Sodomy and human difference: Anglophone conceptualisations of Ottoman male same-sex activity, c.1590–1700.

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Preface

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Abstract

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This dissertation focuses on the ideas of sodomy and human difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. The purpose of my thesis is to historicise and to complicate our understandings of Anglophone conceptions of sodomy in relation to the Ottoman Empire. This thesis argues that, far from being blanket accusations of sexual transgression, anxieties about sodomy in Anglophone accounts mirrored and overlapped with Ottoman concerns about transgressive sexualities in specific contexts, such as coffeehouses, bathhouses, social gatherings and some Sufi orders. This thesis re-examines various avenues which were used to conceptualise and discuss human difference in early modern Anglophone thought, including climate, customs, and religious doctrine, in order to determine the extent to which transgressive sexuality was seen as a meaningful category for marking human difference. The conclusion of this thesis is that most of these factors were not uniformly and universally seen as detrimental to the formation of 'foreign' sexualities. There was no single discourse on the topic and many debates on it, but on the whole, by the end of the seventeenth century, sodomy was seen as a result of customs developed over time, rather than an innate part of racialised foreign bodies or a transgression sanctioned by an ungodly religion of Islam.

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Introduction

'Few are ignorant how much the horrid Sin of Sodomy is practiced, nay, even tolerated amongst them', wrote Joseph Morgan, the author of *Mahometism Fully Explained*, in 1723.[1] Morgan was only one of many early modern Europeans who associated Muslim societies with sodomy, and this quote shows that by 1723 he expected most of his readers to make that connection. Although the link between Muslims and sodomy was present in medieval European discourses, it was not firmly established in English-language printed sources until the 1570s.[2] However, even by the 1580s, the idea of 'Mahometical sodomits' and 'sodomitical Turks' was familiar enough to make it into religious sermons.[3] Throughout the long seventeenth century, there was hardly a printed English language text about the Ottoman Empire which did not mention sodomy. Famous travellers such as George Sandys, Henry Blount, Paul Rycaut, Thomas Herbert, William Lithgow, and many others wrote of Ottoman sodomy.[4] The connection between the Ottomans and sodomy became a staple of collections of travels, cosmographies, and descriptions of the world.[5] It made its way into sermons and satirical pamphlets.[6] By the eighteenth century, the idea that most Islamic societies, particularly the Ottoman Empire, were sodomitical was firmly established in Anglophone

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[1] Joseph Morgan (ed.), *Mahometism Fully Explained: Containing Many Surprizing Passages, Not to Be Found In Any Other Author. ...* (London: E. Curll, W. Mears, and T. Payne, 1723), p.45.

[2] See John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in The Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp.107, 238, for the medieval context of this issue.

[3] Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of A Turke a Sermon Preached at The Hospitall of Saint Katherin […]* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue dwelling without Temple-barre, 1586), Sig.C5r.

[4] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp.109-27.

[5] See, for example, John Barclay, *The Mirrour of Mindes, or, Barclay's Icon Animorum, Englished by T.M.* (London: Printed by Iohn Norton for Thomas Walkley, and are to bee sold at his shop, at the signe of the Eagle and Child in Britaines-Burse, 1631), pp.301-4.

[6] On sermons see, for example, Jacqueline Pearson,'"One Lot in Sodom": Masculinity and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Narratives of Converted Turks 1', *Literature and Theology* 21 (2007):29-48; Humberto Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp.45-48.

discourses on the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic societies in the British Isles. Truly, by 1723, 'few' readers of English-language texts were ignorant of this connection.

This thesis was conceived as a search for an answer to a seemingly very simple question: why did so many early modern Anglophone accounts of the Ottoman Empire insist that there were so many sodomites there? Possible answers could be summed up in three broad categories: because Anglophone writers wanted to represent the Ottoman Empire in a negative light; because there were, in fact, many people whom Anglophone observers would have deemed to be 'sodomites' in the Ottoman Empire; or something in between these two. This simple initial research question developed into a series of more sophisticated ones. This thesis is a work of discourse analysis. It discusses references to same-sex activity in vernacular English discourses on the Ottoman Empire. It aims to contextualise sources dealing directly with Anglo-Ottoman encounter, such as travel accounts, cosmographies, and atlases, in wider frameworks of medical, legal, and religious understandings of sexuality in early modern Anglophone writings.

The first set of research questions is inseparable from the methodology of this research. I needed to establish what 'sodomy' meant in early modern vernacular English, and what other words were used to refer to the subject of this research – same-sex activity. I also needed to think about the wider usages of words signifying same-sex activity in early modern vernacular English. Finally, I needed to establish why this specific genre of texts would discuss sexual relationships and gender norms in the first place. These issues will be discussed in the first chapter of the thesis. The second set of research questions probed the extent to which these mentions corresponded to the realities of early modern Ottoman gender and sexual models. In order to tackle this, I analysed a series of early modern Ottoman texts side-by-side with English texts mentioning the same topic – same-sex activity. I then examined what these mentions meant within a variety of contexts, including English ideas about the body and bodily differences around the world, English perceptions of Islam, and English ideas about power, authority, and regulation of sexual behaviours. Addressing these issues required reading English texts on the Ottoman Empire in the context of wider English-language ideas about bodily difference, religious difference, cultural difference, and political power.

This thesis focuses on one strand of thinking about human difference, namely Anglophone concepts of foreign, especially Ottoman, 'sodomy'. There are several reasons behind this choice of subject. Firstly, Anglophone conceptions of Ottoman 'sodomy' are a richly documented case

study. Secondly, sexuality occupies a large space in the study of encounter, race, and human difference. Thirdly, sexuality specifically adds several theoretical frameworks of the study of the formation of stereotypes, including sexualisation, hypersexualisation, and desexualisation; all of which, in contemporary studies of sexuality and race, are connected to power dynamics. This thesis sits at the intersection of several fields and even disciplines, including, first and foremost, history, but also literary studies, gender studies, and racial studies.

This Introduction will discuss the historiographical and theoretical contexts of this thesis. It will outline the key frameworks that informed this thesis, including global history, connected histories, postcolonialism, transitional history, queer history, and racial studies. Within this discussion, it will specifically provide a historiographical overview of European encounter with the Ottoman Empire and of English encounters with the wider world in this period. It will then discuss the methodologies used throughout the thesis and provide an overview of the different types of sources this thesis will analyse. It will then outline the historical context of the realities of Anglo-Ottoman encounter in the early modern period. Finally, it will outline the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Historiographical overview

This thesis has a complex historiographical genealogy and is indebted to several prominent historiographical and theoretical contexts and traditions. The key research questions of this thesis have been shaped by recent developments in global and entangled histories approaches, touching upon questions of Eurasian cultures and the provincialisation of Europe. This thesis is more firmly situated in the wider literature of European contact with the Islamic world, and in recent developments on European encounters with the Ottoman Empire more specifically. Historiographical developments in literary history and literary studies, especially in relation to early modern Anglo-Ottoman cultural contacts, semantic history, and histories of the vernacularisation of English print in the early modern period frame some of the key discussions in this thesis. This thesis is informed by developments in queer history, especially by explorations of queer Muslim pasts and discussions of the role of queerness in transcultural encounter. Finally,

this thesis builds on discussions of early modern race and human difference. All of these contexts will be outlined and referenced below.

Global history

Global history is an ever-expanding field of historical research.[7] Although a full discussion of approaches to global history is beyond the scope of this historiographical overview, several key points deserve to be highlighted. Global history, which encompasses several different theoretical and methodological approaches, arose as a response to increasing interest in the processes of globalisation in the late twentieth century and, in parallel, as a commentary on the Eurocentrism of historical writing in Western academic circles.[8] One of the early approaches to global history prioritised global comparisons, at the risk of what Sebastian Conrad called 'the fiction of autonomy'.[9] Rising to this challenge, some global historians, such as Sanjay Subrahmanyam, emphasised the connectivity of various societies around the globe, developing 'connected histories' as a paradigm.[10] Moreover, for Subrahmanyam, 'connected histories' are also a direct response to the desire of some scholars, including Victor Lieberman, to downplay global connections and to emphasise the internally-driven nature of historical developments in the early modern period.[11] The 'connected histories' paradigm, building on but not limited to Anthony

[7] For a short history of global history, see Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp.17-7.

[8] Ibid., pp.1-5.

[9] Ibid., p.41; see more generally pp.40-2.

[10] See, for example, Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History & Theory* 45 (2006):30-50; Michel Espagne, 'Sur Les Limites du Comparatisme en Histoire Culturelle', *Genèses: Sciences Sociales et Histoire* 17 (1994):112-21; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes toward a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997):735-62; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations In Connected History: From The Tagus To The Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[11] Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories', pp.740, 743. For Victor Lieberman's position, see Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c.800–1830 Volume 1. Integration On the Mainland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.21-3; for other arguments on the limits of

Reid's interpretation of early modern Southeast Asia as the 'Age of Commerce', has been very influential in early modern studies of global history and globalisation.[12] Subrahmanyam's argument differed from Reid's, and many others, due to its lack of emphasis on what Subrahmanyam has called a 'highly materialist conception' and as a result of his stress on the global nature of the processes of early modern connected histories, rather than on their origin in European imperialism.[13] The essence of Subrahmanyam's argument is that 'nationalism has blinded us to the possibility of connection' and that early modern Eurasian societies had far more in common than what differentiated them from each other.[14]

Another influential development in the field of global history, relevant to this thesis, was the emergence of postcolonial approaches to history and attempts to move away from Eurocentrism of academic historical studies. Although postcolonial studies developed throughout the second half of the twentieth century, with Edward Said, Franz Fanon, and the Subaltern Studies group being just some of the key influences on writing histories of colonised peoples, postcolonial perspectives were rejuvenated in the face of the increasing scholarly fascination with globalisation in the 1990s.[15] Arguably, the two most influential works of this period were *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* by Dipesh Chakrabarty and *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* by Kenneth Pomeranz, both originally published at the turn of the twenty-first century.[16] Both of these works, in different ways, questioned the primacy of Eurocentric histories and Eurocentric explanations

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early modern globalization, see Jan de Vries, 'The Limits of Globalization in the Early Modern World', *The Economic History Review* 63:3 (August 2010):710-733.

[12] For Anthony Reid, see, for instance, Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680. Vol. 1, The Lands below the Winds* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp.1-11. His thesis is outlined and historiographically contextualised in Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, pp.15-21

[13] Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories', pp.759, 761.

[14] Ibid., p.761.

[15] See Conrad, *What is Global History?*, pp.25-6.

[16] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

for historical processes. The main argument of *The Great Divergence* is that the prime explanation of European hegemony in the nineteenth century is not an internally driven process, or any type of European exceptionalism, but access to overseas resources due to the colonisation of the Americas.[17] *Provincializing Europe* questions the epistemology of capitalist secular European modernity as a model for judging non-European societies.[18]

These two strands of global history have directly influenced this thesis. 'Connected histories' as a framework inspired what is probably the most widely-cited scholarly exploration of Ottoman homoeroticism: *The Age of Beloveds* by Walter Andres and Mehmet Kalpaklı.[19] Although a fuller exploration of this work will be provided below in an overview of queer historiography, it is important to note at this stage that *The Age of Beloveds* was written with the explicit purpose of emphasising similarities in wider Eurasian homoerotic cultures, from Ottoman Istanbul to Florence and London.[20] In addition, there is a historiographical tradition of stressing the role of sexuality in European 'Othering' of the rest of the world, exemplified in the works of Jonathan Goldberg and Nabil Matar.[21] This tradition is indebted to postcolonial scholarship. To complicate matters, efforts to 'provincialise' European history of sexuality have also been undertaken. Influenced by postcolonialism and a search for non-European sexually diverse pasts, a plethora of scholars have demonstrated rich and varied histories of non-European sexualities.[22]

All of these developments in queer studies will be discussed in more detail in a dedicated section below. For now, it is important to outline further historiographical contexts of European encounters

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[17] Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, p.4.

[18] Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, p.17.

[19] Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and The Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

[20] Ibid., pp.329-53.

[21] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.194 and Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, pp.109-27.

[22] See, for example, Pete Sigal, 'Queer Nahuatl: Sahagun's Faggots and Sodomites, Lesbians and Hermaphrodites', *Ethnohistory* 54 (USA, 2007), 9-34; Gary P. Leupp, *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995); Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

with the Ottomans, and of English encounters with the wider world, in the early modern period in order to locate this thesis more precisely in its historiographical contexts. There are three specific contexts which further frame this thesis: historiographies of early modern European encounter with the Ottoman world; recent research on 'Britain and the World'; and its subset, works on printed travel accounts and cosmographies in early modern vernacular English.

