

SEX UALITY

**IN ARMENIAN
[CON]
TEXTS**

Introduction

The sociopolitical system of Armenia, which at the beginning of the spring of 2018 seemed eternal, stepped into the stage of a great turning point with an event that we call Revolution. Regardless of the course and results, this event has set a new starting point in the life of our society. Most importantly, it has restored the sense of time and historicity, which we seemed to have lost in the established apolitical pseudo-eternity.

Now more than ever, we experience the interactive dynamic of sociopolitical ideas, discourses and practices in our daily lives, and at the same time the rigidity, the interrelatedness of the will and ideologies of political actors. This helps us to visualize the complex fabrics in which the ideological structures, legal and moral norms by which our society lives today have been historically formed. By establishing their dominance at a certain point in time, they become so common that they seem natural and permanent to contemporaries.

This volume presents a research project revealing such a complex and diverse, changing reality in the Armenian past, dedicated to such a sensitive issue as sexuality. At the same time, it is an expression of the current social and ideological discords in Armenia. The book connects the reader with historically formed knowledge. It invites you to follow the process of understandings and definitions of the modern concept¹ of sexuality in different periods of the Armenian socio-historical life, their antagonisms, as well as their interactions with times and spaces.

1. The modern concept of sexuality emerged only in the 19th century in the context of developments in Western disciplines (Фуко, М. (1996). Воля к истине: по ту сторону знания, власти и сексуальности. Работы разных лет [The Will to Truth: Beyond Knowledge, Power and Sexuality]. Пер. с франц. - М.: Касталь, 271):

Dominant ideas and mainstream policies have taken the position of stand-alone, solid, and unchanging tradition. However, they have carefully hidden niches. Each of the authors of this book brings out the other, the diverse and

transforming traditions of the Armenian context in their research topic, as well as the declared or covert struggles between them. This reveals the complexities and tensions of Armenian culture, and thereby its wealth and virtues.

The research works also expose the bequeathed cognitive structures and mechanisms that shape our current life, thoughts, and ideologies, digging into dominant discourse around historical and political events today, their political contexts and goals. In our reality, the discourses related to sexuality are silenced or shrouded, and touching upon them is either a privilege of the authorities or a marginal subversive obsession. Love and sex (gender), the temporal variability of their perceptions and manifestations are still the subject of interest and knowledge of narrow circles in Armenia, while the need for this knowledge has matured long ago.

By the logic of centralized and hierarchical (patri)archy, the established instances of knowledge production and reproduction continue to expel the various traditions of sexuality. They continue to encourage the antiquated, pseudo-eternal and rigid patriarchal and heteronormative tradition, using it for party interests, bypassing both its internal ideological contradictions and its incompatibility with real life.

Progressive and subversive interventions against orthodoxy are declared to be outside the Armenian society and cultural margins, are considered as deviations or perversions, limiting the scope of critical thinking and the exuberant social life itself. Meanwhile, the critical approach is the very possibility that will bring the real-life experiences of people to the field of thought, will formulate it in scientific, artistic and other public languages, will become knowledge and will eventually create safe spaces for harmonious coexistence of subjects.

Not only is sexuality a complex personal life experience but also a (self) awareness of a subject formed within the scope of public

experience – rules, coercion systems and knowledge – established by political power.

As in all other cultures, in the Armenian context as well, issues related to sexuality have been subject to both apparent and invisible framings and norms, theological interpretations, and legal-political regulations. However, in some isolated cases they have succeeded in breaking the restrictions and regulations either in practice or in the texts. Although sexuality is a modern concept, in all periods of human life it has been experienced and represented in different cultural modes and languages, especially in mythological, literary, publicist, religious, legal and normative modes.

This is the basis for our methodological approach in socio-historical studies of sexuality:

- To observe it in its ever-changing process, to reveal its socio-historical definitions through the study of legal and political orders, texts and context of a certain place and in a certain point of time, understandings, and formulation attempts.

This approach is based on Michel Foucault's theoretical methodology of the archaeology of knowledge and discourse, as well as fundamentals of the theory of sexuality.

Accordingly, to speak of sexuality as a historical experience means to analyze from the viewpoint of its peculiarity the three axes that constitute it - the formation of knowledge about it, the political and power systems regulating sexuality, the possible and necessary forms of (self) awareness of the subject of sexuality (Фукo, 1996, 273).

