Ephesus, 319  
 Council of Jerusalem, 225  
 Council of Leptines, 318  
 Council of London, 391  
 Council of Mequz, 345  
 Council of Nicea, 237, 241, 250, 307  
 Council of Paris, 387  
 Council of Pisa, 422  
 Council of Ten, 487, 488, 490, 495, 511  
 Council of Trent, 446, 513, 516, 521, 536, 555, 652, 800  
 Council of Valladolid, 603  
 Council of Worms, 345  
*Country Wife, The*, 932  
*coureurs des bois*, 611  
 courtly love, 370, 371, 372, 374, 376, 378, 379, 380, 386, 417, 418, 481, 533, 534  
 Courtney, Edward, 729  
*cowade*, 51  
*couverture*, 804  
 Covent Garden Magazine, or Amorous Repository, 949  
 Cow, the— *dhenuka*, 301  
 Cox, Robert Albion, 794  
 Cramden, Ralph, 788  
 Cramdon, Alice, 788  
 Creek, 570, 579, 580, 585, 589  
 Creek, Andre, 615  
*creole*, 661, 674  
 Crescentini, Girolamo, 767  
 crimes of passion, 63, 508  
*Crimes of the Clergy*, 730  
 criminal conversation, 793, 794, 949  
 Criss, John 'Jack the Bachelor', 646  
 Crivelli, Bartolomea, 490  
 Crooke, Helkiah, 432, 879  
 cross-vigil, 303  
 Crow people, 590  
 cruising, 202, 389, 707, 722, 732

Cubeo, 45  
 Cullen, Willilam, 828  
 Cumian, 307  
 Cummings, Jane, 743  
 Cunegonde, 288  
 Cupid, 377  
 Cure for the Green-Sickness, A,  
     810  
*Cures for Love* — *Remedia Amoris*,  
     208  
 Curll, Edmund, 945  
*Curtain Drawn Up, or The*  
*Education of Laura, The*, 944  
 Curtis, Tony, 86  
*custos*, 184  
 cut sleeve, 113, 115, 116  
 Cybele, 22, 204, 235, 319  
 Cynisca, 127  
 Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, 221,  
     233, 251, 252, 255, 260, 262, 263,  
     278

## D

D'Amiens, Frédéric Dubois, 828  
 d'Andrieux, Chevalier, 754  
 d'Aragona, Tullia, 514  
 d'Aubigné, Agrippa, 496  
 d'Aubigné, Françoise, 931  
 d'Auxerre, Guillaume, 517  
 d'Éon, Chevalier, 765  
 d'Este, Isabella, 505  
 d'Etampes, Anne, 466  
 d'Urfey, Thomas, 813  
 da Certaldo, Paolo, 462  
 da Gama, Vasco, 605  
 da Ponte, Lorenzo, 910  
 da Saliceto, Guglielmo, 431  
 da Siena, Bernardino, 484, 485  
 da Siena, Catherina, 453, 466, 535  
 da Vinci, Leonardo, 483  
 Dahteste, 599  
 Dakota, 569, 597  
 Damer, Anee Seymour, 742  
 Damian, Peter, 390, 391, 392, 400,  
     403, 404, 469, 556  
*damnati ad bestias*, 166  
*danca dos fanchonos*, 708  
 Dani, 39  
 Dante Alighieri, 481  
*Daphnis and Chloe*, 208  
 Dark Ages, 287, 310, 316, 317, 323,  
     324, 342, 349, 358  
 Darwin, Charles, 28, 31, 742, 817  
 Dashwood, Francis, 756, 758  
 d'Aubigné, Françoise, 913  
 David, 62, 89, 279, 359, 399, 453  
 David of Gildas, 305  
 David of Menevia, 305  
 David, King, Scotland, 392  
 Day of Blood — *Dies sanguinis*, 234  
 de Alarcón, Hernando, 593  
 de Albuquerque, Afonso, 611  
 de Almeida, Santos, 708  
 de Alva, Bartolomé, 679  
*De Biegt der Gertrouwde* — *The*  
*Marriage Trap*, 815  
 de Bienville, D.T., 702  
 de Bléigny, Nicholas, 950  
 de Boigne, Benoit, 905  
*De bono conjugali*, 245, 277  
 de Bourbon, Jean, 534  
 de Bourdeille, Pierre, 736  
 de Campion, Henri, 754  
 de Carmargo, Pires, 652  
 de Cespedes, Eleno / Elena, 497  
 de Charny, 533  
 de Châtillon, Walter, 401  
 de Choisy, François-Timoléon,  
     763, 764, 765  
 de Cieza de León, Pedro, 594  
*De civilitate morum puerilium* —  
*Manners for Children*, 864  
 de Corella, Jayme, 651

- de Crébillon, Claude Prosper  
Jolyot, 888
- de Custine, marquis, 735  
*De Custodia Virginitatis*, 320  
*De delictis et poenis tractatus absolutissimus* — *The Most Absolute Treatise of Crime and Punishment*, 737, 889
- de Digne, Douceline, 452
- de Duras, Claire, duchesse, 735
- de Erauso, Catalina, 499, 646  
*De erroribus profanarum religionum* — On the Error of Profane Religion, 234
- De Farge, Madame, 846  
*De Formato Foetu* — *The Formed Fetus*, 465
- de Gouges, Olympe, 805, 806, 807, 844, 845, 846
- de Gournay, Marie le Jars, 835
- de Graaf, Regnier, 879
- de Herrera, Antonio, 562  
*De Imitatione Christi* — *Imitation of Christ*, 433  
*De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, 465
- de Itá of Cadiz, Maria, 797
- de Jaucourt, Louis, 814  
*De l'Amour*, 886
- de l'Aubespine, Madeleine, 935  
*De l'égalité des deux sexes*, 842  
*De l'Esprit*, 883
- de La Barre, François Poullain, 842
- de la Cruz, Juana Inés, 665, 666  
*De la folie* — *On Madness*, 827
- de la Mata, Magdalena, 677
- de la Sale, Antoine, 518
- de la Tour Landry, 511
- de Lamballe, Princess, 944
- de Lancre, Louis Pierre, 857
- de Landa Calderón, Diego, 604
- de Las Casas, Bartolomé, 586
- de Las Casas, Hernando, 590, 603
- de Lascaris, Jeanne, 910
- de Latouche, Gervaise, 936
- de Laudonnière, René Goulaine, 595
- de León, Pedro, 480
- de Ligne, Prince, 910
- de L'Isle, Alain, 400, 406
- de Lorris, Guillaume, 481, 533
- de Lúxan, Juan, 602
- de Maintenon, Madame, 770, 779, 932
- de Medici, Lorenzo, 486
- de Mendieta, Jerónimo, 562
- de Méricourt Théroigne, 845, 846
- de Meun, Jean, 464, 481
- De Mille, Cecil B., 157, 158, 198
- de Miranda, Clara, 674, 675
- de Montespan, Madame, 913  
*De naturis rerum* — *The Laws of Nature*, 477  
*De nuptii Philologiae et Mercurii*, 368
- de Oliveira, Catarina Gonçalves, 653  
*De orbis veneris* — *Treatise on Venereal Disease*, 681
- de Pareja, Teresa, 789  
*De Passione Hysterica et Affectione Hypochondriaca*, 825
- de Piedrahita, Lucas Fernández, 596
- de Pisan, Christine, 464, 465, 523, 527, 533, 534, 539, 834  
*De Planctu Naturae* — “The Complaint of Nature”, 400
- de Pompadour, Madame, 872
- de Rais, Giles, 509  
*De rerum natura* — *About Nature*, 168
- de Sade, marquis, 542, 734, 735, 938, 939, 940



- de Sahagun, Bernardino, 562  
 de Sales, Francis, 454, 779, 958  
 de Saluste Sieur du Bartas,  
   Guillaume, 493  
 de San Félix, Marcela, 452, 835  
 de San Juan, Huarte, 706  
*De Sancto Matrimonii*, 957  
 de Santa Cruz, Manuel  
   Fernández, 665  
 de Santo Tomas, Domingo, 594  
 de Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés, 563, 603  
 de Sévigné, marquise, 852  
 de Soto, Hernando, 589  
*De spermate*, 406  
*De syndalibus causis et disciplinis  
 ecclesiasticis — Concerning  
 synododal administration and  
 ecclesiastical discipline*, 346  
*De Tien Vermakelijkheden des  
 Houweljks — The Ten Pleasures  
 of Marriage*, 815  
 de Tolentino, Nicholas, 637  
 de Tovar, Mauro, 619  
 de Trejos, Juan Manuel, 614  
 de Ugalde, José, 677  
 de Varthema, Ludovico, 897  
 de Viau, Théophile, 930  
 de Vigo, Charles, 554  
*De virginitatis et corruptionis  
 virginum notis — On Virginity  
 and the Signs of Corrupted  
 Virginity*, 432  
 de Vitry, Jacques, 419, 547  
 de Voragine, Jacobus, 430  
*débito matrimonial*, 650  
*Decameron, The*, 534  
 Declaration of Independence, 625,  
   682  
*Declaration of the Rights of Man*,  
   881  
*Declaration of the Rights of Man  
 and Citizen*, 805  
*Defensa de la mujer — Defense of  
 Women*, 842  
*deffloration*, 230, 811  
 Defoe, Daniel, 698, 795, 842, 889,  
   924, 925  
 degeneracy, 698, 701, 718, 733, 902  
*Dei donneschi defetti — The  
 Defects of Women*, 830  
 Dekker, Thomas, 499  
 Delaware people, 574, 575, 579  
 Delgado, Francisco, 549  
*delicates — boy pets*, 206  
*deliciae — girl pets*, 206  
*Delightes for Ladies to adorne their  
 Persons ...*, 437  
 Della Casa, Giovanni, 535  
*Della infinita d'amore — Dialogues  
 on the Infinity of Love*, 514  
*Della pazzia in genere, e in specie  
 — On Insanity in Genera and in  
 Species*, 766  
 Dembowski, Métilde Viscontini,  
   886  
 Demeter, 22, 143, 144, 151, 319  
 D'Emilio, John, x  
*Democrates alter sive de justicis  
 beli causis apud Indios —  
 Concerning the Just Cause of the  
 War Against the Indian*, 603  
*Den Christelijcken jongeling—  
 Christian Youth*, 889  
 den Heussen, Frans Esausz, 889  
 des Rues, Claudius Nicholas, 895  
 Descartes, René, 877, 878  
*Descent of Man, The*, 28  
*Description of a New World,  
 Called The Blazing World*, 839  
*Desengaños amorosos — The  
 Disenchantments of Love*, 837  
 Desiderius, 400  
*despósito*, 620, 652  
 Detreich, Marlene, 86

- Deuteronomy, 80, 81, 84, 777  
*dharma shāstra*, 289  
*Dialogo d'amore*, 514  
*Dialogue between a Married Lady and a Maid, A*, 934  
*Dialogue of Great Visions and Miracles — Dialogus magnus visionum atque miraculorum*, 411  
*Dialogue on Miracles — Dialogus miraculorum*, 529  
Diana, 319, 469, 819  
*Diary of a Lady of Quality*, 891  
*Diccionario de los inquisidores*, 434  
Dickens, Charles, 846  
*Dictionary of Love*, 937  
*Dictionary of Medicine and Practical Surgery*, 828  
*Dictionary of the English Language, The*, 778  
*Dictionnaire critique, literature et bibliographique des principaux livres condamné*, 947  
*Dictionnaire des Sciences médicales*, 703  
*Didache — Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*, 282  
Diderot, Denis, 734, 815, 865, 910, 936  
Diego, Juan, 637  
*diffareatio*, 180  
dildos, 18, 23, 100, 136, 148, 237, 263, 295, 296, 298, 299, 330, 480, 524, 543, 698, 738, 936, 944, 948  
Dilettanti, 756  
Diocletian, 202  
Diogenes, 129, 227  
Dionysius, 21, 22, 193, 265, 756  
Dioscorides, 172  
*Directorium inquisitorum*, 601  
*disciplina*, 303  
disciplining wives, 651  
*disenso*, 613  
*Disputationes de sancti matrimonii sacramento — The Holy Sacrament of Marriage*, 461  
*Divine Comedy*, 481  
*Divine Weeks, The*, 493  
*Divisament dou monde — Description of the World*, 525  
Djungguan, 48  
*doctores*, 165  
Doctrine on the Sacrament of Marriage, 516  
dogs, 18  
dolphins, 18  
*domina*, 374  
Dominicans, 417, 427, 478, 556  
Domitian, 206, 234, 236  
*domni canes — hounds of the Lord*, 427  
*Don Giovanni*, 910  
Dorotheus of Sidon, 264  
Douglas, William 'Old Q', 911  
Dowdeney, George, 719  
Downman, Hugh, 818, 819  
Dowry Fund — *Monte delle Doti*, 520  
Drogo of Sint-Winoksbergen, 357  
*droit de seigneur*, 89  
Duck, Stephen, 840  
Duckworth, Nadine, 30  
*Duell, The*, 934  
*Duke of True Lovers, The*, 533  
Dunbar, William, 463  
Duns Scotus, Joannes, 459  
Dupont, William, 905  
Dürer, Albrecht, 482  
Dwight, Louis, 645  
Dyer, Mary, 628, 673