In many ways, the stress on 'connected' or 'entangled' histories has been more influential than postcolonial approaches in the field of early modern studies of European encounter with the Muslim world generally, and European encounters with the Ottoman empire more specifically. One of the key reasons for this is the arguable absence of colonial power dynamics in this encounter - an issue we will come back to later in a dedicated discussion of 'early modern Orientalisms'. Recent works on this subject, especially in the context of European-Ottoman encounter, have emphasised connections, similarities, porous borderlands, and people 'in between'. For example, Eric Dursteler's works focused on multilingual, multicultural, and flexible contexts of the Eastern Mediterranean, where military confrontation with the 'Turk' was only one of the possible social and cultural realities.[23] E. Natalie Rothman stressed the role of trans-imperial subjects and dragoman interpreters in Eastern Mediterranean encounter and diplomacy.[24] John-Paul A. Ghobrial stressed the role of information flows, communication, and sociability between London, Paris, and Istanbul in the seventeenth century, and that networks of information, written and oral, were actively used as preparation for European visits to the Ottoman Empire.[25] Helen Pfeifer and Alexander Bevilacqua demonstrated that the dissemination of Ottoman social and cultural ideas and practices went beyond the 'borderlands' regions and led to something akin to a

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[23] E.R. Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); E. R. Dursteler, 'Speaking in Tongues: Multilingualism and Multicultural Communication in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Past & Present* 217:1 (2012):47-77. For an overview, see E. R. Dursteler, 'On Renaissance Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts', *Journal of Early Modern History* 15:5 (2011):413-34.

[24] E. Natalie Rothman, *The Dragoman Renaissance: Diplomatic Interpreters and the Routes of Orientalism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021), pp.4-6; E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); for more on diplomacy, see M. van Gelder and T. Krstić, 'Introduction: Cross-Confessional Diplomacy and Diplomatic Intermediaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean', *Journal of Early Modern History* 19:2-3 (2015):93-105, pp.96-9.

[25] John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.43-4.

shared culture, rather than just a form of exoticism.[26] One exciting strand of this type of research emphasises Ottoman travel and encounters beyond Western Europe, especially Ottoman encounters with the Americas and American encounters with the Ottomans, exemplified in the works of Stefan Hanss and Giancarlo Casale.[27] All of these works have emphasised fluid connections and entanglements of the Ottoman Empire and early modern Christian Europe and argued, explicitly or implicitly, for the inclusion of the Ottoman Empire in the concept of 'Europe'.

Transnational approaches to global history and the thriving field of 'Britain and the World' studies provide another important historiographical context for this thesis. In the words of Sebastian Conrad, 'transnational studies explore the ways in which a country was situated in the world – and how the world, conversely, reached deep into individual societies'.[28] Unlike connected histories, which emphasise entanglements and the need to study both sides of the encounter in detail, transnational histories often focus on only one of the societies in question. Early modern English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh encounters with the wider world are ever-expanding fields of historical research. They incorporate various approaches from history of ideas, economic history, history of emotions, and many others. Some scholars focus on geographically specific encounters using a wide variety of manuscript and printed sources. Recent examples of this approach include Maria Salomon Arel's work on English merchants in Russia and David Veevers's research into the origins of the British Empire in India in the seventeenth century.[29] This type of research is often connected to economic and corporate history; for example, Veevers co-edited a volume on *The*

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[26] A. Bevilacqua and H. Pfeifer, 'Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650–1750', *Past & Present* 221 (2013):75–118, pp.116-7.

[27] S. Hanß, 'Event and Narration. Spanish Storytelling on the Battle of Lepanto in the Early 1570s' in L. Stagno and B. Franco Llopis (eds.), *Lepanto and Beyond: Images of Religious Alterity from Genoa and the Christian Mediterranean* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021); John-Paul A. Ghobrial, 'The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses Of Global Microhistory', *Past & Present*, 222, no. 1 (2014): 51-93; Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[28] Conrad, *What Is Global History?*, p.45.

[29] Maria Salomon Arel, *English Trade and Adventure to Russia in the Early Modern Era: The Muscovy Company, 1603-1649* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019); David Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire in Asia, 1600 - 1750* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Corporation as a Protagonist in Global History.[30] Mercantile history is a recently rejuvenated subfield of early modern English and Scottish transnational history; an example of this development is Edmond Smith's forthcoming book on London's overseas mercantile community.[31] Whereas some scholars examine the experiences of English people in the world, others focus on the world coming to England. Topics such as learning languages in early modern England or immigrant experiences in England, exemplified in the works of John Gallagher and William O'Reilly, have been a thriving area of research.[32] This thesis contributes to our understanding of the role of sexuality in early modern 'British' encounters with the wider world.

Research which primarily focuses on printed accounts of overseas lands (and a subset of it: travel accounts studies) is a subfield of this broader transnational approach to early modern English, Scottish, and Irish histories. Research on printed vernacular English discourses on the Ottoman Empire and Islam more generally has deeply informed this thesis. Travel account studies are the most immediate historiographical context of this thesis, because this thesis uses travel accounts and cosmographies as the core primary source base.[33] Works by Matthew Dimmock on the reception of the figure of Prophet Muhammad in England, by Anders Ingram on English-language histories of the Turks, and by Eva Johanna Holmberg on Jews in vernacular English texts provided much needed context and methodological and historiographical inspiration.[34] As a testimony to

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[30] David Veevers and William A. Pettigrew, (ed.), *The Corporation as A Protagonist in Global History, C1550 to 1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[31] E. Smith, *Merchants: The Community That Shaped England's Trade and Empire, 1550-1650* (London: Yale University Press, 2021).

[32] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019), William O'Reilly, 'Strangers Come to Devour the Land: Changing Views of Foreign Migrants in Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 3 (2017):153-87.

[33] Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Introduction: Renaissance and Early modern Travel – Practice and Experience, 1500–1700', *Renaissance Studies* Vol. 33 No. 4 (2019):515-523, pp.517-519. See also Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013); John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1989);Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Travel, and Colonial Writing in the English Renaissance 1545–1625* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Gerald MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580–1720* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), for more context on this subject.

[34] See, for example, Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in*

the liveliness of this field, several works which influenced this thesis were published while research for this thesis was being conducted. Notable examples include Rachel Winchcombe's *Encountering Early America* and Nandini Das's work on encounter as process, both of which use a similar set of printed sources in vernacular English but focus on different geographical regions.[35]

Deeply connected to, and often overlapping with, the works discussed above, Anglo-Ottoman encounter in particular has been a significant research topic in early modern literary history and literary studies. Anglo-Ottoman and Anglo-Muslim encounter are popular topics in the study of early modern English literature, exemplified in the works of Daniel Vitkus, Bernadette Andrea, Goran Stanivukovic, and many others.[36] Scholars working on the literary responses to the Ottoman Empire in England and on literary Anglo-Ottoman encounters often include topics which do not prominently feature in studies exclusively focused on travel accounts, such as gender, sexuality, and representations of racialised 'Others'. Many studies of early modern English literature are more receptive of postcolonial perspectives and somewhat more critical of the power dynamics involved in encounter than the research outputs conceived in connected or entangled histories paradigms. Some clear examples of these trends include research on Shakespeare and postcolonialism by Jyotsna G. Singh, works on Shakespeare and race by Ania Loomba, and Kim F. Hall's seminal *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England*.[37]

Early Modern English Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Eva Johanna Holmberg, *Jews in the Early Modern English Imagination: A Scattered Nation* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

[35] Rachel Winchcombe, *Encountering Early America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021); Nandini Das, 'Encounter as Process: England and Japan in the Late Sixteenth Century', *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.69 (4) (2016):1343-1368.

[36] Daniel J. Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and The Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), Bernadette Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Goran Stanivukovic, *Knights in Arms: Prose Romance, Masculinity, and Eastern Mediterranean Trade in Early Modern England, 1565-1655* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

[37] Jyotsna G. Singh, *Shakespeare and Postcolonial Theory* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2019), Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996).

This thesis engages with the issue of the disciplinary differences between history and English studies on these topics.

The main contribution of this thesis to these historiographical discussions is a focus on queer history and the inclusion of a queer lens. The merging of queer history and history of encounter provides fruitful ground for uncovering early modern ideas about bodily, cultural, and religious differences. However, unlike literary scholarship, this thesis exclusively focuses on travel accounts and cosmographies, and does not discuss literary sources such as plays and poems. This decision was driven by the methodologies selected for this thesis, to be discussed below. A clearer understanding of these issues requires an overview of the theoretical paradigms this thesis engages with: queer studies, racial studies, and postcolonial studies, especially within the framework of 'Orientalism'. The following sections will outline these theoretical contexts and demonstrate the specific contribution this thesis endeavours to make.

Queer Muslim pasts and the study of encounter

Queer history is a vibrant field of historical research. Queer historical studies had been dominated primarily by one debate throughout the 1980s and 1990s. It stemmed from Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* and various responses to it. He argued that before the nineteenth century, 'the sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species'.[38] This was the origin of the so-called 'identities vs. acts' debate, closely connected to the wider 'essentialism' vs. 'social constructionism' debate. In short, one side of the debate argued that sexual orientation is innate and essential to the human body, and thus the category of 'homosexual' exists in every time and space, whereas the other side broadly argued that sexual categories are socially constructed and specific to a time and place. In relation to early modernity, this debate maps onto the discussion of the primacy of 'homosexual' acts (broadly, sodomy) or 'homosexual' identities (broadly,

[38] Michel Foucault, *Historie de la Sexualité, I, La Volonté de Savior* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp.59, 90-91; translation quoted from Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in the French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.1.

sodomites) in approaching early modern sexuality.[39] No scholars would pursue these arguments uncritically and in these simplistic terms today, and although influential, the debate no longer drives the study of history of sexuality. Cameron McFarlane has argued that 'the whole "debate" has become something of a Mobius loop in which one can sometimes hardly tell one side from another'.[40] Goran V. Stanivukovic neatly summed up the recent move away from a focus on 'identification and identities' towards 'queer methodologies of gaps and overlaps'.[41] In scholarship, at least, it seems that social constructivists and proponents of the primacy of 'acts' have won.

The essentialism vs. social constructionism debate was crucial in developing the terminologies and methodologies of queer history. Terminology is at the heart of many of the methodologies of queer history. [42] Some scholars, such as Alan Bray, acknowledged the shortcomings of using the word 'homosexual' in relation to the early modern period, and argued in favour of referring to homosexual sex, not homosexual people.[43] The arguments in favour of 'Renaissance lesbianism' are similar.[44] Serkan Delice has applied homosexuality as a productive term for the study of male same-sex encounters in the early modern Ottoman Empire.[45] Whilst I acknowledge the arguments in favour of using the word 'homosexual', it still has complicated connotations. Thus, this thesis

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[39] See, for example, Tim Hitchcock, 'Subcultures and Sodomites: The Development of Homosexuality' in Tim Hitchcock (ed.), *English Sexualities, 1700–1800. Social History in Perspective* (London: Palgrave,, 1997); for an example of an exploration of pre-nineteenth century 'homosexual identities', see a very good overview of the historiography of this debate in Cameron McFarlane, *The Sodomite in Fiction and Satire, 1660-1750* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp.5-20.

[40] McFarlane, *The Sodomite in Fiction and Satire*, p.7.

[41] Goran Stanivukovic, 'Between Men in Early Modern England', in Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds.), *Queer Masculinities, 1550-1800: Siting Same-Sex Desire in The Early Modern World* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 235.

[42] Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings*, pp.51-2.

[43] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982), p.16; Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.19.

[44] Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.11-20.

[45] Serkan Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows: Masculinity and Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul' in Gul Ozyegin (ed.), *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), p.117.

will employ the term 'male same-sex activity' for the sake of simplicity.

In the last decade, there has been considerable development in the study of Muslim 'queer' pasts.[46] Works by Khaled El-Rouayheb and Dror Ze'evi, pioneers in this field, uncovered the details of pre-modern Muslim sexual models.[47] They used a rich selection of sources, from court cases and medical discussions to poetry and satirical tracts. They convincingly demonstrated that there was a clear presence of homosexual activity, and debates and discussions around homosexuality and homosociality, in early modern Muslim cultures. However, globally, the notion of queer Muslim pasts is still controversial. Janet Afary and Afsaneh Najmabadi, leading scholars of Iranian queer pasts and presents, have both spoken of the intense opposition their work encountered within the Iranian scholarly community. This opposition can take the form of outright hostility to the topic, still unspeakable in some academic communities, or a prejudice towards queer studies as not worthy of serious academic inquiry.[48] In the Muslim context, these concerns intertwine with arguments for and against visibility and acceptance of LGBT+ communities in contemporary Muslim countries.[49]

Other studies of Muslim sexualities in the pasts use narrative sources and often employ comparative perspectives. These works tend to either take an interdisciplinary or literary perspective on queer pasts and they mostly rely primarily on literary sources. For example, Sahar Amer read medieval French and Arab literary sources comparatively to tease out themes of female

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[46] See Valerie Traub, 'The Past is a Foreign Country? The Times and Spaces of Islamicate Sexuality Studies' in Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi (eds.), *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations Across Temporal Geographies Of Desire* (London, Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp.1-31, for a historiographical and theoretical overview.

[47] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500-1800* (Chicago [Il.]: Chicago University Press, 2005), pp.118-9; Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p.38.

[48] Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.2; Najmabadi, *Women with Moustaches*, p.19.

