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Gender and methodology in the ancient Near East

Approaches from Assyriology and beyond

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Agnès Garcia-Ventura, Adelina Millet Albà (eds.)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

Gender studies, including women's studies, masculinities' studies, and queer theory, have grown considerably in the last decades, influencing new fields of studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Ancient Near Eastern studies are no exception to this trend, as evidenced by the richness of the contributions included in this volume.

In light of this scholarly movement, the IPOA—the Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies of the University of Barcelona (Spain)—sought to publish a compilation of essays dealing with gender studies in the Ancient Near East in the series ***Barcino. Monographica Orientalia***. At the same time, the success of the "First Workshop on Gender, Methodology and the Ancient Near East" held in Helsinki in October 2014 encouraged the organizers (Agnès Garcia-Ventura [IPOA, University of Barcelona] and Saana Svärd [University of Helsinki]) to launch a second conference to be celebrated in 2017. As a result of this agreement, the IPOA hosted the second workshop and organized it in cooperation with the Centre of Excellence in "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions" (University of Helsinki, Finland). The event, which took place in Barcelona on February 1–3, 2017, featured over thirty communications, a poster session where six posters were presented, and a projects panel where nine new and ongoing projects where discussed among the participants. The event was well attended and consisted of a group of about 90 participants, of whom 46 were speakers and poster presenters carrying on their research in universities from 12 countries, namely Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Malta, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

As the editors of this volume we want to thank first all the participants for engaging in fruitful debates and for sharing their research during the event. Second, we want to thank those institutions and research groups and projects which made possible both the present volume and the conference with their financial support. The conference benefitted from the funding provided by the Academy of Finland, the Centre of Excellence in "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions," and the research project "Construction of gender in Mesopotamia from 934 to 330 BCE" (both of the University of Helsinki, Finland), as well as the Faculty of Philology and the Master's Degree in Ancient Cultures and Languages (both of the University of Barcelona, Spain). With regard to the present volume we appreciate the financial support provided by several entities and research groups of the University of Barcelona, namely the Faculty of Philology, the master's degree in Ancient Cultures and Languages coordinated by Ernest Marcos, the research project "JEWNE, Testimonies about Jewish-Christian Communities in the Near East (5th–12th centuries)" lead by Francisco Del Río (Ref. FFI2016-80590-P) and the research project "Los dialectos lúvicos del grupo

anatolio en su contexto lingüístico, geográfico e histórico" lead by Ignasi-Xavier Adiego and Mariona Vernet (Ref. FFI2015-68467-C2-1-P).

The volume in your hands is the result of the collaborative work done by four participants of the second workshop who volunteered to make this publication project a tangible reality. Adelina Millet Albà (director of the series including the current volume) and Agnès Garcia-Ventura (co-organizer of both the Helsinki and Barcelona workshops), both of the IPOA of the University of Barcelona, want to thank especially the other two editors, namely Stephanie Lynn Budin and Megan Cifarelli (Manhattanville College), for their hard work to improve the quality of the volume by reviewing content and checking the language for all papers written by non-native English speakers. Needless to say, all articles have undergone a scrupulous review process.

Regarding the style of the volume, transliteration conventions and the orthography of ancient names have not been systematically standardized, in order to respect the choices of the various authors. Accordingly, we gave those authors discussing Hebrew terms total freedom to choose whether they wanted to include transcription or not. The style of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Egyptian terms, however, has been standardized: Akkadian and Egyptian are in italics while Sumerian appears in expanded spacing.

The content of the volume is structured in three sections. The first is devoted to Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern archaeology. It includes most of the contributions and mirrors the main aim of both workshops: bringing together scholars in these fields of study to enable joint work and discussion. However, this volume includes as well chapters devoted to Egyptology, and to Ancient Israel and Biblical Studies, fields which correspond to the second and third sections of this compilation. The aim of including them in the volume and in the second workshop was to enrich the debates and to enable academic exchange with neighbouring fields of study. This initiative was so successful that these fields encompass, together, about one third of the total contributions.

Last but not least, the four editors of the volume, acting as spokeswomen of the participants in the workshop, are delighted to announce that this volume is dedicated to our colleague Ann K. Guinan. As chance would have it, Ann celebrated her 70th birthday in February 2017 while we were all together sharing lectures, meals, and fruitful discussion at the University of Barcelona. Taking advantage of that serendipity sparked the proposal to dedicate this work to her. Ann has always been a brilliant scholar committed to the engendering of Assyriology, and thus we hope she will enjoy this modest tribute which aims to contribute as well to current debates in gender studies. We hope that Ann, as well as all of you, readers, enjoy reading these contributions as much as we did as editors!