## E

- Earle, Ralph, 689  
 Early Qing Dynasty, 109, 122  
*East India Vade-Mecum ...*, *The*, 899  
 East, Mary, 801  
 East, Mary / James Howe, 741  
 Easton, Peat, 646  
 Eburnus, Fabius Maximus, 183  
*ec stasis*, 31  
 Ecclesiastes, 87  
 Echo, 129  
*editores*, 166, 169  
*Education of Women, The*, 842  
 Edward Augustus, Duke of York, 921  
 Edward I, 426, 547  
 Edward II, 482  
 Edward III, 494, 546, 552  
 Edward the Confessor, 288  
 Edwards, Jonathan, 623, 626, 627, 690  
 Effects of Temporary Strangulation on the Human Body, *The*, 893  
*Effraenatam*, 447  
*Ego and the Id, The*, 3  
 ekdysia, 126  
 Elagabalus, 176, 204, 257, 271  
 Eleanor of Aquitaine, 378, 383, 384  
 Elephantine, 130  
 Elijah, 83, 235  
 Elizabeth I, 442, 493, 548, 832, 898  
 elk, 14, 18  
 Ellis, Havelock, 765  
 Elwin, Verrier, 37  
 Elyot, Thomas, 432  
*Èmile ou De l'éducation*, 702, 823  
*Emma*, 841  
 Emmerson, 623  
*Emprise du Fer de Prisonnier — Association of the Prisoner's Iron*, 534  
*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 702, 711  
*Endura*, 424  
*England's Vanity; or the Voice of God ...*, 873  
*English Malady, The*, 826  
 Enheduanna, 66  
 Enkidu, 89  
 Enslin, Frederick Gotthold, 644  
*eonism*, 765  
 Epicurus, 168  
 Epistle of Barnabas, 226, 400  
*Equality of Men and Women*, 835  
 Er, 81, 700  
 Erasmus, 864  
*erastes*, 25, 131, 132, 140, 204, 339  
 Erectheus, 134  
 Ermengarde of Narbonne, 384, 385  
 eros, 4, 16, 123, 354  
*Eros*, 4, 5, 13, 21, 22, 31, 34, 878  
 erotic asphyxia, 893  
*Erotic Communications — Studies in Sex, Sin, and Censorship*, 536  
*Erotropolis, or A New Description of Bettyland*, 942  
 Esau, 80  
 Esopus, 575  
*españoles*, 613  
*Essay on Human Understanding*, 751  
*Essay On the Principle of Population*, 855  
*Essay on Wind ...*, *An*, 869  
*Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Women ...*, *An*, 832  
*Essay upon Nursing, and the Management of children ...*, *An*, 823  
 estrus, 13, 14, 29, 41

étienne-Jean Georget, 828  
*Etruscans*, 62, 186, 187, 215  
*Etymologies*, 321  
*eunen eichen*, 62  
 eunuch, 62, 119, 120, 121, 189,  
 224, 234, 235, 236, 237, 497, 932  
*Eunuchs for the Kingdom of  
 Heaven*, 901  
 Euripides, 138  
 Eurydice, 90, 368  
 Eusebius, 243, 244  
 Eustochium, 320  
 Evans, Katerine and Sarah Chevers,  
 802  
 Eve, 49, 84, 123, 229, 233, 254, 255,  
 256, 408, 410, 459, 464, 467, 632,  
 835, 858  
*Evelina*, 840  
*Every Woman's Book, or What is  
 Love?*, 881  
*Examen de ingenios par alas  
 ciencias — A Study of  
 Intellectual Aptitude for  
 Learning*, 494  
*Exercitationes de Generatione  
 Animalium — On the  
 Generation of Life in Animals*,  
 848  
 Exodus, 80  
*expositi*, 192, 664  
*Exquisite*, 921  
 Eyak, 574, 579, 585  
 Eymeric, Nicolas, 601

## F

Fabricius, Hieronymus, 465  
 Fabrizio, Girolamo, 848  
 Fair Assembly — Fair Intellectuals  
 Club, 833  
 Fairfield, Daniel, 636  
 fallen women, 687, 923, 927  
 Fallopio, Gabriello, 465, 532  
*Family Shakespeare*, 947  
 Fan Bao, 111  
*fanchonos*, 708  
*Fanny Hill — Memoirs of a  
 Woman of Pleasure*, 741, 937  
 Farinelli, 767  
*fascinus*, 21, 193  
 Fassett, James, 721  
*Fathers for Life and Gender  
 Fairness*, 831  
 Fawcett, Millicent Garrett, 804  
 Featherstonhaugh, Henry, 906  
 Febronia, 231  
 Fellini, Federico, 537  
*Female Academy, The*, 839  
*Female Spectator, The*, 829  
*feme covert*, 654  
*femmes aux serpens*, 414  
 Ferdinand, King, Spain, 426, 428,  
 479, 559, 591  
 Fernando VII, 919  
 Ferrand, Jacques, 877  
 Ferreira, Gregório Martins, 708  
 Ferrers, Laurence Shirley, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl,  
 786  
 Ferriar, John, 826  
*Ficheide*, 535  
*Field and Stream*, 946  
 Fielding, Henry, 647, 691, 772, 814,  
 822  
 Fifth Lateran Council, 536  
*Filipinas*, 491  
*fin d'amour* — pure love, 370, 372,  
 375, 376, 378, 380, 383, 386, 389,  
 412, 534  
 Finney, Albert, 887  
 Finnian of Clonard, 309  
 Fiordispina, 501  
 First Lateran Council, 404  
*First Lines of the Practice of Physic*,  
 828

- Fisher, Mary, 628  
*Fivefold Miscellany*, 114  
 flagellation, 303, 556, 557, 890,  
     892, 915, 916, 917, 922, 932, 945,  
     949  
*Flamenca*, 436  
 flamingos, 20  
*flaminica et flamen*, 180  
 Flaminius, Titus, 165  
 flogging, 112, 162, 303, 310, 311,  
     355, 458, 508, 510, 549, 622, 890,  
     891, 915, 922  
 Floyer, John, 870  
 Fonte, Moderata, 830  
 Forberg, Friedrich Karl, 932  
 Ford, Ann, 874  
 Forgotten Stories of Lonyang, 115  
*forica* — public latrines, 202  
*Formed Fetus, The*, 848  
*Formicarium*, 472  
 forms of mixed-sex marriage in  
     Rome, 179  
 Forster, George, 874  
 Fortis, Alberto, 801  
 Foscarini, Paolo Antonio, 454  
 Foster, Hannah Webster, 691  
 Foucault, Michel, x  
 Fourth Council of Toledo, 350  
 Fourth Lateran Council, 361, 425,  
     426, 469, 515, 528, 545, 555, 800  
 Foville, Achille-Louis, 828  
 Fox people, 586  
 Fox, Charles James, 869  
 Fox, George, 836  
 Fox, Margaret Askew, 836  
 Fox, Stephen, 725  
 foxes, 20  
 Fracastoro, Girolamo, 554  
 Fragonard, 910  
 Fragrant Stuff from the Court of  
     Spring, 115  
 Francis of Assisi, 432, 433, 434  
 Francis, Tench, 691  
 Franciscans, 417, 427, 556  
 Franck, Sebastian, 420  
 Frandsen, Laurids, 709  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 656, 669, 687,  
     758  
 Fratricelli, 424  
*Frauendienst* — *Service of Ladies*,  
     500  
 Frederick the Great, 714, 715  
*Free Enquirer*, 635  
 Free Spirit, 424, 425  
 Freedman, Estelle B., x  
 Freidrich Wilhelm I, 714, 737  
 Freud, Sigmund, 3, 4, 31  
 Friars of Medmenham, 756  
*friedelehe*, 324  
 Frier, Elizabeth, 655  
 Frith, Mary, 498, 499  
 Frodelina, 371  
*frottage*, 131, 375  
*Fuero Real*, 479  
 Fulbert of Notre Dame, 364  
 Fulvia, 187  
*Furies*, 152, 846  
*furor uterinus*, 793, 877  
*Further Considerations on the  
     Punishment of a Certain  
     Infamous Crime*, 714  
 Fuwa Bansaku, 746

## G

- Gabrielino, 578  
 Galatea, 126  
*Galatians*, 835  
 Galen of Pergamon, 227, 258, 825  
 Galileo, 454  
 Galland, Antoine, 934  
 gallantry, 686, 866  
*galli*, 204, 205, 234  
 Galus, Sulpicius, 201, 204

- Gandhi, Mahatma, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 21  
*Ganymede*, 201, 389, 399, 400, 715  
 Ganymede and Helen, 400  
 Garland, Judy, 86  
 Gates, Benjamin, 634  
 Gaveston, Piers, 482  
*Geneanthropeia sive De Hominis Generatione — Rare Verities, the Cabinet of Venus ...*, 928  
*Generation of Animals*, 27, 150  
 Genesis, 80, 84, 92, 280  
*Geographia*, 265  
 George II, 890  
 George III, 945  
 George IV, 730, 756, 757, 759, 828, 913, 916  
 Georget, étienne-Jean, 827  
 Georgius de Hungaria, 420  
 Geronimo, 599  
 Gerson, Jean, 435, 531  
 Gertrude of Eisleben, 518  
 Gertrudis, Marcelina, 677  
*Getica*, 315  
*ghotals*, 37  
 gibbons, 18  
 gifts for taking virginity, 342  
 Gilgamesh, 89  
*Giovanni's Room*, 946  
 giraffes, 18  
 give testimony — *facit testamentum*, 184  
*Gladiator*, 158  
 gladiators, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 195, 202, 214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 252  
 Gleason, Jackie, 788  
*Glorious Espousal, A*, 626  
 Gluck, 767  
 GMHC — Gay Men's Health Crisis, ix, x  
 Goar, Jacob, 801  
 Godelieve of Flanders, 357  
 Goethe, 907  
 Gogan, Thomas, 129  
*Golden Legend*, 430  
 golden lotuses, bound feet, 117, 118  
 gonorrhoea, 224, 546, 553, 555, 681, 682, 698, 703, 882, 952, 953, 954, 955  
 Gonzales, Nicolas, 708  
 Gordon, George N., 536  
 Gordon, Helen Cummings, 743  
 gorillas, 18, 41  
 Gospel of John, 244  
 Gospel of Judas, 243  
 Gospel of Luke, 244  
 Gospel of Mark, 244  
*Gospel of Mary Magdalen*, 243  
 Gospel of Matthew, 236, 244  
*Gospel of the Egyptians*, 233  
*Gospel of Thomas*, 243  
 Goudan, Madame, 916  
 Gouge, William, 620  
 Gough, Richard, 771  
 Graham, James, 906, 936  
 Granger, Thomas, 635  
*graphê*, 23, 129, 130  
 Gratian, Emperor, 244  
 Gratian, Johannes, 308, 343, 362, 363, 401, 407  
*gravitas*, 196, 216, 348, 870  
 Gray, Hannah / James, 762  
 Great Awakening, The, 667  
 Great Wall, The, 97, 103, 119, 120  
*Greek Anthology — Anthologia Palatina*, 268  
*Green Sleeves*, 722  
 Greene, Robert, 548  
 greensickness, 809  
 Gregory III, 330  
 Gregory IX, 448, 468, 478  
 Gregory of Nyssa, 238