They allow us to look at the historical and cultural paradigms surrounding sexuality, to see the relationship between the knowledge about sexuality and the order of power. With such an approach, articulations of the connections between the contexts of the sexual, and socio-cultural and political-power struggles can be revealed by the direct study of various local sources – historical works, literary works, religious canons, legal documents, press

and archive materials. In this case, the research also becomes an attempt to recognize one's own social history(s), and the inclusion of various sources, as well as the period the study covers (from the pre-Christian period to the twentieth century) are related to this circumstance.

When choosing sources related to modern times, we focused first of all on Eastern Armenian sources (they were studied in relation to Western Armenian and other sources). In particular, in terms of press and literature, our preference for this is due to the scarcity of studies on Eastern Armenian opinion journalism and literature with respect to sexuality, sex and gender (the role of the woman), compared to numerous detailed studies on Western Armenian press and literature.

However, it should be noted that this research project does not intend to summarize the topic as complex and derivative of sociopolitical life as the issue of sexuality. It raises issues and creates new perspectives for future research. Researchers coming from different backgrounds, who bring with them different views and perspectives, have explored various narratives of sexuality from isolated sources, diachronic living conditions, and twists due to the demands of modernity towards love and sex.

With a methodological approach to the search for formulations of sexuality, each author sought and determined the particular subject of his/her specific field and area according to the topic. As a result, answering the same questions, each researcher identified different socio-cultural layers, expanding the concept of sexuality, and including *cultural discussions and debate on the issue of the woman's power, transformed into the right to an extramarital affair and the right to motherhood, girls' education and the contradiction between the family role of the mother, the wife of the nation and the public life, the issue of bisexuality and the Armenian woman, the Armenian woman and the tensions of free love, the antagonism between the Armenian woman and the Armenian female worker, the destruction of every corporeal*

and the demand of the body, the struggles between the body and the soul, the religious love song and the politics of the love song, the corporeal and worship dimensions, the apostolic (in) tolerance of sexual pleasure and the demand for sexual asceticism of the clergy, the struggles between Asian-Muslim and Christian morality, homosexual behavior and the punitive justice introduced with European modernization, homosexual practices of social hierarchy, the Soviet liberation (decriminalization of homosexual behavior) project and Stalin's repressive system, exploitation of the homosexual body and political speculations, and many other issues.

Thus, the project itself has become a contemporary continuation of fragmentary narratives on sexuality in the Armenian context. It has created a new window of possibility for acquiring constitutive knowledge on the (self) awareness of subjects of sexuality. In the local socio-historical context, our prospect of uncovering the yet unspoken or unformulated depths of sexuality, connections and references, and attempts to define it was first of all based on and then opened up through not only theoretical and methodological Foucaultian but also feminist paradigmatic approaches to sexuality. It has allowed us to:

- consider sexuality in an inseparable historical connection with power, study the instances that define (limit) sexuality and form the subjects of sexuality, try to understand how it is possible for very different knowledge in terms of its object and structure to be generated through similar forms of power (Фуко, 1996).

In this sense, one of the results of the research was to uncover and describe how the real variety of practices and narratives in the Armenian context is replaced by the proposition of their immutability, under which, in fact, lie the practices of power struggle that have a relatively stable outline. In these research studies, we observe a stable behavior of using sexuality as a tool

for power struggle, regardless of the personality or social group of political agents of the given historical period; it was relevant, and probably continues to be relevant.

The feminist approaches to the critique of patriarchal society and literature have helped us to view politics as an institution of sex and power-constructed relations, where the issue of sex is always present with political implicit meanings (Millet, 2016). In our research studies, patriarchy has emerged not only as a special way of organizing the household, through which the father asserted his dominance over other members of the kinship network and controlled its economic production (Mitchel, 1984), but also as a comprehensive order of hegemony of heteronormative masculinity in terms of its impact on the socio-political status of women and not heterosexual persons. Patriarchy is not only a social order or structure, but also a situation that has historically become a habit of mind and a way of life.

The revelations of historical discourses regarding patriarchal culture and sex in the Armenian realities sometimes break through our current knowledge, and sometimes they sound as the reaction of the current dominant discourses in the past.

Therefore, our view refined by socio-historical studies can allow us to understand the history of the relationship between the mind and truth, to understand how the construction of this knowledge became possible, and the origin of a given morality (Фукко, 1996).