Stephanie Lynn Budin, Megan Cifarelli, Agnès Garcia-Ventura and Adelina Millet Albà
New Jersey, New York and Barcelona, November 2018

1. Assyriology and Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology

1.1. Bodies, Gender and Sexuality

Politics of the Body Productive:
Agriculture, Royal Power, and the Female Body in Sumerian Sources

M. Érica Couto-Ferreira[1]

1. *Introduction*

The present paper has its start in the article "'Let me be your canal': Some Thoughts on Agricultural Landscape and Female Bodies in Sumero-Akkadian Sources", which was recently published in the volume honouring Miquel Civil's 90th birthday. During the Second Workshop on Gender celebrated in Barcelona, I had the chance to present and discuss the preliminary results with fellow colleagues. It then became obvious that the breadth of the topic was far greater than I had first suspected, and worth exploring. It is with the intention of expanding the subject that I here present a further elaboration of those preliminary conclusions.[2] In "'Let me be your canal'", I focused on the imagery employed in cuneiform texts to describe the female body (more specifically, Inanna's genitals as they are presented in two Sumerian compositions) in terms of agricultural landscape,[3] where I concluded that: "the reading of Inanna's body is strongly informed by landscape and environment, more specifically, by the domesticated environment. Images present the female genitals as a landscape subjected to anthropization, based on man-made spaces that need to be managed and constantly cared for so as to ensure productivity."[4]

If in that case I stuck to the analogies established between female genitals and particular features of the agricultural landscape (canals, fields, furrows, threshing floors, embankments, and so on), it is my intention now to deal specifically with the connections between reproductive female bodies, on the one side, and the domination of landscape and resources exercised by royal power visible in the documents from the 3rd Dynasty of Ur, on the other. I plan to map out the connections cultural elites made in order to

1. CEPOAT, Universidad de Murcia and Seminar für Assyriologie, University of Heidelberg. Contact: erica.coutoferreira@gmail.com.

2. See Couto-Ferreira (2017) for the particulars of the discussion.

3. The texts discussed were *A Balbale to Inanna as Nanaya* (*Inanna H*), segment A, 21–26; and the witness Ni 9602 of *Inanna and Dumuzi P* (Sefati 1998: 218–235).

4. Couto-Ferreira (2017: 66).

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present reproductive female bodies in terms of environment to be tamed; and how these connections were rooted in royal discourses and propaganda regarding resource management and land control. I argue the images of the king who tames, domesticates and imposes his will to make the land fertile and productive are largely framed in terms of reproductive capacities of women, implying that the male should properly manage the female body so as to turn it into a fecund plot.

2. *A Fragile Ecosystem*

Sumerian (and for that part, also Akkadian) compositions show a deep concern for ordering and balance. Mythological texts are the most obvious in this sense, but there are many others that reflect similar interests. Rituals, for instance, serve for the most part to ensure a present state of balance, to restore a previous equilibrium, or to create one anew. Even administrative texts that, with their minute notation of work to be done, goods to be gathered and/or distributed, show a deep concern to avoid losing economic control over land maintenance and management.

Among the wealth of cuneiform sources dealing with stability and order there is a powerful discourse that pervades the three millennia of Mesopotamian written history. This discourse regards the activities of political-religious powers revolving around the kings' responsibility of guaranteeing order, prosperity, and abundance for the land. From the times when the Uruk Vase was produced to the late first millennium BCE, political power has seen in agriculture and land exploitation a key component of its power and control-directed discourses.[5] A recurring theme in Sumerian literary sources regards the contrast between a primeval time when lands were barren, water escaped control, and agriculture was unknown; and a later time when sources were put to fruition. The composition *The rulers of Lagaš*, for example, depicts the moment just following the flood and the institution of "rulership" (nam-en$_x$-si), when agriculture is not yet established.[6]

> "However, he (i.e. man) did not do any work. He became smaller and smaller, his mother (?), his sheep died (?) in the sheepfold. In those days, because the water of Lagaš was held back, there was

5. Asher-Greve (1997: 438–442) has briefly dealt with the Uruk Vase and its relation to abundance. On her part, Irene Winter (2003) has explored the textual and, most prominently, figurative instances where the Neo-Assyrian king presented himself as the provider of abundance. Dealing with the figurative repertoire, she notes that the images of abundance that can be seen in art make use primarily of images taken from the agricultural and vegetable world. What's more, Neo-Assyrian kings also tended to present themselves as farmers (ENGAR / *ikkaru*), just as the Neo-Sumerian royalty did, as we are about to see. It is worth noting that royal elites also draw from other sources to build up, sustain and legitimate their exercise of power: architecture and building, war and booty, god-related ancestry, etc.