Gregory of Tours, 329  
 Gregory the Great, 305  
 Gregory VII, 404  
 Gregory XI, 601  
 Gregory XIII, 496  
 Gregory XIV, 447  
 Greville, Charles, 907  
*Griefdes Dames*, 835  
 Gros Ventres, 599  
 Grosseteste, Robert, 411  
*G-Spot — And Other Discoveries  
 about Human Sexuality, The*, ix  
 Guarinonius, Hippolytus, 442  
 Guibert of Nogent, 408  
*Guide to Grand Jurymen about the  
 Trial of Witches, A*, 858  
*Guide to Greek Astrology —  
 Catalogus Codicum  
 Astrologorum Graecorum*, 264  
 Guinevere, 374, 378, 379, 380  
 Guion, Mary, 664  
 gulls, 20  
 Guntram, King, 321  
 Gutenberg, Johannes, 535  
 Gwynn, Nell, 839, 913, 943  
*Gynaikeia*, 266, 282

## H

HaChassid, Judah, 426  
 Hades, 143  
 Hadewijch, 519  
 Hadrian, 176, 206  
 Hairpins Under His Cap, 115  
 Halitgar of Cambria, 346  
 Hall, Thomas / Thomasina, 648  
 Hamilton, Alexander, 644  
 Hamilton, Alexander in Calcutta,  
 901  
 Hamilton, Lady, 906, 907  
 Hamilton, Mary / Charles, 647,  
 741  
 Hamilton, William, 756, 906, 907  
 Hamlet, 669  
 Hammurabi, 68, 71, 72  
 Han Dynasty, 110, 113  
 Handel, 767  
 Hannibal, 198, 199  
 Hansen's disease, 459, 460, 477,  
 551, 552, 553, 554, 555  
 Hanway, Jonas, 854  
*Happy Courtezan, or the Prude  
 Demolish'd ... , The*, 767  
 harem, 76, 105, 172, 292, 296, 297,  
 332, 333, 525, 605, 607  
*Harlot's Progress*, 924  
 Harris, Jack, 920  
*Harris's List of Covent-Garden  
 Ladies ... ,* 920  
 Harvey, Gideon, 950  
 Harvey, William, 825, 848  
 Hathaway, Mary, 655  
 Hatshepsut, 75  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 627  
 Haydn, 767  
 Hays Code, 157  
 He Tang, 115  
 Health Benefits of Sexual  
 Expression, *The*, ix  
 hearers — *auditii*, 250  
 Hebe, 399  
 Heidegger, John James, 759  
 Heisterbach, Caesarius of, 471,  
 472, 529  
 Helen of Troy, 90, 127, 399  
 Helena, mother of Constantine,  
 257  
*Hell upon Earth, or the Town in an  
 Uproar*, 729  
 hell-fire clubs, 756, 758  
 Hellman, Lillian, 743  
 Héloïse d' Argenteuil, 358, 364,  
 365, 366, 367, 459  
 Helvétius, Claude-Adrien, 883

- Henri de Lausanne, 360, 361, 396,  
 421, 422, 423, 886  
 Henri III, 493, 496  
 Henri IV, 442, 857  
 Henry I, England, 384  
 Henry II, England, 344, 355, 422  
 Henry II, Germany, 288  
 Henry VIII, 492, 507, 548, 640, 718,  
 780, 828  
 Hephaestus, 134  
 Hephaestion of Thebes, 264  
 Hera, 151, 399  
 Hercules, 94  
 heresy, 247, 319, 361, 369, 396,  
 419, 421, 423, 428, 452, 454, 463,  
 468, 473, 478, 482, 490, 628, 643,  
 856  
*herm*, 21, 135, 147, 148, 193  
 hermaphrodite, 106, 151, 299, 406,  
 407, 497, 499, 710  
 Hermaphroditus, 151, 932  
 Hermes, 129, 135, 151  
 Herodotus, 95  
 Hervey, Frederick Augustus, 907  
 Hervey, John, Lord, 725  
 Hesiod, 123  
*Het Tweede Boeck*, 606  
*hetairai*, 141, 142, 143, 174  
 Heywood, Thomas, 914  
 Hickey, William, 910  
 Hidalgo, Francisco, 614  
 Hierarchy of Needs, 32  
 Higginson, Francis, 643  
 High Middle Ages, 324, 348, 364,  
 367, 399, 400, 430, 456, 458, 495  
 Highmore, Nathaniel, 825  
*hijo / hija a natural*, 649  
*hijra*, 299, 300  
 Hildebert of Lavardin, 394  
 Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, 359,  
 421  
 Hillel, 263  
 Hincmar of Reims, 330, 401  
 Hippocrates, 148, 150, 223, 230,  
 363, 766  
 Hirst, Mary, 639  
*Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*,  
 940  
*Histoire de Dom Bougre, portier  
 des Chartreux*, 936  
*Histoire philosophique de  
 l'hypochondrie et l'hystérie*, 828  
*Historia Augusta — The Lives of  
 the Emperors*, 165  
*Historia de las Indias*, 590  
*Historia general de las conquistas  
 del nuevo reino Granada*, 596  
*Historica ecclesiastica*, 402  
*History of a Young Lady, The*, 814  
*History of Cold Bathing, The*, 870  
*History of England*, 397  
*History of My Life*, 852, 910  
*History of Myddle, The*, 771  
*History of New England*, 643  
*History of Private Life, A*, x  
*History of Sexuality, A*, x  
*History of Sexuality, Volume I, The*,  
 x  
*History of the Franks*, 329  
*History of the Present State of the  
 Ottoman Empire, The*, 897  
 Hitchen, Mark, 725  
 Hitchins, Charles, 728  
*Hittite Code*, 73  
 HIV, 3, 5  
 Hobbes, Thomas, 877, 878  
 Hoffman, Dustin, 86  
 Hogarth, William, 924  
 Hogg, Thomas, 636  
 Holden, Christopher, 628  
 Holland, William, 609  
 Holmes, Elizabeth, 689  
*Holy Maidenhead, The — Hali  
 Meidenhad*, 517



*Holy Sacrament of Marriage* —  
*Disputationes de sancti*  
*matrimonii sacramento*, 851  
 Home, Heny, Lord Kames, 817  
 Homer, 24, 91  
*hommes aux serpents*, 414  
 honey bee, 2  
 honeymoon, 319  
*Honeymooners, The*, 788  
 Hong Mai, 112  
 honor killings, 63  
 Hopi, 560, 563, 564, 565, 570, 574,  
 583, 585, 588  
 Horace, 172, 201  
 horn markets, 797  
 Horus, 215, 319  
 Hoskins, Samuel, 655  
 Hrosvitha, 342  
 Hufton, Owen, 463  
 Hugh of Pisa, 363  
 Hugh of St. Victor, 361, 396, 454  
 Huguccio, 363, 364  
 Huichol, 51  
 Huitzilopochtli, 577  
*Human Nature ...*, 877  
 Hume, David, 817, 842  
 Humphrey of Lancaster, 828  
 Hunc Can Ahau, 571  
 Hunter, John, 696, 954  
 hunting and gathering, 57, 58  
 Hupa, 567, 598  
 Huron, 566, 569, 581, 583, 587  
 Hus, Jan, 460  
 Hutchinson, Anne, 629, 654, 673  
*hydromel*, 319  
 hyenas, 226, 281, 400  
 hymen, 230, 351, 431, 432, 796,  
 811  
 HYPOCHONDRIAC, The, 826  
 hysteria, 429, 476, 557, 704, 825,  
 826, 827, 828, 857  
 hysterical uterus, 793

## I

*I Ragiomenti — The Discussion*,  
 539  
*I-Ching — The Book of Changes*,  
 107  
*If Men Have All the Power How*  
*Come Women Make the Rules*,  
 831  
 Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, 220  
 Ijiri Chusuke, 746  
*ikoueta*, 595  
*Il merito delle donne ... — The*  
*Worth of Women ...*, 830  
*Iliad*, 89, 535  
 Illinois people, 586, 595, 596  
*Illustrations and Proofs of the*  
*Principle of Population ...*, 855  
*impudicus*, 161, 162  
*in flagrante*, 480, 730  
*In luadem sodomiae — In Praise*  
*of Sodomy*, 535  
 Inca, 565, 566, 569, 570, 571, 573,  
 594, 603  
 incest, 27, 35, 37, 78, 101, 102, 129,  
 145, 239, 247, 307, 333, 403, 464,  
 502, 507, 544, 565, 619, 651, 657,  
 775, 858, 932, 936, 939  
 incubi, 107, 295, 471, 472, 529, 530  
*Index Librorum Prohibitorum —*  
*Index of Forbidden Books*, 536,  
 537, 538, 835  
 Industrial Revolution, 27, 751, 772  
*infamia*, 161, 162, 166, 185, 266  
*Infancy; or, The Management of*  
*Children ...*, 818  
 infanticide, 190, 191, 281, 282, 283,  
 284, 346, 450, 619, 661, 662, 736,  
 805, 853  
*infibulati*, 183  
*infirmitas sexus* — weaker sex, 193  
 Innocent II, 404, 422

Innocent III, 361, 404, 425, 459,  
515, 528  
 Innocent IV, 428  
 Innocent VIII, 473  
 Innocent X, 533  
 Innocent XI, 888  
*Inquiry concerning virtue or merit*,  
882  
*Institutiones Medicae*, 882  
*intestabilis*, 185  
*Intimate Matters*, x  
*Intimate Memoirs*, 853  
*Introduction to the Devout Life*,  
454, 779, 958  
*Introduction to the Principles of  
Morals and Legislation*, 731  
 Inuit, 585, 588, 591, 597  
 Irenaeus, 243, 244, 284  
 Iron Age, 76, 80, 96, 97, 123, 124,  
126, 128, 135, 136, 141, 145  
 Iroquois, 573, 574, 579, 581, 589,  
596  
*irrumatio* — oral rape, 199  
 Isaac, 80  
 Isabel de Vermandois, 384  
 Isabella Clara Eugenia, 869  
 Isabella, Queen, Spain, 426, 428,  
479, 559, 591  
 Iseult, 374  
 Ishtar, 21, 22, 89, 319  
 Isidore of Seville, 316, 321, 326  
 Isis, 22, 77, 214, 215, 319  
*Isle of Pines*, 689  
 Israelites, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 123  
*Istruzione e pratica per un  
confessore* — *Practical  
Instructions for Confessors*, 696  
*Itinerario de Ludovico de  
Varthema Bolognese*, 897  
*ius liberorum*, 175  
 Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, 401, 409  
*Ix Chel*, 577

## J

Jacob, 80  
 Jacqueline, Countess of Hainaut  
and Holland, 828  
 Jaime, Pascual, 480  
 James I, 437, 442, 705, 718, 720  
 James II, 705, 762, 823, 942  
 Jansz, Jan, 711  
 Jaufré Rudel, 371  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 617, 645, 681  
 Jennings, Samuel K., 662, 663  
 Jens, Maritgen, 761  
 Jerome, 238, 245, 246, 286, 287,  
320, 323, 325, 326, 434, 451  
 Jews, 225, 226, 243, 271, 282, 314,  
328, 329, 340, 368, 400, 402, 415,  
418, 419, 425, 426, 428, 438, 442,  
444, 460, 474, 491, 513, 545, 551,  
559, 869  
 Jezebel, 83  
 Jianwen, 113  
 Joachim of Flora, 556  
 Joan of Arc, 86  
 Joanna of Naples and Provence,  
Queen, 545  
 Jocelyn, Percy, Lord Bishop of  
Clogher, 730  
 Johannes Beleth, 351  
 John Bishop of Orleans a.k.a.  
Flora, 401  
 John III, Portugal, 491  
 John the Apostle, 244, 399  
 John the Baptist, 235  
 John the Faster, 305  
 John XXI, 445  
 John XXII, 473  
 John XXIII, 448  
 John, King, England, 378  
 Johnson, Samuel, 778, 809  
 Jolly Orange Woman, 671  
 Jonathan, 89, 279, 399

