PART II —
ETHNOPORNOGRAPHY AS COLONIAL HISTORY

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Franciscan Voyeurism in Sixteenth-Century New Spain

> They had a dirty and painful sacrifice, coming together in the temple and placed in order, each one pierced their virile members. They passed through the greatest quantity of cord as they could, and all of them became fastened and strung together. They anointed the demon with the blood of all of those parts. He who did this the most was taken as the most valiant.
>
> —FRANCISCAN FRIAR DIEGO DE LANDA, describing a Maya ceremony, 1566 CE

With these words, Diego de Landa describes what he imagines as a violent ritual performed by Maya men in sixteenth-century Yucatán. In envisioning such a rite, Landa performs what in this volume we have termed "ethnopornography": he takes an indigenous ritual out of its context, imagines seeing the bodies—in particular, the penises—of the men, and provides enough titillation for his audience to get engrossed in the image that it both invokes an immediate visceral reaction and also becomes ingrained in the fantasies and fears of his readers—Landa intends to cause them nightmares.[1] Landa wants the ethnopornography to evoke an embodied reaction, and indeed this embodied reaction is key to ethnopornographic content in general: the

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author of the ethnopornographic text uses words and pictures that he or she thinks will cause the readers to have an immediate, even reflexive, response to the author's imagining of the body of the exotic other—the readers should be turned on or disgusted (hopefully both) by the image.

Landa uses the image of the penis-piercing rite, among many others, to sell his story to his readers, those individuals in Spain who would otherwise, in his view, persecute *him*.[2] This persecution would take place, in Landa's view, because he had appropriately punished the Maya, in many cases with torture, for engaging in traditional rituals that included this one, and many others yet more extreme in their violence.[3]

Landa fantasizes about Maya men's penises being pierced in a manner that causes both pleasure and pain and also seems perverse to the Franciscan and his readers. While Landa suggests that he tries to avert his gaze (as well as ours),[4] he instead draws our attention directly to the scene of the Maya penis piercing. Further, Landa emphasizes elsewhere the immense cruelty of the ancient Maya state—enforcing the power of an extremely violent warrior class.[5] By contextualizing this bloodletting ritual, we will see how Landa's gaze reimagined the ways that the Maya enacted rites that caused bodily pain.

Similarly, Bernardino de Sahagún, another Franciscan friar, provides us with images of Nahua sexual and sacrificial practices. He witnesses the connection between sex and violence, developing a gaze in which he and his aides promote/uncover a sexual universe that will show the readers of their texts the importance of the massive ethnographic project that Sahagún, under the auspices of the Franciscan order and the Spanish crown, had made his life calling. In doing so, Sahagún also emphasizes the perverse pleasures that Nahuas received from sexual acts he considered sinful. Through an analysis of the images that Sahagún's aides produced in preparation for the magisterial work, the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, we will see that, like Landa, Sahagún was invested in viewing indigenous individuals as sexually perverse and many of the Nahua preconquest city-states as enhancing the power of a brutal warrior class.[6]

The sixteenth-century Franciscan ethnographers of the people of New Spain witness sex and violence and, in order to promote particular ethnopornographic views of the indigenous populations, they use their voyeurism to recode the acts that they see. The Franciscans watched the Nahuas and Maya very closely, working to intermix with the indigenous populations, learning their languages and customs.[7] The Franciscans found it extremely important to gaze closely upon indigenous practices. While they were not unique in this regard, the Franciscans, more than the other religious orders

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and the secular authorities, prioritized direct and close contact with the natives, including the intimate movements of bodies and flesh. This is why, in all of their correspondence with the Spanish crown, the Franciscans insisted that they were the ones who worked most closely with the Indians: they needed to work so closely with them in order to engage in an act of witnessing, a voyeurism that would provide them access to the indigenous soul.[8]

Such acts of looking and observing are key to both ethnography and colonialism. This sentence may seem quite obscure to some: in the standard story, colonialism is an active process in which the colonizer defeats the colonized. Yet, as many studies of colonial processes have shown, observation is important.[9] Fifty-six years after the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlán in 1521, Spain's King Philip ordered the preparation of vast descriptions of the New World. The responses, the *relaciones geográficas*, were to be extensive, intrusive observations of the conquered worlds. Despite the fact that the *relaciones* often were of limited use, the act of observation, the voyeurism directed at the indigenous populations and lands, was intended as a key colonial tool.[10]

Sahagún and, to a lesser extent, Landa argued that their writings were important to this process of observation and colonization. Further, the key writings that they produced were collaborative ventures with indigenous peoples. The authorship of Sahagún's *Historia general* involved four Nahua aides and many more informants, while Landa's *Relación* likely had several authors and should not even be considered a single coherent text.[11] This sense of collaboration, very familiar to some of the most recent and theoretically sophisticated ethnographies that have come out,[12] belies the fact that the two friars regularly inserted themselves—along with their own desires, fantasies, and fears—into their stories in extraordinarily opaque ways.

Throughout this chapter, I argue that we must understand the fantasies of Landa and Sahagún as both projection and abjection. They projected their own fears—of penetration and perversion—onto the Maya and the Nahuas. In doing so, they expressed their visceral disgust, creating an abject subject, one whose masculinity came into question through the fierce nature of sexual perversion and pain.

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Franciscan Tradition

The Franciscans came to the New World with particular quirks in their own history: they condemned worldly pleasures of all kinds, often linked sex with violence, and engaged in extensive self-flagellation.[13] As they gazed

upon the indigenous populations of New Spain, they witnessed ritual performances and daily activity, providing these events with meaning filtered through their preconceived notions of the world. Hence, Landa created the abject Maya man, with his penis strung together with other Maya men. And Sahagún created the Nahua sexual subject—a man proudly engaged in sacrifice linked with sex.[14] Landa and Sahagún both imagined the indigenous man gaining pleasure through violent ritual—only through the devil's embrace could such pleasure take place.

The Franciscans were not just any order of monks that came from the Catholic Church. In fact, they existed as a controversial order in a fraught relationship with both the social and the spiritual world.[15] If we look at the earliest attempts by the Franciscans to establish themselves in New Spain, we find the great lore of twelve friars who walked barefoot from Veracruz to Mexico City, where they greeted the conqueror, Hernando Cortés, who appeared before them on his knees.[16] This was a time of great Franciscan idealism, influenced heavily by the thought of the spiritual Franciscan reformers, those who believed that a corrupt church and society throughout Europe needed to move toward a state of nature, and a closeness with God, a position in line with an attempt to re-create what these reformers believed to be the simple lives of the early followers of Jesus.[17] The recently "discovered" Americas provided just that context for the Franciscans. This intellectual package led the twelve to believe that they could form, in the Nahuas, a kingdom of heaven on earth.[18]

More to the point, from the thirteenth century onward, the Franciscans had established a significant sect of millenarians who believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent.[19] They thus rejected the material trappings of society in favor of a bare existence that would allow them to focus their time and energy on the spiritual world rather than the material one. The appearance of this pious and impoverished order caused significant controversy both within the Church hierarchy and among European political leaders.[20] Individuals within the Franciscan order were often seen by members of high society (and likely by commoners as well) as always unusual and sometimes threatening in their efforts at asserting significant piety at the expense of material betterment.[21]

Further, their adherence to self-flagellation in an effort to both rid the body of unwanted desires and become more intimate with the experience of Christ during the Passion, seemed to many, both inside and outside of the Church, as problematic.[22] In fact, this link with the suffering Christ allowed the Franciscans to use the mortification of their own bodies to transcend

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the boundaries between the material and spiritual realms—flagellation, in other words, allowed Franciscans to experience physical pain and spiritual pleasure at the same time.[23] These spiritual concepts seemed to many outside of the order as potentially dangerous, leading to the persecution of some Franciscans by the Inquisition and other authorities.[24]

Still, by the sixteenth century, the Franciscans had received more mainstream acceptance—partially as a result of Catholic response to early rumblings of the Protestant Reformation.[25] The Franciscans received permission from the Spanish Crown to set up parishes in the New World, and particularly to establish control over the education of the indigenous populations in much of New Spain. They thus became intricately linked with the conquest—developing a complex relationship with the conquerors, many of whom had more concern for material wealth than the spiritual health of the people.[26] The Franciscans, the conquerors knew, could help acculturate the indigenous peoples. But at the same time, the conquerors did not trust the Franciscans, and they continually lodged complaints about friars who interfered with their efforts at exploiting the indigenous populations for material gain.[27]

Almost immediately after the conquest the Franciscans began their efforts at understanding the indigenous populations with the express purpose of instructing them in Christian religion and ritual. The Franciscans engaged in a great effort to learn indigenous languages (particularly Nahuatl, but also Maya and other languages) in order to penetrate the true beings of their indigenous parishioners in what many have termed a form of early colonial ethnographic practice of native bodies, practices, customs, and beliefs.[28] They further worked to establish the various sacraments, including confession, designed to get the indigenous populations to bare their souls to their priests.[29] Finally, the Franciscans established a genre that in some manner resembles ethnography in order to gain an understanding of indigenous lives, ritual practices, and gods.[30] However, while some have argued that these practices are related to the founding of modern ethnography, this is too simplistic: these Franciscan ethnographies are didactic, polemical, and have the purpose of religious instruction. This ethnographic genre, in other words, developed through the concept of the Franciscan gaze. Franciscans needed to attend carefully to their spiritual duties, and they could do so only by remaining vigilant as they watched the indigenous populations very closely.

This form of ethnography reached its most mature stage with Bernardino de Sahagún's work. By the time Sahagún and his four Nahua aides

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began their ethnographic research in the 1550s, the Franciscan days of idealism had ended, even as their linguistic skills increased. Sahagún, who had arrived in New Spain in 1529, turned out to be an excellent philologist who learned the intricacies of Nahuatl very quickly. He further provided a critique of conversion and instruction in Christianity.[31] In doing so, he portrayed himself as a doctor diagnosing his patient. Like a good doctor, he asserted, the cleric must understand the history of the individual before him.[32] In this case, that meant a careful, painstaking dissection of Nahua religion and society. By closely surveying the lives of the people that the priest desires to change, he would discover the real problems that the parishioners sought to solve through their spiritual frameworks.[33] This required close and detailed observation, which demanded a careful gaze placed upon the Nahuas. Through decades of working very closely with Nahua aides, living in Nahua communities, talking to many Nahuas, searching through preconquest Nahua manuscripts, and educating himself and others in Nahua traditions, Sahagún believed that he knew the Nahuas as well as any Spaniard could possibly know them.

Diego de Landa was perhaps more of an accidental ethnographer. He came to Yucatán in 1549 with a small group of Franciscans. He became enmeshed in the Maya population, learning a great deal about their language, history, and culture. By 1561 he had become the leader of the Franciscans in Yucatán.[34] In 1562, however, something went awry as Landa found evidence of idolatrous activities and human sacrifice in one region of Yucatán. At this point, Landa established an inquest into the practices in which priests throughout the province questioned four thousand Maya individuals under the threat of torture in order to get them to confess to committing idolatrous acts. Hundreds died through torture, while others committed suicide.[35] When Yucatán's first bishop, Francisco de Toral, arrived, he halted Landa's extirpation campaign.[36] By 1563 Landa had returned to Spain in order to defend himself. During that time, Landa wrote parts of what we now know of as the *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*. Vindicated in Spain, Landa returned to Yucatán, as the bishop to replace Toral, in 1573.[37]

Diego de Landa and Maya Sacrifice

It is in this context that we must understand Landa's *Relación* and his portrayal of the Maya sacrificial activity described at the beginning of this chapter. Landa had become deeply disappointed in the Maya, who, according

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to his view, continued to engage in idolatry and human sacrifice. He thus developed an extensive account of these practices. We need to note as well that the text suggests a direct witnessing of a wide variety of Maya ceremonies, including the one with which I began this chapter. Landa's gaze, despite the absence of any discussion of his place in the text, is central to his ethnographic project.

But, while reading the *Relación*, one quickly notices that the text is quite disjointed. As historians Matthew Restall and John Chuchiak have noted, we cannot view this text as a singular piece of writing authored by Landa, but rather must see it as a series of related texts and notes compiled by Landa over as many as three decades.[38] There is no evidence that he intended this as a single text, or even that he wrote all of it himself. It seems likely that parts of the text were written by at least one of his key Maya informants, Gaspar Antonio Chi. Further, the text may incorporate other unmentioned authors (both Franciscans and Maya), and some of the text may simply reconstruct Landa's research notes. Finally, the compilers of the *Relación* (who compiled the text after Landa's death) may have left things out that Landa intended to include. This all suggests that the enterprise to produce the *Relación* incorporated many authors and influences: it was a collaborative project.[39] However, in this collaboration, it is clear that Landa's imagination and passionate interest in Maya spiritual and cultural life greatly influenced the final text that would come to be known as the *Relación*.

Landa's interests focused on Maya ritual, including the ethnopornographic portrayal that serves as an epigraph to this chapter. Here I use this ceremony as a prototypical example of Landa's ethnopornography. In doing so, I do not mean to suggest that here Landa portrays a sexual act for the purpose of prurient pleasures. Indeed, one would be correct in assuming that the Maya did not consider such an act "sexual." As I have noted elsewhere, the Maya did not delineate a category of sexuality in the same way that modern Westerners would come to understand the term, or even a category of "carnal sin" as Europeans of the time understood it.[40] For the purpose of this chapter, moreover, the important point is how Landa and his fellow Franciscans conceived of this rite. Landa was perplexed both by the pain and the drive of the Maya men to engage in such activity. He maintains that he saw the pierced penis as something "dirty" (*sucio*) and "painful" (*penoso*). He uses these terms to express his visceral sense of disgust at witnessing such a ceremony. For, how could the Maya man consider the penetration of his penis by a stingray spine to be a test of masculine "valor"? Landa wants to focus our gaze upon this pierced virile member;

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he wants us to experience with him the visceral reaction to the Maya male body, and to the person with the desire to pierce his own penis.

I argue that Landa engages in a particular type of ethnopornography by asserting strategic difference between himself, as a Franciscan persecuted by the Church hierarchy (Bishop Toral) and secular authorities, and the Maya men, who in this text escape persecution, but who outside of the text face Landa's wrath. In asserting such a distinction between himself and the Maya man as Other, I argue that Landa in essence queers the Maya man. What could be more queer than a bunch of men with their penises strung together, offering their genital blood to a demon? In asserting the presence of the Maya men engaging in blood sacrifice, Landa says much about himself as a member of an unusual order of Christian men, a man both disappointed by Maya men and persecuted by Spanish men. By engaging in this act of queering the Maya men, Landa wishes to evoke the visceral: as he witnesses the queer act, he wants his readers to imagine the friar's body convulsing with disgust.[41]

Landa goes on to portray his reaction to this rite: "It is horrifying how enthusiastic they were."[42] In other words, from Landa's perspective, it is not just that the individuals involved engaged in an idolatrous act, the ostensible rationale for his extirpation campaign, but more to the point, the men were extremely enthusiastic about this practice—they got something out of the ritual. One wonders how Landa's own frightful reaction compared to his understanding of the corporeal reactions of the flagellant groups that existed among the Franciscans in late medieval Europe.[43] Indeed, Landa's imagination would have certainly gone there, allowing him to think about the demonic influences that provide individuals with ecstatic pleasure as they approach their gods—Landa certainly understood, as his Maya informants would have portrayed it, that these rites allowed Maya men to become closer to the gods. Hearing this, Landa would wonder about the immense pleasures of his own predecessors (and himself) as they mortified their bodies for Christ. And he would conclude that the Maya had a mistaken notion regarding the presence of the true god, but a correct notion that one needed to engage in bodily sacrifice in order to approach that god. Still, Landa's visceral reaction would have been disgust, a position that shows his belief that the Maya men had a warped sense of masculinity and spirituality.

In order to understand the position of this rite within the thought of the Franciscan friar, one must work through the meanings of the comparisons that Landa wished to emphasize, the context of his existence in a Catholic order that had recently gone through a reevaluation of its own humanistic

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idealism, and his presence in the midst of a colonial enterprise in which a relative handful of Spaniards and Africans lived among several hundred thousand Maya people.[44]

Most centrally here, we can envision Landa's notion of a flawed Maya masculinity in which his gaze appeared to condemn Maya men while elevating Maya women to a state of perpetual quasi-innocence.[45] By engaging in such a description, Landa means to focus our attention on an ethnopornography of Maya men.

To understand the form of Landa's ethnopornography, we must briefly review the place of blood sacrifice in the Maya ritual universe. For the Maya population before the Spanish conquest, the sacrifice of one's own blood and the blood of others was an important element of a broader set of religious performances.[46]

The blood rituals signified much about how Maya elites concerned themselves with the sexed body and notions of fertility. According to a variety of sources, the shedding of blood from the penis mimicked the menstruation of women.[47] By shedding this blood, male leaders envisioned themselves as both communicating with the gods and "giving birth" to the entire social body: this blood ensured the fertility of the world. The kings and priests, through their sacrificial acts, gave birth to crops on the earth, animals throughout the world, humans in their communities, and deities in the cosmos.

Unlike Landa's depiction, however, these rites did not just involve men, but rather could include both male and female nobles and commoners. So, in figure 5.1, we witness a woman piercing her tongue, with a man about to pierce his penis. The woman has pulled a rope through her tongue, and the hieroglyphic text tells us that the man will engage in similar blood sacrifice. We note that the bone between his spread legs is well positioned to begin to pierce the penis. The text says that the bloodletting was occasioned by the birth of a future king in 752 CE. Here, the child's parents, the current king and queen, sacrifice their own blood to ensure that the world will survive to see the child's rise to power.[48]

The importance of the queen's tongue in such a rite cannot be overstated. In almost all of these types of images, we see the woman's tongue, but not the man's penis. And it is not that the Maya were shy about showing the penis: Rosemary Joyce notes the prevalence of phallic images in Maya statues and within caves.[49] Yet, it appears that the types of rites discussed here mandated *both* a cloaked phallus and an exposed tongue. In a similar bloodletting rite that took place in 709 CE, the queen kneels before

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FIGURE 5.1 King and queen shedding their own blood, 752 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings,* 287. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

the king, who holds a lighted torch. She pulls rope through her tongue, and has blood spotted on her cheek. Below her the blood collects in a basket, which also holds the stingray spine that had pierced her tongue. The king, Shield Jaguar, according to the text, will also sacrifice his own blood. The woman's tongue appears to assure the reader that the invisible penis was also pierced, that the noble man also engaged in a sacrificial act to ensure the future of the earth.[50]

The phallic sign asserts not a clear gendered division but rather a communicative practice to assure fertility.[51] The blank stares of the individuals engaged in blood sacrifice in Maya images assure the viewer that their gaze is not of this world but rather ensures that the participants have visions of and communications with the gods. In fact, these images may be read as

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FIGURE 5.2 Queen shedding blood from her tongue, 709 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings*, 267. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

FIGURE 5.3 Men shedding blood from the penis, 766 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings*, 302. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

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texts that show where the nobles go once they have shed their blood—they see the serpents that lead them to the world of the gods.[52]

In other rites that involved only men, we witness the importance of penis piercing to the maintenance of the community, both in agricultural rituals and in more cosmically oriented events that men held with each other. In figure 5.3, we see the king in 766 CE across from one of his governors. The king pierces his penis, and his blood collects in a container on the ground. Even here, while his blood flows, an image of a perforator god hides the penis.[53]

Maya nobles and commoners viewed blood sacrifice as an event central to the community in that it signified the future of the world. Without such sacrifice, both from men's genitals and from women's tongues, the crops would not grow, and animals and humans would not survive. In all these rites the Maya participants intended to shed their blood, cause their pain, in order to assure fertility and futurity.

So, how did Landa, an expert on Maya culture and religion, miss this context? I argue that this had to do with the purpose and meaning behind ethnopornography. As the historian Inga Clendinnen says of Landa and the Franciscans, "There was a worse betrayal with the realisation that the Indians they had so tenderly protected, whose sufferings had so aroused their pity, whose trust they thought they had won, remained strangers: their faces closed, averted, masked, concealing depthless duplicity."[54] Bishop Toral believed that Landa was "enslaved by the passions of anger, pride, and cruelty."[55] Feeling betrayed and deeply disappointed, even depressed, according to his contemporaries, Landa returned to Spain.[56] In his return, he gathered his thoughts (and notes), and developed a vigorous and, as we have noted, ultimately successful, defense.

In his writings, by portraying Maya men as out of control, Landa showed that they engaged in orgies, abused women, and, most importantly, performed idolatrous acts in which they did unspeakable things to the bodies of themselves and others.[57] Maya women and children were innocent, chaste, and good Christians. Maya women came to Landa and to other priests and friars to find out about Christianity and to resist the sexual and idolatrous advances of Maya men.[58] Those men, however, with some exceptions, resisted Christianity and engaged in idolatrous and sacrificial practices. These men, participating in all male communal rites, could be seduced by the devil into performing such sacrifice, into lining up with each other and stringing their penises together: into, in other words, an inverted queer relationship with their gods. And they went even further than this as Maya men developed a cult of warriors that engaged in extreme

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torture, human sacrifice that began with the warrior using his arrow to "wound the individual, whether a man or a woman, in the private parts."[59] Landa thus misappropriates Maya ceremonial practice by producing ethnopornography to express his visceral disgust directed toward Maya men.

Bernardino de Sahagún and Aztec Pornography

When I first studied Landa, I assumed that he was an exceptional—and exceptionally cruel—figure. But I soon discovered that, while he did indeed torture the indigenous population, his writing and particularly his research emanated from the same type of rhetoric that occupied the rest of the Franciscan order (and, to a certain extent, Catholic clerics more generally). Even Bernardino de Sahagún, the famed Franciscan who produced the encyclopedic *Florentine Codex* (the aforementioned *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*), an extensive ethnographic study of Nahua society, produced a certain type of ethnopornography to support his ideas.[60]

Consider this scenario: Bernardino de Sahagún, the sixty-year-old Franciscan friar, walks into the room in the sweltering heat of summer in Tepepulco. He and his entourage had arrived in the Nahuatl-speaking community a year earlier, and now his Nahua aides had begun to engage in extensive research: their job was to study the culture and society as it had existed at the time of the Spanish conquest. Sahagún and his fellow friars had trained these four aides, and they were fluent in Spanish and Latin (as well as Nahuatl). Sahagún, also fluent in these languages, oversaw the project and provided an outline for the research. Today, the aides sit across the table from five old men, the leaders of Tepepulco. The aides have been asking the old men about the terms for different types of people, men and women, in the community, and have asked them to describe the different categories. After each category is placed on paper, they discuss the characteristics of the individual described. Now that the friar has entered the room, the discussion has stopped. Sahagún asks one of his aides to see the paper on which they have been writing. He takes his time reading the Nahuatl (there is no Spanish text), and he notes that his aides have described men and women by age and marital status; they have established certain metaphorical representations for many of them. He asks for a clarification about one category (a very old stooped woman), but the friar has something else on his mind. He is thinking about sin, and particularly about *el pecado nefando*, the "abominable sin" of sodomy. So

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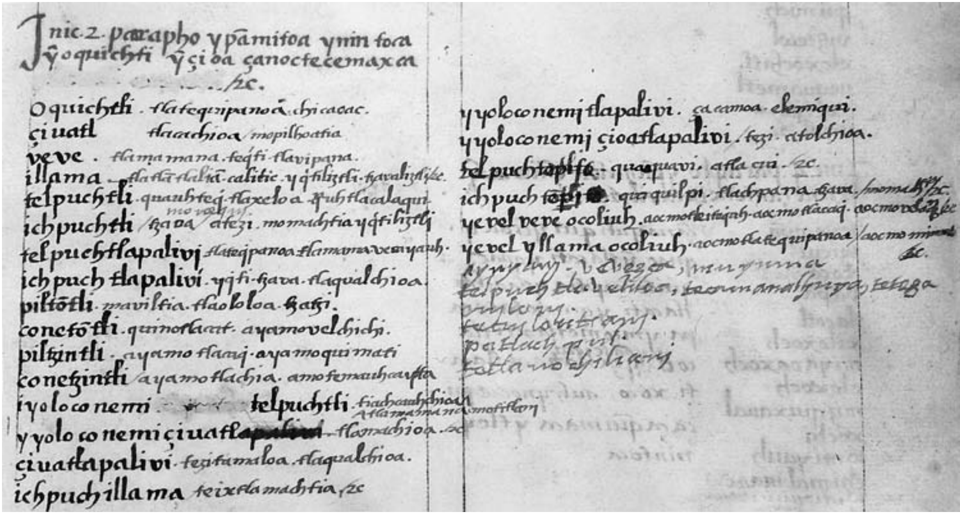

FIGURE 5.4 Sexual identities according to Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales* (facsimile) (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), f. 82r.

he asks the elderly men about sinners, and Sahagún himself, having taken the quill from one of his aides, writes down what they say: *tepuchtlaveliloc*, *tecamanalhuya*, *tetaza* ("wicked [male] youth; one who makes fun of people; one who knocks people down"). Dissatisfied with this answer, the friar turns to his aides and says that he wants to ask about the pecado nefando. His aides explain to the elderly men, who simply provide a few words: *cuilonj*, *tecuilontianj*, *patlachpul*, *tetlanochilianj.* While Sahagún asks for further description, the elders give none.[61]

In figure 5.4 we read the results of this scenario: toward the end of the folio we read *in Sahagún's own hand* the terms mentioned above.[62] This is from the *Primeros memoriales*, the text derived from the early research of Sahagún's team. The terms *cuiloni* (the correct spelling, once such spelling is standardized, of Sahagún's *cuilonj)*, *tecuilontiani*, and *patlachpul* are complex terms related in some manner to homosexual activity, while the final term, *tetlanochiliani*, is a term used for those who procure prostitutes.[63] This is the only place in the entire manuscript that discusses quotidian sexual activity of any kind.

Here we have laid before us the process in which early modern Franciscans produced ethnopornography. The Nahua men had discussed what they thought to be an effective set of categories for the women and men of their society. But the Franciscan thought this insufficient as, in accordance

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with Christian doctrine of the time,[64] he wanted to challenge the carnal sins of the population. Thus, in order to train Franciscan friars, in order for him to show them how they need to observe the indigenous population, he wanted to find categories for those sins. In our scenario, here, however, I have just suggested that the friar used the term "pecado nefando," without any further explication. But did he use such a term? The Spanish terms are somewhat unclear: would he have used "pecado nefando," *sodomía*, or some other term to elicit the responses? And what Spanish phrase would he have used to get the Nahuas to respond with *patlache*, a term apparently related to some individual with a female or gender-indeterminate body engaging in sexual activity with women? Perhaps he used the obscure terminology utilized by his Franciscan colleague, Alonso de Molina, in his definition *hazerlo vna muger a otra* ("for one woman to do it with another")?[65]

The ethnopornographer creates a taxonomy of subjects, in this case queer subjects, over whom the Spaniards would rule. Of course, from Sahagún's perspective, he was simply trying to understand the realities of the Nahua population in order to combat non-Christian beliefs and instruct the population in proper Christianity. In doing so, he needs to gaze closely upon Nahua sexual activity, and he requires Catholic confessors to follow up by peering even more closely at Nahua bodies.

I argue that the power of ethnography, a term I use as a conscious anachronism, links with the ability to represent observation as objective fact when it instead creates for us the fiction of the desiring indigenous individual, a fiction promulgated by the need for the colonizer to produce a stable subject over whom to rule. This ethnographic observation was in full force in the early sixteenth century, when both Spanish and indigenous ethnographers engaged in a taxonomic revolution that changed indigenous concepts of sacrifice to sin and, eventually, to sex, and it remains in full force today.

The Ethnopornographic Images of the *Florentine Codex*

In order to more fully comprehend the place of the Franciscans in the creation of ethnopornography, we must analyze the pornographic imaginary in the most sophisticated version of Franciscan ethnography, Sahagún's *Historia general.* Here I use five images from the text, images produced by Nahua scribes/artists, known in Nahuatl as *tlacuilos.* The tlacuilos were traditionally trained to paint images that told extensive stories of history,

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ritual, and religion. Trained readers/priests would interpret these images and tell the stories to the communities.[66]

I argue that the images here become pornographic when the *Historia general* refers to a body engaged in sexual activity or with an identity that presumes such activity. That body becomes intelligible as a sexed individual only through its colonization and archivization.[67] Thus the writers and artists producing the *Historia general*, and particularly the authorizing voice of Sahagún, want the readers to imagine the individual body engaged in sexual activity. This process of mistranslating the indigenous individual into the colonized sexed subject forms a pornographic imaginary universe connecting the Franciscan friar to his desired European readers.

In the case of the *Historia general*, Sahagún sought out individuals trained in traditional painting and writing, but he of course wanted a different type of story told.[68] For him the images would be illustrative additions to the text, and the topics presented by the images would be different from the topics traditionally addressed by tlacuilos. So, for example, while tlacuilos before the conquest never painted anything about quotidian activities of individual people, the first three images presented here signify quotidian sexual behavior.[69] This very fact tells us much about the ethnopornographic process at work: it is not just the fact that these images present sexual activity but also the very nature of the documentation: quotidian, individual subject formation is taking place in this text.

Figure 5.5 is the image that appears alongside a text for the *cuiloni*. The text connects "cuiloni" with excrement, corruption, filth, mockery, and cross-dressing. As I have noted elsewhere, "cuiloni" appears to be an approximate equivalent for the passive partner in sodomy. The term *tecuilontiani*, mentioned above, appears to be a term for the active partner in sodomy.[70] While we can recognize the English terms as outdated and referencing activities with biblical connotations that Nahuas could not have understood before the conquest, this is in fact the point: through the placement of the image and the above text promulgated by Sahagún's intervention, we have Spaniards peering at Nahuas and envisioning sexual acts and identities that have little to do with the original framework in which these acts and identities may have been situated. We have access here only to Spanish ethnopornography, in which we imagine the cuiloni as the sodomite.

The image in figure 5.5 appears intended to make such an identification perfectly clear but does little to help us understand Nahua frameworks. On the left side, we witness two individuals speaking with each other, one dressed as a man, the other dressed as a woman. Between them, we have two

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FIGURE 5.5 “Cuiloni.” From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 25v.

speech scrolls and a flower. The Nahuas did not likely view the seemingly phallic speech scrolls as phalluses, but they did envision the flower as a sign of sexual activity. Still, the figures are fully dressed, and we do not have any portrayal of sex. On the right side of the image, we witness more ethnopornography through violence. The text tells us that the cuiloni was burned by fire, and here we see the individual’s body burned. The connection between sex and violence was of course a familiar one for the Franciscan friar, and the presence of such an image in the text could have assured him of similar moral values asserted by the Nahuas. We recall of course that Sahagún himself inserted the concept of cuiloni into the research project, and here has gotten his aides and tlacuilos to define the concept in terms familiar to the friar. This ethnopornography creates the colonial sexual subject.

Figure 5.6 references the patlache. The standing figure appears to be a woman with exposed breasts and a hand covering her genitals. She also wears a cape, typically worn by a man. She points at another individual, who is seated and wears women’s clothes. The text that accompanies this image says that the patlache has a penis and the various body parts of a man. In other words, the patlache, according to this text, seems to reference a woman who passes as a man (and who may, it appears, have sex with women). The image suggests Sahagún, his aides, and the painter as ethnopornographers trying, unsuccessfully, to translate from one signifying system of sex/body/gender to another. Here the erotic component of the two individuals seems lost and the ethnopornography has failed.[71]

In figure 5.7, we find the *alhuiani*, the Nahua “pleasure woman” or “prostitute.” We can note that Nahuatl does not reference gender here, and “alhuiani” simply translates approximately as “one who provides pleasure.”

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FIGURE 5.6 "Patlache." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 40v.

FIGURE 5.7 "Alhuiani." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 39v.