6. Sollberger describes the composition as "rank[ing] among the works of didactic literature dealing with the origin and development of civilization" (Sollberger 1967: 279), as *Enki and the world order* and *The exploits of Ninurta*, to cite two examples, do. See also eTCSL 2.1.2 for the edition of the text. For the role of water in cosmogonic and world creation narratives, as well as the fundamental role it plays in producing abundace for the land, see Lisman (2013). For a recent overview on water management in Mesopotamia in the long run, and its economic and social importance, see Rost (2017).

> famine in Ĝirsu. Canals were not dug, the embankments and ditches were not cleaned.[7] The large arable tracts were not (…), there was no water to irrigate abundantly all the cultivated fields: the people relied on rain; Ezina did not make dappled barley grow, the mouth of the furrows were not yet opened, they bore no yield; the high plain was not ploughed, it bore no yield." (*The rulers of Lagaš*, 17–31)

Similarly, previous to the vanquishing of the monstrous Azag by Ninurta, the land was dominated by famine and unproductivity. Waters ran freely and without control, the irrigation system was unserviceable, and nobody practiced agriculture.

> "At that time, the good water coming forth from the earth did not pour down over the meadows. The cold water (?) spread everywhere, and the day when it began to …… it brought destruction in the mountains, since the gods of the land were subject to servitude, and had to carry the hoe and the basket. This was their corvée work. People called on a household for the recruitment of workers. The Tigris did not bring up its flood in its fullness. Its mouth (lit. "tail") did not finish in the sea, it did not carry fresh water. No one brought (?) offerings to the market. The famine was hard, as nothing had yet been born. No one yet cleaned the little canals, the mud was not dredged up. No one yet drew water for the fertile fields, ditch-making did not exist. People did not work (?) in furrows, barley was sown broadcast." (*The exploits of Ninurta*, 334–346)[8]

The defeat of Azag leads to the ordering of stones, mountains, and mountain water, which will make it possible to put resources to service.[9] However, the order so obtained requires constant human effort to keep it functioning. In fact, tragic events such as war and military invasions have catastrophic effects, since they disrupt order, making society plunge into famine and deprivation. In the *Lament for the destruction of Ur*, the destruction of the city causes cattle not to multiply, foxes to invade the urban territory, and fields to remain wild, thus emphasizing the idea that an uncontrolled environment left to itself leads to famine:

> "In its midst no flowing water is carried, its tax-collector is gone. In the fields of my city there is no grain, their farmer is gone. My fields, like fields from which the hoe has been kept away (?), have grown tangled (?) weeds. My orchards and gardens that produced abundant syrup and wine have grown mountain thornbushes. My plain that used to be covered in its luxurious verdure has become cracked (?) like a kiln." (*Lament for the destruction of Ur*, 269–274)[10]

7. Note that the term d u n "to dig" also applies to the acts Enki performs with his penis in canals and ditches, according to the composition *Enki and Ninhursaĝa*. The connections between digging canals, ploughing fields, and sexual intercourse are well established in ancient Mesopotamia (Tinney 1999: 35–36; Stol 2000: 1–2; Stol 2008: 137–138; Couto-Ferreira 2017: 56–57).

8. See van Dijk (1983) and eTCSL 1.6.2 for the full edition of the text.

9. *The exploits of Ninurta*, 334–367.

10. eTCSL 2.2.2; Jacobsen (1987: 447–477); Samet (2014). Note also that in the composition *Death of Ur-namma*, 22–30 (Ur-Namma A), with the king's death, fields stop producing grain and pasture.