Jones, Catharine, 739, 801  
 Jones, Richard, 785  
 Jordan, Edmund, 857  
 Jordanes, 315  
 Joselyn, John, 673  
 Joseph, 80  
*Journal of the History of Sexuality*,  
   x, xi  
 Jovinian, 245  
*Joy of Sex, The*, 130  
 Judkin, Samuel, 615  
 Julia Maesa, grandmother of  
   Elagabalus and Severus, 257  
 Julian the Apostate, 224, 244  
*Juliette*, 939  
 jumping the broom, 655  
*jus trium liberorum*, 25, 174  
*just and reasonable Reprehension  
 of naked Breasts and Shoulders*,  
   873  
 Justin of Palestine, 222  
 Justina, mother of Valentinian, 257  
*Justine, Les infortunes de la vertu —  
 Justine, the Misfortunes of Virtue*,  
   938  
 Justinian, 207, 270, 325, 327  
 Justinian Plague, 285, 328  
 Juvenal, 177, 189, 190, 211, 263

## K

kabuki, 747, 748  
 kachina — Ko'lh'a'ma, 600  
*kalarata* — love that is  
   demeaning, 294  
*kāma shāstra*, 91, 99, 289, 290  
*Kāma Sūtra*, 91, 92, 289, 290, 293,  
   294, 297, 298, 300, 301, 302, 398,  
   626  
 Kangxi, 116  
 Kant, Immanuel, 702  
 Karankawa, 590, 593  
 karma, 101  
 Kaska, 563, 564, 566, 584, 585, 588,  
   596  
*kaufefehe*, 324  
 Kay, John, 772  
 Kayapo, 45  
 Kean, Edmund, 794  
 Kempe, John, 518  
 Kendall, Charles, 739  
 Kendall, Mary, 739, 801  
 Kennedy, John F., 7, 17  
 Khair-un-nissa, 904  
 King Henry II, England, 378  
 King Kong, 256  
*King of Kings*, 68, 158  
 King Philip's War, 565, 575  
 King, Martin Luther Jr., 7, 17  
 King, William — Frederick  
   Scheffer, 943  
*Kingdom of the Young, The*, 37  
 kink, 472, 890, 938  
 Kinsey, Alfred, 11  
*kinshon*, 645  
 Kinsman, Dorothea, 767  
 Kirkpatrick, James Achilles William,  
   903, 904  
 Kitamua Kigin, 745  
 Kitchener, Henry Thomas, 883  
 Kiyosada, 611  
 Klah, Hastin, 599, 600  
 kneelers — *substratii*, 250  
 knifers, 121  
 Knight, John, 644  
 Knights Templar, 482  
 Kōbō Daishi, 744, 745  
*Kore*, 143, 144, 146  
 Kramer, Henrici, 473  
 Kṛishna, 296, 299  
*kritimarāga* — pretended love,  
   294  
*kuan*, 110  
 Kublai Khan, 525

Kuilix — the Red One, 598  
*kung*, 102  
*kung hsing* — palace punishment,  
 119  
 Kuskowagamiut, 587  
 Kutenai, 566  
 Kwakiutl, 589  
*kynodesme*, 132

## L

*L'Académie des dames*, 934, 947  
*L'Alcibiade fanciullo a scola* — *The  
 Schooling of Alcibiades the Butt  
 Boy*, 930  
*L'Escole des filles, ou L'Académie  
 des dames*, 930, 931, 932, 941  
*L'Onanisme ...* — *Onanism ...*, 701  
*La Cazzaria* — *The Big Pricks*, 538  
*La Dolce Vita*, 537  
*La historia general y natural de las  
 India* — *The Natural History of  
 the Indies*, 591  
*La Lozana Andalouza*, 549  
*la Monja Alférez* — the Lieutenant  
 Nun, 499  
*La nobiltà e l'eccellenza delle  
 donne ... The Nobility and  
 Excellence of Women ...*, 831  
*La Paysan pervers*, 940  
*La Philosophie dans le boudoir*,  
 542, 939  
*La Retorica delle puttane* — *The  
 Arguments of Whores*, 930  
*la ruota*, 450  
*La Tirannia paterna* — *Paternal  
 Tyranny*, 836  
*La vie sainte Audrée*, 352  
 Lache, 596  
 Lacos, Pierre Ambroise Choderlos  
 de, 881  
 Lacombe, Pauline, 845  
 Lactanius, 255  
*Ladies Library, The*, 842  
*Ladies Mercury, The*, 829  
*Ladies Monthly, The*, 829  
 Ladies of Llangollen, 742, 801  
*Ladies Tatler, The*, 829  
 Lady Cui, 108  
*Lai de Laval*, 390  
 Lakota, 598  
 Lamb, Caroline, 742  
 Lambert, Madame, 833, 834, 882  
 Lancelot, 374, 378, 379, 380  
 Lang, Johannes, 432  
 Langhorn, Thomas, 689  
 Langlois, Simon, 733  
*Lantern of Light, The*, 517  
 lashings, 303  
 Late Middle Ages, 463, 553  
 Late Qing Dynasty, 109  
 Latham, Mary, 660  
 Laurens, John, 644  
 Law II, Number 190, 74  
*Lawes Divine, Moraall, and  
 Martiall*, 615, 640  
*Laws*, 149  
*Laws of Nature, The* — *De naturis  
 rerum*, 529  
*Le cabinet satyrique* — *Satyrs'  
 Practice*, 935  
*Le Livres des trois vertus*, 464  
 Le Maistre, Martin, 502  
*Le medicin des dames, ou l'art de  
 les conserver en santé* —  
*Medicine for Women, or the Art  
 of Staying Healthy*, 867  
*Le Miroir des simples âmes* — *The  
 Mirror of the Simple Soul*, 463  
 Le Moyne, Jacques, 595  
 le Rechin, Foulk, 402  
*le Rideau levé* in her *Voluptarian  
 Cabinet*, 917

- le Tellier, François-Michel,  
marquis de Louvois, 732
- Lectures on Ethics, 702
- Lectures on the Generation, Increase  
and Improvement of the Human  
Species*, 936
- Lee, Ann, 632
- Leeds, Titan, 669
- Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van, 848
- Legatesca, Francisco, 480
- Legion of Decency, 157, 537
- Lemmon, Jack, 86
- Leo III, 329
- Leo IX, 390, 391, 403
- Leo the Great, 286, 302
- Leo VI, 317
- Leo X, 495, 554
- Léon, Pauline, 845
- Leonidas, 125
- Leoninus, 364
- lepers, 48, 288, 314, 418, 460, 518
- Lepidus, Marcus, 187
- Les 120 journées de Sodome, ou  
l'école du libertinage — The 120  
Days of Sodom, or the School of  
Libertinism*, 940
- Les Bijoux indiscrets . . .*, 910, 936
- Les Délices de Coblenz, ou  
Anecdotes des émigrés français*,  
944
- Les Égarements du Coeur et de  
l'esprit ou Mémoires de M. de  
Meilcour — The Wanderings of  
the Heart and Mind and  
Memories of Mr. Meilcour*, 888
- Les Enfants de Sodome à  
l'Assemblée Nationale —  
Sodomite Children in the  
National Assembly*, 944
- Les Etablissements*, 427
- Les Hermaphrodites*, 496
- Les liaisons dangereuses*, 881
- les mouches*, 731
- Les Passions de l'ame — Passions of  
the Soul*, 877
- Les Petit bougres au manege — The  
Little Buggers at Riding School*,  
735
- Les Quinze Joies de Mariage — The  
Fifteen Joys of Marriage*, 518
- Les Quinze Joies de Notre Dame*, 518
- Les Sept entretiens galants  
d'Aloisia*, 934
- Les Tragiques*, 496
- Leto, 126
- Letter to a Friend to Sever  
Friendship, A, 111
- Letters on Marriage*, 883
- Letters on the Importance of the  
Rising Generation of the  
Labouring Part of our Fellow  
Subjects*, 855
- lettre de cachet*, 776, 792, 949
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 37
- Leviticus, 47, 80, 84, 87, 492
- Lewis and Clark, 575
- lex Canuleia*, 175
- lex Iulia municipalis*, 203
- lex Julia de adulteries coercendis*,  
185
- lex Roscia*, 203
- lex Salica*, 318
- lex Scantinia*, 161
- Li Lien-ying, 120
- Li Yu, 116
- Libellus de vitu et moribus  
Turcorum*, 420
- Liber de poenitentia*, 305
- Liber Pater, 193
- Liberalia, 184, 193
- Libri ad edictum — Book of Edicts*,  
270, 327
- Liebault, Jean, 437
- Life of Pope Alexander VII, The*, 841

Liguori, Alphonso, 696, 792, 853, 888, 957  
 Lily, William, 462  
*limpieza de sangre*, 613  
 Linck, Catharina Margaretha, 737  
*lingnam*, 21  
 lions, 2, 20, 50, 166, 270, 388  
*List of Sporting Ladies*, 920  
*Little Review*, 698  
 Livia, 213  
*Livre de Chevaleriei — Book of Chivalry*, 533  
*Livres de justice et de plet*, 481  
 Livy, 213, 215  
 Locke, John, 751, 842, 863, 870  
 Logum-Edé, a symbol of purity, 595  
 Lollards, 515  
 Lombard, Peter, 401  
*London Journal, The*, 729, 829  
*London Magazine, The*, 826  
 loose marriage — *lausabrullaup*, 387  
 Lot, 85, 86  
 Louis IX, 480, 547  
 Louis VII, 378, 383  
 Louis VIII, 427  
 Louis XIII, 442, 870  
 Louis XIV, 611, 732, 770, 776, 867, 868, 870, 913, 941  
 Louis XV, 764, 852, 872, 913  
 Louyer-Villeray, Jean-Baptiste, 827, 828  
*Love Letters between a Nobleman and his Sister*, 934  
 Lozen, 599  
 Luart, Perrot, 511  
 Lucan, 269  
 Lucian, 278  
 Lucian of Samosta, 265  
 ludi Florales — May Day, 171  
*ludus*, 16, 17

Lully, 767  
 Lummi, 581  
*Lussuriosi — Lust Poems*, 540  
 lust murders, 281  
 Luther, Martin, 7, 420, 506, 515, 516, 520, 522, 532, 548, 549, 556, 658, 787, 800  
 Lyman School for Boys, 777

## M

macaques, 30  
 Madame — Elisabeth Charlotte, duchesse d'Orléans, 732  
 Madan, Martin, 927  
 Madonna, 215, 319  
 Magdalen Society, 687  
 Magdalen, Mary, 348, 355, 369, 697, 927  
*magna mater*, 204, 234, 235  
 Magna, Hilliard, 686  
 Magnus of Norway, 288  
 Maidu, 598  
 Maimon, Salomon, 717  
 Maintenon, Madame, 913  
 Maitreya, 102  
 Makin, Bathusa Pell, 832  
*mala vida*, 651, 675, 797, 798  
*malificum*, 856, 857  
 mallards, 18  
*Malleus Maleficarum — The Hammer of Witches*, 473, 474  
*malmaritate — safe houses*, 789  
 Malthus, Edward, 855, 883, 884  
 Man of Sorrows, 433, 457, 789  
 Manasses II of Rheims, 404  
 Mancini, Horense, Duchess of Mazarine, 770  
 Mandan, 569, 598  
 Mandeville, Bernard, 917  
 Manganian, 38, 53  
 Mani, 228, 229, 243