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Further, the individual painting the image does not show us anything that we would deem lascivious or representative of prostitutes either in early modern Europe or today. We have a woman in an outfit with flowers on it—and we know from the text that the flowers signify her role as a prostitute. Hence we also find her holding flowers and stepping on other flowers. So the flowered garment becomes her signifier. In this case, as in figures 5.5 and 5.6, we are left without an obvious referent to sexual activity, but instead we have a sign that serves as an identifying marker of sexual subjectivity.

So, how do these three images link with the topic of this chapter and this volume? I argue that the very presence of such images in the *Historia general* is a form of ethnopornography. Sahagún placed his system of categorization in the imaginations of his aides, tlacuilos, and informants in the 1550s, the time when they engaged in the production of the *Primeros memoriales.* Twenty years later, as they were completing the *Historia general*, the Nahuas working with Sahagún had developed some understanding of sexual subjectivity, and this understanding led to the production of images of the cuiloni, patlache, and alhuiani. While those images do not seem particularly salacious to us, the very placement of sexual subjectivity where there had been none represents a particularly pernicious form of ethnopornographic production. The very process of *mistranslation* of the body and its sexed acts—sexed, that is, in a European frame—is an effective form of ethnopornography. The European audience becomes aware of the sexed indigenous body through a power relationship in which the friar invents this particular body, taking it out of its indigenous context and thereby helping to form a subjugated, colonized individual.

This ethnopornography is further developed in the *Historia general*'s descriptions of ritual ceremonies. The focus here on violence, sacrifice, and fertility, I maintain, is evocative not of a reproduction of Nahua rites but rather of the violent gaze of ethnopornography. In particular, the description of the ceremony of Toxcatl, a ceremony celebrating warriors, allows us a greater understanding of the imagined sexual activity and gendered aesthetic of a particularly powerful Nahua god, the trickster Tezcatlipoca.[72]

Here the images present a somewhat different story than the accompanying text in the *Historia general*. In the text, the priests select one man at the beginning of the year to become the Tezcatlipoca *ixiptla* (the ixiptla, commonly translated as "impersonator," obtains Tezcatlipoca's name and becomes destined for sacrifice).[73] We see this individual in the center of figure 5.8, with his headdress, shield, and mirror. The text says that the

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FIGURE 5.8 "Tezcatlipoca Ixiptla." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 2 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 30v.

high priests choose the Tezcatlipoca ixiptla from among the noble captives. He should be a high-level noble, and his physical attributes should signify the perfect masculine individual in the Nahua universe. Furthermore, he should play the flute well and be an excellent warrior. The narrative tells us that the individual goes around the community for an entire year, being worshipped as Tezcatlipoca, and at the end of the year, he is sacrificed.

In figure 5.8 we see this ixiptla standing between the men and women of the community, and I argue that the image presents him without a clear gender. He wears a body suit that covers his genitalia in such a manner that we do not know if the individual even has genitals, while the men to his left wear loincloths and capes. The loincloth draws our attention to the cloaked phallus, but for the ixiptla our attention is focused elsewhere. Further, his

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position between the men and the women suggests an indeterminate gender, though of course the men and women are prostrating themselves before him because they worship him as a god.

Tezcatlipoca was a trickster god, one who could appear on earth as man or woman, animal or human. This ambiguous position enhanced the power of this particular god, who could signify the female and the male at the same time. More to the point, here in this image, he brings the community together for the Toxcatl ceremony.

As the narrative moves along, the ixiptla asserts masculine sexuality in a polygamous frame as he is married off to four goddesses signifying various elements of the earth: he will make the earth fertile through his sexual activity, something not shown in the images. He also will arguably engage in bisexual sexual activity, as the narrative mentions an obscure sexual connection with another ixiptla, a representative of the supreme Mexica war god, Huitzilopochtli.[74]

In one final image (figure 5.9), we see the ixiptla sacrificed. Here, let us begin our analysis at the bottom of the pyramid, where we see broken flutes. The flute was key to Tezcatlipoca's ixiptla. He had to play a flute well.[75] For, "with [the flute] he held his flowers and his smoking cane, and [he would] blow and suck on [the flute], and smell [the flowers]."[76] The acts of blowing on the flute and smelling the flowers signify Tezcatlipoca's sexual nature. The flower, for the Nahuas, connected the earth with sexual activity and specifically signified sexual desire.[77] The ixiptla smelling his flower suggests he gives birth to sexual elements in society.

The flute, a phallic signifier, becomes a central element in Toxcatl as the ixiptla goes about the community blowing and sucking on the flute. As he ascends the pyramid, he "shatters his flute [*itlapitzal*], his whistle [*jvilacapitz*]."[78] As art historian Cecelia Klein notes, one should not underestimate the significance of the shattered flute.[79] The flute signifies the phallus, and its root, *pitz*, has sexual significance. The term relates to huffing and puffing on something, blowing something, and playing an instrument. At the same time, *pitz* relates closely to *pitzahtzi*, "to speak in a high voice," presented elsewhere as "to sing in falsetto," or to "speak like a woman."[80]

The broken flutes on the temple appear to come tumbling down. The ixiptla and the priests had likely trampled on the two at the bottom while they made their way to the pyramid. This act—trampling upon the flutes—suggests a phallic divestiture in which the priests literally stamp out a key element of Tezcatlipoca's existence. In the image, the broken flutes parallel the blood running down the temple. Just as the flutes come tumbling

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FIGURE 5.9 "Tezcatlipoca sacrificed." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 2 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 30v.

down, so will the blood. Further, the story continues, as we can see, at the top of the pyramid, as three priests stretch out the ixiptla while a fourth excises this individual's heart. The priests wear loincloths and capes, while the ixiptla appears naked, though his genitals are blocked by the priest kneeling down as he removes the heart. In other words, here at the very end, we witness the priests' signified phalluses (the loincloths) while the ixiptla's phallus (signified by the flutes) has been destroyed.[81] In the end, the priests will fling the ixiptla's body off the temple, so this body, like the flutes, will come down, thrown away like trash.[82]

The Toxcatl ceremony signified fertility, sexual activity, and warrior status. Here the *Historia general* has used the ceremony to evoke particular

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reactions among readers: disgust and intrigue. The tlacuilos who painted the images did not focus on sexual activity per se but rather worked to promote some understanding of the violent nature of the ritual. By evoking the connection between violence and fertility in Nahua thought, Sahagún promotes a particularly partial view of Nahua religion, one in which the masculine cult of warriors appears bloodthirsty. The positions of the bodies of these warriors and the ixiptla signify early attempts at developing and theorizing an ethnopornographic approach to the Other by promoting the bloody nightmare of the sacrificed Tezcatlipoca.

In creating sexual subjects on the one hand while witnessing extraordinary acts of ritual violence on the other, Sahagún wants us to think of him as an objective observer, describing what he understands to be the sexual and ritual components of Nahua life. However, like later ethnographers, Sahagún hides his position in the creation of the ethnography. We see some sleights of hand as he plays an active role in the creation of the Nahua sexual subject, seeking to fit this individual into a developing and constantly changing European taxonomic universe. Similarly, when portraying rituals of violence, Sahagún and his painters create a fearsome rite for European readers, and Sahagún warns elsewhere that his Franciscan contemporaries need to exercise caution and vigilance in seeking out idolatrous activities that have the potential to destroy the veneer of Nahua civilization and Christianization.

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Desire and the Archive

> The life of civilized peoples in pre-Columbian America is a source of wonder to us, not only in its discovery and instantaneous disappearance, but also because of its bloody eccentricity, surely the most extreme ever conceived by an aberrant mind. Continuous crime committed in broad daylight for the mere satisfaction of deified nightmares, terrifying phantasms, priests' cannibalistic meals, ceremonial corpses, and streams of blood evoke not so much the historical adventure, but rather the blinding debauches described by the illustrious Marquis de Sade. This observation applies, it is true, mostly to Mexico.
>
> —GEORGES BATAILLE, "Extinct America," *October* 36 (1986): 3.

Over three centuries after Landa and Sahagún wrote their tracts, Georges Bataille, the French modernist and cultural theorist, augurs in further nightmares, fantasies about a bloodthirsty Mexico (he primarily means to reference the Nahuas but also includes the Maya in his description) beyond

even the historical dramas that one may find in medieval Europe, invoking the specter of the Marquis de Sade. One may ask why Bataille would reference Sade—an individual connected with torturous sexual acts—rather than barbarous conquerors from the Crusades, Roman emperors engaged in acts of sacrifice, Muslim or Chinese rulers famous for their brutality, or even the Spanish conquerors. Bataille would have known of all of these possibilities for comparison but instead used Sade to make a particular point—the Aztecs and Maya engaged in torturous activity beyond the historical imagination, activity that a European mind could only conceive as excessive; Bataille wanted his readers to imagine bodies going through tortures that would cause them nightmares, that would disrupt their sensibilities. And this disruption could only lead his readers to think through the extreme pleasures and desires sought by Sade, equally performed by the ancient Mexicans he summons. Bataille performs a modernist version of Landa and Sahagún's ethnopornography. He takes the indigenous rite out of its context and suggests the most sexually depraved Western author imaginable to him as a point of comparison—and from there he forecloses the Nahuas and Maya from history itself.

Landa, Sahagún, and Bataille share similar fantasies and fears. They all fantasize about the debauched indigenous sexual subject, one who does not adhere to the rules of the civilized world but rather pierces penises and engages in orgies. The Franciscans, along with Bataille, feign shock at the practices of these people—but they cannot stop looking at them. They witness strange sexual practices, disgusting violence, and degrading bodily mortifications. But they keep staring; and they make us look.

As we invest our time in the archive, we often encounter significant boredom, going through many texts that archivists placed in the building simply because somebody notarized a particular document, making it worthy of archivization. Then we come across texts in Seville like the one written by Landa, or in Florence like the one authored by Sahagún, and we become excited, exhilarated even, to find that the original authors had become extremely dedicated to their projects for various reasons: they wanted to wipe out idolatry, respond to charges against themselves, understand indigenous lore, and control an unruly population. In doing so, they developed portrayals that emphasized the perverse nature of indigenous bodies: malformed, penetrated, and engaged in disgusting sexual and ritual activity. The Franciscan authors, feeling persecuted for their own actions, projected such feelings onto the bodies of the indigenous peoples. As they engage in such projection, the friars force us to look at the Franciscan

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magic. Suddenly they create a sexual subject. Suddenly they deform an indigenous body through (viewing) violent acts. And—poof—they produce an ethnography and make us think of it as objective when it in fact develops a pornographic version of truth.

Notes

1 For a discussion of the visceral and its relationship with the colonial Latin American archive, see Zeb Tortorici, "Visceral Archives of the Body: Consuming the Dead, Digesting the Divine," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 4 (2013): 407–37.

2 Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 93–111.

3 Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 126–30.

4 Landa, *Relación,* 125.

5 Landa, *Relación,* 129–31.

6 On the Nahua city-state, the *altepetl,* see James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

7 See Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest.*

8 Note that for the preconquest Nahuas and the Maya, such an act of witnessing was also key. For it was the gaze of the commoners and the nobles of neighboring polities upon the participants in massive sacrificial ceremonies that led to the maintenance of spiritual and earthly authority for the leaders of the central powers.

9 See particularly Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

10 For a discussion of the relaciones, see Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

11 Matthew Restall and John F. Chuchiak, "A Reevaluation of the Authenticity of Fray Diego de Landa's *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*," *Ethnohistory* 48, no. 3 (2002): 651–69.

12 See, for one recent example, Leslie A. Robertson and the Kwagu'l Gixsam Clan, *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las: Jane Constance Cook and the Politics of Memory, Church, and Custom* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012). Robertson and the Gixsam Clan collectively wrote the book. The nonlinear narrative, with the focus on an interaction between the anthropologist, the indigenous community (Cook's descendants), and the memory of Cook, provides a way of dealing with memory and history through the presentation of multiple voices.

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13 See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001). See also the classic history of the Franciscans: John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

14 See Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 79–84, 92–102.

15 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 339–49, 479–500.

16 Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*, trans. Lesley Bird Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 15–38.

17 D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 104–6. On the thought of the spiritual Franciscans, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans.*

18 Brading, *First America*, 108–9; Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 128–32.

19 Brading, *First America*, 108–9; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 256–93.

20 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 302–19. On the Mexican context, see Amos Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1996); Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

21 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 337–49; Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching, and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam Fidem catholicam . . .* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014).

22 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans,* 191–212. See also Gary Dickson, "Encounters in Medieval Revivalism: Monks, Friars, and Popular Enthusiasts," *Church History* 68, no. 2 (1999): 265–93.

23 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans,* 151–59. For a salacious take on this theme, see William M. Cooper, *Flagellation and the Flagellants: A History of the Rod* (Amsterdam: Fredonia Books, 2001), 70–74.

24 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans.*

25 Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation;* Pardo, *Origins of Mexican Catholicism.*

26 See Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*; Matthew Restall, *The Maya World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

27 For some examples, see Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, eds., *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

28 See Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico.*

29 On confession in Mexico, see Pardo, *Origins of Mexican Catholicism.*

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30 On Sahagún as the first ethnographer, see J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber, eds., *The Works of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988); Miguel León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist,* trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
31 Luis Nicolau D'Olwer, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 4–12; León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún*, 92–95.
32 Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino* (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979) [hereafter CF], book 1, prologo, f. 1r; Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, *Florentine Codex, General History of the Things of New Spain*, by Bernardino de Sahagún, 13 vols. (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research / Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1950–82), *Introduction and Indices*, 45.
33 León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún*, 37–43.
34 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 70–71.
35 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests.*
36 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 97–100.
37 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 108.
38 Restall and Chuchiak, "Reevaluation."
39 Restall and Chuchiak, "Reevaluation."
40 See Pete Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 39–62.
41 The sense of "queer" that I evoke here comes from an analysis of the epistemology related to the assertion of radical difference from the other based on one's disgust at the other's embodied actions, particularly as those actions relate to same-sex attachments, which are then viewed as promoting destruction. See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); and Mel Y. Chen, *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
42 Landa, *Relación,* 127.
43 Niklaus Largier, *In Praise of the Whip: A Cultural History of Arousal* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2007), 125–26, 169–72.
44 See Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).
45 Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins,* 83–84.
46 Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Morrow, 1990); Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins.*
47 Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins,* 150–82.

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48 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 285–90.

49 Rosemary A. Joyce, "A Precolumbian Gaze: Male Sexuality Among the Ancient Maya," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Barbara Voss and Rob Schmidt (New York: Routledge, 2000), 263–83. See also Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyption Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 95–127.

50 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 265–72.

51 Here we do not see phallic divergence and power in the same way we do in the Western world. While the phallus has some significant importance to the Maya, the gendered divisions are not as clear. See Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins;* Joyce, "A Precolumbian Gaze." See also Chelsea Blackmore, "Ancient States and Ordinary People: A Feminist Re-imagining of Ancient Maya Power and the Everyday," *Critique of Anthropology* 36, no. 2 (2016): 103–21.

52 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 254–56, 287.

53 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 301–4.

54 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 128.

55 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 127–28.

56 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 102.

57 Landa, *Relación,* 116–17.

58 Landa, *Relación,* 110–11, 133–35.

59 Landa, *Relación,* 128.

60 See also Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion*, 177–205.

61 Here I use some imagination in a process of overreading the archive. While we cannot know for certain how this exchange took place, the situation I have imagined is significantly more likely than the ways we often read our notarial sources for transparent realities. The point here is that the source is highly mediated. See Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

62 The entire text that is in Sahagún's hand reads as follows:

"aynyanj. Vevezca, muyuma
telpuchtlaveliloc, tecamanalhuya, tetaza
cuilonj.
tecuilontianj.
patlachpul.
tetlanochilianj"

For more information on translation and interpretation, see Pete Sigal, "The *Cuiloni,* the *Patlache,* and the Abominable Sin: Homosexualities in Early Colonial Nahua Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (2005): 555–94.

63 Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion,* 82–83.

64 Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion,* 92.

65 See Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrua, 1992), 2:f. 80r. Also see Alonso

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de Molina, *Confessionario breue, en lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1565), f. 12 v, in which he asks, "Cuix aca occe ciuatl, amoneuan ammopatlachuique?"

66 See, for example, the description of *tlacuilos* in Eloise Quiñones Keber, *Codex Telleriano Remensis: Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

67 See Tim Dean, "Introduction: Pornography, Technology, Archive," in Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires, eds., *Porn Archives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

68 See Eloise Quiñones Keber, ed., *Representing Aztec Ritual: Performance, Text and Image in the Work of Sahagún* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002).

69 On the practices of the *tlacuilos* before and after the conquest, see Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

70 See Sigal, "*Cuiloni*."

71 CF, book 10, f. 40v: "Patlache: In patlache: ca tlahelcioatl, cioatl xipine tepule, choneoa, mioa, ateoa, mocioapotiani, mocioaicniuhtiani, mocicioapiltiani, cicioapile, oquichnacaio, oquichtlaque, ôoquichtlatoa, ôoquichnenemi, tetentzone, tomio, tzôtzoio, tepatlachuia, mocioaicniuhtia, aic monamictiznequi, cenca quincocolia aiel quimittaz in oquichti, tlatetzauia."

72 See Davíd Carrasco, "The Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. Davíd Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991); Cecelia Klein, "The Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca and Its Implications for Christ Crucified," in *Power, Gender, and Ritual in Europe and the Americas: Essays in Memory of Richard C. Trexler*, ed. Peter Arnade and Michael Rocke (Toronto, Canada: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008); Sigal, "The Perfumed Man," in Arnade and Rocke, *Power, Gender, and Ritual in Europe and the Americas.*

73 "Ixiptla" is a complex term used to refer to the position in between a human and a god, the person who becomes the god in sacrificial rituals. The ixiptla is most commonly translated as "impersonator." But this individual's position is quite complex, a liminal identity between the human and the divine. The two scholars who have studied this extensively both agree that the ixiptla was more than an impersonator. This person has an extensive amount of power, as s/he becomes a god. Yet, in another manner this person is among the least powerful in Nahua society, for s/he is destined for human sacrifice, and there is no way s/he can avoid that fate. See Alfredo López Austin, *Hombre-dios: Religión y política en el mundo náhuatl* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1973); Serge Gruzinski, *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989).

74 See Klein, "Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca."

75 See also Samuel Marti, "Flautilla de la penitencia: Fiesta grande de Tezcatlipoca," *Cuadernos Americanos* 72, no. 6 (1953): 147–57; Guilhem Olivier, "The Hidden

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King and the Broken Flutes: Mythical and Royal Dimensions of the Feast of Tezcatlipoca in Toxcatl," in Keber, *Representing Aztec Ritual.*

76 CF, book 2, chap. 24, f. 33r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 2:68.

77 See Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion.*

78 CF, book 2, chap. 24, f. 33r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 2:68.

79 Klein asks, "What did these broken flutes signify to the viewers of and participants in this ritual? Ethnographic reports from Melanesia, as well as South America, have noted the association of flutes with the male sex, and in some places specifically with the phallus. This raises the possibility that a similar connotation existed in preconquest Central Mexico. There is, it turns out, evidence that this was the case. The Nahuatl root of the word for flute, *tlapitzalli*, also appears in an adjective used by Sahagún's informants to describe the penis." Klein, "Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca," 280–81.

80 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115.

81 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115.

82 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115. On trash and its relationship to Nahua ritual, see Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion.*

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European Travelogues and Ottoman Sexuality

Sodomitical Crossings Abroad, 1550–1850

Ethnopornography thrives in the intersection formed by the sexual cultures of Europe and the Middle East, as the history of Orientalist discourse has taught us and as Orientalist painting has made so graphically explicit. One of the most potent yet underestimated forms that such expressions take, I argue in this chapter, involves aspersions about and covert expressions of male homosexuality. This homoerotic dimension of Orientalism primarily finds expression in centuries of European hyperbole fomenting visions of the sodomitical proclivities of men in the vast terrains once encompassed by the Ottoman Empire. But it also often involves the complex, sometimes unexpected ways in which these European fantasies and projections have been shaped by already existing, widely disseminated Middle East erotic and literary cultures. When these dimensions are read in contiguity to each other, the ethnopornographic propensities fueling much Orientalist discourse about male-male sexuality can take surprising forms of expression, ones that necessitate a more subtle, and supple, revaluation of the

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intertwined sexual as well as political histories of the West and the Middle East than the binary oppositions common to popular imagination allow.

Hence I share with Sidra Lawrence, in her contribution to this volume, the desire to move beyond one-sided "assumptions do not allow for an adequate examination of the multidirectional power flows and mediations that occur in practice." Rather we need to embrace the challenge—which is a simultaneously ethical and interdisciplinary one—of creating methods that allow us to "represent multidirectional ways of looking and knowing, of . . . exchanging and encountering and meeting partway and in between." Because ethnopornography as an approach collapses method and object, it in a sense already inhabits this "in between," making the concept an especially fertile terrain for attending to these entanglements and for developing, as the editors of this volume propose, an alternative reading practice and "a redemptive analytical position from which Western intellectuals might contribute to the rehabilitation of intercultural knowledge."

In terms of my focus on the cross-cultural complexities both dividing and uniting the West and the Middle East, the charges lobbed between Grecian and Turkish soccer rivals in 2007 form an instructive example of what happens when homosexuality becomes the source of ethnopornographic rhetoric and rage. Trading insults is a typical component of this sports rivalry, but name-calling assumed a new level when a YouTube video posted by Greek enthusiasts gleefully intimated that the Turkish Republic's founding father, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was homosexual. Outraged Turks responded by reminding their western neighbor of *its* reputation as the birthplace of pederasty, while the Turkish judiciary took the dramatic step of banning YouTube broadcasts within the nation.[1] History, inevitably, fuels this dispute. Greece was part of the Ottoman East from the fall of Athens in the mid-fifteenth century to its declaration of independence in 1821, and this period of Turkish rule (known in Greece as Tourkokratia) underlies the animosity that exists between the two countries to this day. In light of this history, the YouTube incident represents a fascinating return of the repressed, in which ethnopornographic constructions of "West" (in this case Greece, despite its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire) and "East" (in this case Turkey, despite its efforts to join the European union) pugilistically reassert their categorical integrity in the name of reaffirming twenty-first-century national identities. Even more revealing is the way in which charges of male homosexuality—who has "it," and who doesn't—became the trigger for this display of mutual xenophobia, laying bare an ethnopor-

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nographic logic that has been in play between the so-called Middle East and Western Europe for centuries.

As this chapter's survey of European travelogues commenting on Ottoman sexuality demonstrates, male homoerotic desire and its counterpart, homophobic dread, have for centuries provided the battleground upon which the ideological division of Islamicate and Judeo-Christian cultures has been staged. For four hundred years it was the uptight Christian "West" that accused the debauched Islamic "East"—most often identified, in Europe, with the Ottoman Empire—of harboring the contaminating germs of the sexual perversion euphemistically known as the male "vice." Pete Sigal shows how this same demonization was deployed in the queering of indigenous subjects in the Yucatán as part of the colonial project in his contribution to this volume. Yet, as Nabil Matar has demonstrated, this use of the language of sexual perversion to support the conquest of "New Spain" in the Americas was, in fact, borrowed directly from European accusations of sodomy directed against Ottomans and implemented to incite Europe's resistance to the latter's increasingly alarming imperial ambitions.[2] It is instructive to note how the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have witnessed an ironic reversal of such charges, as Islamic conservatives across the Middle East have increasingly leveled the same charge of sexual deviancy at the "decadent" West in the name of nation building and cultural authenticity. Ethnopornographic derision, it seems, is not the property of one culture or civilization; it is transnational in its incitements and uses.[3]

This chapter attempts to illuminate the deep history of this phenomenon by tracing the rhetorics of male sodomy and pederasty that recur in European travel narratives about the Ottoman Empire throughout the early modern period and the long eighteenth century. The ideological work performed by such accounts, as a generation of postcolonial critics has shown, lies in the projection of desires deemed unacceptable at home onto a foreign terrain, in order to reencounter those desires "at a safe distance[,] in stories, gossip, and even the respectable garb of social science."[4] As Pernille Ibsen notes in her essay on the ethnopornographic aspects of European travel accounts of West Africa in this volume, these travel narratives served "two very different, but not mutually exclusive, interests": the economic (furthering European "trading and colonial expansion" through the presentation of helpful facts and demography) and the erotic (titillating readers with salacious accounts of exoticized difference). This fetishization of foreign otherness constitutes a discursive mode that Irvin Cemil Schick

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in *The Erotic Margin* labels "ethnopornography," in which the pretense of scientific objectivity barely disguises prurient desires that border, at times, on the pornographic (1–15).

In the analysis of travel narratives written from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries that follows, my primary aim is that of unpacking the aesthetic, sociocultural, and psychosexual implications of Europeans' projections of male homoeroticism onto the Middle East in general and the Ottoman world in particular. At the same time, I hope to move beyond orthodox postcolonial critiques of Orientalism, which tend to view such projections unidirectionally, by also attending to those articulations of male homoeroticism arising within Ottoman culture, articulations that intersect with, and often frame, European eyewitness testimony and discursive expressions. As the work of any number of recent historians of Middle Eastern sexuality has demonstrated, European references to and depictions of Middle Eastern homoeroticism cannot exclusively be seen as exotic fictions or fantasies of a wishfully dominant culture.[5] Those representations are in dialogue with representations emanating from, and practices rooted in, regions of the Ottoman Empire that were themselves potent spaces of cross-cultural exchange within which circuits of knowledge and desire flowed for centuries in multiple directions.[6]

To put these cross-cultural resonances into dialogue, I employ what Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* calls a contrapuntal mode of analysis. Such a mode of reading allows one to attend, as in music, to "various themes play[ing] off one another with no privileging of the one over the other" in order to grasp a "composite" built of atonalities.[7] On the micro level of narrative, such reading practice allows the critic to imagine the interpretive possibilities that exist between the lines; on the macro level, it contributes to the larger epistemological project of undoing the binaries that for centuries have defined the Middle East and the West, as well as heterosexuality and homosexuality, in deceptively oppositional terms. These reading methods, in turn, are intricately intertwined with the perspective I bring to this archive as a literary scholar trained in close reading and narrative theory. All the disparate artifacts that make up this body of work—be they English travel narratives or epic Ottoman poems—are forms of cultural storytelling, and attending to the complex, often contradictory, structures of meaning that exist within and between these myriad stories—asking *how* they are told as well as *why* they are told—begins to suggest the myriad, rather than singular, forms of sexuality and eroticism that have always traveled across these politically freighted divides.

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What is sometimes forgotten in limning the ethnopornographic correlatives of the Orientalist will to power is a simple fact that Said sidesteps in *Orientalism*: the specter of male homoerotic possibility that generations of Occidental male writers, artists, travelers, and thinkers, ever since the opening of the Islamic Middle East and North Africa to European diplomacy and trade in the mid-1500s, have written into their narratives and their fantasies of Oriental libidinal excess.[8] This homoerotic undercurrent stands to reconfigure the very premises of ethnopornography, insofar as the male traveler/observer—occupying the position of amateur ethnographer—sees reflected in the homoerotically signifying indigenous subject the very desires and fears that call into question Western assumptions about masculinity, heterosexual primacy, and the sexual aim itself. As such, an altered ethnopornographic praxis—to paraphrase this volume's editors—has the potential to contribute to theoretical critiques of the transformation of the liberal subject.

What story ensues when we read side by side two seemingly disparate seventeenth-century texts that just happen to situate sexuality between men at the juncture where myths of East and West collide? One English, the other Ottoman; one a didactic religious tract less than ten pages long, the other a flowery narrative poem of nearly three hundred couplets: the first is an anonymous pamphlet published in London in 1676 (never reissued) and titled *The True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident, Which Occur'd upon the Execution of a Christian Slave at Aleppo in Turky*; the second is the seventh tale, or *mesnevi*, of a book-length verse narrative by Ottoman poet Nev'izade 'Atayi completed in 1627.[9] Despite their overt differences, the ideological objectives and sexual resonances of these two contemporary narratives illuminate each other—and in the process illuminate the history of sexuality—in ways that demonstrate what may be gleaned by venturing outside disciplinary constraints and reading representations of the past contrapuntally.

The shorter, seemingly less complex English text, *The True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident*, is an unabashed example of Christian propaganda that illustrates the degree to which religion and pornography may work hand in hand. Written in a sensationalist idiom that aims to titillate and horrify its readers,[10] this cheaply produced pamphlet recounts the horrific fate that a "handsome young French slave" suffers when subjected to brute Turkish male lust, figured as "that horrid and unnatural sin (too frequent with the *Mahumetans*), *Sodomy*" (2). While the trajectory that follows is typical of Christian martyrdom narratives, replete with a miraculous apotheosis

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as its climax, the tale is encased in a frame calculated to place the "unnatural" lusts of the Turk at as far a remove from English mores as possible: constructed as a letter addressed to an anonymous "Sir," the unnamed English narrator doesn't recount his own experience but retells a history that has been told to him by merchants returning from Aleppo who themselves have heard this story. This framing device effectively situates the reader at four levels of remove from the narrated events, establishing a moral as well as ethnogeographical gulf between its English audience and those vicious desires to which Turks are too often "addicted." Likewise, the fact that the victim is French, rather than English, brings the horror home to Europe but strategically stops it short of leaping the English Channel.[11]

The "handsome" eighteen-year-old Christian slave (presumably the victim of a raid on a merchant vessel by Turkish privateers[12]) has been left alone at his wealthy master's home with the master's steward. The latter Turk is one of the many men of his nationality "much addicted" to the despicable sin of sodomy and, having had his "lustful Eyes" on the good-looking youth for some time, finds the moment propitious for executing his "Villa[i]nous design." Failing to persuade the youth to "consent to his (more than Brutish) Devillish desires," the steward leaves off wooing and resorts to violence, attempting to rape him. However, the slave, good Christian that he is, refuses to yield his virtue to such "Devillish" ploys; during the ensuing struggle the Turk dies, and the beset youth, anticipating the "Cruel and Tyrannical nature of the Turks" (3) upon discovery of this mishap, runs away in hopes of finding sanctuary in the city's European enclave.

His attempt to escape, however, is stymied when he bumps into his master returning home, and sure enough, he's charged with murder of the steward. But in a reversal that momentarily dissolves the opposition between Europe and Other, the magistrate hearing the charges deems the slave's story to be true and upholds his innocence. Why? Because the magistrate has an agenda up his sleeve: his hope is that the case will serve as an object lesson helping "deter the Turks from the base sin of *Sodomy*" (4), a social problem he no less than the pamphlet's author feels to be all too pervasive among his countrymen. Ironically, however, his Turkish cohorts pressure the *bashaw* to reverse his decision. They do so not because they dispute the charge of rape or because they're especially concerned about sodomy one way or the other but because they are worried that freeing a slave who has killed a superior will set a bad example among other slaves, thereby upsetting the socioeconomic order. As such, the pamphlet's

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overt intention—to use the horror of male sodomy to demonize the infidel Other—momentarily rubs up against a strand of social realism that complicates a simplistic interpretation of Ottoman mores and morals. Nothing is as clear-cut as it seems.

Social realism is left behind in the execution scene that follows, an allegory of Christian martyrdom set into motion by the pious youth's prayer that God grant some "bodily sign" of his "innocence" (5). God's "sign" will soon follow, but not before the pamphlet's narrator delivers a voyeuristic peek at the handsome prisoner's naked physique. For as our "Chast[e] Martyr" (6) is stripped of his clothes, his nudity reveals to his onlookers a most "lovely body"—the same physical charms, one presumes, firing the steward's rapist desires. This narrative striptease, ironically, no less than the steward's "lustful" (2) gaze, eroticizes the Christian youth as an object of desire. Here, however, the ethnopornographic impulse underlying the lurid description ironically undermines its own intention: the English (and purportedly Christian) readers not only become intimate onlookers to this display but also find themselves occupying the position of the gazing, sodomitical infidel.[13]

This *erotic* display of the nude male body becomes, moreover, part of the Christian hero's *spiritual* apotheosis. For in the same sentence that "discover[s]" and thus uncovers his "lovely *body*," the reader is informed that this flesh is inhabited by a yet "more lovely *soul*" (5). The miracle toward which the entire arc of the narrative has been building, the wonder-filled "accident" announced by the pamphlet's title, comes to fruition after the youth's execution by decapitation: the dogs that tear at the bodies of a group of Turkish prisoners executed on the same day won't touch the Christian youth's body; nor does the corpse putrefy for the ten days it lies unattended. His lovely flesh, that is, remains "chaste," its intact beauty serving as God's outward "sign" of the victim's inner purity. In resisting the sexual advances of the heathen Turk and maintaining the "Virtue of a devout and Chast[e] Christian" (6), the martyred slave becomes an example to the reader of the spiritual rewards awaiting those faithful who follow the path of the righteous.