The question is how and why it happens that at a certain moment, through institutional practices and cognitive tools, the given sexual behavior is suddenly recognized as *problematic*. What is important here is not the history of the given habits and behaviors, but the history of the ways in which pleasure, desire, and sexual behavior become problematic, and are reflected and thought of as specific types of life art.

As Foucault points out in the “The Concern for Truth”, interview with François Ewald in the spring of 1984 (a few months before his death) (Фукo, 1996), the work of an intellectual is, through the analysis of aforementioned issues, to question over and over again what is postulated as self-evident, to disturb people’s mental habits, the way they do and think things, to dissipate what is familiar and accepted, to reexamine rules and institutions, and on the basis of this reproblematicization, to participate in the formation of a political will.

This is exactly the path that this research project seeks to take, guiding the reader to the problematization of the heteronormative phallogocentric social system, and the prospects for its revision and change.

The volume comprises four sections and an appendix.

The 1st section, ***Loves and Sexes in Ancient Times and in the Middle Ages***, includes separate works by two authors based on the analysis of historical and literary texts and the canons of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Zhanna Andreasyan’s research work presents some episodes of narratives of sexuality in the pre-Christian and medieval period through literary and historical works, taking as a starting point the “Satenik the Lustful” section of Movses Khorenatsi’s “Armenian History”, the medieval *hayrens* and the texts created based on their metrics, some songs (called “*tagh*”) by Grigoris of Akhtamar and the hermit poem “The Life of Marinos”, as well as Sayat-Nova as a court musician. The episodes are selected with the intention of showing the twists and turns in the narrative of sexuality. Each episode chosen as a starting point then opens into the sociopolitical and economic relations of the time, being interpreted by a combination of those factors.

The author examines the power structures of the writings of the ancient period of Armenian history, especially of the early Middle Ages. She observes how sexuality is defined by policies towards

specific groups, targeting those who pose a threat to power at the time or those who are interpreted that way.

The author reveals that for a long time the discourse on sexuality, its written definition and formulation were provided by the Armenian Apostolic Church, making for a specific position on sexuality, namely, the need to suppress and overcome the corporeal. Nevertheless, the research reveals the resistances to suppressing the corporeal and the change in narratives of sexuality through those resistances.

The key stories singled out by the author are the pre-Christian narratives of sexuality, in which the woman in power plays a key role as a target, the early Christian narrative of sexuality, in which the key role is assumed by the man with secular power and his sexuality, understood as bodily desires and inability to restrain himself, and the narrative of affirmation of the body.

The continuing reference to historical and literary texts nowadays opens up another layer of study of narratives, the layer of their representation from the position of current policies. Thus, these stories are not only historical. Under the veil of historicity, they are redefined as modern texts, connecting with the current power and politics, using historicity as a new source of legitimacy.

Mariam Khalatyan's research work refers to the key canonical and legal-canonical documents from the early Middle Ages to the 13th century. The period under study is distinguished by its complex historical course, both in foreign policy and in internal church relations.

The work deals particularly with the mechanisms of regulation of sexuality, on the principle of showing historical-comparative and chronological developments. The key documents under study are the Canons of the Catholicos Hovhan Odznetsi from the 8th century, the Canons of David Alavkavordi compiled at the beginning of the 12th century, the Code of Laws (*Datastanagirk*) elaborated by Mkhitar Gosh in the 13th century.

The study departs from the question of what was the significance of each source in the period of its formation and application and what problems it tried to solve, aiming to show the discourse on the issue of sexuality during the aforementioned period, how the sexuality of different groups in society was regulated.

Accordingly, by introducing the general context of the canonical and legal regulations, the author records that in the early Middle Ages the principles defined by the church had their role in the different spheres of organization and regulation of the Armenian public life. At that stage of formation, the church developed and affirmed the class ideology of its sociopolitical domination, and established teachings, instructions, procedures, which were acting as general rules.

The sources studied from this angle also point to the main targets of the ecclesiastical authorities of the time. According to the author, in the studied sources, the control of sexuality is mostly understood as the control of sexual behavior. In this sense, the legal norms established by the church mostly controlled the sexuality and family relations of the clergy, women, persons with homosexual behavior, as well as secular men.