- mania*, 16  
 Maniere, Nicholas, 656  
 Manilius, 159, 165  
 Manley, Delarivier, 741  
*Mansfield Park*, 841  
 Manuel I, 490  
*manus*, 160, 179, 180, 181, 186, 194  
 Marbod of Rennes, 359, 360, 377, 394  
 Marcellinus, Amianus, 237  
 Marco Polo, 525  
 Maricopa, 587  
 Marie Antoinette, 703, 805, 943  
 Marie de Champagne, 378, 379, 380, 384  
 Marie de France, 352, 384, 390  
 Marinella, Lucrezia, 830, 831, 832  
 Markham, Lewkner, 498  
 Marlowe, Christopher, 557  
 Marmagna, Nicoletto, 487  
 Marquette, Jacques, 595, 596  
*Marriage Act — An Act for the Better Prevention of Clandestine Marriages*, 803  
 Marriage Bazaar, 783  
 marriage practices, Germanic Dark Ages, 324  
 marriage quarter-hourlies, 629  
*Married Clergy — Nos uxorati*, 405  
*Married Ladies Companion, or Poor Man's Friend*, 662  
 Marten, John, 698, 699  
 Martí, Mariano, 619  
 Martial, 176, 178, 211, 212, 263  
 Martin, Elizabeth, 685  
 martyrs, 220, 221, 222, 231, 240, 246, 252, 253, 261, 263, 278, 279, 340, 341, 348, 430, 520  
 Mary, Queen to William III, 720  
 Masham, Abigail, 739  
 Maslow, Abraham, 32  
 Massachusetts Marriage Act of 1646, 655  
 Massachusetts people, 575  
*matelotage*, 657  
*mater familias*, 186  
 Maternus, Julius Firmicus, 234, 264  
 Mather, Cotton, 623, 626, 638, 642, 685  
 Mather, Increase, 626, 689  
*mati*, 20  
 Matronage, 187  
 Matteo Ricci, 114  
 Mattock, James, 621  
 Mattole, 598  
 Maurus, Rabanus, 507  
 May Day, 504, 754  
 Maya, 559, 561, 562, 563, 566, 569, 570, 571, 576, 577, 587, 588, 590, 603, 604  
 Mayor, Adrienne, 94  
*Maypole of Merrymount, The*, 627  
 McGrail, Joseph, 791  
 Meadows, Audrey, 788  
 Medea, 138  
*Medical Histories and Reflections*, 826  
*Medical Inquiries and Observations upon the Diseases of the Mind*, 682  
*Medicina Nautica*, 827  
*Medicina pauperum ... — Medicaments for the Poor ...*, 852  
*Medicinalium epistolarum miscellanea*, 432  
*Medina del Campo*, 479  
 Mei Period, 104  
 Meiji Restoration, 749  
 Memmo, Andrea, 910  
*Mémoires secrets*, 948  
*Memoirs of John Bell a Domestic Servant*, 938

- Memoirs of the Plum Blossom*  
   *Cottage*, 113  
*Memoriale Presbiterorum*, 530  
 men's house — *kashgee*, 587  
 Mendame, Mary, 615  
 Menelaus, 90, 128  
 Menephta, 62  
 Menominees, 568  
 menstruation, 13, 35, 44, 45, 46,  
   47, 48, 49, 53, 73, 153, 226, 230,  
   280, 299, 308, 321, 322, 331, 459,  
   460, 461, 529, 552, 578, 579, 662,  
   681  
 Mercier, Louis-Sébastien, 946  
*meretrix* — sex worker, 171, 354  
 Merry, Bruce, 514  
 Messalina, 158, 211  
*mestizas*, 613  
*métissage*, 612  
 Mexican Inquisition, 637, 676  
 Miami people, 596  
 Michelangelo, 443  
 Middleton, Thomas, 499  
 Midnight Masquerade, 761  
 Mifflin, Thomas, 682  
*mignons*, 493, 496  
 Mikra, 80  
*Mikrokosmographia* ..., 879  
*mikveh*, 47, 316  
 Mile-High Club, 12  
 Military Orphan Society, 903  
 Millamant, 802  
 Millot, Michel, 932  
 Milton, John, 928  
 Ming Dynasty, 62, 111, 114, 120  
*minnesānger*, 386  
 minnesinger, 500  
 Minton, William, 726  
 Mirabeau, 696, 917, 944  
 Mirabell, 802  
*Mirror of Love* — *Speculum*  
   *Caritatis*, 392  
 misogyny, 192, 263, 359, 390, 466,  
   514, 667, 668, 671, 672, 749, 833,  
   842, 880  
 missionary position, 27, 40, 41,  
   502, 503, 604, 889, 895  
*mitzvah*, 525  
 Miwok, 598  
 mixed-race sex, 611, 612, 613, 614,  
   615, 617, 619, 635, 650, 898  
 mixed-sex marriage, 87, 176, 179,  
   238, 253, 273, 274, 278, 295, 326,  
   340, 397, 527, 657  
 mixed-sex marriage / colonial  
   Argentina, 649  
 mixed-sex marriage in the *Kāma*  
   *Sūtra*, 295  
 Mobile people, 589  
 Mochica, 562  
*Modern Romances*, 946  
*Modest Defence of Publick Stews*,  
   A, 917  
 Modoc, 598  
 Modyford, Thomas, 646  
 Mohawk, 573  
 Mohini, 299  
 Mojave, 563, 564, 568, 584, 586,  
   587, 588, 590  
 Molière, 833, 932  
*molles viri*, 201, 203, 204, 205  
 mollies, 722, 723, 725, 726, 728,  
   729, 751, 759, 763, 801  
*mollis*, 131, 161, 256  
*mollitia*, 221, 232, 255, 256  
 Monache, 598  
 Money, John, 11, 28  
 Monhart, John, 644  
 Monica, 276  
 Monsieur — Philippe, duc  
   d'Orléans, 732  
 Mont, Nicola, 708  
 Montagu, Mary Wortley, 824



- Montaigne, Michel de, 467, 513, 526, 543, 835  
 Montan, 372  
*monte di maritaggi*, 522  
 Montenegro, Jerónimo Feijóo y, 842  
 Montesquieu, 734  
 Monteverdi, 767  
 Montezuma, 577  
 Monthly List of the Covent Garden Cyprians ..., 921  
 Moody, Joseph 'Handkerchief', 638, 639, 700  
 moon hut, 580  
*Moral Leprosy of the Misuse of Sex by Married People, The — De morali lepra*, 445  
 Moravians, 629, 630, 631, 635, 716, 911  
*morbus virginaeus*, 809  
*morgengabe / morgengifu*, 324  
 Morison, Alexander, 706  
 Moritz, Karl Philipp, 717  
 Morlini, Girolamo, 538  
*Morning Chronicle, The*, 955  
 Morris, Gouverneur, 667, 668  
 Morton, Charles, 638  
 Morton, Thomas, 627  
 Mother Clap, 724, 729  
 Mother Eva Society, 911  
 Mother of God, 319, 321, 341, 373, 379, 459, 490  
 Motion Picture Production Code, 157  
*Mouzell for Melastomus ...*, A, 834  
 Mozart, 767, 910  
*Much Ado about Nothing*, 878  
 Muhammad, 331, 332, 337, 420, 421, 482, 559  
 Mühlhahn, Catherine Margaret, 738  
 Mulan, 104  
*mulattos*, 613  
 Müller, Johannes, 489  
 Mullin, Priscilla, 674  
 Mundus, Decius, 215  
*munus*, 166  
 Münzer, Hieronymus, 479  
 Murasaki, Shikibu, 389, 747  
 Muria, 37  
 Murray, Judith Sargent, 672  
 Muslims, 331, 332, 333, 337, 340, 368, 388, 400, 402, 407, 415, 418, 419, 420, 425, 438, 442, 449, 554  
 My Thing Is My Own, 813  
 Myrrha, 145  
*Mysteries of Conjugal Love Reveal'd*, 814, 928
- N**
- naditu*, 71, 93, 197  
*nádleehí*, 599  
 Nandi, 290  
*nanfeng*, 114  
*nanshoku*, 744, 745, 746  
*Nanshoku Okagami — The Great Mirror of Male Love*, 749  
 Nari, 39  
 Narragansett, 565, 575  
 Nashe, Thomas, 543  
 Natchez, 567, 589  
 Natick people, 575  
*Natural History*, 94, 189, 204, 223  
 Natural Law, 270  
 natural selection, 28  
*Naufragios — Shipwrecks*, 593  
 Navajo, 563, 567, 573, 580, 581, 590, 599, 600  
 Nayar, 38, 52, 93, 95  
 Nazis, 458  
*Necklace, Anodyne*, 697, 699, 700  
*Nedere Bedenkingen over het straffen van zekere schandelijke*

- misdaad*— *Thoughts about the Punishment of a Certain Infamous Crime*, 713  
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 8  
 Nelson, Horatio, 907  
 Nero, 176, 204, 225  
 Netto, Francisco Correa, 709  
 Neville, Henry, 689  
*New and Curious Observations concerning the art of Curing the Venereal Disease ...*, 950  
*New Atalantis*, 741  
*New Instructions to Youth as to their Behaviour ...*, 873  
*New Method of Curing the French Pox*, A, 950  
 New Testament, 233, 243, 244, 263, 268, 273, 283, 303  
*New Treatise Concerning the Generative Organs of Women*, 879  
*New York Times, The*, 552  
 Newcomb, Franc, 600  
 Newton, Thomas, 729  
 Ní Mháille, 493  
 Niantic, 575  
 Niccolò Niccoli, 440  
 Nicene / Apostles Creed, 242  
 Nicolas II, 390  
 Nider, Johannes, 445, 446, 472  
*Night Walker or Evening Rambles in Search After Lewd Women ...*, 926  
 Niko of Samos, 130  
 Ninth Council of Toledo, 325  
*nirvana*, 100, 120  
 Nisbet, Frances, 907  
 Noah, 84  
 Nogarola, Isotta, 464  
*noh*, 747  
*Nonsense of Common Sense, The*, 829  
 Norse people, 386  
*Notable Discovery of Cozenage, A*, 548  
 Novatian, 271  
 Novel Reading, A Cause of Female Depravity, 692  
*Novelas amorosas y ejemplares — The Enchantments of Love*, 837  
*Novellae*, 538  
*nu shih*, 105  
*nuhkeebay*, 86  
 Numbers, 80  
 Nunes, Brás, 491  
*nung*, 102  
*Nur Al-Din and the Damsel Anis Al-Jalis*, 398  
 Nuwas, Abu, 334  
 Nyman, Michael, 541  
*nymphê*, 126  
 nymphomania, 703, 793, 828, 877, 879  
*Nymphomania, or a Dissertation concerning the Furor Uterinus ...*, 702
- ## O
- Obervationem et Curationem Medicinalium ac Chirurgicarum Opera Omnia*, 825  
*Observationes Anatomicae*, 465  
*Observer, The*, 782  
 octopus, 18  
 Odysseus, 90  
*Oeconomy of Love, The*, 662  
*Of Plymouth Plantation*, 621  
 Office of Same-Sex Union, 341  
 Office of the Holy Inquisition, 427  
 Officers of Decency, 484  
 Officers of the Night, 485, 486  
 Ojibwa, 567, 578, 579, 581, 586, 590

- Old Testament, 80, 82, 86, 89, 423, 425, 517  
 Oldham, John, 941  
*olisbos*, 23, 136  
*Olivier, ou le secret*, 735  
 Omaha, 587, 589  
*On Acute and Chronic Diseases*, 204, 224  
*On Contempt for the World*, 459  
 On Delaying Destiny by Nourishing the Natural Forces, 106  
*On Giving Women the Right of Citizenship*, 843  
*On Marriage*, 273  
 On Modern Novels and Their Effects, 692  
*On Prayer*, 226  
 On Some Verses of Virgil, 513  
*On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 351  
 On the Equality of the Sexes, 672  
 On the Hysteria, or the Hysterical Disease, 828  
*On the Origin of the Species by Natural Selection*, 28  
*On the Parturition of the Virgin*, 351  
*On the Physiological, Moral, and Literary Aspects of Women*, 828  
 Onan, 81, 82, 532, 700  
*Onania*, 699, 700, 701  
 Oneida, 573  
*onnagata*, 748  
 Onondaga, 573  
 Oppian Law, 199  
 oral sex, 18, 24, 38, 87, 107, 110, 129, 199, 207, 212, 226, 228, 248, 287, 291, 300, 302, 374, 375, 502, 561, 564, 738, 872, 888, 889, 932, 948  
 Order of the Golden Fleece, 534  
 Oresme, Nicole, 520  
 Oribasius, 224  
*Oriental History* — *Historia Orientalis seu Hierosolymitana*, 419  
*Oriental Travel* — *Orientalische Reyß*, 421  
 Origen, 226, 235  
 Oritz, Juana, 650  
*Orlando Furioso*, 501  
*Oroonoko*, 839  
 Orpheus, 90, 368, 482
- Ø
- Ørsted, Anders Sandøe, 888
- O
- Ortiz, Tomás, 563, 603  
 Osage, 598  
 Osiris, 77  
 Oto, 598  
 Ouchi Yositaka, 746  
 Our Lady's Juggler — *Le Jongleur de Notre Dame*, 373  
 Ovid, 128, 208, 209, 210, 213, 216, 535  
 Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernández de, 591  
 ovulation, 13  
 Owen, Robert Dale, 635  
 Oxalá, the Creator, 595  
 Oxenstjerna, Alex, 761  
 Oxumaré, the God of Life, 595  
 oxytocin, 15, 16, 42, 44
- P
- Pacomius, 272  
*Paedagogus*, 233  
*paides*, 25, 131, 132, 140, 204, 339  
 Paine, Thomas, 668, 759