Not unlike *A Wonderful Accident*, the seventh tale of ʿAtayi's *Heft han* also traces a religious allegory, one that is just as proselytizing despite its poetic form. In it, too, capture at sea by the infidel Other, homoerotic tensions, imprisonment, legal judgments, escape attempts, and reversals of fortune play prominent roles. Moreover, its conclusion also celebrates "lovely souls" in "lovely bodies" attaining a heavenly reward. At the same time, for Western readers, this poem may seem to issue from another

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world altogether.[14] For the final tale in this verse narrative is nothing less than a love story between men that ends happily.

The story begins with a folkloric staple: two prosperous merchants of Istanbul who are "each other's [best] comrade and companion" sire two wonderful sons, Tayyib and Tahir. Given that Tayyib means "beautiful" and Tahir means "pure," the two boys thus share between them the enslaved French youth's two distinguishing marks: purity and beauty. As they reach "the springtime of life"—seventeen or eighteen years of age—these friends turn to those archetypal pleasures that tend toward youthful folly: sex, wine, and music. The deaths of their parents leave them with inheritances that allow them to indulge these sensual pleasures. Relishing the pangs of love, they chase after the "heart-throbbing beauties" of both genders of Galata and Goksu, and they frequent Pera's all-male wine establishments (see an equivalent in figure 6.2). Here their "unreserved lovers," in ʿAtayi's metaphor, flirtingly "count the threads of their beards" (these newly sprouted beards are the signature of Tayyib and Tahir's recently developed manhood).[15] That this takes place in a tavern named "Köse" is an inside joke, since the word *köse* also means "beardless lads," those very objects of desire who are counting the two heroes' whiskers. Of course, all these polymorphous pleasures—concubines, boys, wine—prove as fleeting as youth itself: Tayyib and Tahir spend their inheritances, suffer rejection by their fair-weather comrades, and in desperation set off across the Mediterranean to join a popular order of Sufi dervishes based in Egypt. As ʿAtayi puts it, with delicious understatement, "They smelled the mortal rose and hit the road."[16]

Hitting the road, however, cannot reverse the wheel of fortune when it's on a downward spin: the ubiquitous storm-at-sea and shipwreck-of-romance narrative follows; next the two survivors are plucked from the sea by a warship as "full of infidels as hell"—"blood-thirsty Franks" (the ubiquitous Ottoman term for European Christians) who put Tayyib and Tahir in chains. An even worse fate looms when the vessel reaches shore: they are separated from each other for the first time in their lives. Numbering among their infidel captors are two valiant noblemen "resembling the sun and the moon," Sir John (Can) and Janno (Cano), and these nearly identical men ("Cano" being a derivative of "Can") claim the equally mirroring Tayyib and Tahir as their respective slaves, carrying them off to their separate estates in an unspecified European country. At this point, ʿAtayi's poem becomes a kind of captivity narrative, but one that *reverses* the opening proposition of *A Wonderful Accident*: here virtuous *Ottoman* youths

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are at the mercy of Christian unbelievers, instead of a virtuous European at the mercy of Muslim infidels. But this is an inversion with a difference, for Tayyib and Tahir's masters, unlike the villainous steward of the English text, are elegant, good-hearted gentlemen who are "heart-stopping beauties" in their own right. Forthwith, each youth not only "falls captive" *to* his master, but secretly "falls captive *for*" him; in ʿAtayi 's metaphor, their adoration transforms what would otherwise be "beheading" grief (recall the fate of the French martyr of the English pamphlet) into rapture that lifts their heads up "to the mountain of love."

At this juncture, the perspective narrows to the plight of Tayyib, wasting away in a dungeon. Fortuitously his master Sir John happens to visit, feels sorry for the lad, and sends him to work on his estate's grounds, a "rose garden of love" that cannot but lift Tayyib's spirits and mend his health. Thus begins an ascending pattern of improving fortune. One day Sir John holds a party in his garden attended by "several beautiful boys with faces like the moon" and their male admirers, and the company takes appreciative notice of Tayyib as the wine flows freely and kisses are bestowed all around like roses. Here ʿAtayi represents the widespread and well-documented Ottoman cultural institution known as the *sohbet*, a garden party at which Lovers and Beloveds, elite men and beautiful boys, indulged in poetry, wine, mannered discourse, and flirtation.[17] Tayyib tells his woeful story, moving everyone to tears, and within couplets Sir John has fallen "deeper and deeper" in love with his slave. Empowered by his benefactor's compassion, Tayyib confesses his grief at being separated from his soul mate, Tahir. This leads Sir John to send for Sir Janno and Tahir, who too have fallen in love like "moon and sun uniting in the same sign of the zodiac." Both couples now reunite in bonds of amorous intoxication and paradisiacal bliss (see figure 6.1).

This private Eden, however, must undergo a series of public trials that suggest that homoerotic love occupies a precarious place in its world—which is set in Europe, even though it manifests the trappings of elite Ottoman male culture. These tests are set into motion when a meddling "busybody" spies on the lovers in their private garden, and then reports what he sees to the head of the local police, a Christian zealot who "believ[es] the love of beauties a crime." Fueled by puritanism, sexual repression, and spiteful jealousy that burns inside him "like a wrathful fire," this foe of the flame of true passion throws the two noblemen into prison and readies to behead Tayyib and Tahir. Comparable to the Turkish judge in the English pamphlet, this prosecutor also uses the situation to serve a moral agenda: to "make [the

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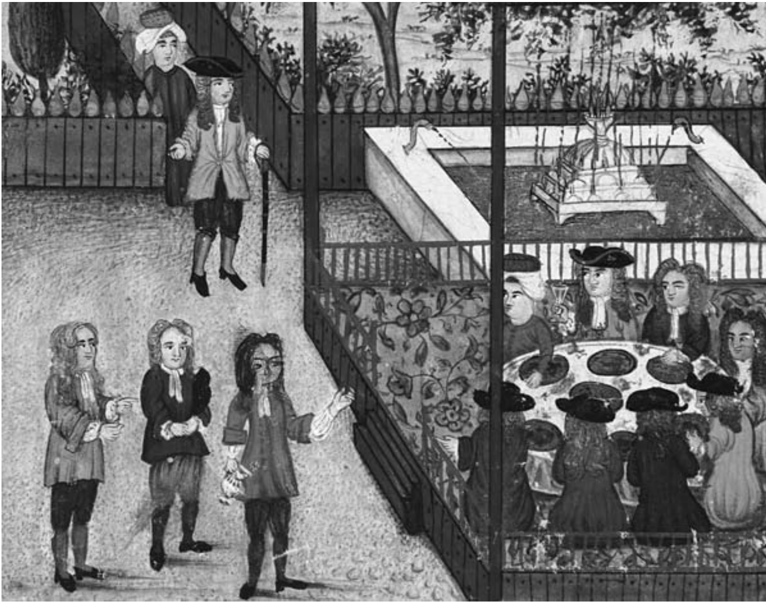

FIGURE 6.1 An illustrated copy of ʿAtayi Nevʿizade's romantic tale illustrating Tahir and Tayyib's reunion. Tahir is entering the European pleasure garden—styled on the tradition of an Ottoman sohbet—with Sir Janno (*upper left*), while Tayyib sits at the table with his beloved, Sir Jan (*to the right*). Khamsa (1721). W. 666, fol. 138a. Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD.

two youths] an example for others to dread." However, the crowd of onlookers, playing a role similar to that of the Aleppo citizens, are moved to pity for the two young men, and *again* for reasons that are pragmatic and political: "Is it meet . . . to foul our names in eyes of friend and foe?," they ask. "If we start killing prisoners this way / What's to keep Muslim swords from coming into play? / If captives on both sides are caused to die / Who on Judgment day will answer why?"[18] ʿAtayi's clever word plays in these couplets serve two purposes. First, they deflect the "foulness" that the policeman attributes to homoerotic love onto the fate that their *own* reputations will suffer ("Is it meet . . . *to foul our names* in eyes of friend and foe?" they ask [emphasis mine]). Second, the police commander's harsh verdict is implicitly weighed against the far more important "Judgment day" to come. Forced to yield to this argument, the policeman unhappily commutes the death sentences of Tayyib and Tahir to enslavement on a Christian galley.

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With this return to the sea, the narrative is ripe for an instance of repetition, which indeed occurs when the boat is beset by Muslim ships that overcome it in battle. As narrative theory teaches, repetition (which inevitably involves difference) is almost always laden with significance, which is true in this case as well. Tayyib and Tahir are freed by their fellow Muslims and, in an ironic turn of fate, are given command of the European craft on which they were previously enchained: "The pirates of love became the captains of the sea." Meanwhile, in a neat chiasmus, their former masters, Sir John and Janno, languish in prison chains, occupying the place formerly filled by their beloveds. This nadir, however, proves to be the path to true freedom. Thrown into the company of Muslim prisoners, the two noblemen become interested in Islam, share a dream vision in which a figure in green (the Prophet's color) tells them "the gates of their wishes have been opened," awaken to find their chains miraculously sundered, and make good their escape in a rowboat. Simultaneously Tayyib and Tahir have a premonition that impels them to sail in the direction of this drifting craft. They prepare to attack it as an enemy vessel, only to discover that it has delivered their hearts' beloveds to them: "They met friends instead of foes, they saw two beauties coming . . . each met his lover, became friends with each other's lover." Discord yields to concord both in the small instance (mistaken enemies who turn out to be allies) and on the larger metaphysical plane as the last obstacle to happy union—religious difference—is removed by the Europeans' conversion, allowing all four reunited lovers to return "joyful and happy" to Constantinople, at which point "their pleasure reached the heavens." Narrative coincidence thus becomes an emblem of miraculous providence. Sir John is henceforth known as Mahmud (meaning "praiseworthy") and Janno as Mes'ud (meaning "fortunate"). When at the end of their lives the two couples pass from this world into "the holy garden" of the next, they do so filled with "pure love," and the "magical legend" of their story becomes a lesson and inspiration for all who open their ears.

So 'Atayi's verse romance ends, as does *A Wonderful Accident*, on an allegorical note, illustrating the heavenly rewards that await those whose love remains "pure." But there is a difference, since homoerotic love is the *very* agent of conversion and hence salvation in the tale of Tayyib and Tahir, whereas homosexual sodomy is the "unnatural" sin that precipitates the French youth's martyrdom in the English pamphlet. In a brilliant addition to the history of sexuality titled *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, Walter G.

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Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli argue that the sexual scripts represented in literary works such as *Heft han* reflected a very real dimension of love that existed on many tiers of Ottoman society. Tayyib and Tahir move through a man's typical life stages from youthful folly (chasing *any* beautiful boy or girl) to mature appreciation of true love based on the model of male lover and male beloved. On one level, then, reading these two seventeenth-century texts in tandem reveals a striking *disjunction* between European and Middle Eastern attitudes toward homoeroticism; passions that are vilified in the former are celebrated in the latter, and what is deemed natural in one is deemed unnatural in the other. On another level, however, viewing these texts contrapuntally warns against an overly binaristic reading of *either* of these cultures. For instance, while the English *A Wonderful Accident* forms a textbook example of Orientalist projection in the name of religion, in which the home culture's taboos and fears are read onto a literally demonized Other, the Ottoman text engages in its own level of fantasy and wish fulfillment, namely through the fictional creation, by text's end, of a hyperidealized world in which its happy male foursome never has to face the social pressures of marriage and progeny, a component of the adult Ottoman male's social and sexual script normally *coexisting* with the culture of male beloveds.

Moreover, if the Turkish steward in the former narrative is a projection of European fantasies of brutish heathen lust, the creation of his Occidental counterpart in *Heft han*, the repressed police official who "believes love a crime," strategically allows ʿAtayi to displace onto a foreign other, Europe, what was in fact a threatening reality within the Ottoman world itself: namely, the success of increasingly powerful conservative religious elements (such as the Kadizadeli and followers of Birgili Mehmet) in demanding that the sultan crack down on an array of immoral activities, ranging from homoerotic activity and wine drinking to coffeehouses. Projecting this social reality *onto* a Christian infidel allows ʿAtayi to critique a threat looming on *his* home front, but to critique it obliquely and at a distance.[19] Likewise, if reading these texts in tandem discloses a latent similarity between homophobic English culture and the repressive zealotry that ʿAtayi fears threatens the Ottoman heritage of homoerotic bonding, the unabashed homophobia of *A Wonderful Accident* doesn't preclude a degree of homoerotic voyeurism when it comes to displaying the naked charms of the handsome Christian martyr. The linkages and disconnections between "West" and "East" over the terrain of male homoerotic desire begin to reveal, in examples such as these, a complexly imbricated history whose

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actualities and representations—literary as well as ethnopornographic—cannot be reduced to the oppositions that the popular imagination so often summons forth when using homosexuality to categorize and castigate the other.

Ethnopornography and Homoerotic Spectacle in European Travel Narrative

With these complexities in mind, the following pages explore a range of European perceptions of male homoerotic activity in the Middle East that were recorded in an exponentially increasing number of texts that followed the explosion of diplomatic and trade relationships between Christian and Ottoman worlds in the early modern period. While the degree of empirical truth these commentaries reflect will always be open to debate, they nonetheless serve as invaluable repositories of narrative patterns, themes, and tropes whose cumulative record speaks to specific material realities and moments of cultural interexchange while revealing the range and depth of the constructions, fears, and fantasies that their writers bring to the "forbidden" forms of eroticism to which their travels expose them. As I also attempt to show, these patterns and desires also exist in contrapuntal dialogue with Islamicate sources on similar subjects. To be sure, the sexual curiosities that fascinated most European writer-observers were heterosexual in orientation—foremost the Muslim practices of polygamy and the imagined delights of the harem. But a surprising number of accounts turn their narrative eye, at least for an instant and at equally surprising moments in texts otherwise often laden with mind-numbing trivia, to those homoerotic forms of sexual expression among men that, in contrast to the unseen mysteries of the female harem, appeared—to Western sensibilities—all too visible, too public, and too discomfiting, staring the observer right in the eye.[20] If the pornographic depends on the interplay between concealment (the forbidden) and exposure (the taboo made visible), these accounts of Ottoman customs and culture make for an unexpected ethnopornographic frisson, in which voyeuristic pleasure is displaced by the shock of the spectacle (men's desire for men) that such commentators feel themselves compelled to report to their readers.

One much-remarked-upon space of public homoerotic exchange is the Ottoman coffeehouse (see figure 6.2). An instructive example occurs in

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George Manwaring's account of his travels as an attendant accompanying the British ambassador to Persia in 1599. Particularly interesting is the way he begins his comments on the sexual practices encouraged by Ottoman coffeehouse culture by noting a *commonality* between East and West that evolves into a contrast: "As in England we . . . go to the tavern, to pass away the time in friendly meeting, so [the Turks] have very fair houses, where this kaffwey is sold; thither gentlemen and gallants resort daily." This commonality, however, quickly evolves into a contrast as Manwaring explains how the café owners attract clientele by "keep[ing] young boys: in some houses they have a dozen, some more, some less; they keep them very gallant in apparel. These boys are called Bardashes, which [the patrons] do use . . . instead of women."[21] Likewise, in a volume of travels written a decade later, George Sandys mentions in an aside that "many of the Coffa-Men" keep "beautiful Boys, who serve as Stales [lures] to procure their customers," and Pedro Teixeira similarly notes the "pretty boys, richly dressed," serving up coffee in Aleppo (the setting of *A Wonderful Accident*).[22] Notable is the focus on the rich apparel of these kept boys, making them not only the visual focus of the customers they serve but also the textual focus of the gaze of the European observer and his readers.

These European representations of sexual difference intersect, intriguingly, with a variety of Ottoman texts commenting on coffeehouse and wine-tavern culture. In the mid-seventeenth century, Ottoman historian Ibrāhīm Peçevi in *Tarih-i Peçevi* (c. 1640–50) explains that coffee establishments sprang into vogue the century before, their rise in popularity dovetailing with Süleyman the Magnificent's reluctant banning, under pressure from conservative religious revivalists, of Istanbul's popular wine taverns in 1554.[23] Primarily Greek and Portuguese establishments located in Galata, the European quarter of the city north of the Golden Horn, these taverns had hitherto served as favored meeting places of Turkish pleasure seekers and their male minions (recall Tayyib's and Tahir's youthful frolics in Galata in ʿAtayi 's *Heft han*; in the miniature reproduced in figure 6.3, the youthful rake's appreciative gaze at the sumptuously dressed dancing boy who performs for him hints at the sensual pleasures proffered by the all-male wine tavern). The author of the Ottoman manuscript *Risalu fi ahkam al-gahwa* also mentions the "youths earmarked for the gratification of one's lusts" to be found in coffeehouses, and Ottoman courtier Mustafa Âli, in his deliciously nasty *Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings* (*Mevāʾidü'n-Nefāʾis fī Kavāʾidi'l-Mecālis*, c. 1587), sketches a colorful portrait of these wine taverns. Their patrons, he writes, include "hot-blooded young

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FIGURE 6.2 Peak hours in the Ottoman coffee shop. Multiple forms of male camaraderie are on display in this miniature. Ottoman Album CBL 439, fol. 96. Courtesy and © of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland.

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men [and] . . . potent youths fond of drinking and fornicating with women and boys." Female beloveds being prohibited by definition from such gathering places, these establishments became spaces of socialization where men openly brought their male beloveds, with whom, Âli writes,

> they eat and drink, and when evening falls they make their way over to the tavern's private room. According to the demands of their lust, they extract milk from the sugar cane [that is, achieve orgasm]. . . . Friday night is reserved for approaching, with the abandonment of all decorum, young men, and every Friday afternoon for servant boys and beardless lads whom they have tucked up their sleeves. And so, according to the code of wine worshippers, on Fridays [the Islamic Sabbath] after prayers they head for the taverns. They clink their drink bowls together and say, "It's the lucky day for giving a purgative!" [e.g., having anal intercourse] because men of the craft trades, being free of work that day, and government officials, who are connoisseurs in these matters, both wander about "on the path of aspiration" [e.g., hoping for a successful pickup]. One may be certain that when the sun goes down and they go home, they spread out the pillow, mattress, and sheets and take young beauties and beardless servant boys into their arms.[24]

Once the wine taverns so evocatively described by Âli were banned and replaced by coffeehouses, the homoerotic antics associated with the former quickly shifted to the latter. In turn, the religious revivalist factions that had advocated the closing of the wine taverns now increasingly inveighed against the coffeeshops as threats to social order. Hence in an edict written at the same time that Manwaring is touring Turkey, one jurist condemns coffeeshops that "take on beardless apprentice boys" in order to attract "those . . . addicted to [such] love," and, almost as bad, those addicted to "coffee"![25] Within a century, the "problem" of this double addiction—boys and coffee—appears ubiquitous throughout the empire, evidence of which includes the guild complaints registered against neighborhood cafes where the hiring of "beardless youths to wait on . . . morally corrupt" customers is said to have led to a slacking of religious duty, because customers are too busy fornicating to remember to attend to their religious duties. "They openly boast of doing all these reprehensible acts even during times of prayer," the guild laments (such "open" boasts and behavior providing evidence of the public displays that many European observers find so shocking).[26]

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FIGURE 6.3 Levand and entertainer in an Ottoman wine tavern. Fazil Bey, *Huban-name* (Book of Beautiful Youth). T 5502, fol. 0041. Courtesy of Istanbul University Library.

A more complex picture thus emerges, when European and Ottoman texts such as these are considered in conjunction, than that of a sexual economy in which Turks indulged in sodomy with impunity. Taken together, these sources convey the sense of a thriving but not always welcome homoerotic subculture that—as scholars such as Dror Ze'evi, Khaled El-Rouayheb, and Andrews and Kalpakli incisively detail—coexisted with *other* subcultures in a multilayered social order whose constituencies often included overlapping members. Note that in most of the European accounts, the basic tenor is carnal—coffeehouse boys are seen as "kept," sexually available to customers at a price. In contrast, Ottoman sources

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such as Âli's *Table of Delicacies* depict a *range* of subjects and objects of desire inhabiting this environment: idealized beloveds accompanied by their lover-patrons, willing young beauties ripe for the picking, apprentices who are off work on Fridays, and servant boys. Likewise, patrons range across classes, professions, and ages; they include connoisseurs of pleasure who may equally desire girls and boys, randy young hotbloods, wealthy masters who probably aren't so young, married men, members of the artisan and working classes, elite government administrators, soldiers from the janissary ranks, and (as Âli also notes) the usual number of aging lechers and debauchees. Indeed, it is not always clear *who* among the café's patrons is the pursuer and *who* the pursued—the "hot-blooded young men" that Âli says are fond of fornicating with boys or girls aren't rhetorically distinguishable from 'Ali's subsequent reference to those "young men" who are the *objects* being pursued on Friday nights, nor are the "men of the craft trades" depicted as being on the prowl necessarily distinct from "apprentice-boys" who succumb to their advances.

Even more to the point, while these sources attest to a widespread institutionalization of homoerotic behavior, its existence is not unproblematic, as the crackdowns (initially on wine taverns and then on coffeehouses) attest. At such moments, what has hitherto been the mutual coexistence of social groups espousing different value systems reaches a pressure point when the religious proponents and guardians of morality gain the upper hand; but, simultaneously, it appears that attempts to suppress any given venue for homoerotic gatherings merely creates another. As complex and sometimes contradictory as such formations may be, it is not hard to see why their very existence—as well as persistence and relative visibility—aroused the shocked amazement of European visitors for whom such sights were, indeed, "foreign."

The oscillation of voyeuristic titillation and moral indignation common to most ethnopornographic accounts is also obvious in the contrasting use of tropes of excess—particularly sexual excess—in early modern European and Ottoman texts, but with a telling difference in viewpoints. Scot traveler William Lithgow, an opinionated and deeply conservative Protestant, begins *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painful Peregrinations of Nineteen Long Years* (1632) by railing against his hell-bent age, focusing first on Rome, which his rabid anti-Catholicism leads him to label a "second Sodom."[27] Traveling eastward, he uses increasingly lurid language to describe the heathen Turks, whom he accuses of being "extreamly inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury; and generally addicted, besides all

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their sensual and incestuous lusts, unto Sodomy" (163). (In counterpoint, it is instructive to note that Lithgow's Turkish stay occurred within seven years of 'Atayi's composition of the romantic tale of Tayyib and Tahir). By the time he's reached Fez, all hell has broken loose: "Worst of all, in the Summer time, they openly Lycenciate three-thousand common Stewes of Sodomiticall boyes. Nay, I have seene at mid-day, in the very Market places, the Moores buggering these filthy Carrion and without shame or punishment go freely away" (367). As the chapters in this volume by Helen Pringle and Mireille Miller-Young in particular stress, it is once again the visual spectacle of what should be hidden ("they *openly* Lycenciate," "I *have seene* at mid-day") that so rivets, and thus paradoxically justifies, such ethnopornographic voyeurism. The reader might assume that this exponentially increasing outrage diminishes upon Lithgow's return to Europe. Instead, ironically, the "damnable libidinous" excess (266) that has haunted him abroad only multiplies as he crosses from North Africa to Italy. For now, ranting at how the Papists have rendered Rome one great "Stewe" (406; note the echo of page 367), he expends four pages detailing the depraved sodomitical practices of a roster of Popes and cardinals. It's as if the lip-licking Lithgow can't get too much of what he detests most, particularly when it helps him defame foes nearer to home, those anti-Protestant Catholics.

If Lithgow's text illustrates the danger of the plentitude of foreign vice overrunning one's narrative and deconstructing its claim to moral superiority, Mustafa Âli's chapter in *Table of Delicacies* on "Beardless Boys" evinces an equally copious overflow of the homoerotic and it does so in ethnopornographic language—but in this account erotic excess is deployed to quite different ends. For sexual plentitude is part of the ironic fun, evinced in the figuratively as well as literally racy catalogue Âli provides of the ethnic and national differences in appearance, compliance, and desirability of the far-flung empire's youth available for sex and companionship. Among these "delectable morsels," the dancing boys from the East European provinces are "gentle"; the "fierce-looking lads" from Bosnia-Herzegovina turn out to be the most "obedient" and longest-lasting beauties (whereas the "agile lads of Arabia" lose their looks by twenty years of age); and the "narrow-waisted" boys of the inner provinces are ingenuous flirts whose "outward gentleness" is matched, Âli warns, by "inward contrariness." Kurdish roués, in contrast, are "dedicated to submission," and "fall over themselves in obeying" their master's requests—never a bad quality in a sexual companion. While some Albanians "are worthy of taking as a lover," most "are terribly contentious and obstinate"—potential lovers take warning! Likewise,

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the wise man will avoid Russians and Georgians, who betray their masters at the drop of a hat; much better to procure a Hungarian lad, who can be counted on to be "charming and pleasant."[28]

In a similar vein, Ottoman courtier, administrator, and poet Gazali makes libidinal excess the foundation of the panoply of sexual behaviors he divides into multiplying categories and subcategories in *The Book That Repels Sorrows and Removes Anxieties* (*Dāfi'ü'gumūm ve rāfi'ü'humūm*, written between 1483 and 1511), a popular and innovatively styled work steadily recopied over the centuries.[29] What makes this pornographic send-up of the traditional erotic treatise of special interest to this discussion is the degree to which the volume's cataloguing of the range of sexual proclivities not only celebrates (and cunningly privileges) same-sex relations among men but willfully embraces the "excesse" and diversity of Ottoman erotic behaviors that most European travelers saw as threatening the boundaries of the normative and the permissible. The degree to which Gazali intends his erotic taxonomy to give play to desire's polymorphous plentitude and its often laughable practice is obvious in his third chapter, which creates a detailed inventory of modes of homoerotic love, with racy anecdotes and poems illustrating each category. First Gazali illustrates *four* kinds of love—from the unrequited and successful to the loyal and deluded. Next he presents an alternative classification of boy-lovers into *three* types. This he follows with a dissection of the *five* predispositions creating sexual attraction among males; next, *nine* ways of seducing a youth (the anecdotes grow longer and more colorful); and, finally, a list of *eight* favored sexual positions. What's clear, as my italicizing of the numerals above indicates, is the degree to which these ever-unfolding categories—instead of imposing limits to desire—encourage the imagining of *infinite* erotic pleasures. Erotic plentitude is a desirable quality in Gazali's textual world, not the fearsome destroyer of boundaries that sexual excess represents in many Europeans' visions of an Ottoman world in which sodomy, to cite Lithgow's culinary metaphor, is treated as a mere "dainty to digest [with] all their other libidinous pleasures" (*Totall Discourse*, 163).

Michael Baudier's *Histoire generalle du Serrail, et de la cour du Grand Seigneur* (1626) exemplifies another narrative tendency shared by several European travel writers: promised glimpses of the Orient's feminine mysteries that are derailed by mentions of male homoeroticism. The penetrative image of "enter[ing]" an Ottoman East is the governing trope of Baudier's preface, which with a prototypically ethnopornographic flourish solemnly pledges to usher its readers across the threshold of the forbidden and invis-

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ible female "quarters" of the sultan's seraglio, where "the secret of all things is carefully shut up."[30] The heteroerotic voyeurism implicit in these simultaneously scopic and phallic metaphors of entering female space appears ready to deliver its soft-core equivalent of "the money shot" in a chapter titled "Of the Grand Seigneurs Loves." Here Baudier takes the reader "inside" the hidden world of the harem by *imaginatively* tracking the footsteps of the sultan as he traverses the women's quarters—which is to say that, at this narrative juncture, Baudier's history becomes *purely novelistic* in its use of narrative omniscience, creating the illusion that the author is spying on an actual occurrence. First he visualizes the scene of the sultan's selection of his female companion for the evening. Next he pictures the sultan joining his concubines in their private outdoors retreat: "*let us . . . follow him* into his garden, where he is in the midst of his lascivious imbracements," Baudier tantalizes his readers, adding, "It is dangerous *to see* him: but no fears of danger should deter us from serving of the publique" (55; emphasis mine) by revealing the truths that his spying eyes reveal.

Having thus promised the reader scenes of "riots of love," Baudier's narrative makes two abrupt turns. First, in a classic statement of castration anxiety, he demurs that the violence that the sultan "observes against those who should see him, forbids [Baudier] to reveal the secret" scene of these "imbracements" after all! Second, he announces that the sultan's dalliances with these women are "not the most blameable of his affections." Without a pause, he breathlessly launches into a disquisition on "the detestable excess of an unnatural passion"—the sultan's "love of men"—that continues right up to the chapter's conclusion. The ironic effect is that the narrative climax of a chapter promising to showcase the sultan's harem beauties in their unveiled glory reveals, instead, nubile boys: "He burnes many times for the love of men; and the youngest Boyes which are in the *Levant*, the floure of beautie and the allurement of graces, are destinated to the filthiness of his abominable pleasures. . . . This *disorder* is so inveterate . . . [that] of [the] twenty Emperours which have carried the Turkish scepter, you shall hardly find two that were free from this vice" (156).

Baudier proceeds to name names, which in turn leads him to meditate philosophically on the obligations of rulers: what matters all the grand conquests of the Ottoman princes if they themselves are captive to this addictive vice? "The Prince is the Physician of the State; but how can he cure it if he himself bee sick?" (57).

Having strayed this far from his original subject matter, Baudier picks up the subject of women in the following chapter, although nothing contained

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therein equals in shock value the representation of "unnatural passions" to which the reader has just been made privy. To which topic Baudier finds himself returning, as if compelled to tell more—or as if he knows the greater the inequities he brings to light, the greater the ethnopornographic thrill of the incensed reader. Chapter 14's account "Of the filthy & unnaturall lust of the [Pashas] and of the great men of the Court" exposes not just the sultan's perversions but also the sodomitical "myre of filthy pleasures" into which the governmental courtiers and administrators surrounding the sultan "plung[e] themselves": "They abandon their affections to young Boyes, and desperately follow the allurements of their beauties. . . . This abominable vice is so ordinary in the *Turks* Court, as you shall hardly find one [pasha] that is not miserably inclined toward it: It serves for an ordinary subject of entertainment among the greatest when they are together; they speak not but of the perfections of their *Ganimedes*" (162).