[49] See Jarrod Hayes, *Queer Nations: Marginal Sexualities in the Maghreb* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp.23-50, for more detail on the importance of reclaiming Muslim queerness and the role reclaiming plays in scholarship. The political context of this thesis will be discussed in the Conclusion of this thesis.

to female love.[50] Walter Andrews's and Mehmed Kalpaklı's *The Age of Beloveds* (2005), which this study partially responds to, falls within this category. Andrews's and Kalpaklı's discussion of a pan-European 'Age of Beloveds' during the Renaissance also relies primarily on comparing Western and Ottoman literary tropes.[51]

This thesis takes a logical step forward by not only comparing seemingly similar sexual and gender models, but also analysing the perceptions and reception of foreign sexualities. There are several methodological issues which complicate research into cross-cultural representation of sexuality in the early modern period. The assumption of the same binary sexual and gendered model in both cultures is one of the issues with focusing on 'same-sex' relationships in two cultures in a comparative perspective. Both early modern Anglophone and Ottoman concepts of sex and gender went beyond the male/female binary. According to İrvin Cemil Schick, boys were not regarded as sexual stand-ins for women, but were seen as a separate third gender.[52] Serkan Delice, on the other hand, has critiqued the idea of a 'third gender' as a direct result of presuming a binary gender system and followed Judith Butler in asserting the restrictiveness of this category.[53] In either case, both Schick and Delice acknowledged the fluidity of early modern Ottoman gender models and the issues of applying a gender binary to early modern Ottoman culture. Scholars of early modern Anglophone ideas about sex and gender have long debated whether early modern England was dominated by a one-sex model, where the female body was an inversion of the male body, or a three-sex model of men, women and hermaphrodites.[54] This shows that the category of 'same-sex', especially in a comparative or transcultural perspective in relation to the early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounter, is problematic. Which 'sex' is the same? Referring to 'sexual diversity' rather than 'same-sex' solves some of these issues, as it is a sufficiently broad and flexible term to accommodate the issues outlined above. However, 'sexual diversity' is also problematic, as it

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[50] See Sahar Amer, *Crossing Borders: Love Between Women in Medieval French and Arabic Literatures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

[51] Walter G Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, pp.329-355.

[52] İrvin Cemil Schick, 'What Ottoman Erotica Teaches Us About Sexual Pluralism', *The Iranian*, https://iranian.com/2018/04/15/ottoman-erotica-teaches-us-sexual-pluralism/, accessed 27/09/2020.

[53] Delice, 'Janissaries and their Bedfellows', p.124.

[54] See Helen King, *The One-Sex Body On Trial: The Classical And Early Modern Evidence* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.1-31, for an overview.

refers to a broad range of sexual activity including polygamy, female lustfulness, and many others. A study of male same-sex affections is just a subset of that. Another issue with all of these terms is the role of sex in both Ottoman and Anglophone concepts of male homosociality in the first place, which puts in question the extent to which this queer history is exclusively a history of sexuality, without considering asexual eroticism.

This thesis is informed by recent into histories of asexuality. The nature of both the culture of the Beloveds (with its focus on emotional affection and admiration of the beauty of the boy) and of male love in early modern England (in the form of friendship) raises the question of the place of the sexual in this story.[55] Recent research into asexuality has provided an alternative way of approaching same-sex affection. In her call for 'tracing a queerly asexual archive', Ela Przybylo convincingly argued that 'where there is queerness there is also asexuality', which has hitherto been ignored due to a cultural and scholarly lack of interest in asexuality.[56] Contemporary asexuality theory is helpful in providing additional perspectives on the study of affection in cases where the presence of sexual relationships or even desires is often ambiguous. Mark Rifkin, writing on Indigenous erotics and the concept of Sovereign Erotics, has provided a fruitful rethinking of the erotic which can enrich our understanding of early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounter. He argued that 'the erotic [...] speaks to a sense of embodied and emotional wholeness that includes but extends beyond the scenes and practices of sexual pleasure and gratifications usually termed sexual'.[57] Within this framework, the gazes, the touches, and even the kisses of the culture of the Beloveds, to be discussed in Chapter 2, are a perfect case study of 'asexual erotics'

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[55] Valerie Traub, 'Friendship's Loss: Alan Bray's Making of History' in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds.) *Love, Sex, Intimacy And Friendship Between Men, 1550 - 1800,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); George E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity And Sexuality In The Eighteenth Century* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1999).

[56] E. Przybylo and D. Cooper, 'Asexual Resonances: Tracing a Queerly Asexual Archive', *GLQ* 20 (2014), 297–318, p.299; Ela Przybylo, *Asexual Erotics: Intimate Readings of Compulsory Sexuality* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2019), p.2.

[57] Mark Rifkin, *The Erotics of Sovereignty: Queer Native Writing in the Era of Self-Determination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), p.27.

– an eroticism which, according to many sources, was not simply a limitation of how far desire was allowed to go, but a satisfying emotion and end goal in its own right.

Queer theory also provides several conceptual tools useful for the study of the formation of stereotypes. Processes of hypersexualisation and desexualisation play a role in the formation of stereotypes. These processes are built on the concepts of hypersexuality and hyposexuality, two terms which developed out of Gayle Rubin's idea of 'sexual outlaws'.[58] Building on extensive research into individual case studies, Kristina Gupta has argued that 'a socially [marginalised] group may be viewed as hypersexual or nonsexual, or as both at the same time.'[59] This thesis examines sexualisation and hypersexualisation as a factor in the formation of negative stereotypes and, crucially, desexualisation as a process through which certain societies could be excluded from accusations of transgressive sexualities in the early modern period.

Early modern encounter and human difference: a theoretical overview

One of the aims of this thesis is to rethink early modern formation of stereotypes and the power dynamics which did, or in this case did not, accompany encounter. this thesis engages with the terms 'stereotype', 'essentialism', and 'naturalisation of difference and their significance in postcolonial studies. Richard Dyer defined stereotype as 'simple, vivid, memorable, easily grasped and widely recognized' features of a person or society, which are then exaggerated, simplified, and represented as static and unchangeable.[60] According to Stuart Hall, 'stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes difference'.[61] Hall's work has focused on situations of 'gross inequalities of power', such as colonial and postcolonial contexts. He connected naturalisation of

[58] Gayle Rubin, 'Thinking Sex', in Gayle Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 131.

[59] Kristina Gupta, 'Compulsory Sexuality: Evaluating an Emerging Concept', *Signs* 41 (2015):131–54, p. 141.

[60] Richard Dyer (ed.), *Gays and Film* (London: British Film Institute, 1977), p.28.

[61] Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1997), p. 257.

difference to the development of racial theory.[62] Essentialism and essentialisation, in turn, are some of the key terms of postcolonial theory, developed in depth by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.[63] Following Dryer's, Hall's, and Spivak's frameworks, the most helpful definition of essentialisation is cultural differentiation reliant on fixing difference but not naturalising it. Naturalisation of difference, in contrast, is a process of fixing difference based on ideas about intrinsic biological qualities of particular people. This theoretical apparatus has been applied to the study of early modern Anglophone encounter with the Ottoman Empire. Nevsal Olcen Tiryakioglu suggested that Hall's theoretical framework can be applied to pre-colonial encounter between Europe and the Middle East, based on essentialist stereotyping present in European views of the Turk.[64] However, she did not provide a clear distinction between naturalisation and essentialisation of difference. That distinction is crucial in the early modern period, when theories of human difference did not by and large rely on naturalised intrinsic qualities of people.[65]

The debate on the significance of the processes of essentialisation and naturalisation of difference is at the heart of the discussion of the concept of race and racism before the development of scientific racial theory. On the one hand, Robert Bartlett has argued that medieval and early modern concepts of human difference were qualitatively distinct from later theories of naturalised difference (which Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton called 'pseudo-biological racism').[66] He argued for the primacy of social and cultural, rather than 'biological', differentiating factors in various forms of transcultural identification. In his earlier work he stressed that points of cultural identification, such as customs, language, and religion, were seen as fluid in medieval Europe, as

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[62] Ibid., p.258.

[63] See, for example, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Donna Landry; Gerald M. MacLean (eds.), *The Spivak Reader / Selected Works Of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York; London: Routledge, 1996), p.30.

[64] Nevsal Olcen Tiryakioglu, 'From the middle ages to the 21st century: the myth of 'Terrible Turk' and 'Lustful Turk', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, (2015), p. 68. This argument contains many flaws, but the core of it – the significance of essentialization of difference to the constriction of the 'Other' in the early modern period – is invaluable to this thesis.

[65] See Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Were early modern Europeans racist?' in Amos Morris-Reich and Dirk Rupnow (eds.), *Ideas of 'Race' in the History of the Humanities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017), for an in-depth overview.

[66] Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 (2001):39-56, p. 47.

they could be acquired.[67] Another argument against the concept of naturalised racism before racial theory has been advanced by Audrey Smedley. She argued that even the Inquisitorial blood test of Jewishness in early modern Spain was about the 'genealogical context of families', not 'a belief that Jewishness actually resides in the blood'.[68] She argued that the test was a part of juridical structures of establishing kinship, not 'the fact of biological connection'.[69] In their argument in favour of the presence of both race and racism in early modern England, Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton offered several counter-arguments to these points. They argued that it is not possible to easily disentangle 'the family, household, class, nation and religious groups in the early modern period'.[70] Secondly, they argued that for many early modern authors, descriptions of skin colour and confessional affiliation through the language of contagion and infection fixed 'both religion and skin colour as essential and passed on from parent to child'.[71] Thirdly, they argued that early modern languages of difference seemed 'less biological' because early modern medical thought lacked a theory of genetic transmission of different traits, not because a focus on customs and cultural behaviours was a 'benign idea'.[72] In a similar vein, in her discussion of eighteenth-century Britain, Kathleen Wilson argued that discourses of confessional difference, history, communal groups, and genealogy 'could be just as pernicious and essentializing' as naturalised theories of difference.[73] These arguments, at their heart, equate racialised thinking with essentialising and naturalising of difference.

Many scholars of histories of race and racialised thinking have questioned the commitment to fixed

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[67] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), pp.197-9.

[68] Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of A Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), p.68.

[69] Ibid., p.68.

[70] Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (eds.), *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 23; a point that Loomba discusses at length in Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, and Colonialism*, Chapter 1.

[71] Ibid., p.23; the amount of anxiety early modern Anglophone writers had in relation to conversion to Islam is an obvious counterpoint to this.

[72] Ibid., p.23.

[73] Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, London: Routledge, 2003), p.12.

difference as the defining aspect of racial and racialised thought. Ann Stoler, Gerd Baumann, and Denise Buell, among others, questioned the extent to which ideas of fixed and unfixed difference could be separated. On a theoretical level, Baumann argued that 'the same people who often profess the essentialist theory of culture will, in many of their actions, use the processual theory of culture' (the idea that culture develops over time and is susceptible to alteration) and that 'the processual theory is implicit in all essentialist rhetoric.[74] Ann Stoler, whose primary empirical work has focused on the Dutch Empire, argued that 'race as a concept performs in a mobile field' and 'animates vacillating discourses with dynamic mobility'.[75] Stoler argued that 'racial essences are made up of an [...] essentialized, malleable and substitutable range'.[76] Consequently, 'essentialisms are secured not by the rote rehearsal of fixed traits but by their substitutable and interchangeable instantiations'.[77] Denise Buell has built on this argument in relation to early Christian history, arguing that 'a combination of rhetorical and material fluidity and fixity' is 'fundamental to the concept of race'.[78] In this light, the confused and confusing categories discussed by Loomba and Burton do not present a challenge to categorising early modern theories of difference as racialised thinking; they form the very basis which makes racialised categories enduring and potent.

This thesis questions whether the frameworks of confessional difference, temporal change, communal identity, and descent did in fact essentialise ideas of human difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. It is informed by Stoler, Baumann, and Buell's criticisms of over-emphasising fixed difference as the defining trait of racial thought. However, their criticisms do not challenge the central place of essentialised difference to the development of racialised models of thinking. Essentialisation of difference means not only thinking of human difference as fixed, but also reducing it to easily recognisable traits. This concept is still central to both theoretical

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[74] Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious Identities* (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), p.91.

[75] Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2016), p.250.

[76] Ibid., p.237.

[77] Ibid., p.265.

[78] Denise Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), p.20.

models and empirical studies of stereotype formation. With that in mind, the concept of essentialisation of difference is crucial to the topic of this thesis. Many early modern authors who expressed anxieties about the dangers of 'turning Turk' and conversion would also have questioned the extent to which both religion and customs were 'fixed' on the level of individuals. Rethinking theories of human difference as fluid and flexible does not equate to arguing that early modern prejudices were benign. The key issue here is not whether early modern Anglophone authors and texts naturalised *or* essentialised difference – the role that 'pseudo-biology', blood, nature or the body played in fixing difference – but the extent to which difference was seen as fixed in the first place, before it even needs to be classified as essentialised or naturalised.