In all these and other compositions (*Rulers of Lagaš*, *The exploits of Ninurta*, *Enki and the world order*, *The debate between hoe and plough*, *The song of the hoe*,[11] etc.) prosperity is secured through the digging and cleaning of canals (*Rulers of Lagaš*, 50–63), the setting of ploughs and oxen (*Enki and the world order*, 318–333),[12] the tilling and irrigation of fields, the harvesting and piling up of cereal and vegetables (*The exploits of Ninurta*, 362–364), as well as other key economic activities such as the fabrication of bricks and the breeding of cattle, which become core tasks for the sustainability of society. These compositions emphasize the fundamental role agriculture and water management play in the ordering of the world and the creation of social stability, as well as the need for constant agricultural work to ensure life in the country. Just as deities bring order to the world and establish agriculture as the basis for human life and social reproduction, so the king, as representative of that same divine order, is the individual in charge of securing prosperity and abundance. In fact the king, as guarantor of prosperity, is frequently called e n g a r "farmer".[13] In this effort to secure crops, manual work and the use of tools are fundamental: the pickaxe, the spade, the earth basket, the hoe, and the plough mean life for the land.[14]

In the description of Enki ordering the world and establishing agriculture as a primary life-giving resource, there is a significant passage where ploughing of the land is described in terms of explicit sexual terminology: the term to describe how the hoe penetrates the earth is ĝ i š$_3$ d u g$_4$ "to perform (with) the penis", which is the same expression used for Enki's sexual activities in *Enki and Ninhursaĝa*, for instance. Besides, what the hoe penetrates is the a g a r i n$_4$, a term for "matrix".[15] It clearly shows how sexuality, reproduction and agriculture are culturally entangled, how images shift from one domain to the other and, most importantly, how human fertility and land productivity are part of a larger cosmological discourse regarding order, stability, perpetuity, and survival:

> "The great prince fixed a string to the hoe, and organised brick moulds. He penetrated the matrix like precious oil." (*Enki and the world order*, 335–336)

3. *The King, Promoter of Fertility*

In dealing with the composition *The coronation of Ur-Namma* (also known as *Aba munbale*), Steve Tinney concluded that the Sumerian composition was built upon and emphasized "the association

11. For *The debate between hoe and plough*, see eTCSL 5.3.1; for *The song of the hoe*, see eTCSL 5.5.4.

12. *Enki and the world order*, 318–333 and *passim* in the composition. Enki, following the command of Enlil, brings prosperity for both people and gods by providing order, setting boundaries, establishing agriculture, cattle-breeding, construction of buildings, textile production, childbirth, etc., and attributing each activity to an Anuna god or goddess. Within this narrative of order, kings are chosen by the gods to ensure abundance (*Šulgi F*, in Lämmerhirt 2012). See also *The rulers of Lagaš*, 50–63.

13. In *Enki and the world order*, 318–324, Enki sets ploughs, yokes and teams of oxen, and has the king put in front of it all. Note that ploughs (^{ĝiš}apin) are sometimes equated to male genitals (Lambert 1987: 30). Further ideas linking women and women's bodies to agriculture and fertility can be found in the Sumerian composition *The message of Lu-dingira to his mother*, 32–29.

14. See, for instance, *The rulers of Lagaš*, 54-55 and *Enki and the world order*, 318–324.

15. The line reads: a g a r i n$_4$ - e i$_3$ - ḫ e - n u n - n a - g i n$_7$ ĝ i š$_3$ i m - m a - a n - [d u g$_4$]. The term is semantically associated with both the female genitals (*šassūru*) and motherhood (*ummu*, *bāntu*), according to Antagal B 85–88 (Cavigneaux et al. 1985: 192). See also Arnaud (1996, esp. 134) and Steinert (2013: 13, fn. 36), with previous bibliography.

between animal fecundity and human sexuality",[16] in which the act of digging canals was equated to penetration and sexual intercourse. In his survey, Tinney mentions *en passant* other texts where Neo-Sumerian royalty is presented providing agricultural prosperity. Such a text is *Ur-Namma G*, where the king is presented as farmer. He digs and ploughs just as Enki does in the compositions *Enki and the world order* and *Enki and Ninhursaga*, and thus causes abundance, plenty and life:

> "Ur-Namma, may the people flourish in prosperity under your rule. You (?) …… the plough and good barley, and your cultivated fields will be rich. You (?) …… trees, seeds, good barley, the plough, and the fields. You (?) …… the plough and good barley ……. King, cultivate the fields with oxen, and your cultivated fields will be rich; Ur-Namma, cultivate the fields with them, and your cultivated fields will be rich. The oxen will make (?) your cultivated fields good; your cultivated fields will be rich." (*Ur-Namma G*, 9–15)[17]

Coated in similar language, the *Lipit-Eštar A* hymn, 43–47 states:

> "I am he who makes an abundant crop grow, the life of the Land. I am a farmer, piling up his grain piles. I am a shepherd making butter and milk abundant in the cow-pen. I am he who makes the fish and birds grow bigger in the marshes. I am a river of plenty, bringing flowing water."[18]