Now Baudier truly provides the "to-the-moment" reporting as his novelistic imagination again takes over, visualizing, complete with dialogue, such a gathering of men: "One sayes, they have brought me from *Hungarie* the most beautiful and accomplished Minion. . . . Another saith, I have lately bought *a young Infant of Russia* . . . ," and the reported "conversation" goes on. Finally, creating a level of diegetic scopophilia mirroring the voyeurism being incited on the narrative plane, Baudier depicts one pasha asking another to put his newly acquired "Angell" on display—"[He] entreat[ed] him earnestly *to have a sight* . . . that he may be satisfied *by his eyes*" (162; emphasis mine), at which point the narrator inserts a lavish description of the arts used to "beautify" these boys. One is uncannily reminded, with a difference, of Mustafa Âli's cataloguing of the youths of multiple ethnicities available throughout the empire in *Table of Delicacies*. Where Âli aims to amuse, Baudier means to scandalize, but the effect implicates Baudier all the more in the "vices" that his own ethnopornographic imagination is making visible in the readers' minds. For instead of penetrating the female harem, the reader's mind is penetrated by the sodomitical images that Baudier's prose summons forth. "By semiotically stimulating desire," Silke Falkner writes of the rhetorical use of sodomy in early modern European accounts of Turkey, "texts may facilitate the vice as much as they attempt to combat it."[31]

A similar tension between an excess of titillating homoerotic detail and moralistic outrage characterizes English diplomat Aaron Hill's virulent response to a pederastic tryst he unintentionally witnesses, yet nonetheless proceeds to narrate at great length, in *Account of the Present State of the*

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Ottoman Empire (1709). Hill has gathered a party of fellow countrymen at an open kiosk in a park overlooking a nearby river to welcome the new ambassador. Enjoying the vista, the group spies, on the opposite bank, a well-dressed, middle-aged Turk leading an adolescent boy to a secluded area, where "he began, *to our surprise*, and *inexpressible confusion*, to prepare himself and his *consenting Catamite*, for acting a Design so hateful to our sight, and such a stranger to our Customs, that we scarce believ'd our Eyes."[32] Despite the dismayed ballyhoos and catcalls of the English party, the "lustful Wretch" (81) persists until Hill breaks up the encounter by firing his fowling piece at the man.

In this defamiliarizing world of visible and invisible sexualities, however, Hill's high-minded intentions are turned on their head. Several chapters later, he announces (like Baudier) that the time has come to give the reader egress into the voyeuristic delights of the seraglio, "not only trac[ing] the *Sultan* to his amorous Pastimes . . . with the *Virgines* of his *Pleasure*, but admit[ting] the Reader to the close Apartments of the fair SERAGLIO LADIES, nay . . . into the retir'd Magnificence of their *Bedchambers*" (149). But before Hill gets around to penetrating the "immodest and indecent Pastimes" of these ladies, he suddenly abjures the task, claiming he doesn't want to embarrass his female readers. Failing to deliver on his original narrative promise means, ironically, that Hill's description of the sodomitical sighting in the park remains the text's most graphic example of the "amorous Pastimes" of the Turks.

There is, moreover, another reading of the sexual tryst in the park that Hill and company miss altogether. As noted in the tale of Tayyib and Tahir, Ottoman male elites of the sixteenth and seventeenth century perfected the art of the sohbet or outdoor garden party. At these refined gatherings, elite lovers and favored youths came together to share wine and delicacies, poetry, mannered discourse, and the unspoken language of "signs" in a sophisticated atmosphere of flirtation, admiration, and seduction. These sohbets were often held out of doors, in wooded parks and gardens with open kiosks very much like the venue described in Hill's text (see the representation of one such pleasure party in figure 6.4). The Ottoman travel writer (and amateur ethnographer in his own right) Evliya Çelibi, writing four decades before Hill, praises the "Loggia Pavilion" of one such pleasure grove where "every afternoon [male] lovers gather behind the tall trees and shady spots and flirt with their beloveds. It is a delightful gathering-place for men of culture." Rhapsodizing about the bountiful amenities—flowing water, pleasure domes, trellises, bowers, kitchens, pantries—of another

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FIGURE 6.4 The refined male garden party. Ibrahim Mirza, *Haft Awrang of Jami* (1556–65), fol. 179b. Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, Washington, DC. Purchase F1946.12.179.

park in one of the empire's far-flung provinces, he adds, "Here countless love-striken young men come to sing love songs to the handsome boys they adore. . . . They pour out their emotions so sweetly and sadly that the nightingales get tongue-tied with admiration. In every corner [of the park] there is flirtation and fun and drinking and carousing."[33] Given the popularity of such pleasure spots, it is highly unlikely that Hill's was the only group frequenting the river park on the occasion of the party for the ambassador. And it is entirely possible, following this train of logic, that the "pornographic" scene that Hill's group witnesses is *not* the furtive, crude maneuvering of a wretched scoundrel out to have his way with a minor (the man, after all, is well-dressed—to Hill's surprise—and the boy is compliant). Rather, this encounter might well be the culmination of a flirtation between two attendees at an offstage sohbet occurring in the same park.

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Tactfully having wandered out of the viewing range of their own party into one of those shady nooks described by Evliya, these two gentlemen have inadvertently strayed into the sight lines of a more easily shocked and less forgiving English audience. Had this gathering been composed of Ottoman gentlemen, its participants would no doubt have exercised their good manners by discreetly turning their gaze to another aspect of the natural view, respecting the private intentions of the two lovers.

The European Traveler as Participant Observer

Literally dozens of similar commentaries on Middle Eastern homoeroticism appear in European travel narratives and histories published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, repeating with slight variations the attitudes, strategies of representation, and rhetorical expressions surveyed thus far. Among these texts, one early nineteenth-century traveler's comments stand out for the highly personal nature of the encounter of cultural viewpoints it records and for the unusual degree of empathy that ensues. James Silk Buckingham wrote several books about his travels throughout Asia Minor, and nothing is more instructive than comparing his initial reaction to the male "vice" he first witnessed in Baghdad in 1827 to his revised view of love between men in a volume appearing in 1829.[34] Casting Buckingham's writing as a form of ethnographic fieldwork, one might venture that his performative engagement in, rather than evaluative observation of, Ottoman homoeroticism models an ethics of cross-cultural encounter that allows for "multi-directional ways of look and knowing, of . . . encountering and meeting part way and inbetween."[35]

In the account of Ottoman Baghdad from 1827, Buckingham assumes a censorious tone as he announces his unhappy "duty, as an observer of human nature," to speak "in the least objectionable manner" of objectionable depravities: to wit, the practice he's witnessed of "boys publicly exhibited and set apart for purposes of depravity not to be named" (*Travels in Mesopotamia*, 166). The volume from 1829, however, sings a surprisingly different tune for one shocked to learn that "the vice" of which he had previously only heard rumors "was not merely imaginary" (*Travels in Assyria*, 168). This change of heart is due to personal circumstances that figuratively and literally open the writer's eyes to the possibility of an *honorable* passion existing between man and youth, where before he has only imagined debased, brute lust.

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The narrative structure Buckingham creates to set forth this revelation is optimally designed to draw readers in and win their sympathies; and the tenor of its language, compared to the severity of the volume from 1827, assumes the vocabulary of literary romanticism, as experiences of natural feeling, intuition, and benevolence replace moral outrage. The chapter opens with Buckingham's glowing account of the "favorable impressions" (77) that his hired guide, the Afghan dervish Ismael, has made on him. The depth of Ismael's intellect and metaphysical studies, his lofty soul and independent spirit, his charity to others—all these characteristics incite Buckingham's curiosity to learn why a man of such "overflowing benevolence" (77) has given up worldly possessions to become a wandering dervish. The arc of Ismael's experiences, it turns out, is not unlike the life pattern of Ottoman males glossed in the story of Tayyib and Tahir: Ismael devotes his early years to serious study till he comes to feel all knowledge is vanity; gives himself over for a period to sensual enjoyments and "forbidden gratifications" (78); reforms and enters a trade (as engraver and jeweler) that allows him enough income to wander the world and satisfy the romantic restlessness of his "vivid and ardent mind" (79), for which the stimulant of spontaneous feeling is the one thing that makes life worth preserving.

Such spontaneous overflow, indeed, explains Ismael's instantaneous decision to become Buckingham's companion and guide. Upon meeting the narrator in Baghdad, Ismael—following the spontaneous promptings of his heart—declares, "I will follow you." He refuses any compensation, explaining, "It was my destiny to follow you wherever you might go" since from "the moment I saw you and heard your voice, I felt that your soul contained what I had all my life been searching for in vain" (80). As proof of the depth of his commitment to fulfill this call of destiny, Ismael explains that he will be leaving behind the "one tender object of [his] affections" (80), a beloved he values more than his own existence. Of course, this hint of romance only piques Buckingham's "strong desire to know more of my companion"—who a few pages before was reported to have courted a "pretty damsel of [the] Aphrodinian race" (67) in Kurdistan. This mystery in turn fosters the reader's narrative desire to press onward—who doesn't enjoy a love story?—and Buckingham is even more moved at Ismael's sacrifice when he witnesses his guide tearfully parting with his beloved's father, a Christian merchant named Elias. The journey commences, and the two men become soul mates, discoursing long into each night on various subjects. One evening, Buckingham comments how much Ismael must miss Elias's daughter. Ismael corrects him; the object of his life's pas-

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sion is not a girl but Elias's *son*. "I shrunk back from the confession as a man who recoils from a serpent," Buckingham states, but lest his readers take too much of a thrill in assuming the worst, Buckingham makes a proleptic leap forward in the very next sentence, where he informs us that he was soon "delighted" to learn that Ismael's love is "a pure and honorable passion," one characterized by "a genuine infusion of *nature*, and in no way the symptoms of a *depraved* feeling" (85; emphasis mine).

With these words, Buckingham turns on its head two hundred years of European travel commentary, in which "nature," aligned with procreative heterosexuality, is counterpoised to those unnatural "depravities" such as sex between men said to flourish in the Levant. At this point Buckingham launches into a six-page digression on the classical tradition of the "honorable" (86) love of boys reaching from Crete to Athens. First Buckingham argues that because Greek love—and its echo in Muslim culture—was rooted in the desire to inspire youth to noble deeds and noble thoughts, these pederastic relationships were by definition "virtuous" and without "corrupt effects" (85–86), regardless of the "flame" (88) of erotic passion and sexual consummation he attributes to these relationships. Yet when Buckingham says his "severe and minute" (90) interrogation of Ismael has convinced him that his guide harbors no "impure desires" or "unchaste thoughts" (91) for his beloved, it might seem that Buckingham is now interpreting "platonic" love in the Victorian sense, as in a nonsexual friendship.[36] Buckingham is in fact making a more nuanced distinction. For when the narrator finally declares, "I could no longer doubt the existence in the East of an affection for male youths, *of as pure and honorable a kind as that which is felt in Europe for those of the other sex*" (93; emphasis mine), he is in effect suggesting that purity resides in the *quality* of the passionate eros felt for the love object, not in whether or not it is physically consummated.

Indeed, on the emotive and sensate level, such romantic "affection" *is* erotic, as Ismael makes clear when he argues that *if* a man can love a woman and desire "enjoyment" of her "person" without acting upon that desire until it is appropriate to do so, so too can a man passionately desire another male (and desire "enjoyment" of his "person") without giving offense to propriety. In effect, Ismael's argument leads Buckingham to conclude there is no qualitative difference between Ismael's feelings for Elias's son and the erotic desires drawing together the love interests of any nineteenth-century romantic novel in which the heroine, if not the hero, remains chaste until novel's end. The fact that Ismael's love is for a Christian boy not only adds a note of cross-cultural desire but also implicitly

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demonstrates to Buckingham and his reader that such higher homoerotic feelings are not exclusive to the Orient and parallel those "felt in Europe."

The catch, of course, is that there is no socially sanctioned "happy ending" (such as novelistic marriage) for Ismael's love, and both he and Buckingham remain silent on how one acts upon one's erotic feelings in the absence of an approved outlet. On the public level, Ismael's love for the boy is doomed to exquisite frustration, which may illuminate why Ismael chooses to become Buckingham's dedicated companion, even if it means separating himself from his beloved: such an act of sublimation and triangulation only heightens the as-yet-unfulfilled desire for the original object. In terms of narrative structure, it may also explain part of Ismael's autobiography that Buckingham inserts at this juncture. Six years previous, Ismael tells Buckingham, on a bridge over the Tigris he happened to observe a beautiful Turkish boy "whose eyes met his, as if by destiny" (91). The boy blushes with all the signs of love at first sight, Ismael's head swirls, the two declare their mutual love to the approval of their friends, and they continue meeting for months as they grow into "one soul" (92)—at which point the boy falls fatally ill and Ismael abandons himself completely to the youth's care till the latter's death. If the tragic ending of this love story is ennobling, it is also—to say the least—erotically frustrating, since death imposes the ultimate separation between lovers, erasing the possibility of physical consummation in the process.

It is this second tale that ultimately convinces Buckingham of "the existence in the East of an affection" (93) between males every bit as passionate *and* virtuous as any European male's romantic feelings for the female object of his desire. Convinced that such love exists—love that transcends the carnality associated with the male prostitutes in Baghdad from whose approaches he recoiled in the earlier volume—Buckingham narrates a radical conversion experience, one that may be influenced by social developments in England (including the publicity surrounding the increased persecution of men engaged in sexual acts) and by romantic literary sensibilities, but one that he would never have reached without his travels abroad.[37] Buckingham's affirmation of passionate homoerotic love, furthermore, circles us back to the idealized world of ennobling male-male love allegorized in ʿAtayi's story of Tayyib and Tahir, and this moment of convergence between European and Ottoman perspectives serves as a healthy riposte to the voyeuristic ethnopornography and titillated homophobia that characterize travelers such as Hill and Baudier.

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Buckingham isn't alone, however, in his more generous observations; traveling by its very nature is not always, or simply, voyeuristic, imperialistic, or unidirectional. The very act of crossing borders into realms of the foreign or unknown not only facilitates domination over or penetration into some monolithic "Other"; it also tacitly signifies the vulnerability of the voyager in the face of unsuspected multiplicities in cultural ways of being and renders the traveler-ethnographer an engaged participant as well as a distanced spectator.[38] In the opening of *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636), published just one year after Baudier's salacious account of the sodomitical perversities practiced by the sultan and his court, the English traveler Henry Blount writes that the true goal of travel is that of witnessing the unknown precisely in order to *undo* common stereotypes and prejudices, and throughout his text he reminds his readers he is reporting "what I found" rather than "censuring [those institutions] by any [preconceived] rule."[39] Criticizing travelers who "catechize the world by their own home" (3), Blount censures those who arrive in foreign lands with preconceived opinions, and he presciently advocates an ethos of cultural relativity when he explains that Turkish customs assumed to be "absolutely barbarous" to European eyes may in fact conform to "another kind of civilitie, different from ours" (2). Likewise, his nonjudgmental observations about sodomy when confronted with the friendly hospitality of a catamite accompanying his Ottoman master remind us of a truth that certain travelers, Eastern and Western, have always intuited: that desperately attempting to enforce the boundaries of self and other diminishes rather than expands one's notion of self.[40]

In the same vein, Horatio Southgate, an American Episcopal priest serving as a missionary in "the dominions and dependencies of the Sultan," admonishes the readers of his *Travels* (1840) "not to judge" Muslim culture by European standards. Although his narrative makes it clear that he laments the "vice" of same-sex love that has "deeply stained" the "eastern character," he maintains that while such customs may seem "unpleasing to us, because they belong to a different order of society," they "yet are not more unpleasing than are some of our own peculiarities" in the eyes of the Oriental subject.[41]

These examples of the open-mindedness regarding sexual matters that may ensue from travel are not unique to Europeans. One finds their counterpoint in an observation made by Evliya, traveling in Eastern Europe just a few decades after Blount's sojourn in Turkey. Passing through an Albanian town on a festival day, he reports having witnessed male "lovers go[ing] hand in hand with their pretty boys," adding that "this . . . quite shameful

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behavior" is "characteristic of the infidels." But, he adds, "it is their custom, so we cannot censure it." In a fascinating reversal of the modern reader's expectations, however, it turns out that Evliya is not censuring, as may first appear, male homoerotic display. What he judges to be "quite shameful," rather, is the fact that these tipsy "infidel" couples are "danc[ing] about in the manner of the Christians" on what is likely a saint's festival day. But, tolerant Muslim that he is, Evliya wisely chooses, like the Reverend Southgate, not to censure those religious "custom[s]" and "manner[s]" not one's own.[42]

While this chapter has presented only a mere fraction of the attitudes and representations contained in European narratives about the Ottoman East and those of their Ottoman counterparts, it is my hope that the archive it has tapped conveys a sense of the richly cross-cultural dialogue that exists waiting to be discovered by further work in the field, as well as a sense of the sometimes unexpected interpretative possibilities that emerge when putting such texts into dialogue. This latter method of contrapuntal reading allows us to begin to recover a much more complex story of Orientalist ethnopornography, its homoerotic dimensions, and its homophobic discontents, a story in which the destabilizations that confront the European male traveler forced to deal with the social and psychological constructions that other cultures bring to sexual attraction are echoed in the instabilities and mutually coexisting contradictions that are part and parcel of the sexual scripts of the Ottoman world itself. In such accounts of sodomitical crossings, the Middle East is not "just" a blank screen onto which European men have historically projected their repressed fears and transgressive yearnings, especially those welling up around the taboo of homosexual desire. That same screen is also alive with the words and worlds of responsive, competing, flickering images that, once we know how to look, and how to read, we can begin to perceive, palimpsest-like, inhabiting our own discursive self-reflections.

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Notes

1 Nico Hines, "YouTube Banned in Turkey after Video Insults," *Times (London) Online*, March 7, 2007. The offending video, according to Claire Berlinski, "Turkey's YouTube Ban Is Cause for Concern," *Radio Free Europe Online*, July 08, 2009, (https://www.rferl.org/a/Turkeys_YouTube_Ban_Is_Cause_For_Concern/1772003.html) showed Atatürk weeping lavender-colored tears to the music of the Village

People. In Turkey it is illegal to defame Atatürk or the republic. Most US coverage of the banning of YouTube in Turkey omitted the fact that the originating cause lay in homosexual and homophobic slurs, only mentioning that the Greek videos were perceived by Turk authorities as an "insult" to the republic's founder. Ironically, omitting the nature of the "insult" continues to repress the discussion of homosexuality enacted by the Turkish judiciary.

2 Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

3 On the history of Western tendency to view the East as the source of homoerotic vice, see Irvin Cemil Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alterist Discourse* (London: Verso, 1999). The inverse phenomenon, whereby homoerotic perversions are said to flow from the West to the East, was graphically illustrated in the Egyptian media reports surrounding the 2001 police raid in Cairo on the Queen Boat, a gay nightclub, in which over fifty men were arrested and accused of being homosexual perverts and Satanists. The headline in *Al-Ahram al-Arabi* on August 25, 2001, declared "Be a pervert, and Uncle Sam will approve," and *Al-Masa'* ran a story on May 15, 2001, titled "Confessions of the 'Satinists' in 10 Hours: We Imported the Perverse Ideas from a European Group." See Scott Long's analysis of this controversy in "The Trials of Culture: Sex and Security in Egypt," *Middle East Report* 230 (spring 2004): 12–20; as well as Brian Whitaker, *Unspeakable Love: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Middle East* (London: Saki, 2006).

4 Walter K. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 19.

5 For groundbreaking studies of the Ottoman heritage of same-sex sex, love, and patronage, see Andrews and Kalpakli, *Age of Beloveds*; Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2005). On parallel developments in the Persian-Iranian heritage, see Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). On the Arab heritage of male same-sex relations, see Joseph Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007). The essays gathered together in Kathryn Babaryn and Afsaneh Najmabadi, eds., *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire* (Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies / Harvard University Press, 2008), take up the challenge of forging intersections between the study of the history of sexuality across these Middle Eastern domains and queer theory. Comparable work on medieval formations of Middle Eastern homoeroticism can be found in Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literatures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and J. W. Wright Jr. and

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Everett K. Rowson, eds., *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997). Rowson has produced a series of essays combining a historian's understanding, deep knowledge of medieval Arabic traditions and literatures, and developing trends in queer theory.

6 For a sense of how the history of shifting political alliances within as well as between European and Ottoman states deconstructs facile constructions of an East/West binary and demonstrates the fluidity of contact across Christianity and Islamic cultures, see Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 26.

7 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Random/Vintage, 1993), 32; see also 49, 66, 259, 521.

8 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978).

9 *The True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident, Which Occur'd upon the Execution of a Christian Slave at Aleppo in Turky* (London, 1676). Subsequent page numbers are included in parentheses in the text. My quotations from the seventh tale of the *Heft han* are adapted from a word-for-word translation I commissioned from N. Evra Günhan, from the Old Ottoman text in the Bogacizi University library collection. I occasionally enhance our translation with word choices used in the prose paraphrase and partial poetic translation provided in Andrews and Kalpakli, *Age of Beloveds*, 59–62. I am indebted to Andrews and Kalpakli for bringing this evocative text, which they use as a touchstone of their discussion in *Age of Beloveds*, to my attention.

10 At the time of the pamphlet's dissemination, Turkish imperial ambitions were at their zenith: in 1676 the Ottoman army had seized part of Poland, and seven years later, in 1683, laid siege to Vienna in its most audacious (and ultimately failed attempt) to see all Europe submit to Ottoman control. This palpable threat increased the degree of hysterical demonization that one finds in documents such as *The True Narrative*.

11 While Ottoman texts uniformly refer to all Europeans as "Franks," it appears this English writer is using the designation "French" literally.

12 Typically seamen from mercantile vessels taken prisoner by Turkish corsairs were sold into slavery or ransomed to the home country. Multiple accounts exist of Englishmen and other Europeans seized in the Mediterranean. Barbary piracy seems to have been particularly pronounced in the 1670s and 1680s, as evinced in C. R. Pennell, *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677–1685* (Rutherford, NJ: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1989). One of the fears of being enslaved by Turkish corsairs was being converted not only to Islam but also to homosexuality, as noted by Robert C. Davis in *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500–1800* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 125–27.

13 Such effects are linked, as Silke Falkner notes, to the frequent use of rhetorical trope of *hypotyposis*—the deployment of especially vivid imagery and linguistic codes to help readers "see" the described scenario as if unfolding before their eyes—in travel narratives about the Middle East. Falkner, whose focus is on the

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frequent references to sodomy in early modern German *turcica*, provocatively asks what it means when a nude male Christian body is textually displayed as the object of a specifically Muslim gaze (as is also the case regarding the martyred French slave in *Wonderful Accident*). See Silke Falkner, "'Having It Off' with Fish, Camels, and Lads: Sodomitic Pleasures in German-Language *Turcica*," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 13, no. 4 (2007): 402, 405, 425, 427.

14 The "Seven Stories" was the fourth of a series of five mesnevi poems (making up a *hamse*, or pentad) composed by Nev'izade 'Atayi in emulation of the hamse masterpiece of his famous Persian predecessor, Nizami. Andrews and Kalpakli (*Age of Beloveds*, 59) note that most of the poem-narratives of "Seven Stories" use the pretense of inspiring the reader to moral behavior in order to relate bawdy, immoral goings-on; the seventh tale is an exception, in that it takes up the story of lovers who are not evildoers and are eventually rewarded for loving rightly.

15 Pera is the European sector of Istanbul in Galata, north of the Bosporus and the old city; here the sultans allowed Christians—mostly Greeks and Portuguese—to operate wine establishments, making Galata the de facto pleasure center of the city; Gosku was a famous excursion spot on the Bosporus where lovers often met clandestinely.

16 The particular sect, the Gulseni, a branch of the religious order Halvetiye, was founded by Ibrahim Gulseni, who was born in 1422, and was particularly popular among Ottoman elites, so joining this sect would, paradoxically, represent an elevation in class status for the boys despite their loss of portable income. Sufi conclaves are uniformly associated with male homosexual practices in the Ottoman past, since part of the ritual to reach transcendent ecstasy involved gazing upon (and touching) beauty, epitomized in male youths. Ze'evi analyzes the war in religious literature between the Sufi-based dervish societies, strongly patronized by the elite Janissary guards, and more conservative religious movements in *Producing Desire*, "Morality Wars: Orthodoxy, Sufism, and Beardless Youths," 48–77.

17 See Andrews and Kalpakli, *Age of Beloveds*, 77–79. See also chap. 54, "Wine Gatherings," in Mustafa Âli, *Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*, annotated English trans. by Douglas S. Brookes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, 2003), 111–13. This account gives a detailed description of the accoutrements expected of the properly refined wine party, from the presence of "much-desired rosy-cheeked" beauties, lovers, singers, and reciters to no less than "forty or fifty" appetizer trays, flowers in vases, and, "if roses are in season," sprinklings of rose petals all around.

18 Here I use Andrews and Kalpakli's (*Age of Beloveds*) rhymed translation for its poetic effect; the words are quite close to the literal translation.

19 This threat from repressive religious revivalists lies behind Mustafa Âli's warning, in *Counsel for Sultans* (1581), that it is the sultan's duty to shut up "the insolvent and slanderous preachers" whose repressive measures are seen as a direct strike against the privileges of the ruling elite. See *Counsel for Sultans*, trans. and ed. Andreas Tietze, 2 vols. (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 1:55.

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20 Ironically, what Europeans find all too visible in the Middle East is precisely what some Middle Eastern travelers to Europe in the same period find startlingly *absent*. Visiting Paris between 1826 and 1831, the Egyptian scholar Rifa'ah al-Tahtawi remarked on the Franks's "lack of [a] predilection for the love of male juveniles," which for these Europeans "would be one of the worst abominations [*fawahish*], so much that they have rarely mentioned it openly in their books but rather eschew it as much as possible." Quoted in Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, 32. At the same time, Europeans' preexisting conceptions about the prevalence of the eastern "vice" sometimes led to Middle Easterners in Europe finding themselves propositioned by the same Europeans who "eschew[ed]" such practices "as much as possible"; so Temesvarli Osman Aga reports in his memoirs, *Gavurlarin Esiri* ("Prisoner of the Infidels," 1724; rpt., Istanbul: Milliyet Yayangbri, 1971), that when he fell captive to the Austrians in 1688 (the year of the Ottoman siege of Vienna), he was approached one night by an Austrian boy for sex who tells him, "I know all Turks are pederasts."

21 Manwaring's account is included in E. Denison Rong, ed., *Sir Anthony Sherley and His Persian Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1933), 186–87. Aside from one use of the epithet "beastly" to describe male-male sexual practice in Turkey, Manwaring's account is relatively objective and nonsensationalizing in tone.

22 George Sandys, *Travels, Containing an History of the Original and Present State of the Turkish Empire*, 7th ed. (1615; London, 1673), 32; Pedro Peixeira, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira*, trans. and annot. William F. Sinclair (London: Hakluyt Society, Series 2, no. 9, 1902), 62.

23 Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1864–67), 1:363. Quoted in Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 132–33. For a history of the coffeehouse, see Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 78–109. Hattox mentions the reputation of coffeehouses as sites of homosexual debauchery on page 109.

24 The Ottoman manuscript (Ms. Berlin) is quoted in Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, 62. See Âli, *Tables of Delicacies*, chap. 73, "Wine Taverns," 131–32. ("Meva'idu'n-Nefa'is fi Kava'idi'l-Mecalis," circa 1587). I have altered a few words of Brookes's translation to accord with that provided in Andrews and Kalpakli, *Age of Beloveds*, 140–42.

25 Quoted in Andrews and Kalpakli, *Age of Beloveds*, 283.

26 From a collection of documents dealing with guild relationships in the seventeenth century, later published by Mahmūd 'Ali 'Ailah, *Wathā'iq al-tawa'if al-hirafiyya fi'l-quds fi'l-qam al-sabi ashar* (Nablus, 1992), 2:146–47. Quoted in Ammon Cohen, *The Guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001), 55. Yaron Ben-Naeh gives an illuminating example of a similar incident in Ottoman Damascus of the eighteenth century, where a coffeehouse known as a site of homosexual trysts was ordered to shut its doors, not for being a hangout for homoerotic exchange but because people of the neighborhood complained that it had turned into a center

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for crime. See Ben-Naeh, "Moshko the Jew and His Gay Friends: Same-Sex Sexual Relations in Ottoman Jewish Society," *Journal of Early Modern History* 9 (2005): 84.

27 William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painful Peregrinations of Nineteen Long Years* (1632; London, 1640), 14. All further references to this work are cited in the text.

28 Âli, *Table of Delicacies*, chap. 8, "Beardless Boys," 29–30.

29 Gazali was the pen name of Mehmed of Bursa, also known as Deli Birader ("Crazy Brother"). I use the translation Selim S. Kuru provides in his well-annotated and informative PhD thesis, "A Sixteenth Century Scholar Deli Birader and His *Dāfiü 'l'gumūm ve rāfi'ü'l-humūm*" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2000).

30 Michel Baudier, *Histoire generalle du Serrail, et de la cour du Grand Seigneur, trans. E. G. S. A.* [Edward Grimeston, Sargent at Arms] (1626; London, 1636), 1. All further references to this work are cited in the text.

31 Falkner, "Having It Off," 25.

32 Aaron Hill, *A Full Account of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire in All Its Branches* (1709), 81; emphasis mine. All further references to this work are cited in the text.

33 Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* ("Book of Travels"), books 5–8, trans. and ed. Robert Dankoff and Robert Elsie as *Evliya Çelebi in Albania and Adjacent Regions* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2006), 182–83, 213.

34 James Silk Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia* (London: Colburn, 1827), and *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (London: Colburn, 1829). All further references to these works are cited in the text.

35 See Lawrence, "Under White Men's Eyes," chapter 4 in this volume.

36 This is the reading that Stephen O. Murray gives the passage. Although I disagree with Murray's ultimate assessment, I am grateful to his essay "Some Nineteenth-Century Reports of Islamic Homosexualities," in *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, Literature*, ed. Will Roscoe and Steven O. Murray (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 204–8, for bringing Buckingham's narrative to my attention.

37 Buckingham's political radicalization as the result of his travels began with his sojourn in India in the mid-1820s. His denunciation of the practices of the East India Company led to his expulsion by the colonial authorities, whereupon he undertook the Middle Eastern travels that resulted in these volumes. Thanks to Mary Ellis Gibson for this insight.

38 Steve Clark, "Introduction," *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), 4–5, 7.

39 Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636; London: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977), 61. All further references to these works are cited in the text.

40 In his chapter on Blount in *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), Gerald M. MacLean also notes

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the occasions on which Blount uses homosexuality to turn a question of moral "vice" into one of cultural difference (150); he also speculates on Blount's possible homosexuality (151)—he is a bachelor at the time of his travels—but Blount's exchange with Murat Basha's favorite boy seems based on genuine curiosity and politeness, untouched by covert sexual desires.

41 Horatio Southgate, *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia: With Observations upon the Condition of Muhammadanism and Christianity in Those Countries*, 2 vols. (London, Tilt and Bogue, 1840), 2:200.

42 Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, in Dankoff and Elsie, *Evliya Çelibi in Albania*, 85.

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Sexualizing the Other

From Ethnopornography to Interracial Pornography in European Travel Writing about West African Women

Wherever they traded, settled, and colonized during the European expansion, European men had sex with indigenous women, and indigenous women's sexuality and interracial sex became ongoing themes in contemporary travel accounts. On the Gold Coast during the era of the slave trade, interracial sexual relations were at least as common as they were in other parts of the world, and European travel accounts supplied direct and practical information on how to get a West African woman and what to pay for her. Pieter de Marees's Dutch account from 1602, for example, included a Fante phrasebook in the back that advised the newly arrived European on how to demand a woman. The literal English translation reads, "I won't listen. You talk a lot. Shut your mouth. Give me a woman who is very sweet. Woman, your vagina inside eat."[1] In 1662, the German Wilhelm Johan Müller described how West African women would offer themselves to European men for a small present or for as little as a bottle of brandy, and stay with the men as long as they lived on the coast.[2] Though the descriptions

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vary in length and content, most European travel accounts about West Africa from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries describe West African women's sexual behavior and their sexual relations with African and/or European men.

Many such descriptions of sexual behaviors and acts of West African women in European travel accounts could certainly be described as a kind of ethnopornography, in a broad sense of the word, as sexualized depictions of ethnically "other" women meant to arouse sexual excitement in their readers. As noted by Irvin C. Schick, ethnographic descriptions have often been a "good source of erotica," and, in fact, ethnography and pornography share many common themes and representational practices.[3] In this chapter I will discuss and compare a few European ethnopornographic depictions of West African women in a Dutch, an English, and a French travel account from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in an attempt to complicate the concept of ethnopornography and to relate it to the modern genre of American pornography known as "interracial" pornography.