The discussions of whether formation of stereotypes and essentialisation and naturalisation of difference are rooted in early modern power dynamics between Europeans and non-Europeans. The categories of 'European' and 'non-European' are confusing, unclear, and fluid. Some scholars of early modernity have argued for a holistic view of early modern 'European' encounters with *all* 'non-European' peoples as inherently proto-colonial and imperial, regardless of the specific power dynamics. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton argued that 'it was not [colonial and post-colonial] 'anthropology' that engendered racial categories; rather, quasi-ethnographic forms of recording knowledge about *marginalised or non-European* peoples developed alongside mercantile and colonial encounters across the globe'.[79] They argued that the rise of racial thought, 'various disciplinary formations, and ways of ordering knowledge' were 'shaped by histories of cross-cultural encounter'.[80] Although they did not argue that Orientalism as a framework can be easily applied to the early modern period, they stressed that the ideas which developed in the early modern period 'remained a key trope' in nineteenth century Orientalism.[81] One of the key tropes they analysed was the sexuality and lustfulness of non-European peoples, as non-normative sexual and gendered behaviours 'were systematically attributed to people across the globe' in early modern Anglophone writings.[82] They also argued that although these attributions, including the

[79] Loomba and Burton, *Race in Early Modern England*, p.22, my italics.

[80] Ibid., p.22.

[81] Ibid., p.18.

[82] Ibid., p.18.

supposed Turkish sodomy, might appear undiscriminating and imaginative, they contributed to 'so-called scientific discourses about non-Europeans'.[83] Ultimately, the supposed sexual and gendered difference between European normativity and non-European lustfulness and subversion of gender norms 'justified conquest' and moulded the socially acceptable 'categories of gender and sexuality' in Europe itself.[84] This position, intentionally or not, does not focus on the differences in power dynamics between specific 'European' and 'non-European' polities in the early modern period. These power dynamics are the heart of the debate regarding the applicability of postcolonial theory to this period.

There is a lively debate in early modern studies as to whether *Orientalism*, a framework for the study of stereotypes dependent on imperial power dynamics, can be applied to the early modern period. Establishing a form of reductive exoticism as a feature of 'Western' accounts of the 'Orient' pre-dated Edward Said.[85] However, Said's *Orientalism* redefined the study of these tropes as a tool of imperialism and colonialism. Said's thesis, in short, proposed that most European intellectual and cultural engagement with the 'East' (which he defined as the twentieth-century Middle East) reduces the 'East' to a set of essentialised assumptions, which function as a precursor and justification for Western colonisation.[86] Some scholars have defined *Orientalism* as the existence of such tropes, irrespective of power dynamics. Scholars such as Joseph Allen Boone and Ivan Kalmar, who focus on the tropes rather than primarily on the power dynamics which underpin the existence of such tropes, have tended to work within the fields of literary or cultural studies. The anthropologist Ivan Kalmar argued for a nuanced understanding of Orientalism, which he opposed

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[83] Ibid., p.18.

[84] Ibid., p.17; see also footnote 66 on p.35 for a long list of literature on the topic.

[85] Samuel Claggett Chew, *The Crescent and The Rose* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp.22-30.

[86] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), my summary of his thesis discussed throughout the book. For some critiques and discussions, see Ibn Warraq, *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2007); Geoffrey Nash, *Orientalism and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism : Race, Femininity and Representation* (London: Routledge, 1996); Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient* (London: Pandora, 1994); İrvin Cemil Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse* (London: Verso, 1999); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Penguin, 2007).

to 'vulgar Saidism' – an 'unambiguously hard form of hatred'.[87] For Kalmar, Orientalism was not defined by an exclusively negative and hateful portrayal of the 'Orient' in European sources. Kalmar argued that the existence of specific generalised tropes, which can be present alongside more positive portrayals, was more significant than power dynamics for the application of Orientalism as a framework. He argued that throughout the early modern period, the chief trope of conceptualising Muslims in European discourses was unquestioning obedience to a supreme power.[88]

Joseph Allen Boone's *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* is a key secondary literature text for this thesis. It is not a work of history, nor does it claim to be one.[89] The aim of the work is to interpret cultural tropes through which the 'Western gaze' interpreted the homoerotics of the 'Orient' (here defined as modern-day Turkey and the Middle East). The book does not have a sense of temporality, as Allen Boone used examples from a time period across several hundred years to make broad arguments.[90] Although the book claims to be dealing exclusively with 'Orientalism' and the Western gaze, in most cases Allen Boone used both Muslim and Western sources to establish the supposedly Orientalist tropes. The main tropes Allen Boone discussed were those of the pretty boy, dancer, effeminate tyrant, virile Middle Eastern man, and eunuch.[91]

Most historians (and some English literature scholars) argue that *Orientalism* cannot be applied to the early modern period due to a difference in power dynamics. Daniel Vitkus summed up this position by arguing that in the early modern period, Anglophone writers operated 'from a vantage point of awe and deference (and sometimes envy)' and wrote about the Ottoman world 'from a position of inferiority, not power', which made a Saidian 'discourse' impossible in this period.[92] Other scholars, such as Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean, have developed alternative ways of

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[87] Ivan Davidson Kalmar, *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and the Notion of Sublime Power* (New York, London: Routledge, 2013), p.7.

[88] Ibid., p.7.

[89] Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p.xxvii.

[90] See, for example, ibid., pp.51-2.

[91] Ibid., pp.98-100.

[92] Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, p.31.

incorporating imperialism and a desire for power on the part of the English into this power dynamic. MacLean argued that the Saidian framework is unhelpful for the study of not only actual Anglo-Ottoman relations, but also Anglophone fantasies of the Ottoman Empire, in the early modern period. He suggested the concept of imperial envy, a 'recognition of excellence in another that tends to breed malicious dislike', as a more appropriate model for capturing the nature of Anglophone fascination with the Ottoman Empire. He argued that this mixture of commendation and condemnation of the Ottomans helped to develop Anglophone imperial aspirations. [93] Nabil Matar, who also emphasised the admiration of and attraction to the Islamic world among some inhabitants of the British Isles in the early modern period, nevertheless connected Anglophone hostility towards the Ottomans to their imperial ambitions.[94] However, elsewhere he emphatically argued for the existence of European imperialist and colonialist discourses and desires in the early modern period. Nabil Matar and Judy A. Hayden connected early modern Anglophone discourses on the Holy Land to earlier crusading, 'imperialist' projects. Matar and Hayden connected the crusading ethos to the issue of the land itself, arguing that European travel accounts focused on the supposed emptiness of the land, which had been turned by Muslim rulers from a 'land of milk and honey' into a wasteland. Echoing the discourses on colonising the Americas, this mismanagement of the land called for its repossession.[95] This overview shows that even if one were to define Orientalism primarily in imperialist terms, there is an argument to be made for an early modern variation of the framework.

Gender and sexuality played a key role in the early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounter and the formation of potentially proto-Orientalist stereotypes about the Ottoman world. Nabil Matar argued that sodomy was a part of a triangle of Anglophone encounter with Native Americans and Muslims. He argued that a rhetoric of sodomy justifying conquest was developed in relation to Native Americans, who were being conquered by Europeans in general and Anglophone colonists

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[93] Gerald M. MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and The Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), p.61, see also pp.20-3 for an exploration of this concept.

[94] Nabil Matar, *Islam and Britain, 1158-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.1-21.

[95] Judy A. Hayden and Nabil Matar, 'Introduction', in Judy A. Hayden and Nabil Matar (eds.), *Through the Eyes of The Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.14. For a counterargument, see Julia Schleck, *Telling True Tales of Islamic lands: Forms of Mediation in English Travel Writing, 1575-1630* (Selinsgrove [Pa.]: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), pp.41-6, 50.

specifically. That rhetoric was then copied to discussions of the Muslim world to justify potential conquest, whether it actually materialised or not.[96] Crucially, according to Matar, 'allusions to homosexuality stemmed not from direct observations but from the desire to denigrate the religious adversary'.[97] This analysis has endured in recent scholarship on Anglo-Ottoman encounters. Ian Jenkins argued that the trope of Muslim sodomy had eschatological significance in early modern England, allowing for the judgement of the supposedly sinful Turks.[98] In his otherwise very nuanced analysis of early modern English Eastern romances, Goran Stanivukovic argued that at the turn of the seventeenth century sodomy 'became a form of shorthand for the West's obsessive denunciation of the Ottomans'.[99]

These arguments do not account for the pragmatic relationship that European merchants and politicians established with the Ottoman world, nor do they acknowledge that accusations of sodomy did not lie neatly along the Christian/Muslim divide in early modern Anglophone writings; most 'sodomites' in Protestant sources were Catholics, not Muslims.[100] Moreover, these arguments often assume that accusations of sodomy were fictionalised. This approach has recently been revised, partly as a result of the expansion of studies of queer Muslim pasts. Abdulhamit Arvas explicitly has argued against Matar, pointing out Matar's 'defensive' approach and lamenting the lack of not only engagement, but even acknowledgement of Muslim queer pasts in Matar's work.[101] Arvas's own work argued that Anglophone discourse on Ottoman sodomy 'not only perpetuates religious otherness based on pre-existing templates, but also conveys the Ottomans'

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[96] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p.127.

[97] Ibid., p.126.

[98] Ian Jenkins, 'Writing Islam: Representations of Muhammad, the Qur'an and Islamic Belief and the Construction of Muslim Identity in Early Modern Britain', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, (2007), p.330.

[99] Goran Stanivukovic, *Knights in Arms: Prose Romance, Masculinity, and Eastern Mediterranean Trade in Early Modern England, 1565-1655* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), p.138.

[100] Winfried Schleiner, '"That Matter Which Ought Not to Be Heard Of": Homophobic Slurs in Renaissance Cultural Politics', *Journal of Homosexuality* 26 (1994):41-75.

[101] Abdulhamit Arvas, 'Travelling Sexualities, Circulating Bodies, and Early Modern Anglo-Ottoman Encounters', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, (2016), p. 47.

own discourses and practices that cross boundaries, reaching the English audience'.[102] Unlike this thesis, Arvas's research focused specifically on the trope of the beautiful boy in Anglophone culture, including poems, plays, pictorial evidence, and mapmaking, rather than on the history of Anglophone ideas about Ottoman male same-sex activity more generally, or on history of ideas about human difference.[103] My work is indebted to both Nabil Matar's and Abdulhamit Arvas's research.

Methodology

At its core, this is a thesis about language and what the usage of language (in the medium of print) can tell us about ideas of sexuality and human difference in the early modern period. As such, it is deeply influenced by the fields of semantic and conceptual histories, both on a theoretical and on a methodological level. A version of the keyword method was employed to gather the data for most of the chapters. Due to this, an overview of conceptual history and semantic history literature will be provided in this section, followed by a more detailed explanation of the methods used for conducting the research for this thesis. A more detailed discussion of these issues will follow in Chapter 1.

Semantic history is a thriving methodological approach to early modern political, social, and economic history. It is deeply influenced by conceptual history and is in constant dialogue with the history of ideas and intellectual history fields.[104] Reinhart Koselleck, one of the founders of conceptual history, argued that it is unhelpful for historians to attempt to recover what 'actually',

[102] Ibid., p.35.

[103] Ibid., p.197.

[104] For an overview of conceptual and semantic history, see Jose Murgatroyd Cree, The Invention of Addiction in Early Modern England', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, (2018), pp.22-9, and Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful* Ideas (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), pp.6-15.

rather than linguistically, happened in the past.[105] Koselleck's focus on individual keywords was challenged by James Sheehan, among others, who argued that keywords do not easily translate into concepts, and that concepts are formed by 'clusters of terms and expressions', embedded in the wider vocabulary of a given language.[106] Raymond Williams, one of the most influential English-language proponents of conceptual history, argued that words cannot be studied in isolation, and that a particular word can represent a variety of meanings depending on the social and cultural context of its usage.[107] Polemicising against Williams, Quentin Skinner, one of the founders and most ardent proponents of contextualism, argued that words cannot be understood either in isolation or in their wider linguistic context, and that the meaning of a word can only be understood in the context of a particular writer's purposes and a particular reader's comprehension.[108] Finally, in their criticism of Skinner and a particular strand of intellectual history more broadly, the Early Modern Research Group argued for a wider definition of 'context' in semantic history. Although they 'share the view that context is important in the recovery of meaning', they argued that 'the scope of that context has to be drawn far more widely'.[109] They argued that 'social and cultural practice influenced and even helped to construct meaning' and that 'studies of non-textual performance — ritual, gesture, space and their conventions and representations — and hence of a wider social and cultural context also have to be admitted'.[110] Moreover, they acknowledged that such a deep analysis cannot be conducted by a single scholar,

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[105] Reinhart Koselleck, Todd Samuel Presner (trans.), *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, (Stanford; Cambridge, 2002), pp.23, 33.

[106] James J. Sheehan, '*Begriffsgeschichte*: Theory and Practice', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1978):312-319, p.315.

[107] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp.20-24.

[108] Quentin Skinner, 'Motives, Intentions and the Interpretation of Texts', in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Cambridge: Polity Pres, 1988), p.70.

[109] Mark Knights, 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts by the Early Modern Research Group', *History of Political Thought*, Volume 31, Number 3 (2010):427 – 448, p.432.