This plethora of references to irrigation, cultivation and land fruition are the basis for the construction of a number of sexual-reproductive and genital metaphors, as I argued in previous works.[19] It is interesting, in fact, that in one particular instance of the Inanna-Dumuzi's narratives, the sexual union of both deities is said to guarantee the abundance of crops. The passage makes clear that the scenes concerning the beautifying of the body, courtship, and sexual union in the Inanna and Dumuzi cycle are but a part of a larger process aiming at securing fertility:

> "The holy embrace (?) ..... fresh fruits (?) and shoots ..... as she arises from the king's embrace, the flax rises up with her, the barley rises up with her. With her, the desert is filled with a glorious garden." (*Inanna and Dumuzi P*, segment C, 7–11)[20]

In this light, the agricultural vocabulary of irrigation and ploughing is, or can be, used in contexts where sexual intercourse is meant in order to convey a message deep with meaning and social implications: that sexually active bodies are meant not only to enjoy sexuality, but most importantly, to produce and be a part of the dynamics of abundance.

16. Tinney (1999: 37).
17. See eTCSL 2.4.1.7.
18. See eTCSL 2.5.5.1.
19. Couto-Ferreira (2017).
20. In fact, this fragment is but the following up, after a break, of the textual sections of *Inanna and Dumuzi P* that I analized in Couto-Ferreira (2017: 55–56). See also *A balbale to Inanna* (*Dumuzi-Inanna O*), 8–21 for more agricultural-based images of abundance, such as barley growing in furrows.

4. *Productive Bodies, Cultivated Lands: Some Final Thoughts*

Female fertility, that is, the female capacity to bear healthy children, forms part of a broader idea of prosperity that encompasses wealth, well-being and equilibrium for the land, the individuals, the gods, and the cosmos. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Sumerian lamentations and other similar texts regarding the destruction of cities and the tearing of social order, women stop bearing, cattle become infertile, and fields stop producing crops. On the same grounds, when the harvest is abundant, the silos become full, patients recover from their maladies, and women bear healthy children.[21] The vocabulary of reproduction both in Sumerian and Akaddian is largely based on agricultural concepts (n u m u n / *zēru* "seed, offspring"; g u r u n / *inbu* "fruit"), and *The song of the hoe* accounts for a mythical background narrating the birth of humankind from the earth, just as plants sprouting out of the furrow.[22] The association survives even in later times: a Late Babylonian ritual aiming at avoiding miscarriage and securing pregnancy, makes use of orchards and palm trees in the performance with the intention of making the foetus thrive.[23]

At a political and religious level, the order kept by royal power mirrors that established in creation by the gods. In the same way, in the realm of social dynamics the female body encloses and reproduces in itself that very same policy and "ideology" of order: if the land must be productive in order to secure subsistence both to humans and the gods, so the bodies should equally be productive so as to secure family enlargement and social reproduction and continuity. As I pointed out elsewhere, the terms and expressions used in the description of both female genitals (id$_2$ "canal", a-ša$_3$ "field", k i s l a h "threshing floor", ab-sin$_2$ "furrow", du$_6$ "elevation") and sexual encounter (id$_2$ d u n "to dig a canal", ur-ru$_{11}$ "to plough") are, for the most part, the same recurring in mythological accounts regarding the birth of agriculture, the securing of resources, and the political discourses on the capacities of kings to make the land prosper. However, this strong cultural discourse regarding women's bodies is implicitly, more than explicitly, stated.

Taking all this into consideration, we may ask next what do the metaphoric correlations between agriculture and female fertility tell us about the ways female bodies, as vehicles of sexuality and reproduction, were culturally trained to comply with this idea of abundance and prosperity. What's more, if the king is presented as the one guaranteeing fertility for the land, who is then responsible for human female fertility? To what point are males envisioned as kings responsible for the irrigation and ploughing of female bodies? Hopefully, these and other questions will be explored and followed up in future works.

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21. Robert Biggs (2000: 12) quotes an astrological omen published by Hermann Hunger that states that "empty storage bins will become full; the harvest of the land will prosper; there will be recoveries from illness in the land; pregnant women will carry their babies full term".