Linda Williams has argued that the genre of interracial pornography is powerful because it plays on specific historical structures of and expectations about race: "all depictions of interracial lust develop out of the relations of inequality that have prevailed between the races. They grow out of a history that has covertly permitted the white man's sexual access to black women and violently forbidden the black man's access to white women."[4]

What makes interracial pornography work, according to Williams, is that the genre plays on modern American hierarchies of race, and it is particularly exciting when it transgresses the line between black and white "that has been most firmly erected by America's history of chattel slavery."[5] In other words, the genre depends on a collective memory of a racial hierarchy in which black women are inherently subordinate to white men and white men have full power over black women's bodies.

Yet, as Schick and others have noted, white men's fantasies about having easy sexual access to and control over black women's bodies are not necessarily limited to American plantation slavery or its aftermath.[6] European expectations of white superiority have a long and complicated history in addition to the lived practice on North American plantations. In fact, as I argue in this chapter, eighteenth-century European travel accounts have a lot in common with modern interracial pornography—particularly in the ways the pornographic descriptions are organized around white men's easy and uninhibited access to black women's bodies. In addition to being early modern forerunners to interracial pornography, though, these depictions

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are also, I argue in the following, “classic” eighteenth-century European pornography, which was exported to the liberating realms of the *porno-tropics*.[7]

However, the interracial hierarchy that Linda William refers to in her definition of interracial pornography implies more than white men’s easy access to black women’s bodies: it also cites a powerful history of racial degradation. Unlike the eighteenth-century travel accounts that I discuss in this chapter, interracial pornography comes after a century of colonization, scientific racism, and racial segregation in the Western world, but particularly and specifically so in the United States. This era of “full-fledged” scientific racism, I suggest, changed the nature and style of ethnopornography in a direction that helps explain why the transgression of lines between black and white is so particularly powerful in modern American pornography. In the last section of the chapter, I look at one example of an ethnopornographic description of West African women that is informed by a more “modern” scientific/biological concept of race to discuss how this might be read as a more direct historic precursor to American interracial pornography.

Pornography is a contested concept in our contemporary world. The cultural wars over whether pornography is harmful and should be illegal have caused academics and activists to choose sides for or against explicit sexual images and movies, with perhaps the most extreme standpoint being represented by the arguments of Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon that pornography not only can lead to but *is* sexual abuse.[8] The following chapter is not a contribution to this ongoing debate about the value and/or dangers of pornography. Nor am I, in this chapter, making an effort to present anything close to an exhaustive history of ethnopornography in travel accounts from West Africa. More modestly, I attempt to raise questions about the genre of ethnopornography. My hope is that a closer look at how European travel accounts sexualized West African women can historicize the concept of ethnopornography, open a discussion of ethnopornography’s relationship with the modern genre of interracial pornography, and help promote what Linda Williams has called a more substantive critique of pornography.[9]

Leaving aside broader claims about implicit power relations in contemporary pornography, ethnopornographic depictions in European travel accounts can therefore not be separated from their colonial contexts of travel writing. Both the earlier eighteenth-century pornographic depictions of West African women and the later nineteenth-century example of ethnopornography discussed here were, in different ways, structured by European colonial expectations of cultural supremacy. Though the slave trade in

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West Africa was not specifically colonial in purpose, the travel accounts about West Africa represented a much larger Atlantic system of colonization and plantation slavery in which white men's encounters with black women were structured by both gender and race. As Felicity Nussbaum has argued, any "consumption of the Other woman" was fundamentally embedded in a colonial power relationship.[10]

Exotic Witches

Travel writing was a popular genre in the early modern era. Accounts from all over the world were printed, reprinted, and translated at a fast pace, and—like early modern pamphlets about witches or murderers on trial—owed much of their popularity to their shock and excitement value. Yet travel accounts were also crucially important for European trading and colonial expansion. Investors, captains, and merchants needed precise and trustworthy information to follow the development of the trade and plan future expeditions, and trading companies served their interests by supporting both the writing and printing of travel accounts, which also helps explain the genre's explosive growth in the early modern era.[11] European travel accounts therefore served two very different, but not mutually exclusive, interests, and trade facts and exotic tales were often placed side by side in the texts. These different interests invested in travel accounts from the early modern era makes them some of the most important historical documents we have on the history of West Africa in the precolonial period, but in this chapter I am not going to read them as sources of a history of West African women. In this chapter they are solely sources of European male perceptions of West African women.

Some subjects were more likely than others to play the part of exotic and exciting sales elements in travel accounts, though, and at least some descriptions of West African women's sexuality and interracial intimacy appear to have functioned as such. As in early modern European travel accounts from other parts of the world, descriptions of indigenous African women's sexuality appeared in the texts, along with descriptions of witches, cannibals, and monstrous animals and peoples. In fact, in earlier accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, West African women were often compared to or described as contemporary European witches. In an account from 1603 describing West African women dancing at the full moon, the German Andreas Josua Ulsheimer wrote, "These women

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are very lascivious and very lustful for men of foreign nations. Each year they hold two dances—one when they sow, the other when they reap. They do this for four weeks and always begin when it is full moon. At night they dance most."[12]

In general, in the early accounts West African women were depicted as simultaneously inviting and dangerous, as when the German Samuel Brun, who traveled along the coast of West Africa from 1611 to 1620, described how the European group he was traveling with had once lost six men who had slept with African women "on account of the black wenches; for the men's sperm or genitals decayed, till blood and finally death itself followed."[13]

These simultaneously dangerous and inviting witchlike women were physically different from European women. In some accounts, West African women could give birth without pain and had breasts so long they could throw them over their shoulder to feed their babies on their backs.[14] They were part of a largely unfamiliar and dangerous foreign world, in which all the lands beyond Europe's borders were described as otherworldly places. As Anne McClintock has powerfully shown, this fundamentally "other" world represented a "porno-tropics for European imagination"—a figurative space onto which Europeans could project fantasies and desires.[15] Since this space had not yet been conquered in the early modern era, it was still very openly a dangerous space, and not one where white men had easy access to black women's bodies through an intrinsic colonial order or racial hierarchy. In these early accounts of West African women's sexuality, a larger European colonial ambition was entangled with ambivalence and fear. Not a fear of losing control of what had been conquered—that would come later—but a fear of being engulfed, lost, and swallowed, accompanied by an acute paranoia and a profound sense of male anxiety and boundary loss.

Whether these descriptions of otherworldly physically different women functioned as pornography in Europe depends on their reception. Today's definitions of pornography, though they vary on other aspects of the concept, agree that an important element that makes a text or an image pornographic is that a description of sexual behavior is intended to cause sexual excitement in the reader or viewer.[16] To decide whether these texts were pornographic, we would therefore need to know about their reception in Europe, which is not a topic for this present chapter. What is more important for the present purpose is the void that was left in this porno-tropic space of travel writing when the witches disappeared.

As the witches and the monsters all but disappeared from the travel accounts in the later seventeenth century, European travel accounts from

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West Africa began describing West African women as physically more similar to European women. In fact, in some accounts African women are described as so similar to European women that European men could choose to ignore their skin color in the dark. In Jean Barbot's French-English account from 1679, the women he met in Accra were, for instance, ingeniously dressed, good-humored, and skillful in the art of seducing European men: "I saw several of them richly adorned . . . in such manner as might prove sufficiently tempting to many lewd Europeans; who not regarding complexions, say *All cats are grey in the dark*."[17] Other accounts correct earlier descriptions of monstrous African women, as did that of the Danish Johannes Rask, writing early in the eighteenth century: "Nowhere on the Gold Coast have I seen the exceedingly sagging breasts that Dapper described. In general they have well-shaped decently hanging breasts."[18]

However, the comparatively high level of similarity between African and European women in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century accounts should not mislead us to think their writers found no difference. In these accounts the difference is cultural rather than physical; West African women were no longer witches or monstrous, and their "otherness" came to be defined more specifically as sexual availability. European male travel writers found that, in comparison with European women, the primary difference was that West African women were extremely sexually available, interested in and willing to have sex with European men. Several travel writers even suggested that African women preferred European to African men and regarded it as an honor to have Euro-African children.[19]

As the witches disappeared, West African women seem to have stopped being dangerous; their sexual availability is not ambivalent or destructive, as in the earlier accounts. Instead, I want to suggest, the porno-tropic space of the travel accounts was now a space that was perfectly fitted for the export of pornography, as if the disappearance of seventeenth-century monstrous bodies and witches had left a textual void that some travel writers opted to fill with pornography (another genre of exotic writing). In the following I will focus on two specific examples of such an "export" of eighteenth-century European pornography to the realm of travel writing, and suggest that to understand how these specific sexualizations of West African women worked in their texts, we need to relate them to contemporary European pornography as well as place them in the context of other examples of ethnopornography in this anthology.

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Exporting Pornography to the Porno-Tropics

The two examples that I will discuss here, the Dutch William Bosman and the English William Smith, are both remarkably similar to contemporary eighteenth-century European pornography. In both cases the implicit reception by European male readers is unmistakable, which suggests that the explicit intention of arousing sexual excitement is central in making a text pornographic. The first text was written as personal letters directly to an uncle in Amsterdam; the other was presented as a conversation between two European men on a European ship leaving Africa. As I will discuss, both authors make a number of hints and suggestions to the readers that suggest that the material is meant to be titillating. Equally important, the subject matter discussed in the two travel accounts are classic themes in eighteenth-century European pornography; in both cases the author delves at length into the subject of prostitution and the habits and practices of prostitutes and courtesans, which was the defining theme of pornography in the eighteenth century. As the Greek word suggests, "porno-graphy" had developed specifically as the genre of writing about prostitutes.[20]

The first example of European pornography being exported to the realms of travel writing is William Bosman's account of an institution of "public whores" in West Africa in his 1704 account *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*.[21] Bosman's account was one of the most widely read and cited northern European travel accounts about West Africa in the centuries that followed.[22] His description of prostitution on the Gold Coast is set in a fantasyland in which European men had very easy access to African women's bodies. In his universe, both class and age are suspended in the encounter between European men and West African women; all West African women are sexually available to European men.

Bosman describes prostitution in general but also, more specifically, relates a longer description of an institution of "public whores" that I think is of particular interest for this present discussion. Bosman was one of three travel writers who mentioned this institution of public prostitutes, the other two being the Dutch Olfert Dapper (1668) and the French Jean Godot (1704), and, as historians Adam Jones and Emmanuel Akyeampong have both remarked, there are some differences among the three accounts.[23] The three travel writers agreed that it was the practice for a West African community to buy an enslaved woman and make her a public prostitute through an initiation ceremony. They also agreed that she was paid very little or nothing for sexual relations with male members of the

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community. However, the accounts did not agree whether only bachelors or also married men were allowed to visit the public prostitutes, and they differed on how the initiation rite took place. Bosman was the only one of the three travel writers who included the information that during the initiation rite the enslaved woman had to simulate sexual intercourse with a young boy in public in the marketplace: "The Novice is smeared all over with Earth, and several Offerings offered for her success in her future Occupation. This over, a little Boy, yet immature for Love Affairs, makes a feint or representation of lying with her before all the People; by which 'tis hinted to her that from this time forwards, she is obliged to receive all Persons indistinguishable who offer themselves to her, not excepting little Boys."[24]

Now, why did Bosman include a young boy imitating having sexual intercourse with the initiated public prostitute? Emmanuel Akyeampong has explained Bosman's deviation from the other two accounts about public prostitutes in West Africa with the fact that social institutions never replicate themselves exactly, and that therefore "public prostitution" would also never be quite the same in two different places.[25] Adam Jones has not specifically addressed the differences between Bosman's account and the others, but he has mentioned elsewhere that Bosman did at times employ *"poetische Freiheit"* (poetic license) to entertain his readers.[26] However, a broader look at Bosman's account suggests not only that he probably had personal reasons for including a young boy as an active sexual agent in the initiation rite but also that his descriptions of West African women's sexual behavior were shaped by a male sexual fantasy in which all women are willing and easily available, and sexual intercourse has few social consequences for men or women.

Bosman was sixteen when he left Holland for West Africa. His account consists of a series of letters to his uncle back in Amsterdam, and in several places the text functioned as pornography in the male-to-male communication between Bosman and his uncle. The connection between the two men is particularly clear when Bosman lapses into personal and direct communication with his uncle, as when he describes how prostitutes in Fida (Ouidah) receive many customers during one day in their small huts and therefore must be very tired in the evening, and adds, "If Livia was alive, I should ask her whether this is not sufficient to satisfie her."[27] Bosman does not mention who Livia was, but she was probably a European woman that his uncle also knew. For our present purpose the content of the question Bosman would have asked Livia is of greater importance. In his porno-tropic fantasy Bosman assumed that slave prostitutes in small huts

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on the side of the road were seeking and gaining pleasure from customers, who pay them very little and whom they have not chosen to have sex with. And with this knowing reference to a shared pool of sexual knowledge, Bosman drew his uncle into his fantasy.

On the Gold Coast, Bosman recounted, both men and women marry late, and single women outnumber single men. Men marry as soon as they can afford the bride price, but women wait as long as possible, because they can live more "free and pleasant" lives when unmarried, "being now at perfect liberty to admit the embraces of any or several men if they please." Women are not disregarded or "rudely accounted whores" if they have sex before marriage, and even after they are married they seldom content themselves with only one man.[28] In general, according to Bosman, women on the Gold Coast had an extraordinary sexual appetite, which was partly due to their "hotter" nature, and partly to the institution of polygamy, which forced many women to share a man. Even with strict punishment, it was almost impossible to keep the women from adultery: "They are continually contriving how to gain a Lover, and would rather suffer Death than forbear the delicious Sin." The men, however, were afraid of being punished for adulterous relations, and would therefore try to refuse the women, but the women would throw themselves at the men and tear off their clothes or seduce them in secret during the night.[29]

In Bosman's account, the distinction between prostitutes and other African women is quickly erased. In some places, Bosman wrote, they have no public whores, but this is no problem for the young men, "for there is no want of Unmarried Women, and they without any distinction, than that of being too young, are a'most all Whores, tho' they indeed don't bear that name."[30] When a European man wanted to have sex with a West African woman, age was the only limiting factor; class or marriage status was no hindrance. Bosman related a boastful story of visiting the king of Fida (Ouidah), who had given his daughter in marriage to an English trader. Jokingly Bosman told the king that he should have offered him the princess first, to which the king supposedly replied that "though his Daughter was married, she was yet at my service, if I desired her, since one word was sufficient to call her home." In a direct remark to his uncle, Bosman thereafter replies, "What think you, Sir, are not this King's Daughters very cheap?"[31]

Inside the textual male-to-male communication between Bosman and his uncle it is not surprising to find that a young man is specifically chosen to imitate a sexual act with a prostituted woman in a public marketplace. Just as prostitutes are satisfied by their customers and young women want

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to stay unmarried to have sex with whomever approaches them, I suggest that Bosman's little boy in the initiation rite was a figment of a sixteen-year-old boy's imagination, coherent with the pornographic theme and undertone of his text.

A second example of European pornography exported to the tropics is found in William Smith's English account *A New Voyage to Guinea* from 1744.[32] After mentioning African women only a few times in the first several hundred pages, Smith added an appendix to his account in which he compared courting and sexual behaviors in England and on the Gold Coast. Possibly because he was uncertain whether the subject would offend readers in Europe, he presented his opinions as an interview with a Mr. Charles Wheeler, with whom he claimed to have conversed on board a ship returning to Europe.[33] Mr. Wheeler had been a factor for the Royal African Company on the Gold Coast for ten years, and William Smith had decided to write his story, since it could not be "displeasing to the reader." The conversations with Mr. Wheeler depict the Gold Coast as a male sexual fantasy world like Bosman's, where African women are readily available, sexual relations have few social consequences, and where, in going beyond Bosman's version, women and men benefit equally from sexual liberation. As in much modern interracial pornography, women's bodies are easily available for men's sexual pleasure.

Smith's Mr. Wheeler told the story of how he visited an unnamed king on the Gold Coast who in addition to his wives had many concubines. According to Mr. Wheeler, it was customary for kings and other "grandees" to offer a visiting European one of his concubines to sleep with for the duration of his visit. The first time this happened to Mr. Wheeler, he politely asked for the reasoning behind such a practice, and the king answered that it was to keep him chaste and regular. When Mr. Wheeler then suggested that fornication was not the way to make a man chaste, the king asked, "Why . . . is it a sin to lie with a woman?" Mr. Wheeler confirmed that if you were not married to the woman, it was considered a sin, which compelled the king to ask if Mr. Wheeler had never slept with a woman. Mr. Wheeler declined to answer that question, and the king then insisted, "Take her, take her, he said, you seem to know what use to make of her." The king presented with a "young lady in her prime," and Mr. Wheeler and the king's concubine then retired to a private room. Mr. Wheeler described how beautiful the concubine was, how easily and naturally they had sex, and, he went on to say, "in that situation I soon forgot the complexion of my bedfellow. . . . Greater pleasure I never found, and during my stay, if

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paradise is to be found in the enjoyment of a woman, I was then in the possession of it."[34] In addition to being beautiful, the king's concubine was also sexually liberated, well mannered, and intelligent (she had been educated by a French doctor who had stayed with her while visiting the king).

The concubine in Mr. Wheeler's story is remarkably similar to a stereotype in contemporary eighteenth-century European pornography that Kathryn Norberg has called the "libertine whore."[35] In her study of French pornography, Norberg found "whore" biographies or confessions to be increasingly common in the genre during the eighteenth century. The libertine prostitute was usually presented as the narrator of her own story—which is different from Mr. Wheeler's story, in which he speaks on the concubine's behalf—but otherwise she fit the stereotype perfectly: she was well-read and sophisticated, and, like Norberg's prostitutes, her sexual appetite was "moderated by a healthy dose of philosophy."[36] She was woman of "a good natural judgement," and had she been white, Mr. Wheeler would have asked the king for permission to marry her.

As Lynn Hunt has argued, until the mid- or late eighteenth century, European pornography was almost always an adjunct to something else. Most often early modern pornography employed explicit descriptions of sex or sexual organs in order to criticize religious and political authorities, the shock of references to sexual organs or acts serving as provocation, satire, and cultural criticism.[37] Similarly, the story of Mr. Wheeler and the king's concubine is a direct criticism of English sexual, marriage, and courting practices, which connects Smith's ethnographic description of West African women directly to the genre of contemporary eighteenth-century pornography in Europe. After they had sex, Mr. Wheeler and the concubine had several conversations in which they compared English and Gold Coast practices, and focusing in particular on the faults of the former.

Mr. Wheeler's first concern was to argue for the practice of polygamy. Not only was polygamy in accordance with the bible, where the patriarchs of the Old Testament all had many wives, there were also practical reasons to import the practice to Europe. Polygamy made women strive harder to please their husbands but never forced men to have more wives than they wanted. Most men had only two to four wives, which was enough to make it unnecessary to seek "variety" outside the home.[38] Also, Wheeler continued in more general terms, men in Africa were much less sexually repressed than European men. The long, painful waiting and courting period that European men had to go through before they could marry and have sex with a woman did not exist in Africa, and the king's concubine

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agreed with Mr. Wheeler's criticism of English courtship, in which the young men based their decisions about whom to marry on the woman's wealth and family and not on "nature." She suggested that the European courtship routine would cause young men to "court away" their love for a woman before they got married.[39]

On the Gold Coast, Mr. Wheeler recounted, young men were free to gain sexual experience before they settled in a marriage. An unmarried man could either visit a prostitute or buy a slave woman in the market, "co-habit with her as long as he pleases, and then sell her again," and, unlike in Europe, prostitutes on the Gold Coast were modest and chaste. They slept with only one man at a time, and only in private, unlike European whores, who will "admit as many to be present at the act as please" and lie with men in the fields and in the streets.[40] A young man on the Gold Coast could also simply approach any one of the young women around him, since "the women of this country make no scruple, if they have the opportunity to meet the embraces of a man." Young women on the Gold Coast were not brought up to believe that sex was a sin, as European women were, and therefore they never turned down a suitor, which meant that rape was unheard of. Imagine, Mr. Wheeler continued, if only young men in Europe could purchase a concubine and live with her as long as he wanted and then sell her again. This would be much better than men's common practice to "cuckold their neighbours, debauch their daughters, and get with child with their own maid-servants."[41]

In Bosman's and Smith's accounts, West African women were not just available to European men but were hypersexual and willing. Unlike in the earlier accounts, these West African women were physically similar to European women, and it was not the ethnic "otherness" of the women that gave the texts their pornographic potential but the extreme availability and willingness of West African women. Bosman and Smith's porno-tropics were worlds in which marriage was not a prerequisite to getting access to women's bodies. In the encounter between European men and African women, European male expectations of cultural supremacy connected powerfully to colonialism, and there was no question ideologically: African women were available to European men not always because they were culturally inferior but because they were both Africans and women. Surely the "exotic," porno-tropic scenery of the descriptions shaped the extreme willingness of the depicted West African women, but in these two accounts West African women's bodies are (in hindsight) surprisingly similar to European women's bodies: had the concubine only been white, Mr. Wheeler

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would have begged her from the king. He probably would have gotten her too, in a porno-tropic utopia where even a sixteen-year-old sailor such as Bosman could get to marry a king's daughter "cheap."

White male fantasies—such as Bosman's and Smith's—of easy access to black women's bodies did not begin in the modern era. From the very beginning of early modern European expansion, European colonialism carried and employed masculine connotations and symbols: a virgin America was conquered; a mysterious Orient was unveiled; and a dark Africa was penetrated.[42] In travel accounts the outcome of the European Expansion was discursively given for centuries as upright and dressed men encountered naked and virgin lands and peoples. European colonialism always came with expectations of sexually available indigenous women. White male fantasies did not stop with Bosman and Smith, either. In the next historical phase, ethnopornographic depictions of West African women's sexual behavior would be shaped by centuries of modern scientific-biological racism that would take the sexualized descriptions of "other" women to a whole new level before the genre of modern American interracial pornography appeared on the scene.

Degrading Black Women's Bodies

As Sander Gilman has shown in his work on sexual and racial stereotypes, the sexualization of prostitutes, Africans, and children achieved its modern meaning in the specific historical context of nineteenth-century Europe.[43] As Lynn Hunt has argued, this was not only the time when the genre of European pornography lost its political connotations and changed to a commercial "hard-core" business, but also the time when racial differences were studied intensely by scientists, and modern racism related racial difference to pathology. In Europe this process of defining race in its modern scientific form was in important ways linked to specific studies of African women's bodies, defining the sexualized African women as deviant and degraded, at the very bottom of any social hierarchy.[44]

In this same historical period some descriptions of easily available West African women display a racial degradation that, I suggest, speaks more directly to the modern genre of interracial pornography. One example of this modern ethnopornography is a watercolor by the French prince of Joinville, François d'Orléans, who visited the last Danish governor, Edward Carstensen, for lunch at Fort Christiansborg in present-day Accra

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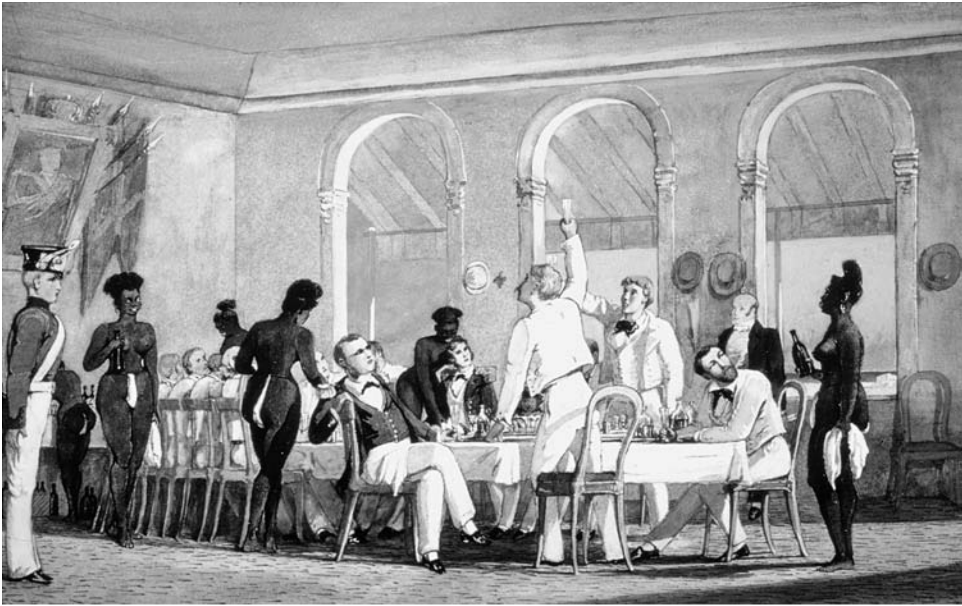

FIGURE 7.1 The prince of Joinville's watercolor of a lunch at Christiansborg in January 1843. Copy at the Danish Maritime Museum at Kronborg Castle in Helsingør, Denmark.

in January 1843 (see figure 7.1). The prince was on a Grand Tour of the Atlantic world—after Africa, he went on to Brazil. He represented the French state seeking to expand its colonial territories, and he depicted relations between white men and black women embedded in a clear colonial order informed by a modern concept of race.

The prince of Joinville painted himself centrally seated with his back to the sea, watching one of Governor Carstensen's men making a toast to the king of France. The watercolor represents a familiar colonial order with powerful white upper-class men in control of themselves and their subaltern subjects. Unbent and proper, Joinville has his eyes focused on the toasting man while a naked woman is bending over to serve him. Unlike the bearded lunch guest at the end of the table, Joinville apparently resisted a closer look at the serving women. At some point, however, he must have turned to inspect the women. Indeed, the women seem to have been the most memorable attraction of his visit to Christiansborg. In his diary of his travels in Africa he described their hair, skin, and smell in a way that echoes nineteenth-century ideas of biological race. Remarking how

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the women's skin was particularly soft—did he touch them anyway?—he leaped from the particular women who served him at Christiansborg to all Africans and "negroes" in general and described their peculiar and irreducible smell:

> I have never been able myself to endure the odour of negroes of either sex; but I have known people whom it quite intoxicated, and who were always trying to get reappointed to Senegal, so as to get back to it, in spite of having their health shattered by African fevers. All these young ladies' coquetry had gone to the dressing of their wooly hair, which was clipped, like garden shrubs, into the most fanciful shapes, and to the fineness of their skins, which were as soft and shiny as satin. This resulted from the daily baths they were in the habit of taking, rubbing themselves also with fine sand. But, unluckily the rubbing could not get rid of the negro scent.[45]

In Joinville's description African women are passive servants with whom European men could become intoxicated, and all Africans are grouped together by sharing the same odor. Their difference from Europeans is not merely cultural, in the sense that it can be transformed or removed. Bathing and rubbing can transform their skin to satin, but nothing can erase a smell of difference, and when white men and black women stand close, as in the watercolor, the colonial order is shown as fixed and irreversible.

The women in the watercolor are stereotypes; they are almost identical, and they should not be considered realistic renderings of Gold Coast women but rather an ethnopornographic French male fantasy. In fact, the image is ethnopornographic in the modern sense of the concept; it refers not only to an inherent racial hierarchy that would prevail between the races in the modern period but also to the degradation of African women's bodies: their hair is like garden shrubs, their smell is appalling. The ethnopornographic intentions of the image are obvious. The man at the end of the table invites the viewer to participate in his undisguised gaze at one of the African women, and the women's exotic underwear that shows both hips and buttocks would have been considered provocative in both Gold Coast and European society. Unlike the completely naked French woman in Édouard Manet's more famous lunch setting *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* twenty years later (1863), the West African women in Joinville's lunch image do not return the viewer's glance.[46]

The only similarity between Manet's and Joinville's images is the scene—dressed European men having lunch with naked women—the differences

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are more striking. Manet's naked woman participates in the lunch, and, like the men, she is in a relaxed posture on the grass. Her complete naked whiteness, though placing her in a vulnerable and subordinate position to the properly dressed men (one still with his hat on), connotes cleanliness and purity. In contrast, in Joinville's setting the exotic hair and underwear sexualizes the women in an ethnopornographic sense, referring to the exotic and "other" bodies of the African women. The barriers between black and white are in place on all fronts. The black are women, subservient, naked, and sexually available. The men are not just white but most are also dressed in shining white (and pure) clothes in contrast to the black women. When the serving woman bends over and is—inappropriately?—close to the French prince, as he turns his head away, the image plays specifically on the breaching of the modern (in)transgressable racial barriers that the image is structured around. According to Joinville, European men were especially attracted to the unique smell of African women, and he employed a perceived biological and bodily difference in West African women specifically to arouse sexual desire.

This nineteenth-century sexualizing depiction of West African women speaks to broader developments in the perception of black women in the modern era. As McClintock and Gilman have noted in different contexts, Africa had become the "quintessential zone of sexual aberration and anomaly," and Africans—women and men—were "icons for deviant sexuality."[47] The social categories falling into place by the nineteenth century, controlling and reconfirming imperial and colonial control, produced an image of the native, African, woman as "needing control," and in that process, the European man became her polar opposite.[48] "Miscegenation" became an integrated word in late nineteenth-century vocabulary on sexuality, and the racial dividing lines between white and black on which modern interracial pornography plays were solidified by a pathologizing of black women's bodies.

Conclusion

At least some early modern European travel accounts from West Africa have much in common with the modern genre of interracial pornography as Linda Williams has defined it: they play specifically on fantasies of white men's easy and uninhibited access to hypersexualized black women's bodies. Yet when we read travel accounts such as those of William Bosman and

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William Smith as ethnopornography, we not only need to consider them as examples of a particular genre of ethnopornographic writing but also, simultaneously, as "typical" eighteenth-century European pornography. Their sexualized depictions of West African women are strikingly similar to other early modern European pornography in their focus on prostitutes and in the ways that the sexualized depictions of West African women are used as political and social criticism. In short, early modern ethnopornography has connections to both modern interracial pornography and to eighteenth-century European pornography.[49]

However, as I have suggested in this chapter, modern American interracial pornography plays on fantasies of much more than white men's simple access to black women's bodies. In my comparison of the eighteenth-century ethnopornographic descriptions with an example from the nineteenth-century Gold Coast—the watercolor by the prince of Joinville—I argue that modern ethnopornography refers to an "othering" of West African women of a whole different caliber: color was no longer something that could disappear in the dark (as in Jean Barbot's account from 1670); race had been essentialized and pathologized. If we then add a century and a half of racial degradation and segregation, and a specific lived historical practice of race relations in the United States, then it is not surprising that the racial hierarchies transgressed in modern American interracial pornography are loaded with powerful collective pools of meaning.

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Notes

1 English translation in Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones, eds. and trans., *Pieter de Marees: Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 258. The translators and editors of de Marees's account give the following explanation to the last part of the sentence: "the verb *di* (Fante: *dzi*) means 'to eat,' but also 'to have sexual intercourse.'"

2 English translation in Adam Jones, ed., *German Sources for West African History, 1599–1669* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Coronet Books, 1983), 157.

3 Irvin Cemil Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alterist Discourse* (London: Verso, 1999), 79, 77.

4 Linda Williams, "Skin Flicks on the Racial Border: Pornography, Exploitation, and Interracial Lust," in *Porn Studies*, ed. Linda Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 302.

5 Williams, "Skin Flicks," 271.

6 Schick, *Erotic Margin*; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Felicity Nussbaum, "The Other Woman: Polygamy, *Pamela*, and the Prerogative of Empire," in *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker (London: Routledge, 1994).

7 On the concept of "porno-tropics," see McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 21–24.

8 See Andrea Dworkin, *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* (1979; repr. with new intro., New York: Dutton, 1989); Catharine MacKinnon, *Only Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); or Linda Williams's response to MacKinnon in Williams, "Skin Flicks," 11.