As the author notes, still in the early stages of its formation, the Armenian Church focused on the process of regulation of marital and family relations, striving to have influence on the institution of family. Marital and family relations could not be regulated without the mediation of the church. This striving allows us to understand the generality of the starting point of sexuality regulation practices.

The 2nd section, ***The Dominant Legal Regulations of Homosexual Behavior in the Domain of Imperial Dominance and Armenianness***, includes legal systems regulating homosexual behavior in the Persian and Russian empires, as well as in the Soviet Union, which examine the direct roots of current Armenian law, thought, and culture, as well as their political and cultural backgrounds.

Hrachya Hakobyan's analysis addresses a complex problem hitherto unknown to us, namely, the control of homosexuality under Persian law. The author examines the research problem in the context of the rule of law in the first and second periods of Safavid rule, the rule of the Afsharid dynasty and semi-independent khanates, as well as in the context of the legal control of the Qajar Iran, thus revealing the policies of controlling homosexuality in the Iranian Empire of the 16th-19th centuries, within the boundaries of which the Armenian communities that are part of present-day Armenia were located. According to the author, the peculiarity of the Persian legal system is that it consists of two levels of equal legitimacy, the layer of customs or morals, and the layer of legislation. Another peculiarity of the Persian Empire in the studied periods is that the religious communities subject to it had the right to live according to their own customs. During the three hundred years of Persian rule, being under the control of the Persian authorities of the country, the Armenian community was subject to community customs, i.e. the Armenian Church order, especially in matters of domestic, family life and sexuality. The legal framework of the Armenian Church was more lenient with homosexual behavior than envisaged by Shiite law. However, leaving aside the substantive side of the Armenian Church regulation (the issue was addressed in *Mariam Khalatyan's* article), this work focuses on the practical contradictions of the customary and legal layers of Persian law with respect to homosexual behavior. Studying a number of historical and religious sources, the author reveals that especially in relation to homosexuality, the Persian Shiite laws were silently bypassed by the homoerotic culture that was in opposition to their demands.

Anna Zhamakochyan's and *Eduard Danielyan's* research work consists of two separate articles. The first article presents the approaches to the legal control of homosexuality in Tsarist Russia, and then in the Russian Empire, and their transformations along

with political modernization and Europeanization. The authors observe how the Europeanization of the Russian Empire led to the emergence of tougher policies on homosexual behavior and their rooting in opposition to previous soft religious regulations. The authors point out the influence of imperial laws on the first secular code of the Eastern Armenians, the Armenian Law Code of Astrakhan (1765). They also study the relation of norms regulating homosexual behavior in other elaborations (“The Snare of Glory” (*Vorogait Parats*), “The Booklet of Aim” (*Tetrak vor kochi nshavak*)) of the Eastern Armenian legal systems of the modern era (18th century) to the ancient Roman law, the British law preserving the medieval tradition, and the European Enlightenment movement.

In *Anna Zhamakochyan’s* and *Eduard Danielyan’s* second article, the attitude towards homosexuality is considered in the context of the legal and political processes of the Soviet period, first in the stage of the revolutionary and liberation tendency, and then in the stages of Stalinist repressions and the Thaw that followed, Brezhnev’s Neo-Stalinism, and Perestroika. In particular, the authors introduce the progressive legal and political impetus of the initial period of the Soviet Union (the Socialist Republic of Armenia was a part of the Union) based on the agendas of the revolution, including the “sexual revolution”, and the story of its failure as a result of Stalinization. According to the researchers, the constantly emerging mark of the failure of the Soviet “sexual revolution” can still be observed, paving its way to the everyday life of present-day post-Soviet Armenia. Examining the secret homosexual/bisexual aspect of the life of Sergei Parajanov, a famous Soviet-Armenian filmmaker, the researchers have uncovered the cruelty of the politically-motivated manipulation of a person’s homosexual behavior by the Soviet repressive regimes, and its tragic consequences.

Both articles are constructed on the principle of examining the transformations of legal orders with regard to homosexual behavior (between men) in the metropolis(es), and observing their

interactions with Armenians and Armenia, as well as revealing the historical background and political goals of these processes. Researchers follow how policies addressing homosexual behavior (from reactionary-revisionist to liberation-revolutionary, and vice versa), formulated in the battlefields between political and ideological currents in Russia and in the Soviet Union, affect the lives of individuals and the current Armenian legal and political culture.