- pair bonding, 17, 41, 42, 50  
*palabra de casmiento*, 683  
*Pāli Pātimokkha*, 100  
 Pallavicini, Pietro Sforza, Cardinal,  
     841  
 Pallavicino, Ferrante, 930  
 Palmer, William, 903, 905  
*Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*, 691,  
     814, 938  
 Pamphile, 130  
 Pan, 113, 129  
 Pan Zhang, 113  
 Pandora, 123  
 Papago, 583, 585, 586, 597  
*Paradiso manacale — The Convent  
     as Paradise*, 835  
 Paré, Ambroise, 432, 475, 497, 498,  
     503, 823  
 Paris, son of Priam, 90, 128  
*Parliament of Women, Now Sitting  
     in Rosemary Lane*, 942  
 Pārvati, 299  
 Passi, Giuseppe, 830, 831  
 passionate friendship, 252, 253,  
     397, 739  
*pater familias*, 179, 180, 186, 190,  
     195, 196, 198, 206, 222, 238, 241,  
     246, 260, 284, 638  
*pathic — passive lover*, 194, 204,  
     211  
 pathics, 204  
 Patrick of Ireland, 305  
 Patroclus, 89, 90  
*patrona*, 186  
 Patton, Agnes, 522  
 Paul of Tarsus, 30, 232, 237, 241,  
     254, 263, 268, 273, 274, 421, 443,  
     453, 663, 686, 835  
 Paula, friend of Jerome, 326  
 Paulinus of Nola, 323  
 Paulinus, governor of Campania,  
     259, 326, 327  
 Paulus, Julius, 266  
 Pawnee, 565, 585  
 Paxamos, 130  
 Payne, John Willet, 906  
 Paz, Ocatvio, 665  
*pecado nefando*, 480, 494  
 Peignot, Etienne-Gabriel, 947  
 Pelagius, 245, 388  
 Pelham-Clinton, Henry, 910  
 Penal Rules — *Peinlich  
     Gerichtsordnung*, 446, 532  
 Pend d'Oreille, 598  
 Penelope, 90, 91  
*Penitentiale Commeani*, 307  
 penitentials, 301, 302, 305, 307,  
     308, 309, 313, 335, 341, 531, 556,  
     679, 680  
 Penn, William, 629  
 Pennoyer, Frances, 891  
*Pensée de Femme — the thoughts  
     of women, a.k.a the Devil*, 530  
 Pentateuch, 47, 80, 95  
 Pepys, Samuel, 697, 787, 838, 885,  
     931  
*per usus*, 180  
*Perambulauit Iudas*, 411  
*perfecti*, 423, 424  
 Pericles, 24, 25, 139, 140, 142, 174  
*Pericoloso*, 453  
 Perrenot, Abraham, 713  
 Persephone, 143, 151, 319  
 Peter of Aquila, 530  
 Peter of Castelnau, 423  
 Peter of Spain, 445  
 Peter the Chanter, 406  
*petit mort*, 31  
 Petronius, Gaius, 208  
 Pettigrew, John, 609  
 Phaedrus, 263  
*phalloi*, 21, 135  
*phallorphorai*, 21  
*Philadelphia Minerva*, 671

- Philaenis, 130  
 Philip II, Spain, 442, 491, 743, 869  
 Philip III, 913  
 Philip of Flanders, 422  
 Philip the Fair, 426, 482  
 Philips, John, 646  
 Phillip III, Duke, Burgundy, 534  
 Phillip, Arthur, 749  
 Philo Judaeus, 225, 266, 273, 280, 281, 282  
*Philosophical and Physical Opinions*, 839  
*Phyllis and Flora*, 377  
*Physiognomy of Mental Diseases*, 706  
 Piemontese, Don Alessio, 437  
*pieta*, 433  
*pietas* — moral order, 196  
 Pilgrims, 560, 607  
 pillory, 707, 725, 726, 728, 729, 730, 960  
 Pine, George, 690  
 Pineau, Séverin, 432  
 pirates, 20, 124, 495, 640, 646, 647, 946  
 Pirie, Jane, 743  
 Piscataway, 575  
 Pius IV, 516  
 Pius the XII, 458  
 Pius V, 547  
 Pius XII, 853  
*plaçage*, 613  
 Place, Francis, 851, 855  
 Plaine, William, 643  
 Planned Parenthood, ix, x, 105  
 Plat, Hugh, 437  
 Plato, 22, 23, 26, 27, 31, 149, 150, 152, 153, 222, 534, 831  
 Plautus, 263  
*Playboy*, 946  
*Playgirl*, 436  
 Pliny, 177, 183, 189, 190, 204, 223, 224, 229, 282, 363  
 Plutarch, 128, 197, 263, 831  
 Plymouth Bay Company, 643  
 Pocahontas, 615  
 Pocassets, 575  
*Poems on Affairs of State — from the time of Oliver Cromwell to the abdication of King James the Second*, 942  
*Poenitentiale Theodori*, 305  
*Poetic Essay of the Great Bliss of the Sexual Union of Heaven and Earth and Yin and Yang*, 108  
 Polyandry, 126, 296  
 Polyeuct and Nearchos, 253  
 polygyny, 277, 296  
 Pomeroy, Sarah, 190  
 Pomo, 563, 564, 568, 598  
 Pompadour, Madame, 913  
 Ponsonby, Sarah, 742  
*Poor Richard's Almanack*, 669  
 Pope, Alexander, 815  
 Poplet, Mary, 723  
 porcupines, 18  
 Porète, Marguerite, 463  
*pornê*, 23, 129  
*potārata* — disinterested love, 294  
 Potawatomi, 596  
*Power of Sympathy, or, The Triumph of Nature, The*, 691  
 Powhatan people, 575  
 pox, 548, 553, 554, 681, 704, 950  
 Pozzo, Modesta, 830  
*Practica maior*, 432  
*Practical Scheme for the Secret Disease and Broken Constitutions, A*, 699  
*Practical Treatise: or, Second Thoughts on the Consequences of the Venereal Disease*, 700

*Practical Truths Plainly Delivered*, 626  
 Practice of Love, The, 91, 289, 297  
*praetexta* — clothes of freeborn teens, 206  
*pragma*, 16  
*Pratica copiosa in arte chirurgica*, 554  
 Pray for Sex, 22  
 praying mantis, 2, 3  
*Pretty Girl's Companion and Guide to Loves Sweetest Delights, A*, 948  
 Prévost, Jean, 852  
*Priapea*, 212, 535  
 Priapus, 194, 212, 213, 756, 942  
 Price, Charles, 891  
*Pride and Prejudice*, 841  
 Primitive Physick: or, an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases, 871  
*Princess Seraphina*, 723  
 Priuli, Girolamo, 511  
 Prosperina, 198  
*prostitute*, 171  
 Proverbs, 787, 865  
 Pseudo-Lucan, 269  
 Ptolemy, 264, 265  
 Pu Yi, 116  
 Pueblo, 574, 592, 665  
 Pulcheria, sister to Theodosius, 257  
 Punch and Judy, 788  
*purdah*, 332, 407  
*Putting Away Childish Things . . .*, 901  
 Pythagoras, 137, 138, 149, 150  
 Pythia of Delphi, 145  
 Pythonicus, 130

## Q

qi, 106

Qing Dynasty, 109, 111, 116, 118  
*Qing shi or Anatomy of Love*, 114  
 Quadroon Ball, 612  
 Quakers, 628, 629, 635  
 Quan Zuwang, 111  
 Quecahn, 593  
*Querelle des femmes*, 464, 465, 834  
 Quiapan, 575  
 Quinault, 583, 585  
 Qur'ān, 86, 331, 333, 334, 340, 341, 388

## R

rabbits, 13, 18, 226, 281, 400, 477  
 Rablelais, François, 879  
 Radbertus, Paschasius, 351  
 Rādhā, 296, 299  
*rāgavat* — passionate love, 294  
 Raguel, 388  
 Raimon Rigaut, 372  
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, 538, 540  
 rakes, 667, 668, 671, 705, 706, 822, 868  
 Rambler's Magazine . . . , 949  
 Ramses III, 76  
 Rane, William, 615  
*Ranger's Magazine . . .*, 921, 949  
 Ranke-Heinemann, Uta, 901  
 Ranulf de Glanville, 344  
 Raphael, 517, 538  
*raubehe* — bride abduction, 324  
 Read, Deborah, 656  
 Read, Mary / Mark, 647  
*Real Pragmática*, 613  
*Rebuke to the Sin of Uncleanness, or an Inquisition on a Scandal, A*, 698  
 Recceswinth, King, 329  
*recognitio equitum*, 162  
 reconciliation, 251, 361, 461, 556  
*Reconquista*, 368, 495

- Record of the Listener* — *Yi jian shi*, 112  
*Recueil des dames* — *Lives of Gallant Ladies*, 736  
 red stags, 18  
 Redman, Joyce, 887  
 Reeves, Dorcas, 894  
*refibulati*, 183  
*Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 845  
*Reflexions nouvelles sur les femmes* — *New Reflections on Women*, 833  
*Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund*, 515  
*Regensburg Love Songs*, 378  
 Regino of Prün, 322, 341, 346, 347  
 Rehberg, Friedrich, 908  
*Religion of Nature, The*, 842  
 Remus, 163  
 Renmar der Alte, 386  
 reproductive instinct, 17, 21, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30  
*Republic, The*, 851  
*Respuestas a sor Filotea* — *Reply to Sister Filotea*, 665  
 Rétif de la Bretonne, 940  
 Réveillé-Parise, Joseph Henri, 704  
*Revelations*, 518, 627  
*Revue médicale française et étrangère*, 704  
 Rhea Silva, 163  
 rhesus monkeys, 13, 19  
 Ricciardetto, 502  
 Rich, Penelope, 524  
 Rich, Robert, 524  
 Richard the Lionhearted, 378, 397  
 Richardson, John, 655  
 Richardson, Martha, 625  
 Richardson, Samuel, 691, 814  
 Riddle, 935  
 Rig Veda, 92, 99  
*Rights of Man, The*, 759  
 Roaring Boys, 498  
*Roaring Girl, The*, 498, 499  
 Roberts, Nora, 436  
 Robin Hood, 378  
 Robinson, John, 658  
 Rocco, Antonio, 697, 930  
 Rochatta, Rolandino, 495  
 Rochester, John Wilmont, Earl of, 705, 755, 942  
 Rochester, John Wilmotn, Earl of, 868  
*Roderick Random*, 691  
 Rodman, Dennis, 86  
 Roger Hovedon, 397  
 Rolfe, John, 615  
*roman à clef*, 735, 874, 934  
*Roman de la rose* — *The Romance of the Rose*, 464, 481, 533  
*Roman Penitential*, 304  
*Romance of Aeneas*, 390  
*Romance of Thebes*, 390  
*Romance of Troy*, 390  
 Romano, Giulio, 538, 540  
 Romans, Book of, 268  
*Romeo and Juliet*, 878  
 Romulus, 163, 188  
 Ronchata, Rolandino, 487  
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 7, 17  
 Roscoe, Will, 596  
*Rosebud*, 377  
 Rosie the Riveter, 141, 148  
*rouelle*, 425, 444  
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 702, 734, 815, 816, 823, 829  
 Rowlandson, Mary, 565  
 rubber — *fricatix*, 264  
 Rufus, Gaius Musonius, 164  
 Ruiz, Augustina, 637  
 Ruiz, Juan, 534  
 Rules of Marriage, 520  
*Ruodlieb*, 368