9 Williams, "Skin Flicks," 12.

10 Nussbaum, "Other Woman," 140.

11 For an introduction to the field of historical travel writing, see, e.g., Peter C. Mancall's introduction to *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

12 English translation of quote by Andreas Josua Ulsheimer in Jones, *German Sources*, 33. Ulsheimer's account also contains both cannibals and devils. In Hans Jacob Zur Eich's account, women are dancing around *"the evil one"*; see Jones, *German Sources*, 266.

13 Samuel Brun cited in Jones, *German Sources*, 72. See also Johann von Lübelfing (1599–1600) in Jones, *German Sources*, 16.

14 See Jennifer L. Morgan's work on monstrous African women in early modern travel accounts in *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 12–49.

15 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22–24.

16 See, for example, "pornography" in *Britannica Concise Encyclopædia* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2008).

17 Jean Barbot originally wrote in French, but he later settled in England, where his travel account from West Africa was published in English. Quote from P. E. H. Hair, Adam Jones, and Robin Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa, 1678–1712, Vol. 2* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1992), 496.

18 Johannes Rask, *En kort og sandferdig rejsebeskrivelse til og fra Guinea* (Trondheim, Norway: Jens Christensen Winding, 1754), 130; translation mine. Rask stayed in West Africa from 1709 to 1712.

19 See, for example, Jean Barbot in Hair, Jones, and Law, *Barbot on Guinea*, 85.

20 Lynn Hunt has noted that the word "pornography" was first used specifically to describe writing about prostitution; see Lynn Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 303. In Kathryn Norberg's chapter in the same volume, "The Libertine Whore: Prostitution in French Pornography from Margot to Juliette," she concurrently noted, "The prostitute plays

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a particularly important role in the history of pornography; she was present at its birth"; Norberg, "Libertine Whore," 225. Walter Kendrick, *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), also has a history of the word.

21 William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (London: J. Knapton et al., 1967); original published in Dutch in 1704; first English edition published in 1705.

22 Within thirty years of the first Dutch edition, Bosman's account was printed three more times in Dutch, two times in English, once in French, and once in German. See John Ralph Willis's introduction in Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, xix.

23 Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Sexuality and Prostitution among the Akan of the Gold Coast c. 1650–1950," *Past and Present* 156 (August 1997): 144–73. Adam Jones, "Prostitution, Polyandrie oder Vergewaltigung? Zur Mehrdeutigkeit europäischer Quellen über die Küste Westafrikas zwischen 1660 und 1860," in *Außereuropäische Frauengeschichte: Probleme der Forschung*, ed. Adam Jones (Pfaffenweiler, Germany: Centaurus Verlag, 1990), 128.

24 Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 212.

25 Akyeampong, "Sexuality and Prostitution," 155.

26 Jones, "Sexuality and Prostitution," 130, 141.

27 Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 214.

28 Both quotes from Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 211.

29 Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 206.

30 Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 206–4.

31 Bosman, *New and Accurate Description*, 346.

32 William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1967). Smith was in Africa twenty-five years after Bosman, and he might have adopted some of his pornographic tone from Bosman, since he also borrowed about half of his account of West Africa from him. See Adam Jones, "Semper Aliquid Veteris: Printed Sources for the History of the Ivory and Gold Coasts, 1500–1750," *Journal of African History* 27 (1986): 217.

33 The language and tone of the appendixed story is very similar to the rest of William Smith's account, which, combined with the fact that he speaks warmly of the practice of polygamy both in the main text and in the appendix, suggest that he was not just reporting Mr. Wheeler's views but probably also shared them. See also Jennifer Morgan's reading of this part of Smith's account in Morgan, *Laboring Women*, 45–46.

34 Smith, *New Voyage*, 251–54.

35 Norberg, "Libertine Whore," 225–52.

36 Norberg, "Libertine Whore," 235.

37 Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution," 10. See also 30 and 35.

38 Smith, *New Voyage*, 244.

39 Smith, *New Voyage*, 255–60.

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40 Smith, *New Voyage*, 250.

41 Smith, *New Voyage*, 246–48.

42 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, and Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), both contain good introductions to works on gender and the European expansion.

43 Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 37; and Yvette Abrahams, "Images of Sara Bartman: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, ed. Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

44 Hunt, "Pornography and the French Revolution," 42; and Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, 38.

45 Translated from the French by Lady Mary Loyd in *Memoirs (Vieux Souvenirs) of the Prince de Joinville* (New York: Macmillan, 1895), 276–77.

46 Several copies of Manet's painting are accessible on the net; see, for instance, Wikimedia, accessed April 7, 2019, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fc/Édouard_Manet_-_Le_Déjeuner_sur_l'herbe.jpg.

47 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22; and Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, 83.

48 Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, 107.

49 In a further study of ethnopornography in early modern travel accounts, it would be interesting to do a more systematic comparison of pornography in Europe (perhaps set both in metropoles and in the country?) and in the porno-tropics.

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"Men Like Us"

The Invention of Ethnopornography

The subject of this chapter is the invention of the term "ethnopornography." The term, in the form "Ethno-pornography," was first used by Walter Roth as the title of the final chapter and of a plate of illustrations in his work *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (1897).[1] Roth was a doctor in the Boulia area in colonial Australia when he collected the materials for the book, and was appointed as the Northern Protector of Aborigines in the state of Queensland in 1898, and as the Chief Protector in 1904.[2] Roth provided no explanation for his choice of the term in his work, and the topics covered in the final chapter of *Ethnological Studies* do not all fall within conventional understandings, then or now, of "pornography." The topics covered in this chapter include initiation rites of men and women, marriage, betrothal, love charms, venery, pregnancy and labor, abortion, babyhood, menstruation, micturition and defecation, and, finally, foul language. Roth begins the chapter with a consideration of social rank, and ends the chapter (and the book) with the sentence, "I have no evidence as to any practice of masturbation or sodomy anywhere among the North-West-Central Queensland aboriginals."[3]

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However, Roth noted that he considered the final chapter to be "far from suitable for the general lay reader," and added an apologia for its inclusion in the book's preface: "The subject matter, however, being essential to a scientific account of these aboriginals, I have decided upon its publication, at the same time placing it at the very last, in the hope that those who do not wish to peruse its pages need not unwittingly find themselves doing so."[4] Moreover, an "Author's Note" opens the final chapter: "The following chapter is not suitable for perusal by the general lay reader."[5] Roth's sense of the chapter's "unsuitability" in this way was echoed by his contemporaries. The Queensland Government Printer, for example, sent a memo to the Under Secretary of the Home Department, Sir Horace Tozer, asking, "You are doubtless aware that the last chapter—ch: xiii and the last plate (pl. xxlv)[—]deal with indelicate subjects, is it likely they may be in violation of the Indecent Advertisements Acts, and, if they are, is the author's note, at the head of the chapter, a sufficient protection?"[6] Roth later commented on the Government Printer's caution to his fellow anthropologist Baldwin Spencer,

> The government originally intended omitting the last chapter with accompanying plate, and publishing it separately for special distribution to certain people only; mainly for the purpose of drawing public attention to the present condition of certain of the aborigines in view of the legislation proposed [the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*[7]] to be enforced. The ordinary reading public had in a sense to be protected by being told that such and such a chapter was obscene, and that they could please themselves if they chose to read it. And after all, scientific and interesting as these particulars are to men like us, they are certainly not so to the general lay reader.[8]

Roth's choice of the term "ethno-pornography," in other words, was to act both as a warning to "the ordinary reading public" or "the general lay reader," and as a password to "men like us," who would understand the work in terms of scientific inquiry and practices.

In order to understand fully the invention of the term "ethnopornography," I think it is crucial to explore its provenance in Roth's conception of what scientific inquiry among the "savages" involves. Throughout this chapter, I use the term "savages" (and "natives") as used by Roth and others, in part because to shy away from using it here would be misleading as to how such terms were then considered entirely consonant with

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a scientific perspective in anthropological work. My explorations around ethnopornography concern what is the character of Roth's conception of (anthropological) science, and my argument is that his conception is one that incorporates a voyeuristic interest in "exotic" sexual practices and bodies. The scientific gaze in this context is a form of knowing that shadows the shattering sexual violence of colonialism. And the report of what that gaze saw, and the circulation of its representation among "men like us," and more widely, is complicit in the impact of colonialism. A scientific ethnopornography, then, is not merely a procedure for the collection of certain materials about the "natives"; it is also a practice of representation through which to make a spectacle of them. The circulated report of what the anthropological gaze saw is an exertion of mastery through which the "native" is subordinated, and it is on and through such reports that the character and solidarity of "men like us" is constituted.

This chapter first places Roth within the context of colonialist practices of display and spectacle involving Australian "natives." I argue that anthropological work in Roth's time was connected both empirically and conceptually with more popular "entertainment" such as traveling shows and circuses. This connection was exploited for mutual advantage by scientific men and showmen such as P. T. Barnum. In this complex of practices, the nakedness of "savages" was essential as a sign of authenticity, such that sexual violation of Aborigines, for example, was a necessary aspect of scientific study. Secondly, I explore more informal or impromptu sexual "performances," stage-managed by anthropologists themselves, in order to collect materials in and for the scientific study of "wild" Australians. These "performances" were often requested to provide evidence around the practice of subincision, and of its significance, a topic of much anthropological fascination in Walter Roth's time. I conclude by reflecting on my own position in regard to the troubling questions that this research raises for ethnography now.

The "Greatest Show on Earth": Anthropology as Popular Pedagogy

In *Tristes Tropiques*, an account of his fieldwork, Claude Lévi-Strauss writes about European travelers who come face to face with what they believe to be wild or untouched territory. Lévi-Strauss cautions us that the

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seemingly wildest or most virgin nature is rather a "battlefield" on which are inscribed the efforts and achievements of men, even though vegetation may have regrown in the battle's aftermath, "re-emerging in a confusion which is all the more deceptive since it preserves, beneath a falsely innocent exterior, memories and patterns of past conflicts."[9] This section is concerned not with vegetation but with what was plotted on the battlefield of colonial Australia in the late nineteenth century, that is, with how "wild Australia" was created and authenticated.

The armed battles and conflicts on colonial Australian territory have been well analyzed by historians in the last thirty years or so, being the subject of considerable controversy. Striking examples of the clearance of territory through killing and massacre in Roth's northwestern Queensland are the efforts of Frederic Urquhart.[10] In March 1884, Urquhart left the Gregory River in Queensland, where he had been in charge of the Native Police, in order to restore law and order in Cloncurry, after white settlers had complained that Aborigines in the area placed (white) men and women in fear of their lives.[11] After James White Powell, a partner of the settler Alexander Kennedy, was attacked in the Calton Hills, Urquhart accompanied Kennedy on a mission of revenge. Urquhart celebrated his massacre of the Kalkadoon (Kalkatungu) by writing a poem titled "Powell's Revenge," the finale to which announced that the field was now clear.[12] Hudson Fysh pictured Urquhart on patrol in the aftermath of the massacre, seated at a campfire, "with nothing but naked savages and the wild and lonely bush around, reading the latest poetical work of a recent copy of the Spectator. This was the proof of the man, and it is so of every man; Urquhart chose to conquer environment and look ahead to progressive steps to come, not to sink to the level of inferior surroundings as so very many others did in the solitude of early pioneering life."[13]

This plaintive "solitude" of the Australian landscape was created by the very murderous clearances Urquhart initiated, creating a "wild and lonely bush around" that was haunted only by spectral figures of "naked savages." The landscape was enduringly marked as wild by the circulation of such representations through the publication of poetry, prose, and sketches. Those "savages" who survived the clearances could find a place in colonial representations as memories of what once was, and as mementos of conquest.

The life and efforts of Archibald Meston are illustrative of such a representational dynamic. A contemporary of Roth, like Urquhart, Meston was at various times a property manager, member of Parliament,

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newspaper editor, and the head of a government expedition to far north Queensland.[14] He was appointed the Southern Protector of Aborigines in 1898 (when Roth was the Northern Protector), and became Chief Protector on Roth's resignation from the position. A particular interest of Meston was the arrangement of "displays" of indigenous life, in the form of tableaux vivants of Aborigines titled "Wild Queensland" or "Wild Australia." These exhibitions were accompanied by a lecture and commentary from Meston.[15]

A typical event at the Brisbane Theatre Royal in 1892, for example, involved Meston lecturing on the tribes of Australia, "a subject he has made peculiarly his own," as a local newspaper reported.[16] The report of the event noted that for several evenings the theater "was literally packed with audiences who not only listened with pleasure to the remarks of the lecturer but also gained more knowledge of the customs of the native races than they could have done through reading the works of the many writers who have essayed the task of describing the ways and customs of a fast disappearing people."[17] An expanded version of Meston's lecture at the Brisbane Opera House around the same time was illustrated by the curtain rising on a performance of "a typical wild Australian scene, of which the kangaroo, the emu, gunyahs, and aboriginals formed a part," played out against a panorama of north Queensland mountain ranges (where Meston had done his "fieldwork"). All was accomplished with an apparently meticulous fidelity to savage life, in line with Meston's insistence that he had no use for domesticated or "tame" Aborigines. The newspaper report on the event noted,

> Several of the men [onstage] have lately been brought into contact with civilisation for the first time, and they enter into the corrobborees, combats, &c., with a zest which could not have been displayed had the troupe been composed of "tame" blacks such as those with whom the dwellers of Brisbane and the cities and townships of the colony are familiar. The highest point of realism is attained; and the audience witness on the stage scenes which have in the past only been looked on by explorers who have penetrated far into the interior in these later days, or by old settlers who in the early portion of the colony's history had the unpleasant privilege to look upon a tribal fight, a war corrobboree, or it may be some mysterious rite practised by the tribes.[18]

The troupe of theatrical warriors, in war paint, performed a war dance "accompanied with their weird and savage cries," after which they squatted

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in front of the gunyah and rubbed sticks together to make fire. This "entertainment" was followed by a Werrmugga (cockatoo) corroboree, performed by warriors with weapons, then by another "realistic combat with shields and nullas." The item earned calls for an encore from the audience, but the "artistes" appeared not to know the convention of encores. Meston then introduced to the audience three of the troupe: the chief of the Prince of Wales Island tribe, his wife, and a little boy, who performed a Rengwinna (iguana) corroboree and woomera spear throwing.[19] The second part of the program went along roughly similar lines, wrapped up by a series of tableaux vivants "illustrative of the massacre of a bushman [settler], the tracking of the [Aboriginal] murderer, and the doom which overtakes him and the members of his tribe, as also civilisation's results in the case of aborigines."[20]

The reenactment on stage of their own disappearance by its victims produced the look of "authenticity" to the audience, allowing the spectators to consume in safety that "unpleasant privilege" of looking upon wildness, and allowing them the pleasure of seeing the conquest of wildness by men like themselves. What enabled this privilege to be attained in the theater was the guidance of Meston as impresario, who produced and "voiced" the action on stage, and could subdue the "weird and savage cries" of the wild warriors in his interpretative commentary. Meston made a spectacle of the Aborigines at the same time as putting his "knowledge" of Aborigines and of Aboriginal life on display. Indeed, it is tempting to see the lecture not so much as interpretative of the tableaux but rather as itself the "main game," for which the "artistes" were so many illustrations.

Meston's lecture in turn acted as the guarantor of the authenticity of the warriors he had mustered. Meston was a keen detective of authenticity, and seems to have been very concerned to educate his audiences as to the difference between his "real" Aborigines and the rest. In his efforts, he was assisted by Mr. B. Purcell, whom Meston persuaded to join him in expanding the "Wild Australia" entertainment, with a view to taking the troupe on a long world tour to England, the United States, and other colonies. For this project, Purcell was allocated the task of amassing "specimens of a doomed race": "Mr. Purcell was dispatched to the uttermost parts of the colony to get together representatives of different tribes, and he has been very fortunate in collecting some of the finest specimens of a doomed race that could be secured for the purposes of illustrating an ethnological lecture." Meston explained to his theater audiences that some Aborigines had visited England

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in the past, but they had been semi-civilized blacks from urban areas, and therefore in his view had conveyed an erroneous impression of Aborigines and their life to English audiences. In contrast, Meston explained that the thirty-two "specimens" that "he had succeeded in collecting were such as were seen by the pioneers of Australia a hundred years ago."[21]

Meston's exhibitions of Aboriginal life that toured Australian towns echoed in miniature the great traveling spectaculars of P. T. Barnum and other showmen in the United States and Europe. In August 1882, for example, Barnum had written to hundreds of American consulates and agencies around the world to ask for their help in collecting human "specimens." Barnum noted that he had long harbored the idea of "forming a collection, in pairs or otherwise[,] of all the uncivilized races in existance [*sic*]," his aim being "to *exhibit* to the American public, not only *human beings of different races*, but also where practicable, those who possess extraordinary peculiarities such as giants, dwarfs, singular disfigurements of the person, dexterity in the use of weapons, dancing, singing, juggling, unusual feats of strength or agility etc."[22]

One of those who answered Barnum's call to contribute exhibits in an "Ethnological Congress of Savage Tribes" was Robert A. Cunningham, who periodically visited Australia as manager or agent for ventriloquists and circus companies. Cunningham "captured" a collection of "specimens" from north Queensland in 1883, and exhibited them in the role of boomerang-throwing cannibals in Barnum's "Greatest Show on Earth."[23] When the circus season of 1883 wound up, Cunningham's collection toured dime museums with other "specimens" from Barnum's "Ethnological Congress," before he took them as an ethnological exhibition for a grand tour of Europe.

The story of Cunningham's "specimens" is told in Roslyn Poignant's wrenching *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle*. One of the most striking things in Poignant's account is how closely (professional) anthropologists worked with showmen like Barnum, in something like an entertainment-ethnological complex. A crucial interest of the showmen in such a relationship lay in having their exhibits scientifically "authenticated." In most of the European cities visited by Cunningham, for instance, the members of the troupe were taken to be examined by anthropologists, with a view to Cunningham's obtaining a testimonial or certificate of authenticity for them. For example, members of Cunningham's troupe were examined in Paris in November 1885 by the anthropologist Paul Topinard,

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who provided Cunningham with a testimonial that the Aborigines in the troupe were authentic, while also noting that they were dying fast so that it was prudent to take the opportunity to see them straightaway.[24]

The gaining of such a scientific imprimatur of authentic wildness usually involved requiring the human "specimens" to take off their clothes in front of the anthropologist, who by the late nineteenth century was almost always accompanied by a photographer. In part, of course, the reason for this requirement is simple: wearing fancy European clothes would not support a claim of being "wild" or "untamed." The report to the Société d'anthropologie de Bruxelles of the Belgian anthropologists Emile Houzé and Victor Jacques on their "minute study" of Cunningham's boomerang throwers noted the resistance of the troupe to their request: "[W]e had asked them to remove as much as possible of their rags; but our savages, who had already admired themselves in their dress, in the photographs executed in London, didn't intend at all to allow themselves be photographed again without posing with all their finery."[25] Again, when Houzé and Jacques attempted to use their instruments and measuring devices on the "savage" bodies, the Aborigines only reluctantly allowed themselves to be touched, and consented to be photographed on condition that only their upper garments were removed.[26] Nevertheless, the anthropologists claimed that "one of them" had, undetected, briefly observed the external genitals of one woman.[27] Such examinations accrued to the benefit of the anthropologists as much as to the showmen. It should go without saying that the Aborigines subjected to these practices received no benefit from them, and the accounts of the examinations frequently register their resistance to such practices, as in this account by Houzé and Jacques. They were rarely "untouched."

A similar encounter of Cunningham's troupe came during their exhibition at Castan's Panoptikum in Berlin in 1884, when they were examined by Professor Rudolf Virchow, a physician by training, who, with Adolf Bastian, had in 1869 founded the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Prehistory).[28] When Virchow asked the women to undress, they refused to do so, although they did take off their clothes for the photographer.[29] That some Europeans seem also to have voiced complaints against exotic exhibitions as prurient curiosity is suggested by Virchow's defense of the practice of exhibiting exotic specimens in presenting his "results." He noted, "The persistence of members of the public who make daily pil-

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grimage to see the Australians is a visible sign of appreciation. It proves that those who condemn exhibitions are not right when they state that these only serve curiosity. It surely will further the understanding of nature and history of the people and will become the duty of science to have more understanding and for deeper questions to be asked concerning the Australian Aborigines in order to inform a wider public."[30] That is, Virchow's response here was that the exhibition of human specimens was not simply vulgar entertainment but a popular pedagogy—a pedagogy that served to link scientific inquiry with the pleasure of the public in a relationship of mutual benefit.

From the side of the showmen also, Barnum's advertising for the "Ethnological Congress" stressed the seriousness of his own aspirations to scientific significance: "The public can form no adequate idea of the enormous costs and difficulties involved; or the dangers braved, the privations endured, the obstacles overcome, the disappointments sustained, and the disheartening losses incurred, in collecting this greatest and best of *Object Teaching Schools* from the desert-environed wilds of Africa, the remote and pathless jungles of Asia, the dreadful and unexplored solitudes of Australia, the interior of Brazil and Central America, and the mysterious islands of the southern seas."[31] Barnum conceived his exhibitions as not primarily a pleasure palace, in other words, but a teaching school. The pedagogy here consisted in part in stripping the natives, to make them more "real," the semblance of which would in turn render a higher scientific or intellectual pleasure to the pupils.

The exhibitions organized by Barnum and those by Cunningham, like Meston's "ethnological lectures," usually included a running commentary by a "non-savage." That commentary emphasized the authenticity of those in the exhibition, often with aspersions on the dubious wildness of competing groups of "savages." Stephen Orgel has emphasized in his discussion of the Elizabethan masque that the identity of characters on stage is rarely self-evident, and that, for instance, allegories must step forward in introducing themselves as, for example, "I am a Spring . . ."[32] But unlike Spring, the Aborigines of the traveling exhibitions could not announce themselves in words understood by their audience, could not speak of their lives, without compromising their wildness. Their status as "wild" permitted them to make "weird and savage cries." Their nakedness was a fundamental token of wildness, permitting both to the anthropologist and to the general lay "reader" a voyeuristic pleasure in the bodies of exotic others, a pleasure

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validated by the stamp of scientific curiosity. Aborigines were known as (authentic) Aborigines in and by their nakedness. Their nakedness spoke for them. At the same time as abusing their bodies, the brutality of colonial sexual violation maimed their voices, such that the story they told in their spectacle was in a very radical sense not "their own."

Walter Roth and Anthropological *Brüderschaft*

I have sketched here only an outline of the complex of scientific and popular practices of violation that produced at once the pleasure of knowledge and the pleasure of spectacle. The complex of practices included more informal performances than those of Barnum and Meston, however. In Queensland, and in other parts of Australia, white men had been staging impromptu educational soirées of their own throughout the nineteenth century. One of these stagings led to the resignation of Walter Roth as Protector of Aborigines in 1905.[33] In 1900 or 1901, Roth arranged for an Indigenous couple to have sex with each other, on the understanding that he would photograph their act (the photographs were not published). When questions about these photographs were first raised in the Queensland parliament in 1904, Roth responded in his defense that the photographs were identical to figure 433, a sketch in *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines.*[34] Similar sketches, and in some cases photographs, can be found throughout ethnological and anthropological literature of the time.

Roth understood himself to be involved in scientific activity in taking the photographs at issue. He claimed to have commissioned the photographs to support his conjecture that the genital cutting (subincision or introcision) of Aboriginal men was intended as mimicry of the vulva, rather than for prophylactic purposes, as many of his contemporaries had hypothesized. In reply to a request for an explanation from his friend the Bishop of Carpentaria, Roth wrote, "The description and illustration of the posture assumed in the sexual act was of the highest anthropological interest in that it in large measure defended my thesis that the mutilation known as Sturt's terrible rite, or sub-incision (by Professor Stirling) or intro-cision (by myself) did *not* act as had hitherto been supposed as a preventive to procreation."[35] The purpose of Roth's photographs was to provide evidence that insemination by an introcized man was possible. Roth concluded to White, "The photograph was taken for purely scientific purposes only and

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is one of a series (defecation, micturition, tree climbing, sitting, standing) of natural postures which every anthropologist makes inquiry about, with a view to ascertaining the connections (if any) between the highest apes and the lowest types of man."[36]

Roth noted that when *Ethnological Studies* was published, he had received written and verbal communications doubting the physical possibility of such a "posture" of copulation as he insisted was used by Aborigines. In the meantime, Roth said, he had found the same posture everywhere: "I thereupon informed my scientific friends of the very interesting corollary that the sexual mutilation now met with [in certain parts of Australia] was probably traditionally practised throughout the entire Continent."[37] That is, for Roth, the incidence of the "posture" in certain areas was a sign that the subincision of men had originally been practiced there despite its contemporary absence. According to Roth, an opportunity for scientific vindication of his hypothesis came in 1900 or 1901, when an aged married couple on a rural station "agreed to posture for me," in exchange for money, tobacco and flour. Roth concluded of his conduct in this matter, "I have been guilty of no conduct unworthy of a gentleman and a man of honour."

The scandal around Roth's photographs of "the peculiar method of copulation" adopted by Aborigines was related to the very core of his scientific speculations as an anthropologist, designed to uphold his conjectures about introcision in the Boulia area—and in turn, about ritual and customs across the Australian continent. However, I am skeptical that a straightforward scientific curiosity about all facets of Aboriginal life can explain the significance of Roth's conduct. Roth's anthropological curiosity can be better analyzed if placed in the context of other informal practices of constructing Aboriginal subjects as sexual spectacle (and as related to the formal practices sketched above in this chapter).

The ubiquity of such practices of spectacle was remarked upon in the 1920s by the anthropologist Herbert Basedow,[38] who was, like Roth, one of the more sympathetic observers of Aboriginal life and mourners of its destruction. In *Knights of the Boomerang*, Basedow lamented that "no other will have a chance of seeing again what I have here described," given the "harvest of sorrow, disease and death" that brought the decay and demoralisation of Aboriginal life, mores and religion.[39] For Basedow, one disturbing part of this decay was the practice of showing Aborigines as spectacle, a practice in which anthropologists themselves were complicit: "It is an open secret that natives living near certain railways are bribed, and even forced, to show themselves at stations for the fulfilment of the promise set forth in

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tour-programmes that tourists will see wild blacks along the route. Modern scientific investigators, too, as method of study, send agents in advance to 'round up' as many of the nomadic subjects as possible at a convenient depôt for the purpose of facilitating the work of a dozen or more experts who overhaul them *en masse*."[40] Basedow exempted himself from such criticisms: he was a scientific investigator, as indicated, for example, by his declaration of authorship in his work: "by Herbert Basedow M.A., M.D., Ph.D., B.Sc." He held the office of Chief Medical Officer and Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory, and later Special Aborigines Commissioner, but he saw his role differently, as an "avowed chief, magician and tribal father."[41]

In spite of his scruples about the conduct of other anthropologists, Basedow was, like Roth, fascinated by the sexual and erotic life of Aborigines, in particular by circumcision and initiation ceremonies. In "Subincision and Kindred Rites of the Australian Aboriginal" (1927),[42] Basedow discussed the theory that subincision was adopted as a Malthusian measure, noting, like Roth, that its ineffectiveness could be demonstrated by observation of Aboriginal sexual practices: "Admitting this is an established fact, which can be verified any day among the tribes still living, it becomes a matter of scientific importance to know whether the aboriginal adopts a regular and peculiar method of conception." It was in the context of this question that Basedow noted the more informal practices of sexual voyeurism and exploitation among "men of low moral character" in colonial Australia:

> Observations upon this subject are scarce, and some of the earlier accounts are misleading. I do not mean to dispute the accuracy of early investigation, but it is a well-known fact that men of low moral character used to make a habit of giving quantities of rum, gin, and other spirituous liquors to the natives who would then, in a semi-intoxicated condition, be persuaded or forced to perform in a way which may have satisfied the lustful humour of the white villain, but was opposed entirely to the sense of decency and modesty of a primitive people. But an inspiration emanating from the mind of a drunken white man, under conditions such as these[,] could never be admitted scientifically as a custom of the colored man, even though the latter had to carry it into effect practically.[43]

I have puzzled over whether Basedow means here that white men were persuading or forcing Aboriginal women to have sex with them in certain positions. But I think the phrase "the colored man, even though the latter

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had to carry it into effect practically" leaves little doubt that what Basedow has in view here is not the prostitution of Aboriginal women by white men, although this was certainly also a widespread practice. Rather, he is referring to white men taking the position of voyeur of a staged spectacle of Aborigines having sexual intercourse with each other.

After reading this passage, I looked for evidence of this "well-known fact" about "men of low moral character" in memoirs of Australian bushmen and other sources. For example, the *wünderkammer* work *Woman: An Historical Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium*, in a section titled "Position in Coitus" in the chapter "Woman in the Sexual Act," sets out the sexual positions adopted in different parts of Australia, and continues, "[Nicholas] Miklucho-Maclay collected more exact information, for the aborigines were not shy of undertaking copulation before onlookers in broad daylight if they were promised a glass of gin. They adopt one of the squatting positions depicted by Miklucho-Maclay."[44] The account then describes the position in more detail,[45] before noting a form of curiosity taken by white men in the Australian bush:

> A. Morton, a reliable young man, further reported as eye-witness, that, one evening, finding himself near a camp of aborigines, it occurred to him to ask a native who begged him for a glass of gin, to perform the sexual act. The native went off willingly to call a woman, who appeared at once. Without any sign of embarrassment, with only the thought of earning his glass of gin quickly, the man went near the woman, whereupon the couple assumed the above-mentioned position. . . . *In consequence of what had been told him by other experienced white people*, Morton's attention was drawn to the woman after the coitus. He noticed then that after the man had got up and reached for the glass of gin the woman also rose, stood with legs apart, and with a sinuous movement of the middle part of her body she threw, by a jerk towards the front, a bubble of whitish slimy substance (sperm?) on the ground, after which she went away. This way of getting rid of the sperm, which is indicated by a word in the native dialect, is, according to the statements of white settlers in North Australia, usually employed by native women after coitus, with the intentions of having no further consequences from being with a white man.[46]

The side-comment on Morton's familiarity with accounts of "other experienced white people" points to the wider occurrence of this and similar practices.

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Basedow also makes reference to the "reliable young" informant "A. Morton" in another discussion of subincision in which he sets out a similarly detailed description of an act of sexual intercourse and its aftermath, quoting (in German) the passage from *Woman: An Historical Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium* (1935), and adding a reference to the work of Anderson Stuart, a professor of physiology at the University of Sydney.[47] Piecing together these various references enables an identification of the informant as Alexander Morton, who visited Port Darwin in 1878 as a curator's assistant for the Australian Museum in Sydney, and later became, inter alia, an eminent museum director in Tasmania and general secretary of the Australasian Association of Science.[48] Morton's reports of "experienced white people" and his own "eye-witness" account seem to have initially circulated in a report by Nicholas Miklucho-Maclay.[49]

Basedow, however, expressed doubt as to the existence of such a "knack" by Aboriginal women as was noted in these reports to be a conclusion of their sexual intercourse with white men:

> I remember discussing this point some years ago with my friend the late F. J. Gillen, who declared that he had never heard of the custom, and was inclined to doubt that it existed, at any rate so far as the tribes he was familiar with were concerned. I have not recorded it from any part of Australia; and indeed, in view of what has already been said about the aboriginal's idea of conception, one would not expect to find so cute a knack in vogue among these simple people. Experienced prostitutes in other parts of the world are said to have developed this method to some degree of perfection.[50]

The reference to the "cute . . . knack" of "experienced prostitutes in other parts of the world" here is telling, suggesting that the anthropologist in pursuit of sexual knowledge was more than a scientific (disinterested) observer. And indeed, Basedow himself participated in most of the practices about which he had scruples.