[110] Ibid., p.433.

or even scholars from a single discipline, and that a truly multi-faceted history of concepts requires a collaborative and interdisciplinary approach.[111]

The work of the Early Modern Research Group, in essence, advocated for a more diverse source range for semantic history and a more interdisciplinary approach to the study of words and concepts. These developments and insights have influenced different areas of early modern historical research. Naomi Tadmor's work on the concept of family in the eighteenth century employed a wide range of sources, from diaries to conduct books and novels, to demonstrate that 'family' meant the whole household and not only a nuclear family connected by blood.[112] Craig Muldrew's work re-evaluated the concept of 'credit' by connecting texts of political economy to the practice of social credit in everyday life.[113] More recently, Jose Murgatroyd Cree traced the history of addiction, both the term and the concept, in early modern vernacular English to demonstrate that addiction could mean 'a deep sense of attachment to another person or being, and a strong disposition for doing particular activities or practice', and did not, in itself, have a positive or negative value attached.[114] Four particular scholars and their contributions to semantic history influenced this thesis more than any others. Phil Withington's work on a variety of words and concepts, from 'Commonwealth' to 'Peace', influenced the methodological conception of this thesis.[115] Withington's active engagement with digital archives and specific methodologies of tracing words in their printed usage resonated with some of my frustrations at more interpretive engagements with queer pasts, exemplified in queer reading.[116] Withington's engagement with sources on encounter to explore research questions on domestic British cultural, social, and

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[111] Ibid., p.429

[112] Naomi Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth Century England', *Past & Present* 151 (1996):111-40.

[113] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

[114] Jose Murgatroyd Cree, 'Protestant Evangelicals and Addiction in Early Modern English', *Renaissance Studies* 32, no. 3 (2018): 446-62, p. 462.

[115] Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*; Phil Withington, 'The Semantics of 'Peace' in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23, no. 3 (2013): 127-53.

[116] Withington, *Society in Early Modern England*, p.123-130, as an example.

medical history has also been an inspiration for this thesis.[117] The work of Nandini Das and the 'Travel, Transculturality and Identity in England, c. 1550-1700' (TIDE) research group has been another source of influence. Nandini Das's work on keywords as 'terms of engagement' with the issues of 'identity, race, and human mobility in early modern England' demonstrated a rejuvenation of the keyword method in the context of the study of early modern encounter.[118] Das and the TIDE group have advocated for an exploration of less obvious markers of difference ('foreigner' rather than 'race', for example) to uncover 'the often-shifting sands on which the lines of distinction around ideas of both difference and identity were first marked'.[119] Finally, the work of the early modern historian Helen Baker and the corpus linguist Tony McEnery on the representation of 'homosexual men' in early modern vernacular English print was invaluable in identifying the key linguistic terms used in early modern print to refer to the concept I was most interested in: males who had sex with males.[120] Their work demonstrated that keywords can be used for the study of the representation of a particular social group, and that a cluster of keywords can be used to establish what Jose Murgatroyd Cree called 'a semantic field'.[121] On a more empirical level, Baker and McEnery provided a reference point for the specific keywords and terms used in this thesis.

Although indebted to the keyword method, this thesis does not solely rely on it. The first chapter establishes particular words, such as 'sodomy' and 'buggery', as some of the keywords to be used throughout the thesis. It traces the usage of those words in early modern vernacular English print using the Early English Books Online (EEBO) digital archive. However, the second half of the chapter is driven by the need to establish genre conventions which might have determined mentions of 'sodomy', or other words related to same-sex activity, in travel narratives and

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[117] Phil Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee in Early Modern England?', *The Journal of Modern History*, 92, no. 1 (2020): 40-75; Phil Withington, 'Intoxicants and Society in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 54, no. 3 (2011):631-57.

[118] Nandini Das, 'Terms of Engagement: Keywords of Identity, Race, and Human Mobility in Early Modern England, Shakespeare, 17:1 (2021):126-133.

[119] Ibid., p.126.

[120] Tony McEnery and Helen Baker, 'The public representation of homosexual men in seventeenth-century England – a corpus based view', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, 3 (2017): 197–217, pp.200-1.

[121] Cree, 'The Invention of Addiction in Modern England', p.28.

cosmographies. In order to establish those genre conventions, I analysed vernacular English examples of *ars apodemica* literature in search of instructions for travellers to 'see' sodomy.[122] In this instance, the keyword method did not prove to be fruitful, as very few *ars apodemica* texts mentioned 'sodomy'. However, many of them discussed the need for travellers to record the more generic 'vices' of the societies they visited. As a result, I based a close reading of those texts around the term 'vices', without necessarily singling it out as a keyword. The second chapter of the thesis analyses Ottoman sources in translation in conjunction with early modern vernacular English texts. No semblance of a keyword method was possible for this type of work, especially in the context of the challenges of working with translated texts. The research for subsequent chapters employed the keyword method as a starting point to explore the potential lexicons of mentions of male same-sex activity in the contexts which interested me: ideas of environmentally determined bodily difference, vernacular English reception of Islam, discussions of Ottoman sexual violence against men and boys, and discourses on regulation of sexuality and processual change in vernacular English texts about any foreign society, not just the Ottomans. Those specific contexts were selected following an exploratory reading of both primary sources and secondary historiographical and theoretical literature on issues of early modern sexuality and human difference. Following the identification of the potential lexicons for those chapters, I focused on close readings of the texts which included at least some of the potential keywords I had identified. As a result, the research questions drove the research, but subsequent research helped me to develop new research questions.

Sources

[122] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: Teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology*, 9 (March 1996): 139–190; see also Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.18-21; see also Surekha Davies, 'Science, New Worlds, and the Classical Tradition: An Introduction', *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014):1-13; For more context, see Judy A. Hayden (ed.), *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

This thesis engages with a diverse range of primary sources. The core source base is printed sources in vernacular English, published between c.1590 and c.1720, although the thesis also engages with a wide variety of vernacular English sources printed between c.1470s and 1590s, especially in the first chapter. The core source base of this thesis are various texts directly dealing with Anglo-Ottoman encounter. They include translated travel accounts of individual travellers, such as Nicolas de Nicolay.[123] They also include eyewitness accounts of Anglophone travellers such as Henry Blount, George Sandys, and William Lithgow.[124] This source base also includes cosmographies and compilations of translated accounts and accounts originally written or relayed to the editor in English, such as Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations* and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage*.[125] The main source base of this thesis also includes compilations about certain aspects of the world, such as Alexander Ross's *Pansebia* and John

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[123] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois...* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585).

[124] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of A Iourney, Lately Performed By Master H. B. Gentleman, From England By The Way Of Venice, Into Dal[Matia,] Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes And Egypt, Unto Gran Cairo: / [W]Ith Particular Observations Concerning The Moderne Condition Of The Turkes, And Other People Under That Empire* (London: Printed by I. L for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls Church-yard, 1636); George Sandys, *A Relation of A Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610: 4 Bookes, Containing A Description of The Turkish Empire, Of Aegypt, Of the Holy Land, Of the Remote Parts of Italy, And Ilands Adioyning* (London, 1615); William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse, of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination from Scotland, To The Most Famous Kingdomes In Europe, Asia And Affricke With The Particular Descriptions (More Exactly Set Downe Then Hath Beene Heeretofore In English) Of Italy Sycilia, Dalmatia, Ilyria, Epire, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, Thessalia, And The Whole Continent Of Greece, Creta, Rhodes, The Iles Cyclades ... And The Chiefest Countries of Asia Minor. From Thence, To Cyprus, Phaenicia, Syria ... And The Sacred Citie Ierusalem, &c.* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Thomas Archer, at his shop in Popes head Palace, 1616).

[125] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, (London: By George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599-1600); Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of The Vworld and The Religions Obserued in All Ages and Places Discouered, from the Creation Vnto This Present In Foure Partes. This First Containeth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, And America, With the Ilands Adiacent. Declaring The Ancient Religions Before the Floud ... With Briefe Descriptions of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoueries, Priuate and Publike Customes, And the Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature, Or Humane Industrie, In the Same. By Samuel Purchas, Minister at Estwood in Essex* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613).

Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*.[126] Furthermore, it includes vernacular English histories of non-English lands, such as Richard Knolles's *Historie of the Turks*.[127] Additionally, this thesis engages with specific genres of texts which discussed Anglo-Ottoman encounters. These include captivity narratives, such as the captivity account of Adam Elliot, and religious sermons, such as a 1586 sermon by Meredith Hanmer.[128] All of these texts will be introduced in more detail, discussed, and referenced in Chapter 1. This thesis also analyses a variety of texts written for specific contexts. These include the Quaker George Fox's address to the Ottoman sultan and Tory pamphlets from the period of the Exclusion Crisis in the 1680s.[129] These sources will be introduced as discussed during the discussions of the specific contexts they reflected, especially in Chapter 4. Additionally, this thesis analyses a range of Ottoman narrative and literary sources in translation, including travel accounts, poems, and biographical narratives.[130] These sources will be introduced and discussed in Chapter 2. This thesis will also discuss a variety of medieval and early modern Arabic, Italian, Latin, and Anglophone medical treatises in Chapter 3.[131]

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[126] Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia, Or, A View Of All Religions In The World* ... (London: John Saywell, 1658); J.B., *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: Or, The Artificiall Changling Historically Presented* (London: William Hunt, 1653).

[127] Richard Knolles, Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History From The Original Of That Nation, To The Growth Of The Ottoman Empire With The Lives And Conquests Of Their Princes And Emperours / By Richard Knolles ... ; With A Continuation To This Present Year MDCLXXXVII ; Whereunto Is Added, The Present State Of The Ottoman Empire, By Sir Paul Rycaut* (London: Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1687).

[128] Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke: A Sermon Preached at The Hospitall of Saint Katherin […]* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue dwelling without Temple-barre, 1586); Adam Elliot, *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates, The Salamanca-Doctor from Perjury, Or, An Essay To Demonstrate Him Only Forsworn In Several Instances By Adam Elliot* ... (London: Printed by T. Snowden for the author, 1682).

[129] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers Together with a Postscript of George Pattison's Taking the Turks and Setting Them on Their Own Shoar* (London: Printed for Ben. Clark, in George-yard, in Lumbard-street, 1680); Anonymous, *A Letter from Count Teckely to the Salamanca Doctor, Giving an Account of the Siege of Vienna, and the State of the Ottoman Army* (London: Printed for Charles Corbet at the Oxford Arms in VVarwick Lane, 1683).

[130] Osman Ağa, *Gâvurlarin Esiri. [Yazan] Temeşvarli Osman Ağa. Türkçesi: Esat Nermi* ([Istanbul]: Milliyet Yayinlari, 1971); Evliya Çelebi, Robert Dankoff, Sooyong Kim (trans.), *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from The Book of Travels by Evliya Çelebi* (New York: Eland, 2011).

[131] For example, Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's School of Physick: Or The Experimental Practice Of The Whole Art. Wherein Are Contained All Inward Diseases From The Head To The Foot, With Their Proper And Effectuall Cures; Such Diet Set Down As Ought To Be Observed In Sickness Or In Health* (London: N. Brook, 1659); Giovanni Benedetto Sinibaldi, Anonymous (ed.), *Rare Verities. The Cabinet Of Venus*

Anglo-Ottoman encounter in the early modern period: the historical context

The relationship between the kingdoms of the British Isles and the Ottoman Empire transformed considerably over the course of the early modern period. The Turks (as most Muslims of the Ottoman Empire were called in English) were perceived with fear in Renaissance Europe after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453.[132] However, Renaissance monarchs were happy to negotiate political treaties with Ottoman sultans – Francis I of France famously allied with the Turks in his struggle against Charles V.[133] As early as the reign of Henry VIII, the Turks were a source of fascination; Henry VIII dressed as a Turkish sultan during masquerades.[134] The English Reformation witnessed a resurgence of the trope of the cruel Turk, initially introduced to Anglophone discourses in chronicles describing the events of 1453. The comparison between cruel Turks and the papacy was borrowed from German Lutheran discourses.[135] However, the second half of the sixteenth century was also a period that saw the start of active trade and diplomatic exchanges between England and the Ottoman Empire. Although some English merchants had traded with the Ottoman Empire in the first half of the sixteenth century, the trade expanded considerably with the establishment of first the Turkey Company in 1581 and later the Levant

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Unlocked, And Her Secrets Laid Open. : Being A Translation Of Part Of Sinibaldus, His Geneanthropeia, And A Collection Of Some Things Out Of Other Latin Authors, Never Before In English (London: Printed for P. Briggs, at the Dolphin in St Pauls Church-yard, 1658).

[132] Aslı Çırakman, *From the 'Terror of the World' to the 'Sick Man of Europe': European Images of Ottoman Empire and Society from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), pp.35-40.

[133] For an analysis of this alliance, see Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: the Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[134] Edward Hall, 'Henry VIII', Vol.1 of *The Lives of the Kings*, reprint of 1550 folio edition (London and Edinburgh, 1904), pp.15-6; see for more context Charlotte Jirousek, 'Ottoman Influences in Western Dress' in S. Faroqhi and C. Neumann (eds.), *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren Publishing, 2005).