- RuPaul, 86  
 Ruscelli, Girolamo, 437  
 Rush, Benjamin, 682, 702  
 Russell, Rinaldina, 514  
 Rutilius, 165  
 Rycaut, Paul, 897  
*Ryūshishū*, 745
- S**
- Sabine women, 163  
 Sack of Rome, 549  
 sackcloth and ashes, 249, 251, 304, 791  
 Sacconnet, 575  
*sacramentum*, 166, 276  
*sacramentum* — military vow, 221  
*sacramentum gladiatorium*, 166  
 Saddler, Thomas, 636  
 Sakhībhāva, 299  
 Salish, 560, 565, 579, 582, 584, 598  
 salmon, 2, 3  
 Salpe of Athens, 130  
 Sambia, 38  
 same sex, 54, 129, 202, 280, 290, 426, 584, 635, 750, 868  
 same-sex marriage, 176, 177, 278, 279, 340, 397, 400, 590, 801  
 same-sex marriage contract, 340  
 same-sex marriage in the *Kāma Sūtra*, 296  
 same-sex marriages, 18<sup>th</sup> century, 801  
 same-sex unions during the first Christian millennium, 278  
 Samru, Begum, 905, 906  
*Samson and Delilah*, 158  
*samurai*, 744, 746, 747, 748, 749  
 Sánchez, Thomas, 446, 447, 461, 503, 676, 851, 888, 957  
 Sanger, Margaret, 7, 17  
 Sanpoil, 575  
 Sappho, 124, 263  
 Sarah and Tobit, 517  
 Sarai, 84  
 Sardanapalus, 941, 942  
 Sasimira, 614  
 Satan, 230, 256, 284, 312, 404, 423, 435, 468, 471, 472, 710, 858, 860  
*Satan's Harvest Home ...*, 721, 951  
 satanic ritual abuse, 468  
*Satires*, 212  
*Satirical View of London*, 821, 824  
 Saturiwa, King, 595  
*satyra sotadica ... — A Pornographic Satire ...*, 932, 933, 941  
*Satyricon*, 208  
 Sauk, 596  
 Saul, 62  
 Savonarola, Giovanni de Michele, 432  
 Savonarola, Girolamo, 486  
 Sawyer, Lanah, 686  
 Saxton, Christopher, 457  
 Say, Jean Baptiste, 804  
 Scarron, Paul, 931  
 Scaticook, 575  
*Schat der gesontheyt — Treasure of Health*, 879  
 Schlesinger, Max, 892  
*Scholehouse of Women*, 463  
*School for Fashion*, 874  
*School for Wives*, 833, 932  
*School for Women, or the Seven Flirtatious Encounters of Aloisia*, 934  
*School of Love, The*, 934  
 Schooler, Thomas, 660  
 Schwägelin, Maria Anna, 859  
 Scott, Walter, 742  
 scourging, 303, 432  
*scrotae*, 205  
*Scythian*, 94, 278, 319, 766



- seals, 20  
 Second Coming, 233, 234, 246,  
     248, 348  
 Second Lateran Council, 358, 362,  
     404, 514  
 Second Vatican Council, 448, 537  
*Secret Memoirs and Manners of  
     Several persons of quality of  
     Both Sexes ...*, 741  
 Secret Museum — *Gabinetto  
     Segreto*, 947  
 Secundus of Ptolemais, 242  
*Segreti — Book of Secrets*, 437  
 Seigneur of Rinsart, 795  
*Seitenhölchen* — sidehole, 631  
*Select Trials at the Sessions-House  
     in the Old Bailey for ...*, 691  
 Semiramis, 74  
*Semplicità ingannata — Deceitful  
     Simplicity*, 836  
*Senatusconsultum Orfitianum*,  
     186  
 Seneca people, 573  
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, 161, 164,  
     215, 221, 225, 273  
 Sennert, Daniel, 950  
*Sense and Sensibility*, 841  
 Senson, William, 640, 641, 642  
*Sentimental Journey*, 934  
*seppuku*, 746  
 Serge and Bacchus, 261, 263, 278,  
     279, 430  
*Serious Proposal to the Ladies ...*, A,  
     770, 823  
 Set, 77  
 Severus, 270, 271  
*Sex Handbook of Master Jung  
     Cheng*, 107  
 sex panic, 148, 152, 846  
*Sexual Behavior in the Human  
     Male*, 4  
 sexual selection, 28, 30  
 Shaftsbury, Lord, 882  
 Shakers, 110, 632, 633, 634, 635  
 Shakespeare, William, 878  
*shang*, 102  
 sharing the same tent —  
     *contubernium*, 206, 252, 324  
 Shasta, 598  
 Shen Defu, 114  
*shih*, 102  
 Shipton, John, 730  
 Shiva, 290, 299  
 shivaree, 754  
*Shoku Nihon — The Origin of  
     Things in Japan*, 744  
*Short and profitable Treatise  
     Touching the Cure of the Disease  
     called Morbus Gallicus, A*, 554  
 Short, Mercy, 673  
*Shu*, 69  
*shudō*, 746  
*Shudras*, 99  
 Sibbit, Adam, 846  
 Siddhartha Gautama, 100, 109, 155  
 Sifra commentaries, 265  
 Sigibert, King, 329  
*Sign of the Cross, The*, 158  
 signing the Devil's book, 674  
 Silvia, 617  
 Simenon, George, 853  
 Sinbad, 934  
 Sinibaldi, Benedetto, 928  
 Sinistrari, Ludovico Maria, 737, 889  
*Sinners in the Hands of an Angry  
     God*, 623  
*Sir Patient Fancy*, 839  
 Siricius, Bishop of Rome, 245  
*Sixteen Positions*, 540  
 Sixtus II, 273  
 Sixtus V, 447, 458, 502  
 Sketches of Courtesans, 921  
*Sketches of the History of Man*, 817  
 slave, 58, 131, 205, 206, 582, 609

- Smith, Adam, 817
- Smith, Captain John, 615
- Smith, Sarah, 661
- Smith, Sydney, 945
- Smollett, Tobias, 691, 822
- Snell, Hannah / James Gray, 741
- Société Républicaine  
Révolutionnaire, 845
- Societies for the Reformation of  
Manners, 724, 792, 887, 945
- Society for the Suppression of  
Disorders, 685
- Society of the Blessed Mary, 427,  
479
- Sodom, or The Quintessence of  
Debauchery*, 942
- soldier of Christ, 220, 221, 222,  
223, 231, 239, 247, 259, 286, 287,  
328
- solemn penance, 250
- solitary living, 654
- Solomon, 67, 172, 359
- Solon, 24, 25, 135, 136, 137, 141,  
174
- Some Reflections Upon Marriage*  
..., 770
- Some Thoughts Concerning  
Education*, 870
- Some Thoughts on the present  
Revival of Religion in New  
England* ..., 627
- Somerford, John, 523
- Sonetti Lussuriosi — Lust Poems,  
541, 542
- Song of Songs, 84, 87, 393, 396,  
757
- Soranus, 191, 204, 230, 266, 282,  
363, 932
- Sorel, Agnes, 466
- South Carolina Gazette*, 617
- Sovereignty and Goodness of God*  
..., 565
- Spallanzani, Lazzaro, 848
- Spanish Inquisition, 428, 480, 559,  
582, 707
- Spara, Girolama, 841
- Sparre, Ebba, 737
- Spectator, The*, 780, 829, 842
- Speculum naturale — Mirror of  
Nature*, 470
- Speght, Rachel, 834
- Spencer, Charles, Earl of  
Sunderland, 722
- Spencer, George, 635
- spermatorrhoea, 224, 553
- Speroni, Sperone, 514
- spintriae*, 24, 207, 540
- Spiritual Friendship*, 392
- spiritual marriages, 252
- Spokesman For the Human Race*,  
734
- Sprenger, Jacobus, 473
- SSSS — Society for the Scientific  
Study of Sexuality, ix, x
- Standish, Myles, 627
- Starr, John, 684
- Steele, Richard, 842
- Stendhal, 886
- Stepney, Francis, 689
- Sterne, Laurence, 934
- stigmata*, 432, 433, 434, 859
- Stocker, Johannes, 489
- stocks, 622, 678, 891, 914
- Stone Age, 36, 37, 43, 48, 52, 57,  
59, 64, 65, 87, 147, 316
- storge*, 16
- Strabo, 265
- strappado, 491, 553
- Stuart, Esmé, 718
- Stubbes, Philip, 504, 548
- Stubborn Child Law, 777
- stuprum*, 26, 172, 253, 266
- Sturges, Joan, 775
- succubi, 471

- Suetonius, 158  
 Sui Dynasty, 119  
 Sulla, 191  
*Summa Alu*, 70  
*Summa theologiae*, 447, 502  
*Summis desiderantes* — The  
     Witches Bull, 473  
 Sun Ti, 120  
 Sun Yaoting, 121  
 Sung Dynasty, 112, 120  
*Sung Penal Code* — *Sung sing tong*,  
     112  
*sunksquaw*, 575  
*suttee*, 104, 901  
 swamp deer, 18  
 swans, 20  
 Sweets, Hieronymous, 815  
 Swetnam, Joseph, 834, 835  
 Swift, Jonathan, 868  
*Symposium*, 22  
 Sydenham, Thomas, 825  
 Synod of Basel, 469  
 Synod of Bayeux, 469  
 Synod of Bourges, 403, 514  
 Synod of Clermont, 468  
 Synod of Coyaca, 358  
 Synod of Elvira, 257  
 Synod of Ferrara, 469  
 Synod of Fritzar, 468  
 Synod of Grado, 468  
 Synod of Laodicea, 257  
 Synod of Lucca, 469  
 Synod of Melfi, 404  
 Synod of Nîmes, 257  
 Synod of Rouen, 351, 468  
 Synod of Salisbury, 468  
 Synod of Utrecht, 469  
 Synod of Valencia, 468  
 Synod of Würzburg, 469  
 syphilis, 548, 549, 550, 554, 555,  
     681, 682, 845, 868, 910, 950, 952,  
     954, 955  
*Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus*, 554
- T**
- Tableau de l'amour conjugal ... —  
     Pleasures of the Marriage Bed ...*,  
     695, 812, 886, 928  
*tableaux vivants*, 907  
 Tacitus, 282  
 Tai Tsu, 120  
 Taino, 602, 603  
*Tale of Budur*, 399  
*Tale of Genji, The*, 389, 747  
*Tale of Genmu*, 745  
*Tale of Two Cities, A*, 846  
*Tales of the Arabian Nights*, 398,  
     671  
 Talmud, 227, 282, 477  
 Tamar, 81  
*tamburi*, 483  
 Tammuz, 83  
 Tanakh, 80, 83, 84  
 Tang Dynasty, 108, 110  
 Tannahill, Reay, x  
 tantra, 21  
*Tao-tê-Ching — The Book of the  
     Supreme Way and Its Virtues*,  
     107, 109  
 Tarabotti, Michelangela, 835, 836  
*Tardarum passionum*, 328  
 Tarquinius, Sextus, 163  
*Tatler*, 876  
 Taylor, Edward, 626  
 Taylor, John, 905  
*te*, 105  
 Teach, Edward 'Blackbeard', 646  
 Teedyuscung, 574  
 teenwire, ix  
*Tefnet*, 69  
 Tejada, Eugenia, 613  
 Telemachus, 91  
 temporary marriage — *mut 'a*, 333