In the opening chapter of *Knights of the Boomerang*, titled "Tales out of School," Basedow noted that most of the tribes with whom he had dealings, under normal and unrestrained conditions, moved about in a state of utter, and apparently unconscious, nudity: "At any time, the sexes may be seen to mix with absolute frankness and walk about *en déshabille* without attracting the slightest attention or giving the least offence to anyone among themselves. On the other hand, in accordance with a firmly established and generally accepted decorum among all classes, all persons, particularly

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females, endeavour to avoid exposing themselves unduly."[51] Basedow also documented the mayhem that ensued when he attempted to take explicit photographs, and recounted an incident in which "it so happened that for scientific purposes it was necessary for me to photograph a semi-civilised lubra of the Daly River district in an attitude that under other conditions would have been considered most unbecoming." Basedow wrote that although the woman "submitted to the ordeal, she later complained to the district magistrate that Basedow 'been take 'em wrong picture longa me," and asked for him to be officially reported.[52] Another incident involved an Aboriginal man, Tommy, of whom Basedow said, "He was dressed in European garments; but the pathological trouble I wished to show demanded that he should pose for my camera in the nude. He acquiesced with apparent complacence." Tommy then took out his anger at the incident by battering his wife.[53]

The clearest examples of Basedow's implication in practices such as that noted by Alexander Morton, however, is given where Basedow sets out the process by which a young Aboriginal man ("Romeo") courted a woman: "I watched the woman from the seclusion of my camp—in the interest of science playing the objectionable rôle of Peeping Tom. She walked towards the man as he reappeared to resume his seat on the ground. With a demonstrative movement she took her place beside him. The man remained stolidly indifferent; but the woman seemed excited. Although they were some distance away, I could, with the aid of my glasses, perceive that her fingers and toes were moving spasmodically; and I believe her eyes were closed."[54] Basedow's account of the fascination of white men with the bodies and sexual conduct of Aboriginal men and women conveys his own implication in the practices by which this fascination led them to force or otherwise coerce Aborigines to perform sexual acts for science-entertainment. My argument is that ethnologists and anthropologists such as Walter Roth and others were complicit in this form of sexual violation, even though they sought to distinguish the scientific "glasses" of the work of "men like us" from the prurient voyeurism of the "ordinary reading public."

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the provenance of the term "ethnopornography" in a complex of practices of collection and representation, in which distinctions between science and entertainment, and between scientific

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and ordinary people, were blurred. These practices are forms of sexual violation, and our recognition of this fact is sharpened by our knowledge of the resistance to them that was registered even in the writings that served to contain the gestures of refusal, as in the report of the encounter of Cunningham's troupe with the Belgian anthropologists Houzé and Jacques. For the white men involved, both such formal and informal encounters turned on the freedom of entitlement. The refusal of the "natives" to play the subordinate part, the part of unfreedom, in such staged spectacles, was contained as a form of resistance to the progress of scientific understanding, that is, as itself a violation of "the duty of science to have more understanding and for deeper questions to be asked." Even such resistance by the "savages" to "science," as is occasionally glimpsed in the writings of anthropologists themselves, forms part of the way in which the "wildness" of the subjects was constructed as a spectacle of entertainment and as an object teaching school by and for "men like us."

A final note. In writing this chapter, I have reflected on the question of what my own position could be in relation to the practices about which I have written. I have tried in some cases not to rehearse in my own account what the anthropologist saw and represented. For example, I have tried to avoid reciting the detail in which sexual acts are described (or depicted) by those labouring under the "duty of science." Although I can to an extent "disown" some practices as masculine and therefore not mine, I know only too well how white women were complicit in, and benefited from, practices of masculinity and of domination and violation on the colonial frontier. I know only too well how the disciplines of the humanities are built on their history, and on the "science" of our predecessors. There remains mourning, for lives violated and disappeared. It is not, however, enough.

Notes

1 W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, Aus.: Edmund Gregory, 1897).

2 The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB) provides outlines of the life of the major figures in this chapter. For Roth, see Barrie Reynolds, "Roth, Walter Edmund (1861–1933)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/roth-walter-edmund-8280. See also John Whitehall, "Dr WE Roth: Flawed Force of the Frontier," *Journal of Australian Studies* 26, no. 75 (2002): 59–69. A recent collection of studies on

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Roth is Russell McDougall and Iain Davidson, eds., *The Roth Family, Anthropology, and Colonial Administration* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press / Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 2008).

3 Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, 184.

4 Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, v–vi.

5 Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, 169.

6 Memo from Government Printing Office to Undersecretary of the Home Department, October 13, 1897, and reply by Sir Horace Tozer, October 16, 1897, Queensland State Archives (QSA) A/58550.

7 Available at Museum of Australian Democracy, "Anno Sexagesimo Primo: Victoriae Regiae, No. [17]," accessed April 7, 2019, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/qld5_doc_1897.pdf. See also Regina Ganter and Ros Kidd, "The Powers of Protectors: Conflicts Surrounding Queensland's 1897 Aboriginal Legislation," *Australian Historical Studies* 25 (1993): 536–54; and William Thorpe, "Archibald Meston and Aboriginal Legislation in Colonial Queensland," *Historical Studies* 21 (1984): 52–67.

8 Roth to Baldwin Spencer, letter dated January 19, 1898, quoted in John Mulvaney, "From Oxford to the Bush: WE Roth, WB Spencer and Australian Anthropology," in McDougall and Davidson, *Roth Family*, 113.

9 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Weightman and Doreen Weightman (1955; repr., London: Penguin Books, 1976), 117.

10 See W. Ross Johnston, "Urquhart, Frederic Charles (1858–1935)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/urquhart-frederic-charles-8901; Hudson Fysh, "Kennedy, Alexander (1837–1936)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kennedy-alexander-3942; and J. Percival, "Fysh, Sir Wilmot Hudson (1895–1974)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fysh-sir-wilmot-hudson-6263. A more comprehensive picture of Urquhart is set out in Helen Pringle, "Reading the Spectator with Frederic Urquhart," unpublished paper.

11 W. H. Fysh, *Taming the North* (1933), 2nd ed. (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1950), 142.

12 Fysh, *Taming the North*, 147.

13 Fysh, *Taming the North*, 150–51.

14 See S. E. Stephens, "Meston, Archibald (1851–1924)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meston-archibald-4191. Other useful studies include Faith Walker, "The Reinvention of the 'Noble Savage': Archibald Meston and 'Wild Australia,'" *Bulletin (Olive Pink Society)* 9, no. 1–2 (1997): 130–38; Cheryl Taylor, "Constructing Aboriginality: Archibald Meston's Literary Journalism, 1870–1924," *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 2 (2003): 121–39; and Judith McKay and Paul Memmott, "Staged Savagery: Archibald Meston and His Indigenous Exhibits," *Aboriginal History* 40 (2016): 181–203.

15 A fuller picture of Meston's activities is provided in Helen Pringle, "An Illustrated Ethnological Lecture: Archibald Meston's 'Wild Australia,'" unpublished paper.

16 "The Opera House: Wild Australia," *The Queenslander*, December 10, 1892, 1149–1150.

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17 "Opera House," 1149.
18 "Opera House," 1149.
19 "Opera House," 1150.
20 "Opera House," 1150.
21 "Opera House," 1149. Meston added that they were all Queenslanders, and hence would serve to advertise Queensland for settlement throughout "the civilised world," a point that was reported to be enthusiastically applauded by the audience.
22 P. T. Barnum, letter dated August 9, 1882, in Permanent Administrative Files, Smithsonian Institution Archives, reproduced in Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 58.
23 See "Queensland Blacks for Barnum's Museum," *The Queenslander*, March 3, 1883, 348.

24 Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 164–67.
25 Emile Houzé and Victor Jacques, "Communication de MM. Houzé et Jacques sur les Australiens du Nord," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles* 3 (1884): 53–155, quoted in Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 16.
26 Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 126–27.
27 Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 197.
28 Robert Proctor, "From *Anthropologie* to *Rassenkunde* in the German Anthropological Tradition," in *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr., History of Anthropology vol. 5 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 140–42.
29 Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 131–32.
30 Rudolf Virchow, "Australier von Queensland," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 16 (1884), 417, quoted in Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 133.
31 Barnum's Advance Courier, 1884, cited in Poignant, *Professional Savages*, 66; emphasis mine.
32 Stephen Orgel, *The Jonsonian Masque* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).
33 Roth faced a litany of complaints, and there is no doubt that some of these complaints were well-founded, as, for example, his disposition of the artifacts he had collected in his official capacity; see "Revelations Regarding Roth—The Ethnological Specimens Sold to Sydney Museum—Complete Official List—Giving Dates and Localities," *Truth Sunday*, April 15, 1906, 9, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198983693/. A fuller account of this incident and its background is given in Helen Pringle, "Walter Roth and Ethno-Pornography," in McDougall and Davidson, *Roth Family*.
34 On questions raised, see "Question to Home Secretary re 'Photographing of Gins,'" *Queensland Parliamentary Debates* (QPD) xc (1902), 904; see also question of William Hamilton, October 28, 1902, QPD, xc, 958. On the defense, see William Hamilton to Minister for Lands, June 13, 1904, QPD, XCII (1904), 578–89. This was

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a book that, moreover, Roth had sent to the Prince of Wales. See also Vincent. Lesina, *QPD*, November 24, 1905, 1810.

35 Walter Roth to Bishop White, June 19, 1904, QSA A/58850, tabled in *QPD*, XCII, July 13, 1904, 585. Bishop White wrote to Roth on June 3, 1904, and he telegrammed that he was satisfied with Roth's explanation in a letter of July 8, 1904.

36 Roth to White, June 19, 1904.

37 Roth to White, June 19, 1904.

38 See Ian Harmstorf, "Basedow, Herbert (1881–1933)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/basedow-herbert-5151; and, more broadly, Heidi Zogbaum, *Changing Skin Colour in Australia: Herbert Basedow and the Black Caucasian* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010).

39 Herbert Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*: *Episodes from a Life Spent among the Native Tribes of Australia* (1935) (Victoria Park, Aus.: Hesperian Press, 2004), xiii, xi.

40 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, xi.

41 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, xii.

42 Herbert Basedow, "Subincision and Kindred Rites of the Australian Aboriginal," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 57 (January–June 1927): 123–56, reprinted as "The Strange Erotic Ritual of Australian Aboriginals," in *Venus Oceanica: Anthropological Studies in the Sex Life of the South Sea Natives*, ed. R. Burton, privately printed for subscribers (New York: Oceanica Research Press, 1935).

43 Basedow, "Subincision," 151.

44 See R. W. de M. Maclay, "Mikluho-Maklai, Nicholai Nicholaievich (1846–1888)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mikluho-maklai-nicholai-nicholaievich-4198; and Elsie May Webster, *The Moon Man: A Biography of Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). Note that the spelling of his surname differs depending on context.

45 Hermann Heinrich Ploss, Max Bartels, and Paul Bartels, *Woman: An Historical Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium*, ed. Eric John Dingwall, 3 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1935), 2:61–62. The reference is unclear, but it seems to be "Verh, Berl. Ges. F. Anthrop., etc., 1880, 12, 88": 3:499.

46 Ploss, Bartels, and Bartels, *Woman*, 2:63; emphasis mine.

47 Basedow, "Subincision," 154. The reference to Stuart is to T. P. Anderson Stuart, "The 'Mika' or 'Kulpi' Operation of the Australian Aboriginals," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 30 (1896): 122.

48 Morton acted as a collector for the museum; the human remains he collected at that time were returned to the Larrakia community in 2002: see Vu Tuan Nguyen, *Case Study: Larrakia 1996/2002*, updated November 20, 2018, Australian Museum, http://australianmuseum.net.au/Case-Study-Larrakia-1996–2002. On Morton's life and career more generally, see Peter Mercer, "Morton, Alexander (1854–1907)," *ADB*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/morton-alexander-7666.

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49 Nicholas Miklucho-Maclay, report "Uber die Mika-Operation in Central-Australien," "Sitzung vom 17. April 1880," *Verhandl. Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie* 12 (1880): 83–124.

50 Basedow, "Subincision," 154.

51 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, 1–2.

52 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, 2.

53 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, 2.

54 Basedow, *Knights of the Boomerang*, 7.

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Franciscan Voyeurism in Sixteenth-Century New Spain

> They had a dirty and painful sacrifice, coming together in the temple and placed in order, each one pierced their virile members. They passed through the greatest quantity of cord as they could, and all of them became fastened and strung together. They anointed the demon with the blood of all of those parts. He who did this the most was taken as the most valiant.
>
> —FRANCISCAN FRIAR DIEGO DE LANDA, describing a Maya ceremony, 1566 CE

With these words, Diego de Landa describes what he imagines as a violent ritual performed by Maya men in sixteenth-century Yucatán. In envisioning such a rite, Landa performs what in this volume we have termed "ethnopornography": he takes an indigenous ritual out of its context, imagines seeing the bodies—in particular, the penises—of the men, and provides enough titillation for his audience to get engrossed in the image that it both invokes an immediate visceral reaction and also becomes ingrained in the fantasies and fears of his readers—Landa intends to cause them nightmares.[1] Landa wants the ethnopornography to evoke an embodied reaction, and indeed this embodied reaction is key to ethnopornographic content in general: the

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author of the ethnopornographic text uses words and pictures that he or she thinks will cause the readers to have an immediate, even reflexive, response to the author's imagining of the body of the exotic other—the readers should be turned on or disgusted (hopefully both) by the image.

Landa uses the image of the penis-piercing rite, among many others, to sell his story to his readers, those individuals in Spain who would otherwise, in his view, persecute *him*.[2] This persecution would take place, in Landa's view, because he had appropriately punished the Maya, in many cases with torture, for engaging in traditional rituals that included this one, and many others yet more extreme in their violence.[3]

Landa fantasizes about Maya men's penises being pierced in a manner that causes both pleasure and pain and also seems perverse to the Franciscan and his readers. While Landa suggests that he tries to avert his gaze (as well as ours),[4] he instead draws our attention directly to the scene of the Maya penis piercing. Further, Landa emphasizes elsewhere the immense cruelty of the ancient Maya state—enforcing the power of an extremely violent warrior class.[5] By contextualizing this bloodletting ritual, we will see how Landa's gaze reimagined the ways that the Maya enacted rites that caused bodily pain.

Similarly, Bernardino de Sahagún, another Franciscan friar, provides us with images of Nahua sexual and sacrificial practices. He witnesses the connection between sex and violence, developing a gaze in which he and his aides promote/uncover a sexual universe that will show the readers of their texts the importance of the massive ethnographic project that Sahagún, under the auspices of the Franciscan order and the Spanish crown, had made his life calling. In doing so, Sahagún also emphasizes the perverse pleasures that Nahuas received from sexual acts he considered sinful. Through an analysis of the images that Sahagún's aides produced in preparation for the magisterial work, the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, we will see that, like Landa, Sahagún was invested in viewing indigenous individuals as sexually perverse and many of the Nahua preconquest city-states as enhancing the power of a brutal warrior class.[6]

The sixteenth-century Franciscan ethnographers of the people of New Spain witness sex and violence and, in order to promote particular ethnopornographic views of the indigenous populations, they use their voyeurism to recode the acts that they see. The Franciscans watched the Nahuas and Maya very closely, working to intermix with the indigenous populations, learning their languages and customs.[7] The Franciscans found it extremely important to gaze closely upon indigenous practices. While they were not unique in this regard, the Franciscans, more than the other religious orders

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and the secular authorities, prioritized direct and close contact with the natives, including the intimate movements of bodies and flesh. This is why, in all of their correspondence with the Spanish crown, the Franciscans insisted that they were the ones who worked most closely with the Indians: they needed to work so closely with them in order to engage in an act of witnessing, a voyeurism that would provide them access to the indigenous soul.[8]

Such acts of looking and observing are key to both ethnography and colonialism. This sentence may seem quite obscure to some: in the standard story, colonialism is an active process in which the colonizer defeats the colonized. Yet, as many studies of colonial processes have shown, observation is important.[9] Fifty-six years after the Spanish conquest of Tenochtitlán in 1521, Spain's King Philip ordered the preparation of vast descriptions of the New World. The responses, the *relaciones geográficas*, were to be extensive, intrusive observations of the conquered worlds. Despite the fact that the *relaciones* often were of limited use, the act of observation, the voyeurism directed at the indigenous populations and lands, was intended as a key colonial tool.[10]

Sahagún and, to a lesser extent, Landa argued that their writings were important to this process of observation and colonization. Further, the key writings that they produced were collaborative ventures with indigenous peoples. The authorship of Sahagún's *Historia general* involved four Nahua aides and many more informants, while Landa's *Relación* likely had several authors and should not even be considered a single coherent text.[11] This sense of collaboration, very familiar to some of the most recent and theoretically sophisticated ethnographies that have come out,[12] belies the fact that the two friars regularly inserted themselves—along with their own desires, fantasies, and fears—into their stories in extraordinarily opaque ways.

Throughout this chapter, I argue that we must understand the fantasies of Landa and Sahagún as both projection and abjection. They projected their own fears—of penetration and perversion—onto the Maya and the Nahuas. In doing so, they expressed their visceral disgust, creating an abject subject, one whose masculinity came into question through the fierce nature of sexual perversion and pain.

Franciscan Tradition

The Franciscans came to the New World with particular quirks in their own history: they condemned worldly pleasures of all kinds, often linked sex with violence, and engaged in extensive self-flagellation.[13] As they gazed

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upon the indigenous populations of New Spain, they witnessed ritual performances and daily activity, providing these events with meaning filtered through their preconceived notions of the world. Hence, Landa created the abject Maya man, with his penis strung together with other Maya men. And Sahagún created the Nahua sexual subject—a man proudly engaged in sacrifice linked with sex.[14] Landa and Sahagún both imagined the indigenous man gaining pleasure through violent ritual—only through the devil's embrace could such pleasure take place.

The Franciscans were not just any order of monks that came from the Catholic Church. In fact, they existed as a controversial order in a fraught relationship with both the social and the spiritual world.[15] If we look at the earliest attempts by the Franciscans to establish themselves in New Spain, we find the great lore of twelve friars who walked barefoot from Veracruz to Mexico City, where they greeted the conqueror, Hernando Cortés, who appeared before them on his knees.[16] This was a time of great Franciscan idealism, influenced heavily by the thought of the spiritual Franciscan reformers, those who believed that a corrupt church and society throughout Europe needed to move toward a state of nature, and a closeness with God, a position in line with an attempt to re-create what these reformers believed to be the simple lives of the early followers of Jesus.[17] The recently "discovered" Americas provided just that context for the Franciscans. This intellectual package led the twelve to believe that they could form, in the Nahuas, a kingdom of heaven on earth.[18]

More to the point, from the thirteenth century onward, the Franciscans had established a significant sect of millenarians who believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent.[19] They thus rejected the material trappings of society in favor of a bare existence that would allow them to focus their time and energy on the spiritual world rather than the material one. The appearance of this pious and impoverished order caused significant controversy both within the Church hierarchy and among European political leaders.[20] Individuals within the Franciscan order were often seen by members of high society (and likely by commoners as well) as always unusual and sometimes threatening in their efforts at asserting significant piety at the expense of material betterment.[21]

Further, their adherence to self-flagellation in an effort to both rid the body of unwanted desires and become more intimate with the experience of Christ during the Passion, seemed to many, both inside and outside of the Church, as problematic.[22] In fact, this link with the suffering Christ allowed the Franciscans to use the mortification of their own bodies to transcend

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the boundaries between the material and spiritual realms—flagellation, in other words, allowed Franciscans to experience physical pain and spiritual pleasure at the same time.[23] These spiritual concepts seemed to many outside of the order as potentially dangerous, leading to the persecution of some Franciscans by the Inquisition and other authorities.[24]

Still, by the sixteenth century, the Franciscans had received more mainstream acceptance—partially as a result of Catholic response to early rumblings of the Protestant Reformation.[25] The Franciscans received permission from the Spanish Crown to set up parishes in the New World, and particularly to establish control over the education of the indigenous populations in much of New Spain. They thus became intricately linked with the conquest—developing a complex relationship with the conquerors, many of whom had more concern for material wealth than the spiritual health of the people.[26] The Franciscans, the conquerors knew, could help acculturate the indigenous peoples. But at the same time, the conquerors did not trust the Franciscans, and they continually lodged complaints about friars who interfered with their efforts at exploiting the indigenous populations for material gain.[27]

Almost immediately after the conquest the Franciscans began their efforts at understanding the indigenous populations with the express purpose of instructing them in Christian religion and ritual. The Franciscans engaged in a great effort to learn indigenous languages (particularly Nahuatl, but also Maya and other languages) in order to penetrate the true beings of their indigenous parishioners in what many have termed a form of early colonial ethnographic practice of native bodies, practices, customs, and beliefs.[28] They further worked to establish the various sacraments, including confession, designed to get the indigenous populations to bare their souls to their priests.[29] Finally, the Franciscans established a genre that in some manner resembles ethnography in order to gain an understanding of indigenous lives, ritual practices, and gods.[30] However, while some have argued that these practices are related to the founding of modern ethnography, this is too simplistic: these Franciscan ethnographies are didactic, polemical, and have the purpose of religious instruction. This ethnographic genre, in other words, developed through the concept of the Franciscan gaze. Franciscans needed to attend carefully to their spiritual duties, and they could do so only by remaining vigilant as they watched the indigenous populations very closely.

This form of ethnography reached its most mature stage with Bernardino de Sahagún's work. By the time Sahagún and his four Nahua aides

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began their ethnographic research in the 1550s, the Franciscan days of idealism had ended, even as their linguistic skills increased. Sahagún, who had arrived in New Spain in 1529, turned out to be an excellent philologist who learned the intricacies of Nahuatl very quickly. He further provided a critique of conversion and instruction in Christianity.[31] In doing so, he portrayed himself as a doctor diagnosing his patient. Like a good doctor, he asserted, the cleric must understand the history of the individual before him.[32] In this case, that meant a careful, painstaking dissection of Nahua religion and society. By closely surveying the lives of the people that the priest desires to change, he would discover the real problems that the parishioners sought to solve through their spiritual frameworks.[33] This required close and detailed observation, which demanded a careful gaze placed upon the Nahuas. Through decades of working very closely with Nahua aides, living in Nahua communities, talking to many Nahuas, searching through preconquest Nahua manuscripts, and educating himself and others in Nahua traditions, Sahagún believed that he knew the Nahuas as well as any Spaniard could possibly know them.

Diego de Landa was perhaps more of an accidental ethnographer. He came to Yucatán in 1549 with a small group of Franciscans. He became enmeshed in the Maya population, learning a great deal about their language, history, and culture. By 1561 he had become the leader of the Franciscans in Yucatán.[34] In 1562, however, something went awry as Landa found evidence of idolatrous activities and human sacrifice in one region of Yucatán. At this point, Landa established an inquest into the practices in which priests throughout the province questioned four thousand Maya individuals under the threat of torture in order to get them to confess to committing idolatrous acts. Hundreds died through torture, while others committed suicide.[35] When Yucatán's first bishop, Francisco de Toral, arrived, he halted Landa's extirpation campaign.[36] By 1563 Landa had returned to Spain in order to defend himself. During that time, Landa wrote parts of what we now know of as the *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán.* Vindicated in Spain, Landa returned to Yucatán, as the bishop to replace Toral, in 1573.[37]

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Diego de Landa and Maya Sacrifice

It is in this context that we must understand Landa's *Relación* and his portrayal of the Maya sacrificial activity described at the beginning of this chapter. Landa had become deeply disappointed in the Maya, who, according

to his view, continued to engage in idolatry and human sacrifice. He thus developed an extensive account of these practices. We need to note as well that the text suggests a direct witnessing of a wide variety of Maya ceremonies, including the one with which I began this chapter. Landa's gaze, despite the absence of any discussion of his place in the text, is central to his ethnographic project.

But, while reading the *Relación*, one quickly notices that the text is quite disjointed. As historians Matthew Restall and John Chuchiak have noted, we cannot view this text as a singular piece of writing authored by Landa, but rather must see it as a series of related texts and notes compiled by Landa over as many as three decades.[38] There is no evidence that he intended this as a single text, or even that he wrote all of it himself. It seems likely that parts of the text were written by at least one of his key Maya informants, Gaspar Antonio Chi. Further, the text may incorporate other unmentioned authors (both Franciscans and Maya), and some of the text may simply reconstruct Landa's research notes. Finally, the compilers of the *Relación* (who compiled the text after Landa's death) may have left things out that Landa intended to include. This all suggests that the enterprise to produce the *Relación* incorporated many authors and influences: it was a collaborative project.[39] However, in this collaboration, it is clear that Landa's imagination and passionate interest in Maya spiritual and cultural life greatly influenced the final text that would come to be known as the *Relación.*

Landa's interests focused on Maya ritual, including the ethnopornographic portrayal that serves as an epigraph to this chapter. Here I use this ceremony as a prototypical example of Landa's ethnopornography. In doing so, I do not mean to suggest that here Landa portrays a sexual act for the purpose of prurient pleasures. Indeed, one would be correct in assuming that the Maya did not consider such an act "sexual." As I have noted elsewhere, the Maya did not delineate a category of sexuality in the same way that modern Westerners would come to understand the term, or even a category of "carnal sin" as Europeans of the time understood it.[40] For the purpose of this chapter, moreover, the important point is how Landa and his fellow Franciscans conceived of this rite. Landa was perplexed both by the pain and the drive of the Maya men to engage in such activity. He maintains that he saw the pierced penis as something "dirty" (*sucio*) and "painful" (*penoso*). He uses these terms to express his visceral sense of disgust at witnessing such a ceremony. For, how could the Maya man consider the penetration of his penis by a stingray spine to be a test of masculine "valor"? Landa wants to focus our gaze upon this pierced virile member;

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he wants us to experience with him the visceral reaction to the Maya male body, and to the person with the desire to pierce his own penis.

I argue that Landa engages in a particular type of ethnopornography by asserting strategic difference between himself, as a Franciscan persecuted by the Church hierarchy (Bishop Toral) and secular authorities, and the Maya men, who in this text escape persecution, but who outside of the text face Landa's wrath. In asserting such a distinction between himself and the Maya man as Other, I argue that Landa in essence queers the Maya man. What could be more queer than a bunch of men with their penises strung together, offering their genital blood to a demon? In asserting the presence of the Maya men engaging in blood sacrifice, Landa says much about himself as a member of an unusual order of Christian men, a man both disappointed by Maya men and persecuted by Spanish men. By engaging in this act of queering the Maya men, Landa wishes to evoke the visceral: as he witnesses the queer act, he wants his readers to imagine the friar's body convulsing with disgust.[41]

Landa goes on to portray his reaction to this rite: "It is horrifying how enthusiastic they were."[42] In other words, from Landa's perspective, it is not just that the individuals involved engaged in an idolatrous act, the ostensible rationale for his extirpation campaign, but more to the point, the men were extremely enthusiastic about this practice—they got something out of the ritual. One wonders how Landa's own frightful reaction compared to his understanding of the corporeal reactions of the flagellant groups that existed among the Franciscans in late medieval Europe.[43] Indeed, Landa's imagination would have certainly gone there, allowing him to think about the demonic influences that provide individuals with ecstatic pleasure as they approach their gods—Landa certainly understood, as his Maya informants would have portrayed it, that these rites allowed Maya men to become closer to the gods. Hearing this, Landa would wonder about the immense pleasures of his own predecessors (and himself) as they mortified their bodies for Christ. And he would conclude that the Maya had a mistaken notion regarding the presence of the true god, but a correct notion that one needed to engage in bodily sacrifice in order to approach that god. Still, Landa's visceral reaction would have been disgust, a position that shows his belief that the Maya men had a warped sense of masculinity and spirituality.

In order to understand the position of this rite within the thought of the Franciscan friar, one must work through the meanings of the comparisons that Landa wished to emphasize, the context of his existence in a Catholic order that had recently gone through a reevaluation of its own humanistic

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idealism, and his presence in the midst of a colonial enterprise in which a relative handful of Spaniards and Africans lived among several hundred thousand Maya people.[44]

Most centrally here, we can envision Landa's notion of a flawed Maya masculinity in which his gaze appeared to condemn Maya men while elevating Maya women to a state of perpetual quasi-innocence.[45] By engaging in such a description, Landa means to focus our attention on an ethnopornography of Maya men.

To understand the form of Landa's ethnopornography, we must briefly review the place of blood sacrifice in the Maya ritual universe. For the Maya population before the Spanish conquest, the sacrifice of one's own blood and the blood of others was an important element of a broader set of religious performances.[46]

The blood rituals signified much about how Maya elites concerned themselves with the sexed body and notions of fertility. According to a variety of sources, the shedding of blood from the penis mimicked the menstruation of women.[47] By shedding this blood, male leaders envisioned themselves as both communicating with the gods and "giving birth" to the entire social body: this blood ensured the fertility of the world. The kings and priests, through their sacrificial acts, gave birth to crops on the earth, animals throughout the world, humans in their communities, and deities in the cosmos.

Unlike Landa's depiction, however, these rites did not just involve men, but rather could include both male and female nobles and commoners. So, in figure 5.1, we witness a woman piercing her tongue, with a man about to pierce his penis. The woman has pulled a rope through her tongue, and the hieroglyphic text tells us that the man will engage in similar blood sacrifice. We note that the bone between his spread legs is well positioned to begin to pierce the penis. The text says that the bloodletting was occasioned by the birth of a future king in 752 CE. Here, the child's parents, the current king and queen, sacrifice their own blood to ensure that the world will survive to see the child's rise to power.[48]

The importance of the queen's tongue in such a rite cannot be overstated. In almost all of these types of images, we see the woman's tongue, but not the man's penis. And it is not that the Maya were shy about showing the penis: Rosemary Joyce notes the prevalence of phallic images in Maya statues and within caves.[49] Yet, it appears that the types of rites discussed here mandated *both* a cloaked phallus and an exposed tongue. In a similar bloodletting rite that took place in 709 CE, the queen kneels before

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FIGURE 5.1 King and queen shedding their own blood, 752 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings,* 287. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

the king, who holds a lighted torch. She pulls rope through her tongue, and has blood spotted on her cheek. Below her the blood collects in a basket, which also holds the stingray spine that had pierced her tongue. The king, Shield Jaguar, according to the text, will also sacrifice his own blood. The woman's tongue appears to assure the reader that the invisible penis was also pierced, that the noble man also engaged in a sacrificial act to ensure the future of the earth.[50]

The phallic sign asserts not a clear gendered division but rather a communicative practice to assure fertility.[51] The blank stares of the individuals engaged in blood sacrifice in Maya images assure the viewer that their gaze is not of this world but rather ensures that the participants have visions of and communications with the gods. In fact, these images may be read as

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FIGURE 5.2 Queen shedding blood from her tongue, 709 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings,* 267. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

FIGURE 5.3 Men shedding blood from the penis, 766 CE. After Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings,* 302. Copyright 1990 by Linda Schele and David Freidel. Reprinted by Permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

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texts that show where the nobles go once they have shed their blood—they see the serpents that lead them to the world of the gods.[52]

In other rites that involved only men, we witness the importance of penis piercing to the maintenance of the community, both in agricultural rituals and in more cosmically oriented events that men held with each other. In figure 5.3, we see the king in 766 CE across from one of his governors. The king pierces his penis, and his blood collects in a container on the ground. Even here, while his blood flows, an image of a perforator god hides the penis.[53]

Maya nobles and commoners viewed blood sacrifice as an event central to the community in that it signified the future of the world. Without such sacrifice, both from men's genitals and from women's tongues, the crops would not grow, and animals and humans would not survive. In all these rites the Maya participants intended to shed their blood, cause their pain, in order to assure fertility and futurity.

So, how did Landa, an expert on Maya culture and religion, miss this context? I argue that this had to do with the purpose and meaning behind ethnopornography. As the historian Inga Clendinnen says of Landa and the Franciscans, "There was a worse betrayal with the realisation that the Indians they had so tenderly protected, whose sufferings had so aroused their pity, whose trust they thought they had won, remained strangers: their faces closed, averted, masked, concealing depthless duplicity."[54] Bishop Toral believed that Landa was "enslaved by the passions of anger, pride, and cruelty."[55] Feeling betrayed and deeply disappointed, even depressed, according to his contemporaries, Landa returned to Spain.[56] In his return, he gathered his thoughts (and notes), and developed a vigorous and, as we have noted, ultimately successful, defense.