[135] Silke R. Falkner, '"Having It off" with Fish, Camels, and Lads: Sodomitic Pleasures in German-Language Turcica', Journal of History of Sexuality 13 (2004):401-27, pp.407-408.

Company in 1592.[136] In the 1570s, the English ambition to establish independent trade in the Ottoman Empire went hand in hand with a desire to establish formal diplomatic relations, potentially to create an anti-Spanish alliance.[137] The English merchant William Harborne was successful in securing unilateral trading privileges for English merchants from Murad III in 1580, which served as the basis for the establishment of the Turkey Company in 1581.[138] The 1580s and especially the 1590s witnessed increased interest from the Elizabethan government in potential political alliances with Muslim rulers. The closest to a formal alliance happened in an Anglo-Moroccan, rather than Anglo-Ottoman, relationship.[139] Thus, the sixteenth century established the foundations of a close political, economic, and cultural exchange between England and the Ottoman Empire and its vassals.

There was even closer contact between the British Isles and the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, with the Ottoman world becoming a familiar staple of Anglophone culture by the end of the century. As a result of increasing contacts with and interest in various Islamic polities, including North African lands, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, there was an explosion of information about these places in early seventeenth-century Anglophone print. Turks often appeared on stage; a comprehensive account of Ottoman history became available in English in 1603 for the first time; writings, however negative, on the Prophet Muhammad became available in English; and the number of first-hand, rather than translated, travel accounts increased dramatically.[140] The inhabitants of the British Isles could encounter the 'Turks' and 'Moors' not

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[136] T. S. Willan, 'Some Aspects of English Trade with the Levant in the Sixteenth Century', *The English Historical Review* 70:276 (1955):399- 410.

[137] C. Woodhead, 'Harborne, William (c. 1542–1617), merchant and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 17 Sep. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12234.

[138] For more details, see S. A. Skilliter, *William Harborne And The Trade With Turkey, 1578–1582: A Documentary Study Of The First Anglo-Ottoman Relations* (1977).

[139] Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic world* (London: Penguin, 2017), p.9.

[140] See Brotton, *This Orient Isle*; Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013);Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning : Islam and English Drama, 1579-1624* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Anders Ingram, 'English Literature on the Ottoman Turks in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Unpunished PhD thesis,

only on the stage, but in their day to day existence as well. Barbary pirates, nominally under Ottoman control, sometimes raided the coasts of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, including a famous raid on the village of Baltimore in 1631.[141] Many of these raiders were not of North African or Anatolian origin at all – the raid on Baltimore was led by a Dutch renegade. Many English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish captives also converted to Islam, and some did so willingly as being a renegade could offer good economic prospects.[142] Increased numbers of English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh captives in the Mediterranean also led to an increase in captivity narratives available in English throughout the century.[143]

The rise in circulation of people, goods, and ideas also led to the introduction of certain Ottoman goods, knowledge, and modes of sociability into the British Isles. The learning of Eastern languages increased significantly in seventeenth-century England, compared to previous centuries, and chairs of Arabic were established in Oxford (1636) and Cambridge (1645).[144] Anglo-Ottoman trade continued to be of importance throughout the seventeenth century. The introduction of coffee in the 1650s by naturalists and English travellers to the Ottoman Empire made the coffeehouse a

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Durham University (2009), pp.80, 188, for the statistics on the increase in first-hand accounts and materials on the Turks in the English vernacular in general

[141] Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery In The Mediterranean, The Barbary Coast, And Italy, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.27-69; Des Ekin, *The Stolen Village : Baltimore and the Barbary Pirates* (Dublin: O'Brien, 2006); on pirates and diplomacy, see also Nat Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates? Maghrebi Maritime Combat, Diplomacy, and Trade in English Periodical News, 1622-1714', *Humanities* 8:4 (2019), article no. 179, special issue 'Pirates in English Literature', edited by Claire Jowitt and Manushag Powell.

[142] Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp.39-41; See Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts To Islam And The Making Of The Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.114-115, for a discussion of this issue.

[143] Daniel J Vitkus and Nabil Matar (eds.), *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives From Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp.12-23.

[144] Mordechai Feingold, 'Learning Arabic in Early Modern England', in Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett (eds.), *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), pp ; G. J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study Of Arabic In Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp ; John Gallagher, 'Language-learning, Orality, and Multilingualism in Early Modern Anglophone Narratives of Mediterranean Captivity', *Renaissance Studies* 33:4 (2019):639-61.

staple of seventeenth-century English sociability.[145] This closer social and cultural familiarity with the Ottoman Empire specifically, and the Levant and Maghreb more broadly, led to the expansion and rising role in politics of the Levant Company over the course of the seventeenth century.[146] Moreover, the English crown developed its own, ultimately unsuccessful, imperial ambitions in North Africa during the reign of Charles II, following the acquisition of Tangier as a part of the dowry of his wife Catherine of Braganza.[147] Accusations of a desire for a closer alliance with the Muslim world became a staple of the political and religious conflict between early Whig and Tory groups, when Whigs were accused of a drive for an alliance with the Ottomans by the Tories in satires.[148] By the end of the seventeenth century, Anglophone readers could access sophisticated discourses on the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Far from using Turks, Moors, and Muslims interchangeably, Anglophone readers could access texts providing up-to-date news on the nuances of the political and social diversity in the Levant and North Africa.[149] Ottoman military power was still a cause of anxiety and concern, especially in the lead up to the Siege of Vienna in 1683.[150] However, the Ottomans were also a source of fascination, new modes of sociability, and fashion.[151]

The early modern period is key for Anglophone encounter with the wider world beyond the encounter with the Ottoman Empire and North Africa, however. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the kingdoms of the British Isles reoriented themselves within the context

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[145] Brian William Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of The British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2011); Withington, 'Where Was the Coffee in Early Modern England?'.

[147] Mortimer Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1908), pp.67-99.

[147] For more context, see T. Stein, 'Tangier in the Restoration Empire', *The Historical Journal* 54:4 (2011):985-1011; Gabriel Glickman, 'Empire, "Popery", and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662–1684', *The Journal of Modern History* 87:2 (2015):247-80.

[148] Garcia, *Islam And The English Enlightenment*, pp.41-50.

[149] Nat Cutter, 'Turks, Moors, Deys and Kingdoms: North African Diversity in English News before 1700', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 46 (2018):61-84, p.64.

[150] See Anders Ingram, 'The Ottoman Siege of Vienna, English Ballads and the Exclusion Crisis', *The Historical Journal* 57:1 (2014):53-80).

[151] See as an overview, A. Bevilacqua and H. Pfeifer, 'Turquerie: Culture in Motion, 1650-1750', *Past & Present* 221 (2013):75-118.

of European politics due to the Reformation and the resulting divisions in Europe. English merchants developed contacts and networks around the world, from Russia and India to Japan and West Africa.[152] English and Scottish mercenaries got involved in major European military conflicts in their tens of thousands.[153] England started pursuing imperial and colonial ambitions in the Americas, establishing settler colonies in North America and the Caribbean.[154] England and Scotland were instrumental in the development of the transatlantic slave trade.[155] Finally, there was a major reorientation of the power balances in the British Isles themselves, following a new phase in the colonisation of Ireland and the ascendance of the Scottish king James VI to the English throne.[156] All of these encounters and contacts, coupled with the advance of print, led to wider circulation of knowledge about the world in Anglophone print and accelerated development of ideas of human difference. This thesis argues that gender and sexuality played a central part in those ideas.

Thesis overview

The first chapter lays the methodological framework of the thesis. It explores the keyword method as one of the primary methodologies of the thesis and traces the usage of some of the most-used keywords in this thesis, including *sodomy*, *buggery* and *catamite*. It shows that these keywords

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[152] See for context, Veevers, *The Origins of the British Empire*; Nandini Das, 'Encounter as Process'; Salomon Arel, *English Trade and Adventure to Russia in the Early Modern Era*.

[153] See overviews W. Barnhill and P. Dukes, 'North-east Scots in Muscovy in the seventeenth century', *Northern Scotland* 1:1 (1972); David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2007); Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial And Covert Associations In Northern Europe, 1603-1746* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Steve Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children : Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland Since 1600* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004).

[154] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in An Age of Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[155] Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[156] Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of The United Kingdom In 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

were present in Anglophone printed sources from the introduction of the printed press in England in the 1470s. However, they were not originally used to refer to Muslims, or any other foreigners at all. The most popular contexts for the use of these words before the 1560s were chronicles of English history, commentaries on the Bible, and Reformation Anti-Catholic writings. Moreover, when the connection between sodomy and the Turks did initially appear in Anglophone discourses, it was imported from wider European discourses in texts originally written in German and French. This chapter also discusses the various types of writings on encounter, including eyewitness travel accounts, travel collections, cosmographies, and atlases. It argues that most travellers were interested in different geographical locations, not just the Ottoman Empire. This reinforces one of the key arguments of this thesis: that Anglophone discourses on the Ottoman Empire need to be seen in the holistic context of Anglophone discourses on foreign lands, which were written, translated, produced, printed, and read by similar networks of people. This argument is reinforced by the analysis of *ars apodemica* literature, which finishes off the chapter. It argues that travellers were literally expected to write about foreign vices, as they were instructed to do so in a specific genre of 'instructions for travellers'. That expectation was steeped in debates around the usefulness of travel in general and specific positive arguments in favour of travel advanced by the proponents of travelling. They were meant to warn potential travellers of the moral and physical dangers of foreign sexual practices and bring profit, broadly defined, to the realm. These texts shaped both the expectations of what travel narratives should include and the reputations of foreign countries. In this sense, Matar's argument that travellers were expected to see sodomy holds up, albeit in a much more sophisticated way than he ever gave it credit for. However, that does not mean that the sole function of sodomy was derogatory.

The second chapter revisits the notion that mentions of sodomy were fictional and had little in common with the reality of Ottoman sexualities. Influenced by Abdulhamit Arvas's extensive research on the topic, this chapter starts with the premise that early modern Ottoman culture had space for flourishing homoeroticism. However, it emphasises anxieties about the place of the sexual in homoeroticism in Ottoman discourses on the Age of Beloveds. Crucially, this chapter explores the ways in which those anxieties were not only present in religious and satirical texts, but often actively preoccupied the people who actively participated in the Age of Beloveds. It examines how those anxieties mapped onto European descriptions of the Ottoman Empire in general by exploring sites of potential sexual transgression, including bathhouses and coffeehouses.

Some of the key overlaps are the sites of potential sexual transgression, including homosocial gatherings, bathhouses, coffeehouses, *boza* houses, and specific institutions such as Sufi religious orders. The concluding sections of this chapter explore friendship as a framework for study of male same-sex affection in early modern England. It argues that Anglophone authors could understand the idea of love between men and some of them, such as Paul Rycaut, even used it as a direct comparison with Ottoman sodomy. That love was based on ideas of social, intellectual, and spiritual equality. Ottoman sodomy, however, was read as unequal in most circumstances and too emotionally unrestrained. That led to an indubitably sexualised interpretation by Anglophone authors of the culture of the Beloveds, which often contained sexual contact but was much more ambiguous about the nature of same-sex affection.

The third chapter continues the theme of choice by exploring the idea of determinism in Anglophone discourses on sodomy. It explores the connection between sexual behaviour, humoral theory, and climatic determinism. The chapter argues that Anglophone explanations of sodomy could be varied and at times self-contradictory. It also argues that any writings on sodomy and the body cannot be understood without the context of a religious understanding of the nature of sin. It explores the idea of addiction to sodomy as a result of repeated action, its relationship with sin, and its role as a basis for forming customs. Although humoral theory and environmental determinism provided ample space for a naturalised explanation of sodomy, and although the idea of the corruption of God's creation did not create a contradiction in terms of a naturalised sodomy explained by climate, very few if any authors chose this line of argument. Ultimately, this chapter is about the place of agency and its limitations in early modern Anglophone understandings of sodomy. It argues that early modern Anglophone sources conceived of bodies seen as unnatural, such as the bodies of hermaphrodites and eunuchs, as only potentially, not inherently, sinful and sodomitical. The main question was what people chose to do with those bodies, or whether they chose something to be done to their bodies, such as castration. This chapter firmly argues that on the whole, with some exceptions, sodomy was not used as a marker of naturalised difference in early modern Anglophone intellectual thought.

The fourth chapter explores the connections between Islamic doctrine and same-sex activity in early modern Anglophone discourses and examines the potential of religion to serve as a marker of essentialised difference. This chapter seeks to explore how far this multiplicity of views on the

connection between sodomy and Islam in early modern Anglophone texts undermined the role that religion played in constructing an image of a religious adversary. It is challenging to make a simple chronological argument about this connection. However, the general trend is that the more information about Islamic theology was available in Anglophone print, and in learned Europe more generally, the fewer new texts argued that Islam condoned sodomy. Moreover, the authors who chose to persist in establishing that connection focused on specific religious sites and communities, such as the Sufi orders, or specific ideas about individual points of Islamic theology, such as the supposed presence of boy cupbearers in Islamic paradise, rather than on blanket statements about Muslims and sodomy. When it comes to establishing religion as a category of essentialised difference, at first glance, Islam seemed to have served such a role; both Ottoman and Persian societies were seen as connected to sodomy through Islam. However, the multiplicity of discourses on Islamic sodomy and an acknowledgement of temporal dimensions of any religion (individuals or whole societies could convert to new religions) undermines the role that religion could play in essentialising difference.