The 3rd section, ***“The Woman Problem” as a Subject of Eastern Armenian Modernity*** introduces three separate analyses of the Eastern Armenian press, literature texts that emerged along with the period of Armenian modernity, as well as the Soviet-Armenian policies under the Soviet modernization project.

Lusine Chergeshtyan’s study summarizes the public discourse of the 19th century and early 20th century, primarily in the Eastern Armenian periodical press, on the issues of women’s and girls’ education and upbringing, family and marital life, prospects for liberation.

Chergeshtyan presents the insights on the “woman problem” that encapsulates these issues, insights that were anchored on the imperatives of the making of Armenians as a nation and civilizing them based on the Enlightenment ideology of the time.

The author reveals the ideological conflicts and antagonism between the publicists representing the progressive-enlightenment and conservative-sociopolitical currents of the time over the social role of women and the reform of the institution of family. In the context of these conflicts, the boundaries of the Enlightenment-Christian morality and value system are outlined. For the successful implementation of the project of modernization of the nation, the woman was entrusted with an educational function as a mother who constructed the national moral image.

Thus, the author uncovers the public discourse that originated under the Enlightenment processes of the 19th century and early

20th century around the two main understandings of women - the woman as a predetermined sexuality, and the woman as a subject with equal rights.

The study brings to light the complex and tense sociopolitical context of the time, and is rich in notes and sketches that may open the door to studies with new research questions.

Arpy Manusyan's research essay is a sociological critique of the "woman problem" in the works of some of the literary figures of the second half of the 19th century realizing the Russian-Armenian enlightenment project (Mikael Nalbandyan, Raphael Patkanyan, Ghazaros Aghayan, Raffi, Grigor Artsruni, Mariam Khatisyan).

It uncovers the understandings of the social roles of women by progressive-regarded male literary figures, and their reinterpretations in a sociopolitical process that was complex and full of antagonisms, that proclaimed the imperative to modernize the Armenians as a nation, civilize it in the spirit of the European Enlightenment.

The author turns her critical gaze towards *male* literary heritage and tradition, under which the woman was thought in relation to various sociocultural, legal, economic and political issues. In the crucial process of that contemplation, however, the woman herself remained unnoticed and unheard. The woman, who was subordinated and remained in the margins of public life, came to the attention of male enlighteners in the second half of the 19th century, being regarded as a mother and an educator and guardian of generations for the sake of national awakening.

The author confronts the deep roots and influences of the male literary tradition, when she carefully analyzes the artistic heritage and public activity of Mariam Khatisyan, probably the first Russian-Armenian woman novelist. Communicating with the formulation of the "woman problem" by a woman (Khatisyan), the author notices the scope of reproduction of male ideas about women in the latter's works, at the same time revealing unexamined, scattered

insights on the woman's poor condition and timid attempts to get out of that situation. In the context of socio-historical research on the issue of sex, this first attempt to study Khatisyan's legacy outlines and touches on, but does not thoroughly examine the peculiarities of the "timid feminism" of female public figures formed in the Russian-Armenian environment. Nevertheless, it opens up new perspectives on local feminist thought and women's literary heritage and legacy.

Irina Shakhnazaryan's research work is an important starting point and an attempt to understand the women's liberation project that originated in Soviet Armenia in the 1920s, viewed in the context of the interconnections and peculiarities of the policies of Soviet Russia and Soviet Armenia.

The author approaches the research problem through the study of archival documents related to the activities of the Women's Department of Soviet Armenia, decrees, laws that had all-Union significance in the activities aimed at women, discourse of the articles published in the *Armenia's Woman Worker Magazine (Hayastani Ashkhatavoruhi)*, exposing the tensions and antagonism between the proclaimed Soviet policies of women's liberation and local life and manners. Outlining only the circumstance that it is one of the fronts of the proletarian struggle of the Soviet policy of women's liberation, the study responds to the 19th-century Russian-Armenian enlightenment and nation-building project, in the orbit of which the "woman problem" was derived from the enlightenment project of nation formation and civilization.

The author brings to light the Soviet policies of the 1920s, aimed at establishing de facto equality between men and women, the assumption of a child care function by the state, which would lead to the engagement of women in social and economic life, the decision to legalize abortion, at the same time exposing the regressive transformations of Stalinist policies of the 1930s, which signaled the end of women's liberation project and the return to the traditional notion of the family.