In his writings, by portraying Maya men as out of control, Landa showed that they engaged in orgies, abused women, and, most importantly, performed idolatrous acts in which they did unspeakable things to the bodies of themselves and others.[57] Maya women and children were innocent, chaste, and good Christians. Maya women came to Landa and to other priests and friars to find out about Christianity and to resist the sexual and idolatrous advances of Maya men.[58] Those men, however, with some exceptions, resisted Christianity and engaged in idolatrous and sacrificial practices. These men, participating in all male communal rites, could be seduced by the devil into performing such sacrifice, into lining up with each other and stringing their penises together: into, in other words, an inverted queer relationship with their gods. And they went even further than this as Maya men developed a cult of warriors that engaged in extreme

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torture, human sacrifice that began with the warrior using his arrow to "wound the individual, whether a man or a woman, in the private parts."[59] Landa thus misappropriates Maya ceremonial practice by producing ethnopornography to express his visceral disgust directed toward Maya men.

Bernardino de Sahagún and Aztec Pornography

When I first studied Landa, I assumed that he was an exceptional—and exceptionally cruel—figure. But I soon discovered that, while he did indeed torture the indigenous population, his writing and particularly his research emanated from the same type of rhetoric that occupied the rest of the Franciscan order (and, to a certain extent, Catholic clerics more generally). Even Bernardino de Sahagún, the famed Franciscan who produced the encyclopedic *Florentine Codex* (the aforementioned *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*), an extensive ethnographic study of Nahua society, produced a certain type of ethnopornography to support his ideas.[60]

Consider this scenario: Bernardino de Sahagún, the sixty-year-old Franciscan friar, walks into the room in the sweltering heat of summer in Tepepulco. He and his entourage had arrived in the Nahuatl-speaking community a year earlier, and now his Nahua aides had begun to engage in extensive research: their job was to study the culture and society as it had existed at the time of the Spanish conquest. Sahagún and his fellow friars had trained these four aides, and they were fluent in Spanish and Latin (as well as Nahuatl). Sahagún, also fluent in these languages, oversaw the project and provided an outline for the research. Today, the aides sit across the table from five old men, the leaders of Tepepulco. The aides have been asking the old men about the terms for different types of people, men and women, in the community, and have asked them to describe the different categories. After each category is placed on paper, they discuss the characteristics of the individual described. Now that the friar has entered the room, the discussion has stopped. Sahagún asks one of his aides to see the paper on which they have been writing. He takes his time reading the Nahuatl (there is no Spanish text), and he notes that his aides have described men and women by age and marital status; they have established certain metaphorical representations for many of them. He asks for a clarification about one category (a very old stooped woman), but the friar has something else on his mind. He is thinking about sin, and particularly about *el pecado nefando*, the "abominable sin" of sodomy. So

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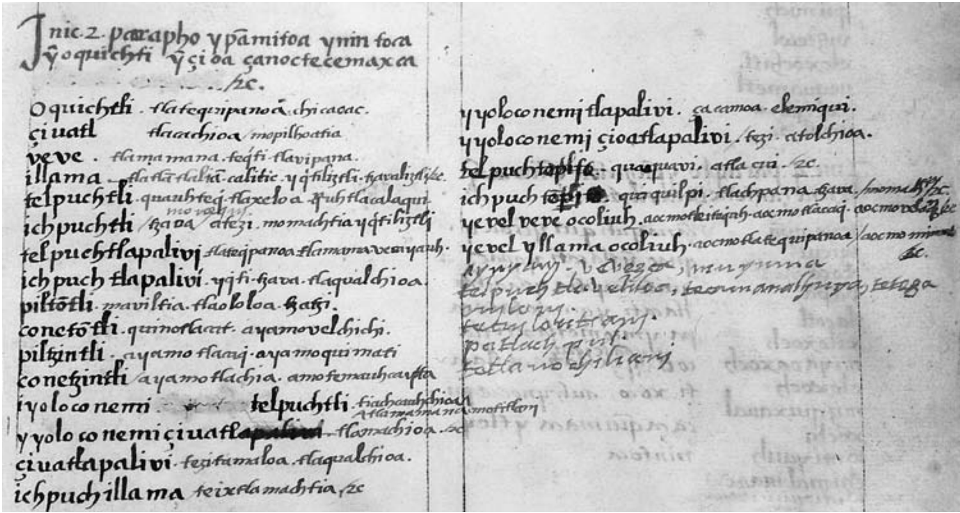

FIGURE 5.4 Sexual identities according to Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales* (facsimile) (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), f. 82r.

he asks the elderly men about sinners, and Sahagún himself, having taken the quill from one of his aides, writes down what they say: *tepuchtlaveliloc*, *tecamanalhuya*, *tetaza* ("wicked [male] youth; one who makes fun of people; one who knocks people down"). Dissatisfied with this answer, the friar turns to his aides and says that he wants to ask about the pecado nefando. His aides explain to the elderly men, who simply provide a few words: *cuilonj*, *tecuilontianj*, *patlachpul*, *tetlanochilianj.* While Sahagún asks for further description, the elders give none.[61]

In figure 5.4 we read the results of this scenario: toward the end of the folio we read *in Sahagún's own hand* the terms mentioned above.[62] This is from the *Primeros memoriales*, the text derived from the early research of Sahagún's team. The terms *cuiloni* (the correct spelling, once such spelling is standardized, of Sahagún's *cuilonj)*, *tecuilontiani*, and *patlachpul* are complex terms related in some manner to homosexual activity, while the final term, *tetlanochiliani*, is a term used for those who procure prostitutes.[63] This is the only place in the entire manuscript that discusses quotidian sexual activity of any kind.

Here we have laid before us the process in which early modern Franciscans produced ethnopornography. The Nahua men had discussed what they thought to be an effective set of categories for the women and men of their society. But the Franciscan thought this insufficient as, in accordance

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with Christian doctrine of the time,[64] he wanted to challenge the carnal sins of the population. Thus, in order to train Franciscan friars, in order for him to show them how they need to observe the indigenous population, he wanted to find categories for those sins. In our scenario, here, however, I have just suggested that the friar used the term "pecado nefando," without any further explication. But did he use such a term? The Spanish terms are somewhat unclear: would he have used "pecado nefando," *sodomía*, or some other term to elicit the responses? And what Spanish phrase would he have used to get the Nahuas to respond with *patlache*, a term apparently related to some individual with a female or gender-indeterminate body engaging in sexual activity with women? Perhaps he used the obscure terminology utilized by his Franciscan colleague, Alonso de Molina, in his definition *hazerlo vna muger a otra* ("for one woman to do it with another")?[65]

The ethnopornographer creates a taxonomy of subjects, in this case queer subjects, over whom the Spaniards would rule. Of course, from Sahagún's perspective, he was simply trying to understand the realities of the Nahua population in order to combat non-Christian beliefs and instruct the population in proper Christianity. In doing so, he needs to gaze closely upon Nahua sexual activity, and he requires Catholic confessors to follow up by peering even more closely at Nahua bodies.

I argue that the power of ethnography, a term I use as a conscious anachronism, links with the ability to represent observation as objective fact when it instead creates for us the fiction of the desiring indigenous individual, a fiction promulgated by the need for the colonizer to produce a stable subject over whom to rule. This ethnographic observation was in full force in the early sixteenth century, when both Spanish and indigenous ethnographers engaged in a taxonomic revolution that changed indigenous concepts of sacrifice to sin and, eventually, to sex, and it remains in full force today.

The Ethnopornographic Images of the *Florentine Codex*

In order to more fully comprehend the place of the Franciscans in the creation of ethnopornography, we must analyze the pornographic imaginary in the most sophisticated version of Franciscan ethnography, Sahagún's *Historia general.* Here I use five images from the text, images produced by Nahua scribes/artists, known in Nahuatl as *tlacuilos.* The tlacuilos were traditionally trained to paint images that told extensive stories of history,

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ritual, and religion. Trained readers/priests would interpret these images and tell the stories to the communities.[66]

I argue that the images here become pornographic when the *Historia general* refers to a body engaged in sexual activity or with an identity that presumes such activity. That body becomes intelligible as a sexed individual only through its colonization and archivization.[67] Thus the writers and artists producing the *Historia general*, and particularly the authorizing voice of Sahagún, want the readers to imagine the individual body engaged in sexual activity. This process of mistranslating the indigenous individual into the colonized sexed subject forms a pornographic imaginary universe connecting the Franciscan friar to his desired European readers.

In the case of the *Historia general*, Sahagún sought out individuals trained in traditional painting and writing, but he of course wanted a different type of story told.[68] For him the images would be illustrative additions to the text, and the topics presented by the images would be different from the topics traditionally addressed by tlacuilos. So, for example, while tlacuilos before the conquest never painted anything about quotidian activities of individual people, the first three images presented here signify quotidian sexual behavior.[69] This very fact tells us much about the ethnopornographic process at work: it is not just the fact that these images present sexual activity but also the very nature of the documentation: quotidian, individual subject formation is taking place in this text.

Figure 5.5 is the image that appears alongside a text for the *cuiloni*. The text connects "cuiloni" with excrement, corruption, filth, mockery, and cross-dressing. As I have noted elsewhere, "cuiloni" appears to be an approximate equivalent for the passive partner in sodomy. The term *tecuilontiani*, mentioned above, appears to be a term for the active partner in sodomy.[70] While we can recognize the English terms as outdated and referencing activities with biblical connotations that Nahuas could not have understood before the conquest, this is in fact the point: through the placement of the image and the above text promulgated by Sahagún's intervention, we have Spaniards peering at Nahuas and envisioning sexual acts and identities that have little to do with the original framework in which these acts and identities may have been situated. We have access here only to Spanish ethnopornography, in which we imagine the cuiloni as the sodomite.

The image in figure 5.5 appears intended to make such an identification perfectly clear but does little to help us understand Nahua frameworks. On the left side, we witness two individuals speaking with each other, one dressed as a man, the other dressed as a woman. Between them, we have two

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FIGURE 5.5 "Cuiloni." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 25v.

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speech scrolls and a flower. The Nahuas did not likely view the seemingly phallic speech scrolls as phalluses, but they did envision the flower as a sign of sexual activity. Still, the figures are fully dressed, and we do not have any portrayal of sex. On the right side of the image, we witness more ethnopornography through violence. The text tells us that the cuiloni was burned by fire, and here we see the individual's body burned. The connection between sex and violence was of course a familiar one for the Franciscan friar, and the presence of such an image in the text could have assured him of similar moral values asserted by the Nahuas. We recall of course that Sahagún himself inserted the concept of cuiloni into the research project, and here has gotten his aides and tlacuilos to define the concept in terms familiar to the friar. This ethnopornography creates the colonial sexual subject.

Figure 5.6 references the patlache. The standing figure appears to be a woman with exposed breasts and a hand covering her genitals. She also wears a cape, typically worn by a man. She points at another individual, who is seated and wears women's clothes. The text that accompanies this image says that the patlache has a penis and the various body parts of a man. In other words, the patlache, according to this text, seems to reference a woman who passes as a man (and who may, it appears, have sex with women). The image suggests Sahagún, his aides, and the painter as ethnopornographers trying, unsuccessfully, to translate from one signifying system of sex/body/gender to another. Here the erotic component of the two individuals seems lost and the ethnopornography has failed.[71]

In figure 5.7, we find the *alhuiani*, the Nahua "pleasure woman" or "prostitute." We can note that Nahuatl does not reference gender here, and "alhuiani" simply translates approximately as "one who provides pleasure."

FIGURE 5.6 "Patlache." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 40v.

FIGURE 5.7 "Alhuiani." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España.* Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 10 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 39v.

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Further, the individual painting the image does not show us anything that we would deem lascivious or representative of prostitutes either in early modern Europe or today. We have a woman in an outfit with flowers on it—and we know from the text that the flowers signify her role as a prostitute. Hence we also find her holding flowers and stepping on other flowers. So the flowered garment becomes her signifier. In this case, as in figures 5.5 and 5.6, we are left without an obvious referent to sexual activity, but instead we have a sign that serves as an identifying marker of sexual subjectivity.

So, how do these three images link with the topic of this chapter and this volume? I argue that the very presence of such images in the *Historia general* is a form of ethnopornography. Sahagún placed his system of categorization in the imaginations of his aides, tlacuilos, and informants in the 1550s, the time when they engaged in the production of the *Primeros memoriales.* Twenty years later, as they were completing the *Historia general*, the Nahuas working with Sahagún had developed some understanding of sexual subjectivity, and this understanding led to the production of images of the cuiloni, patlache, and alhuiani. While those images do not seem particularly salacious to us, the very placement of sexual subjectivity where there had been none represents a particularly pernicious form of ethnopornographic production. The very process of *mistranslation* of the body and its sexed acts—sexed, that is, in a European frame—is an effective form of ethnopornography. The European audience becomes aware of the sexed indigenous body through a power relationship in which the friar invents this particular body, taking it out of its indigenous context and thereby helping to form a subjugated, colonized individual.

This ethnopornography is further developed in the *Historia general*'s descriptions of ritual ceremonies. The focus here on violence, sacrifice, and fertility, I maintain, is evocative not of a reproduction of Nahua rites but rather of the violent gaze of ethnopornography. In particular, the description of the ceremony of Toxcatl, a ceremony celebrating warriors, allows us a greater understanding of the imagined sexual activity and gendered aesthetic of a particularly powerful Nahua god, the trickster Tezcatlipoca.[72]

Here the images present a somewhat different story than the accompanying text in the *Historia general*. In the text, the priests select one man at the beginning of the year to become the Tezcatlipoca *ixiptla* (the ixiptla, commonly translated as "impersonator," obtains Tezcatlipoca's name and becomes destined for sacrifice).[73] We see this individual in the center of figure 5.8, with his headdress, shield, and mirror. The text says that the

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FIGURE 5.8 "Tezcatlipoca Ixiptla." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino*, book 2 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 30v.

high priests choose the Tezcatlipoca ixiptla from among the noble captives. He should be a high-level noble, and his physical attributes should signify the perfect masculine individual in the Nahua universe. Furthermore, he should play the flute well and be an excellent warrior. The narrative tells us that the individual goes around the community for an entire year, being worshipped as Tezcatlipoca, and at the end of the year, he is sacrificed.

In figure 5.8 we see this ixiptla standing between the men and women of the community, and I argue that the image presents him without a clear gender. He wears a body suit that covers his genitalia in such a manner that we do not know if the individual even has genitals, while the men to his left wear loincloths and capes. The loincloth draws our attention to the cloaked phallus, but for the ixiptla our attention is focused elsewhere. Further, his

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position between the men and the women suggests an indeterminate gender, though of course the men and women are prostrating themselves before him because they worship him as a god.

Tezcatlipoca was a trickster god, one who could appear on earth as man or woman, animal or human. This ambiguous position enhanced the power of this particular god, who could signify the female and the male at the same time. More to the point, here in this image, he brings the community together for the Toxcatl ceremony.

As the narrative moves along, the ixiptla asserts masculine sexuality in a polygamous frame as he is married off to four goddesses signifying various elements of the earth: he will make the earth fertile through his sexual activity, something not shown in the images. He also will arguably engage in bisexual sexual activity, as the narrative mentions an obscure sexual connection with another ixiptla, a representative of the supreme Mexica war god, Huitzilopochtli.[74]

In one final image (figure 5.9), we see the ixiptla sacrificed. Here, let us begin our analysis at the bottom of the pyramid, where we see broken flutes. The flute was key to Tezcatlipoca's ixiptla. He had to play a flute well.[75] For, "with [the flute] he held his flowers and his smoking cane, and [he would] blow and suck on [the flute], and smell [the flowers]."[76] The acts of blowing on the flute and smelling the flowers signify Tezcatlipoca's sexual nature. The flower, for the Nahuas, connected the earth with sexual activity and specifically signified sexual desire.[77] The ixiptla smelling his flower suggests he gives birth to sexual elements in society.

The flute, a phallic signifier, becomes a central element in Toxcatl as the ixiptla goes about the community blowing and sucking on the flute. As he ascends the pyramid, he "shatters his flute [*itlapitzal*], his whistle [*jvilacapitz*]."[78] As art historian Cecelia Klein notes, one should not underestimate the significance of the shattered flute.[79] The flute signifies the phallus, and its root, *pitz*, has sexual significance. The term relates to huffing and puffing on something, blowing something, and playing an instrument. At the same time, *pitz* relates closely to *pitzahtzi*, "to speak in a high voice," presented elsewhere as "to sing in falsetto," or to "speak like a woman."[80]

The broken flutes on the temple appear to come tumbling down. The ixiptla and the priests had likely trampled on the two at the bottom while they made their way to the pyramid. This act—trampling upon the flutes—suggests a phallic divestiture in which the priests literally stamp out a key element of Tezcatlipoca's existence. In the image, the broken flutes parallel the blood running down the temple. Just as the flutes come tumbling

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FIGURE 5.9 "Tezcatlipoca sacrificed." From the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, book 2 (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979), f. 30v.

down, so will the blood. Further, the story continues, as we can see, at the top of the pyramid, as three priests stretch out the ixiptla while a fourth excises this individual's heart. The priests wear loincloths and capes, while the ixiptla appears naked, though his genitals are blocked by the priest kneeling down as he removes the heart. In other words, here at the very end, we witness the priests' signified phalluses (the loincloths) while the ixiptla's phallus (signified by the flutes) has been destroyed.[81] In the end, the priests will fling the ixiptla's body off the temple, so this body, like the flutes, will come down, thrown away like trash.[82]

The Toxcatl ceremony signified fertility, sexual activity, and warrior status. Here the *Historia general* has used the ceremony to evoke particular

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reactions among readers: disgust and intrigue. The tlacuilos who painted the images did not focus on sexual activity per se but rather worked to promote some understanding of the violent nature of the ritual. By evoking the connection between violence and fertility in Nahua thought, Sahagún promotes a particularly partial view of Nahua religion, one in which the masculine cult of warriors appears bloodthirsty. The positions of the bodies of these warriors and the ixiptla signify early attempts at developing and theorizing an ethnopornographic approach to the Other by promoting the bloody nightmare of the sacrificed Tezcatlipoca.

In creating sexual subjects on the one hand while witnessing extraordinary acts of ritual violence on the other, Sahagún wants us to think of him as an objective observer, describing what he understands to be the sexual and ritual components of Nahua life. However, like later ethnographers, Sahagún hides his position in the creation of the ethnography. We see some sleights of hand as he plays an active role in the creation of the Nahua sexual subject, seeking to fit this individual into a developing and constantly changing European taxonomic universe. Similarly, when portraying rituals of violence, Sahagún and his painters create a fearsome rite for European readers, and Sahagún warns elsewhere that his Franciscan contemporaries need to exercise caution and vigilance in seeking out idolatrous activities that have the potential to destroy the veneer of Nahua civilization and Christianization.

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Desire and the Archive

> The life of civilized peoples in pre-Columbian America is a source of wonder to us, not only in its discovery and instantaneous disappearance, but also because of its bloody eccentricity, surely the most extreme ever conceived by an aberrant mind. Continuous crime committed in broad daylight for the mere satisfaction of deified nightmares, terrifying phantasms, priests' cannibalistic meals, ceremonial corpses, and streams of blood evoke not so much the historical adventure, but rather the blinding debauches described by the illustrious Marquis de Sade. This observation applies, it is true, mostly to Mexico.
>
> —GEORGES BATAILLE, "Extinct America," *October* 36 (1986): 3.

Over three centuries after Landa and Sahagún wrote their tracts, Georges Bataille, the French modernist and cultural theorist, augurs in further nightmares, fantasies about a bloodthirsty Mexico (he primarily means to reference the Nahuas but also includes the Maya in his description) beyond

even the historical dramas that one may find in medieval Europe, invoking the specter of the Marquis de Sade. One may ask why Bataille would reference Sade—an individual connected with torturous sexual acts—rather than barbarous conquerors from the Crusades, Roman emperors engaged in acts of sacrifice, Muslim or Chinese rulers famous for their brutality, or even the Spanish conquerors. Bataille would have known of all of these possibilities for comparison but instead used Sade to make a particular point—the Aztecs and Maya engaged in torturous activity beyond the historical imagination, activity that a European mind could only conceive as excessive; Bataille wanted his readers to imagine bodies going through tortures that would cause them nightmares, that would disrupt their sensibilities. And this disruption could only lead his readers to think through the extreme pleasures and desires sought by Sade, equally performed by the ancient Mexicans he summons. Bataille performs a modernist version of Landa and Sahagún's ethnopornography. He takes the indigenous rite out of its context and suggests the most sexually depraved Western author imaginable to him as a point of comparison—and from there he forecloses the Nahuas and Maya from history itself.

Landa, Sahagún, and Bataille share similar fantasies and fears. They all fantasize about the debauched indigenous sexual subject, one who does not adhere to the rules of the civilized world but rather pierces penises and engages in orgies. The Franciscans, along with Bataille, feign shock at the practices of these people—but they cannot stop looking at them. They witness strange sexual practices, disgusting violence, and degrading bodily mortifications. But they keep staring; and they make us look.

As we invest our time in the archive, we often encounter significant boredom, going through many texts that archivists placed in the building simply because somebody notarized a particular document, making it worthy of archivization. Then we come across texts in Seville like the one written by Landa, or in Florence like the one authored by Sahagún, and we become excited, exhilarated even, to find that the original authors had become extremely dedicated to their projects for various reasons: they wanted to wipe out idolatry, respond to charges against themselves, understand indigenous lore, and control an unruly population. In doing so, they developed portrayals that emphasized the perverse nature of indigenous bodies: malformed, penetrated, and engaged in disgusting sexual and ritual activity. The Franciscan authors, feeling persecuted for their own actions, projected such feelings onto the bodies of the indigenous peoples. As they engage in such projection, the friars force us to look at the Franciscan

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magic. Suddenly they create a sexual subject. Suddenly they deform an indigenous body through (viewing) violent acts. And—poof—they produce an ethnography and make us think of it as objective when it in fact develops a pornographic version of truth.

Notes

1 For a discussion of the visceral and its relationship with the colonial Latin American archive, see Zeb Tortorici, "Visceral Archives of the Body: Consuming the Dead, Digesting the Divine," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 4 (2013): 407–37.

2 Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 93–111.

3 Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1994), 126–30.

4 Landa, *Relación,* 125.

5 Landa, *Relación,* 129–31.

6 On the Nahua city-state, the *altepetl,* see James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

7 See Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest.*

8 Note that for the preconquest Nahuas and the Maya, such an act of witnessing was also key. For it was the gaze of the commoners and the nobles of neighboring polities upon the participants in massive sacrificial ceremonies that led to the maintenance of spiritual and earthly authority for the leaders of the central powers.

9 See particularly Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

10 For a discussion of the relaciones, see Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

11 Matthew Restall and John F. Chuchiak, "A Reevaluation of the Authenticity of Fray Diego de Landa's *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán*," *Ethnohistory* 48, no. 3 (2002): 651–69.

12 See, for one recent example, Leslie A. Robertson and the Kwagu'l Gixsam Clan, *Standing Up with Ga'axsta'las: Jane Constance Cook and the Politics of Memory, Church, and Custom* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012). Robertson and the Gixsam Clan collectively wrote the book. The nonlinear narrative, with the focus on an interaction between the anthropologist, the indigenous community (Cook's descendants), and the memory of Cook, provides a way of dealing with memory and history through the presentation of multiple voices.

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13 See David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001). See also the classic history of the Franciscans: John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

14 See Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 79–84, 92–102.

15 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 339–49, 479–500.

16 Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*, trans. Lesley Bird Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 15–38.

17 D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 104–6. On the thought of the spiritual Franciscans, see Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans.*

18 Brading, *First America*, 108–9; Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico*, 128–32.

19 Brading, *First America*, 108–9; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 256–93.

20 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 302–19. On the Mexican context, see Amos Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation: Local Religion in Early-Colonial Mexico* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1996); Osvaldo Pardo, *The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

21 See Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order,* 337–49; Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*; Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching, and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam Fidem catholicam* . . . (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014).

22 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans,* 191–212. See also Gary Dickson, "Encounters in Medieval Revivalism: Monks, Friars, and Popular Enthusiasts," *Church History* 68, no. 2 (1999): 265–93.

23 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans,* 151–59. For a salacious take on this theme, see William M. Cooper, *Flagellation and the Flagellants: A History of the Rod* (Amsterdam: Fredonia Books, 2001), 70–74.

24 Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans.*

25 Megged, *Exporting the Catholic Reformation;* Pardo, *Origins of Mexican Catholicism.*

26 See Nancy Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984); Lockhart, *Nahuas after the Conquest*; Matthew Restall, *The Maya World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

27 For some examples, see Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terraciano, eds., *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

28 See Ricard, *Spiritual Conquest of Mexico.*

29 On confession in Mexico, see Pardo, *Origins of Mexican Catholicism.*

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30 On Sahagún as the first ethnographer, see J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber, eds., *The Works of Bernardino de Sahagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988); Miguel León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún: First Anthropologist,* trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).
31 Luis Nicolau D'Olwer, *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún*, trans. Mauricio J. Mixco (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 4–12; León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún*, 92–95.
32 Bernardino de Sahagún, *Códice florentino* (Florence, Italy: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana / Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1979) [hereafter *CF*], book 1, prologo, f. 1r; Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles Dibble, *Florentine Codex, General History of the Things of New Spain*, by Bernardino de Sahagún, 13 vols. (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research / Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1950–82), *Introduction and Indices*, 45.
33 León Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún*, 37–43.
34 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 70–71.
35 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests.*
36 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 97–100.
37 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 108.
38 Restall and Chuchiak, "Reevaluation."
39 Restall and Chuchiak, "Reevaluation."
40 See Pete Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 39–62.
41 The sense of "queer" that I evoke here comes from an analysis of the epistemology related to the assertion of radical difference from the other based on one's disgust at the other's embodied actions, particularly as those actions relate to same-sex attachments, which are then viewed as promoting destruction. See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); and Mel Y. Chen, *Animacies: Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
42 Landa, *Relación,* 127.
43 Niklaus Largier, *In Praise of the Whip: A Cultural History of Arousal* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2007), 125–26, 169–72.
44 See Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucatan.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009).
45 Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins,* 83–84.
46 Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya* (New York: Morrow, 1990); Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins.*
47 Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins,* 150–82.

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48 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 285–90.

49 Rosemary A. Joyce, "A Precolumbian Gaze: Male Sexuality Among the Ancient Maya," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, ed. Barbara Voss and Rob Schmidt (New York: Routledge, 2000), 263–83. See also Lynn M. Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyption Experience* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 95–127.

50 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 265–72.

51 Here we do not see phallic divergence and power in the same way we do in the Western world. While the phallus has some significant importance to the Maya, the gendered divisions are not as clear. See Sigal, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins;* Joyce, "A Precolumbian Gaze." See also Chelsea Blackmore, "Ancient States and Ordinary People: A Feminist Re-imagining of Ancient Maya Power and the Everyday," *Critique of Anthropology* 36, no. 2 (2016): 103–21.

52 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 254–56, 287.

53 Schele and Freidel, *Forest of Kings,* 301–4.

54 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 128.

55 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 127–28.

56 Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests,* 102.

57 Landa, *Relación,* 116–17.

58 Landa, *Relación,* 110–11, 133–35.

59 Landa, *Relación,* 128.

60 See also Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion*, 177–205.

61 Here I use some imagination in a process of overreading the archive. While we cannot know for certain how this exchange took place, the situation I have imagined is significantly more likely than the ways we often read our notarial sources for transparent realities. The point here is that the source is highly mediated. See Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

62 The entire text that is in Sahagún's hand reads as follows:

"aynyanj. Vevezca, muyuma
telpuchtlaveliloc, tecamanalhuya, tetaza
cuilonj.
tecuilontianj.
patlachpul.
tetlanochilianj"

For more information on translation and interpretation, see Pete Sigal, "The *Cuiloni,* the *Patlache,* and the Abominable Sin: Homosexualities in Early Colonial Nahua Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (2005): 555–94.

63 Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion,* 82–83.

64 Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion,* 92.

65 See Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrua, 1992), 2:f. 80r. Also see Alonso

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de Molina, *Confessionario breue, en lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico City: Antonio de Espinosa, 1565), f. 12 v, in which he asks, "Cuix aca occe ciuatl, amoneuan ammopatlachuique?"

66 See, for example, the description of *tlacuilos* in Eloise Quiñones Keber, *Codex Telleriano Remensis: Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

67 See Tim Dean, "Introduction: Pornography, Technology, Archive," in Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires, eds., *Porn Archives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014).

68 See Eloise Quiñones Keber, ed., *Representing Aztec Ritual: Performance, Text and Image in the Work of Sahagún* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002).

69 On the practices of the *tlacuilos* before and after the conquest, see Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

70 See Sigal, "*Cuiloni*."

71 CF, book 10, f. 40v: "Patlache: In patlache: ca tlahelcioatl, cioatl xipine tepule, choneoa, mioa, ateoa, mocioapotiani, mocioaicniuhtiani, mocicioapiltiani, cicioapile, oquichnacaio, oquichtlaque, ôoquichtlatoa, ôoquichnenemi, tetentzone, tomio, tzôtzoio, tepatlachuia, mocioaicniuhtia, aic monamictiznequi, cenca quincocolia aiel quimittaz in oquichti, tlatetzauia."

72 See Davíd Carrasco, "The Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca," in *To Change Place: Aztec Ceremonial Landscapes*, ed. Davíd Carrasco (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1991); Cecelia Klein, "The Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca and Its Implications for Christ Crucified," in *Power, Gender, and Ritual in Europe and the Americas: Essays in Memory of Richard C. Trexler*, ed. Peter Arnade and Michael Rocke (Toronto, Canada: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008); Sigal, "The Perfumed Man," in Arnade and Rocke, *Power, Gender, and Ritual in Europe and the Americas.*

73 "Ixiptla" is a complex term used to refer to the position in between a human and a god, the person who becomes the god in sacrificial rituals. The ixiptla is most commonly translated as "impersonator." But this individual's position is quite complex, a liminal identity between the human and the divine. The two scholars who have studied this extensively both agree that the ixiptla was more than an impersonator. This person has an extensive amount of power, as s/he becomes a god. Yet, in another manner this person is among the least powerful in Nahua society, for s/he is destined for human sacrifice, and there is no way s/he can avoid that fate. See Alfredo López Austin, *Hombre-dios: Religión y política en el mundo náhuatl* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1973); Serge Gruzinski, *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520–1800* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1989).

74 See Klein, "Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca."

75 See also Samuel Marti, "Flautilla de la penitencia: Fiesta grande de Tezcatlipoca," *Cuadernos Americanos* 72, no. 6 (1953): 147–57; Guilhem Olivier, "The Hidden

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King and the Broken Flutes: Mythical and Royal Dimensions of the Feast of Tezcatlipoca in Toxcatl," in Keber, *Representing Aztec Ritual*.

76 CF, book 2, chap. 24, f. 33r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 2:68.

77 See Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion*.

78 CF, book 2, chap. 24, f. 33r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 2:68.

79 Klein asks, "What did these broken flutes signify to the viewers of and participants in this ritual? Ethnographic reports from Melanesia, as well as South America, have noted the association of flutes with the male sex, and in some places specifically with the phallus. This raises the possibility that a similar connotation existed in preconquest Central Mexico. There is, it turns out, evidence that this was the case. The Nahuatl root of the word for flute, *tlapitzalli*, also appears in an adjective used by Sahagún's informants to describe the penis." Klein, "Aztec Sacrifice of Tezcatlipoca," 280–81.

80 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115.

81 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115.

82 CF, book 2, chap. 30, f. 72r; Anderson and Dibble, *Florentine Codex*, 115. On trash and its relationship to Nahua ritual, see Sigal, *Flower and Scorpion*.

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