The fifth chapter focuses on the idea of male sexual assault victimhood in early modern Anglophone discourses and the potential of travel writing on the Ottoman Empire to shed light on this under-researched topic. It seeks to demonstrate that the idea of a man, young or mature, as a victim of sexual violence existed in Anglophone discourses and was primarily expressed in travel accounts. This chapter explores the gendered nature of the idea of male sexual victimhood, and the extent to which men as victims were expected to defend themselves from sexual assault and were seen as active collaborators if the advances or assault succeeded. This chapter examines mentions of sexual violence in narratives of enslavement, servitude, and captivity in Muslim lands, and puts them in the context of legal cases of sodomy and sexual violence against men in various Anglophone jurisdictions. The conclusion of this chapter is that although in theory men were expected to defend themselves, in practice, especially when it came to younger men and boys still above marriageable age, they were often given the benefit of the doubt and acknowledged as victims of violence and assault. In travel accounts, however, choice and agency were emphasised at the expense of victimhood, emphasising the idea of sodomy as a choice which anyone could potentially make.

Finally, the sixth chapter examines the connection between sexuality and regulation. It argues that Ottoman sodomy in Anglophone discourses cannot be understood without this wider context of Anglophone writings on foreign sodomy in general. This chapter aims to demonstrate that although sodomy was used by some Europeans to justify conquest of non-Christian societies, it was not the only, and not even the most prevalent, discourse in Anglophone writings. It explores Anglophone discourses on a variety of societies past and present – such as Ancient Greeks, the Inca Empire, Italy, and others – to test the extent to which they created an idea of global erotic normality, a term first coined by Valerie Traub. Societies were not judged for the presence or absence of sodomy and other sexual transgressions, but for the existence and enforcement of laws and regulations of sexual transgression. Taken as a whole, these discourses focus on processualism: regulations of sodomy were seen as changing and changeable, with individual rulers, whether Christian, Pagan or Muslim, being praised for introducing harsher punishments for sodomy. This chapter seeks to understand the extent to which the custom of sodomy (and the concept of customs in general) was *not* used as an essentialising framework, as it was flexible, fluid, prone to change, and expected to be regulated.

Overall, this thesis intends to explore the role of sexuality in early modern vernacular English constructions of human difference, with the aim of understanding more about the roles that ethnography, environmental determinism, religion, customs, and ideas of power and authority played in early modern encounters. This thesis aims to demonstrate that fusing historical and theoretical approaches to gender and encounter leads to fruitful and innovative conclusions about early modern travel, encounter, sexuality, and human difference.

Chapter 1. Early modern sodomy and early modern travel

This chapter will outline the methodology and sources used in this dissertation and the various contexts which shape our reading of these sources. It will explain the rationale for focusing on Anglophone discourses and the limitations of such an approach. It will outline the keyword method as a primary methodology of this thesis and will demonstrate the reasoning behind and the wider chronological context of the main keywords utilised throughout this thesis. Using quantitative analysis of the EEBO corpus, it will illustrate the primary trends in the usage of the selected keywords throughout the period. It will also show the qualitative context of the usage of those words in the late fifteenth and sixteenth-century sources. It will argue that by the time same-sex activity was starting to be associated with the Turks in the second half of the sixteenth century, sodomy was already established in several unrelated contexts in early Anglophone print. Those contexts – the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah, confessional divides of the Reformation, and tyranny of both Christian and pagan rulers past and present – shaped the frameworks in which Ottoman same-sex activity was understood.

This chapter will also outline the contexts in which travel accounts, cosmographies, and other sources describing Anglophone encounters with the Ottoman world were produced and disseminated. Analysing *ars apodemica* texts (instructions for travellers) and the background of some of the key travellers to the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period, this chapter will argue that Anglophone discourses on the Ottoman world cannot be seen in isolation from either wider European discourses on the Ottomans or Anglophone discourses on other parts of the world. As this chapter aims to demonstrate, Anglophone discourses on the Ottomans were steeped in texts originally written in other languages, which affected expectations of Ottoman society for early Anglophone eyewitness travellers. Moreover, travellers to the Ottoman Empire did not exist in isolation: they rarely if ever travelled to just one destination, were often economically invested in multiple types of overseas encounter, and were embedded in wider networks of people writing, publishing, editing, and selling books about other places in the world. The usage of keywords potentially identifying same-sex activity and the factors which affected how travel accounts were

produced clearly demonstrate the limitations of assertions that discourses on foreign sodomy were merely a rhetorical device or an avenue to demonise a foreign 'Other'.[1]

Vernacularisation

England underwent a period of vernacularisation in the late medieval and early modern periods. The grand narrative of this process is succinctly summarized in the title of R.F Jones's seminal work, *The Triumph of the English Language*.[2] Jones' work describes the Renaissance success of elevating the status of the English language against Latin and continental competitors.[3] The vernacularisation of England was a part of similar processes elsewhere in Europe.[4] Historiographical discussions of this process have focused on several key issues: the role of print and Renaissance humanism, the increasing religious significance of vernacular languages during the periods of religious reform, the role of political centralisation in standardisation of English, the role of English in the formation of national identities, and the imperial context of English vernacularisation within Britain and Ireland. Scholarly engagement with these issues somewhat complicates the picture of a triumphant English in this period. The role of Latin in the processes of vernacularisation has been debated. David Harris Sacks argued that the ultimate aim of standardisation of English by English humanists, poets and lawmakers alike, was to 'enhance the

[1] Made by scholars such as Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen in The Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p.1217.

[2] Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege; Oxford University Press, 1953).

[3] Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), p.1.

[4] See, for example, on France, Paul Cohen, 'Linguistic Politics on The Periphery: Louis XIII, Bearn, and the Making Of French as an Official Language in Early Modern France', in Brian D. Joseph, Johanna DeStefano, Neil Jacobs, and Ilse Lehiste (eds.), *When Languages Collide: Perspectives on Language Conflict, Language Competition, and Language Coexistence* (Columbus: University of Ohio Press, 2003).

honour of English letters in light of universal standards'.[5] He stressed the continued use of Latin as the language of educated communication within England in the sixteenth century.[6] Cathy Shrank, on the other hand, argued that mid-Tudor humanists 'reinterpreted, not rejected, their Latin roots' but that 'Latin was an inspiration because it grew from vernacular' and thus provided a template for the growth of English.[7] Felicity Heal demonstrated that by the beginning of the seventeenth century these discussions morphed into 'a broader sense of cultural nationalism', and that a range of authors, many of them Saxonists, proclaimed both the antiquity of English and its superiority to the language of, in the words of the early seventeenth century linguist Alexander Gil, the 'Romans whose arms were despised by your forebears'.[8]

The role of social and political participation in vernacularisation processes can be broadly divided into discussions of centralization and bottom-up approaches. David Rollinson emphasised the bottom-up approach to vernacularisation of England. He argued that in order to 'comprehend the emergence of an English linguistic community' it is important to 'neither assume nor exclude widespread popular involvement in constitutional life'.[9] He stressed the role of 'men from all ranks of English society' as clerks and counsellors in late medieval and early modern England, and credited the clerks from lower social background with brining their vernacular into the political system. Blank complicates this picture by stressing the role of the struggle between various 'broken Englishes' - regional and social dialects - for ultimate primacy in linguistic standardization.[10]

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[5] David Harris Sacks, 'States, Nations, and Publics: The Politics of Language Reform in Renaissance England' in Paul Edward Yachnin and Marlene Eberhart (eds.), *Forms of Association: Making Publics in Early Modern Europe* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015), p.32.

[6] Ibid., p.24.

[7] Cathy Shrank, 'Rhetorical Constructions of a National Community: the Role of the King's English in Mid-Tudor Writing', in Phil Withington and Alexandra Shepard (eds.), *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.182.

[8] Felicity Heal, 'Mediating the Word: Language and Dialects in the British and Irish Reformations', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* Vol.56 (2) (2005):261-286, p.269.

[9] David Rollison, 'Conceit and Capacities of the Vulgar Sort: The Social History of English as a Language of Politics', *Cultural and Social History* 2, no. 2 (2005): 141-63, p.154.

[10] See especially Blank, *Broken English*, pp.126-169.

Finally, Heal emphasised the significance of vernacularisation in the context of the Reformation, as ‘ the quality, as well as the accessibility, of the English Scriptures was a constant source of anxiety to the reformers’.[11] She outlined the tension between the strife for making the Scriptures accessible through vernacularisation of the languages of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland on the one hand, and the social and political concerns of elites speaking increasingly standardized English regarding ‘non-standard and archaic’ forms of English and Celtic languages on the other.[12]

The imperial context of early modern vernacularisation of Britain and Ireland is particularly significant to this thesis, as it is intrinsically connected to the issues of national identity and human difference. It also helps to explain my choice of ‘Anglophone’ - a term traditionally associated with imperial contexts of Victorian literature - as a working term throughout this thesis.[13] Shrank emphasised that following legislation forbidding linguistic diversity - in 1537 in Ireland and as a part of Acts of Union for Wales 1534 and 1543 - ‘access to the law depended on access to the English language’.[14] Heal stressed that ‘the Celtic tongues were associated with rebellion as well as barbarousness’.[15] She argued that although Anglicization of Ireland and Wales had a long history, ‘only in the sixteenth century [did] this linguistic control acquire an ‘imperialistic’ focus’.[16] Most forcefully, Blank argued that linguistic dominion and imperial domination are inseparable in this period and, even more importantly, that they were seen as inseparable at the time.[17] She drew a parallel between ‘Renaissance English attempts to annex or unify the British Isles’ and ‘the process by which English forms began to infiltrate foreign languages abroad’,

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[11] Heal, ‘Mediating the Word’, pp.272-273.

[12] Ibid., pp.277, 279 and 282.

[13] On Anglophone as a Victorian term, see Tanya Agathocleous, ‘Imperial, Anglophone, Geopolitical, Worldly: Evaluating the “Global” in Victorian Studies’, *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, no. 3 (2015): 651-58.

[14] Shrank, ‘Rhetorical Constructions of a National Community’, p.181.

[15] Heal, ‘Mediating the Word’, p.279.

[16] Ibid., p. 264, see also pp.264-266.

[17] Blank, *Broken English*, pp.126-127, and Chapter 5 more generally.

referring to both as 'Anglicization'.[18] Consequently, this thesis adopts Anglophone as a reference to texts in vernacular English printed in this time period. The other reason for the adoption of this term is more prosaic - it is a casually accepted term in current literature on English-language travel accounts and cosmographies in this period. For example, in her introduction to a 2019 special issue of *Renaissance Studies* on early modern travel, Eva Johanna Holmberg refers to 'Anglophone encounters with the Levantine world' and to 'hard to trace women [...] from non-Anglophone regions'.[19] In another example, John Gallagher refers to 'Anglophone captives' in his discussion of language-learning and multilingualism in early modern narratives of Mediterranean captivity.[20] This thesis includes translated sources in the definition of 'Anglophone', which are more routinely referred to as English translations in scholarly literature.[21]

Translation of travel accounts and cosmographies from Latin and other European languages was a part of the larger process of vernacularisation discussed above. Translated accounts about the wider world were popular in the fifteenth and especially the sixteenth centuries and were increasingly supplemented by English eyewitness accounts in the later sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries. However, continental works continued to be translated into English throughout this period. A wide range of cosmographies and travel collections, such as Sebastian Münster's *Universal Cosmography* (1544) were available in English translations (1561 and 1572).[22] Nandini Das argued that the 'reach of the texts and the range of translations is testament

[18] Ibid., p. 128.

[19] Eva Johanna Holmberg, 'Introduction: Renaissance and Early Modern Travel – Practice and Experience, 1500–1700', *Renaissance Studies* Vol. 33 No. 4 (2019):515-523, pp.516 and 517.

[20] John Gallagher, 'Language-learning, orality, and multilingualism in Early Modern Anglophone Narratives of Mediterranean Captivity', Renaissance Studies Vol. 33 No. 4 (2019):639-661, p.642.

[21] On translated sources, see Nandini Das, 'Early Modern Travel Writing (2): English Travel Writing' in N. Das & T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p.59; an overview of the place of travel writing in the history of the book can be found in M. Brennan, 'The Literature of Travel' in J. Barnard & D. McKenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. IV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.246-273.