The 4th section, *Diachronic Voices*, includes words from two different times and places, one of which is a reprint of an article by Marie Beylerian, a Western Armenian female figure, and the other is a translation of the article by a contemporary philosopher Paul B. Preciado.

*Marie Beylerian's*² (Marie Peilerean in Western Armenian) article “The Woman and Public Opinion” was published in 1904 in the first volume of the Armenian *Vostik*³ women’s magazine, the expected second volume of which was never published.

Beylerian’s leading article is a manifesto exposing the plight of women under the burden of public opinion, which echoes the historical “*what will people say*” thinking of women, particularly Armenian women.

Beylerian criticizes the socio-historical situation in which men have always had ample opportunities to think, write and act, while women, constantly constrained and frightened by the Damocles’ sword of public opinion, have become subjects of the needs and pleasures of men. Beylerian calls on women to fight against the calamity of public opinion by listening to their own voice and conscience, giving impetus to women’s education, and recognizing their own dignity and beliefs.

Beylerian’s voice can be heard from afar, but her exposing and sharp judgments on issues of marriage, motherhood, and the subordination of women in the family, all seeming beyond the realm of questioning, echo the pressured and constrained situation of women in present-day Armenia, bringing to light the political and historical content of the issue of sex.

Paul B. Preciado’s article “A letter from a trans man to the old sexual regime” (the original title is *Lettre d’un homme trans à l’ancien régime sexuel*), published in the newspaper

2. Marie Beylerian (1877-1915) was an Armenian public figure and editor from Constantinople. In 1902-1903 she founded and edited the literary magazine *Artemis*.

3. Satunean, H., Janumean, G. (Ed.). (1904). “*Vostik*”: *Armenian Women’s Magazine*. Alexandropol. Joh. Apinean.

The collection includes poems, translations, opinion pieces, short novels, critical essays, social science texts. The authors of the collection are women with real names and literary pseudonyms: Marie Beylerian, T. Zanazan Mehrabyants, T. Taguhi Berberyan, Tiruhi Kostanyants, Sipil, Ms. Gayane Kayalyan, T. Eph. Palyan, Ms. H. Melik-Haykazyan, S. V. Arghutyan-Yerkaynabazook, T. Mariam, Ms. E. H., T. Byuregh, Z. Alyanaq.

*Libération*⁴ on January 16, 2018, is a response to the discourse that gained momentum in 2017 in the allegations against famous Hollywood film producer Harvey Weinstein, and touched on the issue of men sexually harassing women who are dependent on them.

4. *Libération* was founded in 1973 by several left-wing radical (Maoist) journalists gathered around Jean-Paul Sartre, previously occupying the extreme left wing of the political arena. Over the years, the newspaper moved towards the center, strengthening its position in the center-left, and largely becoming a social democracy-oriented media. Preciado has been active correspondent for *Libération* since 2013 (the number of published texts reaches about nine dozen).

In his article, on the one hand, Paul B. Preciado protects sexual freedoms from the restrictions coming from the feminist movement, on the other hand, he opposes the heteronormative manifestations of sexual practices, and the contradictions and conflicts that arise with them.

Preciado, a queer activist who represents the Parisian underground of pornographic literature and cinema, attended the New School for Social Research in New York, where he was the student of Jacques Derrida and Ágnes Heller.

His philosophy is imbued with the conceptual apparatus created by the key figures representing Post-structuralism, Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze.

The appendix of the book fully reflects the bibliographic list “Women’s and Sexuality Issues in the Armenian Periodical Press of the 19th Century” compiled by Lusine Chergeshtyan. It was compiled during the author’s work on the article included in this volume. The thematic publications on the woman, motherhood, family, morality, girls’ upbringing and education, marriage, male-female relationships, work, love, and women’s social activities were selected as criteria for the sorting of the works.

The list includes opinion pieces, moral and educational articles, research and scholarly works, translations, literary works, reviews, announcements, ethnographic and various other materials in the periodicals published in different places inhabited by Armenians from the late 1830s to the 1920s, and relate, in one way or another, or can be useful for exploring the issue of reinterpreting the woman’s social role.

Although the bibliographic list has room for improvement, it is nevertheless a great help to researchers and curious readers studying or interested in the issues related to women and sexuality in the discourse of the 19th and 20th centuries.

*Translated into English
by Christine Goroyan*