22. See eTCSL 5.5.4.

23. For a full discussion, see Couto-Ferreira (2013).

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Being Sardanapallus: Sex, Gender, and Theory

Ann K. Guinan[1]

1. *Introduction*

Writing about gender and sexuality in premodern cultures serves as a lesson in humility, as few fields of study so completely expose the dominant concerns of the times or the biases of the investigator. Modern sexual cultures are in a constant state of flux and, as a result, theories of sex and gender and histories of sexuality are particularly volatile. However natural our fashions appear in the moment, the markers of a time only emerge once that moment has passed. The biases, assumptions, predilections and prejudices not only characteristic of the period but specific to the investigator become visible as the moment recedes into history.

The subject of sex and gender in the cultures of ancient Mesopotamia poses a specialized problem. From the time of the biblical and classical authors, commentators have been drawn to the idea of Babylon and Assyria and used the two empires as a tool of social criticism. Fixed in scholarly and cultural imagination and as old as history itself, more or less, is the association of Babylon and Assyria with unbridled sexuality. The ancient Near East is our erotic other—always outside the norm, it provides images on which to project the issues of the moment.

The association of the ancient Near East with sexuality and race was a recurrent theme of 19th-century Orientalist discourse and racial theory.[2] The masculine queen Semiramis, who founded the city of Babylon, and the effeminate king Sardanapallus, who presided over the end of the Assyrian empire, were known from classical texts and had an established place in the popular imagination of western imperialist cultures early in the 19th century—long before excavations of the Assyrian palaces at Khorsabad, Nimrud, Kuyunjik started producing sculptures and texts. The literary, artistic, and theatrical

1. Babylonian Section, Penn Museum. I would like thank Beth Jewell who patiently read all drafts of this paper and listened while I talked through problems. I would also like to thank Peter Morris who was my collaborator on the first version and continued to provide advice. I am enormously grateful to Megan Cifarelli and Agnès Garcia-Ventura for their insightful comments and editorial assistance.

2. McCall 1998: 188.

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productions inspired by these two characters, figures of both gender inversion and race, were indications of their power to speak to the sexual and political issues of the period. Lord Byron's play *Sardanapalus* (1821), and the painting by Eugène Delacroix, *La mort de Sardanapale* (1827), were among the images of Assyria that dominated cultural imagination. However, when the excavations confirmed the historical reality of the Assyrians, public attention was riveted. Both the scholarly community and the general public were eager to know the contents of the cuneiform tablets and as a result the decipherment of cuneiform proceeded quickly.

Both the fields of Sexology and Assyriology originated during the scientific age of the latter half of 19th century. At the same time Richard von Krafft-Ebing, an Austro-German psychiatrist and a founding father of the field of sexology, began compiling and cataloguing case studies of pathological sexual desires, early Assyriologists were in the process of cataloguing the British Museum's Kuyunjik Collection, the cuneiform tablets from Aššurbanipal's library at Nineveh. The sexual passages from Gilgamesh and the sex omen tablets from the omen series *šumma ālu* were among the first cuneiform tablets to be identified and published, but their reception into broader academic discourse took a longer, more circuitous route.

2. *Sex and the 19th-Century City*

The late 19th century was a period of scientific innovation, economic expansion, industrialization, and growing nationalism. On one hand, scientific, medical, and archaeological discoveries confirmed the power of rationalism, empiricism, and progress, while on the other, the rapid growth of cities brought an increase of crime, poverty, prostitution, and rampant venereal disease. As the result of the swelling of urban populations an increasingly diverse populace appeared in the city and on its streets. The boundaries of bourgeois, empire-building, elite masculinity were perceived to be under assault. The 19th-century city came to represent the corrupting force of modernity and everything that destabilized the old order of small towns and the values embodied in sexual restraint, gender hierarchy, and ethnic homogeneity. The liberal revolutions of 1848 were followed by a period of Jewish emancipation across Europe. Jews left the ghettos, moved to cities, and assimilated into the cultural and economic life, becoming one of the fastest growing and most visible segments of the population. In 1873 the Vienna stock market crashed, triggering financial crises that spread across Europe. The ensuing depression contributed to central European nationalism and deepening anti-Semitism.[3] In both Germany and Austria political parties with anti-Semitic platforms were established.

The rapid social changes created profound cultural anxiety and a crisis of masculinity. While cities always attracted homosexual sub-cultures, 19th-century urbanization provided a fertile ground for the proliferation of clubs catering to a variety of sexual tastes and made them visible as never before.[4] The beings that most troubled the European masculine subjective imaginary were the *homosexual, the single woman, and the Jew* (emphasis mine). Single women—factory workers, prostitutes, widows, shoppers, and women campaigning for political rights—emerged from the private sphere and became participants in

3. Hawes 2018: 99–137.
4. Garton 2014: 173.