- Temptation and Deliverance* ..., 690  
*Temptations, Their Nature, and Their Danger*, 697  
*Ten Commandments, The*, 158  
 Tenducci, 767  
*tensons* — debates about love, 370  
*tepidaria*, 202  
 Terence, 538  
 Teresa of the Roses, 231  
 terns, 20  
 Terry, Samuel, 622  
 Tertullian, 220, 222, 226, 235, 236, 248, 254, 274, 283  
*Thanatos*, 4, 5, 13, 34  
 Thatcher, Thomas, 654  
*Thelyphthora, or a Treatise on Female Ruin*, 927  
 Theodora, 207, 328  
 Theodore of Balsam, 358  
 Theodore of Tarsus, 305, 307, 308  
 Theodoret of Cyrus, 329  
 Theodosius, 197, 244, 257, 271, 273  
 Theodulf, 322  
*Theologia moralis fundamentalis*, 532  
 Theonas of Marmarica, 242  
*Theory of Astrology—Matheseos libri VIII*, 264  
*Theotokos* — Θεοτοκος, 319  
*Thérèse philosophe*, 947  
*Thesaurus Pauperum — Treasure of the Poor*, 445  
 Thésin, Jean Ghislain, 796  
 Theudenic, King, 324  
 Third Council of Constantinople, 326  
 Third Lateran Council, 402  
 Third Synod of Toledo, 320  
 Thiry, Paul-Henri, Baron d' Holbach, 815  
 Thomas de Cantimpré, 472, 529  
 Thomas of Chobham, 409, 410, 445, 528  
*Thoughts on Gallantry, Love and Marriage*, 758  
*Thoughts on the Frequency of Divorce in Modern Times*, 846  
*Thousand and One Nights, The*, 398, 934  
*Three Books about the Infirmities and Diseases of Women*, 437  
 Thresher's Labour, 840  
 thruster — *crissatrix*, 264  
 Thurmond, Strom, 618  
 Tiberius, 158, 173, 215, 253  
*Timaeus*, 150  
 Timothy, 254, 796  
 Timucua, 595  
 Tinsin, 615  
 Tiresias, 151  
 Tissot, Samuel Auguste André David, 701, 702, 882, 883  
 Titian, 536, 538  
 Tlingit, 574, 578, 582  
*To the Married of Both Sexes in Genteel Life*, 851  
*To the Married of Both Sexes of the Working Life*, 851  
 Tofana, Giulia, 841  
*toga virilis*, 184  
 tokens of peace — *friedhele*, 344  
 Tokitaka, Tanegashima, 611  
 Tokugawa Iemitsu, 747  
 Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, 747  
 Tolowa, 598  
*Tom Jones*, 691, 772, 887  
*Torah*, 80, 86, 87, 280, 403  
 Tōshō Shūgen, 745  
 Touchet, Mervy, Earl of Castlehaven, 719  
*Tractatus de usu flagorum in re medica et venera*, 945

*Traité d'hygiène appliqué à l'éducation de la jeunesse, par le Docteur Simon — Dr. Simon's Good Hygiene for the Education of Youth*, 704

Trajan, 165, 219

*Transformation of Lucius, Otherwise Known as the Golden Ass, The*, 208

*Treatise of the Spleen and Vapours, or Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Affections*, 826

*Treatise of Venereal Diseases*, 698

*Treatise on Lovesickness, A*, 877

*Treatise on the Nervous Maladies and Vapor ...*, 827

*Treatise on the Rightful Causes of the War against the Indians*, 563

*Treatise on the Use of Flogging in Medicine and Venereal Affairs, A*, 945

*Tres libros contra el pecado de la simple fornicación*, 550

*tribades*, 263

*Trip to Vienna*, 738

Tristan, 374

Trobriand Islanders, 37

Trotter, Jean-Baptiste, 828

Trotter, Thomas, 827, 828

*troubadours*, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 386

*troubaritz*, 367, 378

*True Account of Anne Wentworths Being Cruelly, Unjustly, and Unchristianly Death With ...*, A, 837

*True Relation of my Birth, Breeding, and Life, A*, 839

*tuan-hsiu*, 113

Tubatulabal, 598

Tung Hsien, 113

Tutunus, Mutunus, 21, 193

*Twelve Conclusions*, 515

Twelve Tables, 185, 193, 196

Two Old Cherry Trees Still in Bloom, 749

*Two Treatises of Government*, 842

*Two Treatises: The first on the Venereal Pox*, 950

Tyrer, Louise, 105

Tzu Hsi, 121

## U

Ukpabio, Helen, 860

Ulpian, 235, 260, 270, 271, 327

*Universal Spectator*, 954

*Unveiling the Mysteries of Witchcraft*, 860

Uppalavaṇṇā, 101

Uquitum, 65

Urban II, 401, 404, 419

Urban VI, 454

Urban VIII, 499, 647, 835

Ur-Nammu, 66

Urukagina, 67, 68

*Uses and Abuses of the Marriage Bed*, 889

Ute, 566, 597

## V

Væver, Rasmus, 709

Valens, Vettius, 264

*Vallicellian Penitentials*, 512

van Amerongen, Gerrit, 714

van Arnem, Johan Ham, 848

van Foreest, Pieter, 825

van Heemskerck, Maerten, 457

van Neck, Jacob, 606

van Schurman, Anna Marie, 832

van Zaanen, Jan, 714

Varenne, Pierre, 698, 699

Vasey, Paul L., 30

- Vātsyāyana, 92, 289, 290, 296  
*veillée* — work bee, 779  
 Velarde, Maria Francisca, 650  
*venatores*, 166, 167  
 Venerable Bede, 307  
 Venette, Nicolas, 695, 696, 812,  
 813, 814, 815, 886, 928, 929  
*Venus*, 21, 168, 171, 172, 199, 203,  
 264, 381, 500, 508, 826, 920, 954  
*Venus dans le cloître ou la  
 religieuse en chemise* — *Venus in  
 the Cloister, or Nuns in their  
 Underwear*, 934, 941, 945  
*Venus School-Mistress*, 922  
 Verginia, 163  
 Vesalius, Andreas, 432  
 Vestal Virgins, 163, 196, 197, 245  
*Viaggio in Dalmazia*, 801  
 Victoria, 28, 821, 898, 902  
*vidua*, 186, 461  
*View of Nervous Temperament*,  
 828  
 Vigils, 351  
 Vignali, Antonio, 538  
 Vikings, 62, 386, 388  
*villains*, 348, 959, 960  
 Villiers, John, Duke of  
 Buckingham, 718  
 Vincent of Beauvais, 470  
*Vindication of the Rights of Woman*,  
 845  
 Virey, Julien-Joseph, 828  
 virgin disease — *morbus  
 virginæus*, 432  
 Virgin Mary, 215, 245, 405, 453,  
 462, 463, 511, 518, 530, 556, 859,  
 907  
 Virgin Mother, 319, 351  
 Virginius, Lucius, 163  
 Vishṇu, 299  
 Visigoths, 259, 285, 316, 324, 329  
 visiting husbands, 38  
 Vitalis, Ordericus, 402  
 Vives, Juan Luis, 465  
 Voconian Law, 186  
 Voltaire — François-Marie Arouet,  
 695, 702, 715, 734  
 von Archenholtz, J.W., 876, 915  
 von Baer, Karl Ernst, 849  
 von Bingen, Hildegard, 410, 452,  
 459  
 von Buttler, Eva Margaretha, 911  
*Von den Blendwerken der  
 Dämonen, von Zauberei und  
 Hexerei* — *On the Delusions of  
 the Demons, on Magic and  
 Sorcery*, 476  
 von Lichtenstein, Ulrich, 500  
 von Magdeburg, Mechtild, 518  
 von Reizenstein, K., 738  
 von Steuben, Frederick Wilhelm,  
 644  
 von Zinzendorf, Christian  
 Renatus, 716, 717  
 von Zinzendorf, Luwig, 629  
*Vox in Rama*, 468  
*voyageurs*, 611  
*vyahitarāga* — fantasy for real  
 love, 294

## W

- wakashu*, 746, 748  
*wakashudō*, 744, 745  
 Waldensians, 424, 425  
 walking with the bison, 569  
 Walpole, Horace, 759  
 Wampanoag, 575  
*Wanderer, The*, 840  
*Wanderings in London*, 892  
 Wang Jiuai, 115  
 Wang Zhogxian, 113  
 Wappo, 598  
*Warnings from the Dead ...*, 623

- Warnings to the Unclean*, 661  
 Washington, George, 644  
 Washington-Williams, Essie Mae, 618  
 Watteau, 910  
*Way of the World, The*, 802  
*Way of Youth, The*, 744  
 Webb, John, 627  
 Wedgwood, Josiah, 742  
*Weekly Journal*, 954  
 weepers — *fletes*, 250  
 Weir, Thomas, 912  
 Welch, Christian / Christopher, 762  
 Wellington, Lord, 742, 913  
 Wentworth, Anne, 837  
*wergeld* — fine for harming a fertile woman, 353  
 Wesley, John, 787, 865, 871  
 Wesley, Susannah, 787  
 western gulls, 18  
 wet dreams, 9, 68, 107, 246, 309, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 528, 530, 553, 696, 699  
 Wetamoo, 575  
 Weyer, Johann, 476  
 What Is Love?, 851  
*Whether a Christian Woman Should be Educated*, 832  
 whipping, 303, 306, 452, 556, 557, 584, 621, 622, 655, 667, 787, 890, 891, 892, 912, 914  
 whipping post, 622, 678, 681  
 Whipple, Beverly, ix  
 Who Invented Trousers?, 94  
 Whore on the Snow Crust, 623  
*Whores Rhetorick, Calculated to the Meridian of London and Conformed to the Rules of Art*, 934  
 Wiebes, Bets, 738  
 wife-beating, 786, 789  
 wife-selling, 797  
 wife-swapping, 890  
 Wilberforce, William, 606, 800, 945  
 Wild, Jonathan, 729  
 Wilde, Oscar, 176  
 William III, 720  
 William IX, King, Occitan, 368, 371, 378, 386  
 William of Malmesbury, 402  
 William of Orange, 720  
 William of the White Hand, 422  
 William of Tripoli, 449  
 Williams, Helen Maria, 872  
 Williams, James, 730  
 Williams, John, 621, 661  
 Williams, Robyn, 86  
 Williamson, Thomas, 899  
 Wilson, Edward 'Beau', 722  
 Wilson, Harriette Dubochet, 913  
 Wilson, James, 624  
 Wilson, John, 718  
 Winnebago, 596  
 Winter, Justus Gottfried, 911  
 Winthrop, John, 643  
*Wit and Mirth, Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 813  
 Witchcraft Act, 859  
 Wollaston, William, 842  
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 845, 846  
 wolves, 14, 28, 270, 469  
 Woman Chief, 599  
*Women Hater's Lamentation ...*, 726  
*Women's Complaint, The*, 726  
*Women's Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed by Scriptures*, 836  
 Woodmason, Charles, 656  
 Woods, Marianne, 743  
 Woodward, Josiah, 698  
 Wright, Frances, 635  
 Wright, Thomas, 617

writers of shameless things —*an-  
aishkhunto-graphoi*, 130  
Wu Zhao, 110  
Wycherley, William, 932  
Wycliffe, John, 515  
Wylter, William, 158

## X

Xavier, Francis, 744, 746, 747, 749  
Xenophon, 153  
Xerxes, 125, 128  
Xie Zhaozhe, 114

## Y

*yang*, 105, 106, 107  
Yao-niang, 116  
YHWH, 83, 85  
*yin*, 105, 106, 107  
*yin-chia*, 106  
Yokuts, 598  
*yoni*, 21  
Yoshizawa Ayame I, 748  
You Foolish Men, 665

*You sianku* — *Merrymaking in a  
Transcendent Dwelling*, 108  
Youngs, Isaac N., 634  
Yuma, 584, 587  
Yurok, 564, 576, 581, 588

## Z

Zachary, Pope, 312  
*zambas*, 613  
Zayas y Sotomayor, Maria de, 837,  
838  
Zeami, 747  
*zenana*, 901, 904  
Zeno, 26, 153, 154, 155, 167, 169,  
222  
Zeus, 144, 145, 146, 151, 201, 399,  
715  
Zhang Zhuo, 108  
Zhou Dynasty, 110  
Zhu Yuanzhang, 111  
Zonaras, John, 409  
Zoroaster, 26, 153, 155, 228  
Zuñi, 568, 574, 600  
Zweig, Bella, x