[22] Ibid., p.78, see pp.78-79 for more examples.

to the prominence of travel, opening up both Britain and Europe to larger global crosscurrents'.[23] As Rachel Winchcombe demonstrated, translations were particularly significant in forming English views on the Americas in the decades prior to active English colonial involvement in North America.[24] As Anders Ingram's research showed, English writers translated texts about the Turks at least from the mid-sixteenth century onwards - this topic was initially of interest to evangelical printers and chronicle translators in the 1540s, but this interest substantially developed only in the 1590s.[25] Several important accounts of the Ottoman Empire, first and foremost, Nicholas de Nicolay's *Quatre premiers livres des navigations* were published in English before that - Nicolay's book, to be discussed in more detail below, was translated in 1585.[26] Descriptions of the Ottoman Empire were included in both of the formative travel compilations in English, partially based on foreign sources - Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations* and Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimage*.[27] Overall, vernacularisation of England in this period went hand in hand with a wider availability of new knowledge about the world, and the Ottoman Empire specifically, to readers in England.

Keywords signifying same-sex activity in Anglophone discourses

This dissertation is inspired by different approaches to 'keywords' as a historical method. There are several different methodologies associated with keywords and keyword analysis. *Begriffsgeschichte*, or conceptual history, was first developed and popularised by Reinhart

[23] Ibid., p. 78.

[24] Rachel Winchcombe, *Encountering Early America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), pp.10-12.

[25] Anders Ingram, 'English Literature on the Ottoman Turks in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Unpunished PhD Thesis, Durham University (2009), see pp.55-94 and especially pp.79-80.

[26] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois...* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585).

[27] For a brief overview, see Das, 'Early Modern Travel Writing', pp.78-79; for more info see Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (eds.), *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

Koselleck.[28] Koselleck's project focused on creating a monumental history of specific terms and their usage over time. James J. Sheehan voiced one of the major criticisms of this approach, arguing that as many words have similar meanings and many concepts cannot be limited by a single word, 'the appropriate unit of research is a particular sector of the language, a vocabulary', not a specific word. Expanding the scope of the study, however, would make it significantly more challenging to conduct.[29] A particular strand of conceptual history, focusing on keywords, was developed in Anglophone scholarship by Raymond Williams, who argued that scholars may analyse 'certain words at the level at which they are generally used' and study their meaning 'in and through historical time' in order to understand them.[30] Central to Williams's understanding of keywords is the idea that they cannot be studied without a reference to their social context.[31] In response to Williams, Quentin Skinner argued that in order to understand the past 'what we need to know is not what words they use but rather what concepts they possess', and that concepts and words cannot be equated.[32] As a leading contextualist and founder of a historiographical tradition bearing his name, Skinner also argued that concepts and ideas need to be studied within the immediate context of the authors and readers of historical texts.[33] The Early Modern Research Group, who revived the usage of keywords in Anglophone historical scholarship, argued that 'the scope of that context has to be drawn far more widely' and include a wider variety of texts beyond

[28] Reinhart Koselleck and Todd Samuel Presner (trans.), *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002).

[29] James J. Sheehan, '*Begriffsgeschichte*: Theory and Practice', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1978):312-319, p.315.

[30] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p.20.

[31] Ibid., pp.19-21.

[32] Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics. Volume 1, Regarding Method* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.159.

[33] See for further discussion James Tully, (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988) Annabel Brett and James Tully, (eds.), *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

the traditional political thought canon and a variety of non-textual contexts, such as oral communication, gestures and performance.[34]

At their core, these are debates surrounding what we, as historians, can and cannot gauge from studying the usage of language and individual words and clusters of words. Skinner suggests that one of the limitations of the keyword method is that 'while continuing to employ an accepted term of social description and appraisal, we may make it contextually clear that we are using it merely to describe, and not at the same time to evaluate what is thereby described'.[35] However, without such a contextual reading the difference between descriptive and evaluative usage of words would be less clear. This particular point is significant in the context of this thesis, as most of the keywords used here were by definition evaluative. There were no debates in Anglophone discourses as to whether 'sodomy' or 'buggery' were, or could be, anything other than vice, throughout the period under question. Precisely the absence of such debates, however, makes it challenging to use textual context to argue that those terms were *not* used descriptively. Skinner acknowledges that 'to possess a concept is at least standardly to understand the meaning of a corresponding term (and to be able in consequence to think about the concept when instances are absent and recognise it when instances are present)', making a form of study of key terms and concepts legitimate and possible.[36] All we can do using texts which refer to 'sodomy', rather than directly evaluate it, is to read them in the context of other overwhelmingly condemnatory texts, and assume that this particular author also evaluates it negatively.

One of the other issues with the current keywords projects and discussions is, as Jose Cree pointed out, that 'Koselleck, Williams, and Skinner [...] are all primarily concerned with tracing the histories of modern concepts'.[37] For example, the Keywords Project at the University of Pittsburgh

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[34] Mark Knights, 'Towards a Social and Cultural History of Keywords and Concepts by the Early Modern Research Group', *History of Political Thought*, Volume 31, Number 3 (2010):427 – 448, p. 432.

[35] Skinner, *Visions of Politics. Volume 1*, p.170.

[36] Ibid., p.160.

[37] Jose Murgatroyd Cree, 'The Invention of Addiction in Early Modern England', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield (2018), p.25.

includes both 'queer' and 'sexuality'.[38] Neither of those terms is reflective of or helpful for a keyword-based study of men who has sex with men in early modern England, although both of those terms are conceptually connected to homosexuality in their modern usage. Large keyword projects, to date, have not engaged with 'sodomy', 'buggery' or 'Ganymede', much more appropriate terms and concepts for the study of early modernity.

There are some additional methodological challenges of focusing on particular keywords, whether in a quantitative or qualitative study. According to Phil Withington, tracing particular words 'provides a basic chronology of usage' which 'complements the more familiar techniques of cultural and literary analysis'.[39] Additionally, electronic analysis of printed sources creates an additional set of issues. Withington argues that 'it gives little sense of usage in non-printed sources' which creates an 'obvious problem when sections of the population had limited or negligible access to the written word'.[40] The problems with using the *English Short Title Catalogue* and *Early English Books Online* are exacerbated by the fact that 'many texts, especially the cheaper and more ephemeral kind [...] have not survived' or have not been catalogued and included in these digital archives.[41] All these issues will be considered in the analysis of text that follows in this thesis.

This dissertation uses the keyword method in conjunction with close reading. There are several clear benefits of this approach. It is an effective tool for the study of the history of ideas. It is especially effective for the study of the early modern period due to widespread dissemination of dictionaries, vocabulary and language books – sources which provide a succinct contemporary definition of a word, which can then be both contextualised and conceptualised. This approach is also very useful within the emerging discipline of digital humanities, as it allows the production of quantitative data about an essentially qualitative subject and a more efficient exploration of

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[38] https://keywords.pitt.edu/

[39] Phil Withington, *Society in Early Modern England: The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), p.7.

[40] Ibid., p.7

[41] Ibid., p.7.

sources. Most importantly, this approach is very effective for the study of discourse contained in different genres of texts available to the same audience. It provides a clear point of contact between texts as different as travel writing, cosmographies, and religious, legal, and medical texts, which makes it invaluable for so contextual a thesis as this.

Using this approach presents challenges for this specific thesis. In particular, the keyword approach can be problematic within the framework of certain types of critical analysis which focus on the subtext and the unsaid. Queer reading as a method is one of those types.[42] Keyword analysis allows for a structure, but queering is a super-structure. This dissertation adopts the keyword method for the study of early modern sexuality in order to provide tangible and straightforward evidence of historical attitudes to foreign sexualities, rather than the more ephemeral evidence of queer reading. At its worst, the keyword method can descend into a form of antiquarianism. However, the benefits outweigh these problems, and a modified version of the keyword approach which considers those two issues can be developed for the study of the discourse of 'early orientalism'.

This thesis focuses on several keywords used to describe deviant sexual acts in early modern Anglophone discourses. The lexicon was selected based on my previous qualitative research and on the analysis from Tony McEnery and Helen Baker's work, who conducted a quantitative study of keywords referring to, in their words, 'homosexual men', in the EEBOv3 corpus.[43] A variety of words could signify same-sex relationships in early modern Anglophone texts. Many of them centred around the story of the Biblical city of Sodom. Thomas Blount's dictionary, *Glossographia*, first published in 1656, defines 'Sodomy' as 'buggery, so called from the City Sodom in Judea, which for that detestable sin was destroyed with fire from heaven. *Gen. 19*'.[44] Edward Phillips's *The New World of English Words* (1658) does not contain the word 'sodomy' itself, but does define

[42] Gary Ferguson, *Queer (Re)Readings in The French Renaissance: Homosexuality, Gender, Culture* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.51-2.

[43] Tony McEnery and Helen Baker, 'The Public Representation of Homosexual Men in Seventeenth-century England – A Corpus Based View', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 3 (2017):197–217.

[44] Thomas Blount, *Glossographia, Or, A Dictionary Interpreting All Such Hard Words Of Whatsoever Language Now Used In Our Refined English Tongue* (London: Printed by Tho. Newcombe for George Sawbridge, 1661), Sig.O1v.

'Sodomitical' as 'belonging to *Sodomy*, i.e. buggery, or unnatural lust'.[45] A range of widely disseminated sources, such as ballads and broadsheets, also made the connection between the Biblical Sodom and various sexual transgressions.[46] Ballads such as *Of the horrible and wofull destruction of, Sodome* used the word 'sodomite' or 'Sodomits' to signify the inhabitants of the Biblical Sodom.[47] Classical references were used in defining some of the keywords for male-to-male sexual activity in early modern Anglophone discourse. For example, the 1661 edition of Blount's Glossographia defines 'Ganymede' as 'the name of a Trojan Boy, whom Jupiter so loved (say the Poets) as he took him up to Heaven and made him his Cup-bearer. Hence any Boy, loved for carnal abuse, or hired to be used contrary to Nature, to commit the detestable sin of Sodomy, is called a Ganymede, or Ingle'.[48]

As Blank explained, early English dictionaries 'listed and defined' difficult words.[49] Their purpose was to explain words which were not associated with usual speech. This was the result of the introduction of around 10,000 new words into the English vernacular between 1500 and 1650.[50] This context helps us to understand which words were considered to be in common usage in reference to sexual deviance. For example, Henry Cockeram's *The English dictionarie*, first published in 1623, explained 'Catamite' ('a boy which is vsed for buggery'), 'pedicate' ('to

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[45] Edward Phillips, *The new world of English words, or, A general dictionary containing the interpretations of such hard words as are derived from other languages ... together with all those terms that relate to the arts and sciences ... : to which are added the significations of proper names, mythology, and poetical fictions, historical relations, geographical descriptions of most countries and cities of the world ... / collected and published by E.P.*(London: Printed by E. Tyler for Nath. Brooke, 1658), Sig.N2r.

[46] John Harris, *The Destruction Of Sodome A Sermon Preached At A Publicke Fast, Before The Honourable Assembly Of The Commons House Of Parliament, At St. Margarets Church In Westminster. By John Harris, Preacher There. Feb. 18. 1628* (London: Printed by H[umphrey] L[ownes] and R. Y[oung] for G. Lathum, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Bishops head, 1629), pp.25, 40; Ester Biddle, *Vvo To Thee Town Of Cambridge, Thy Wickedness Surmounteth The Wickedness Of Sodom* ... (London, between 1660 and 1669), Sig.A1r.

[47] Anonymous, *Of the Horrible and Wofull Destruction Of, Sodome, and Gomorra to the Tune of the Nine Muses* (London, 1570), Sig.A1r.

[48] Blount, *Glossographia*, Sig.S4v.

[49] Blank, *Broken English*, p.17.

[50] Ibid., p.18.

bugger') and pygift ('one that vseth buggerie'), but not 'buggery' itself, or 'sodomy'.[51] The words 'sodomy' and 'buggery' respectively were established in the English vernacular by the seventeenth century. 'Sodomy', originating in postclassical Latin, was used in the English vernacular as early as c. 1325 in a largely the same meaning as it was employed for in the early modern period - to mean a range of sexual deviances.[52] Buggery, used in the fourteenth century to mean 'heresy', originates in Old French meaning 'heresy' and 'anal intercourse' or 'bestiality' - the meanings it was used in the English vernacular and especially in the English criminal legislation from 1533 onwards.[53] The meanings of these two key words, which are the focus of this thesis, were stable in the English vernacular throughout the period in question.

Sodomy did not exclusively refer to same-sex activity. Jonathan Goldberg defined sodomy as 'any sexual act, that [...] does not promote the aim of married procreative sex'.[54] Sodomy could also transcend the sexual and be used in reference to usury, unbelief, certain transgressions by one's political opponents, and many other concepts.[55] In relation to actual same-sex activity, Alan Bray, B.R. Burg and Jonathan Goldberg have argued that in legal terms, sodomy only became visible if it was accompanied by other transgressions such as rape or repeated sex, often with younger

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[51] Henry Cockeram, *The English dictionarie: or, An interpreter of hard English vvords Enabling as well ladies and gentlewomen, young schollers, clarkes, merchants, as also strangers of any nation, to the vnderstanding of the more difficult authors already printed in our language, and the more speedy attaining of an elegant perfection of the English tongue, both in reading, speaking and writing. Being a collection of the choisest words contained in the Table alphabeticall and English expositor, and of some thousands of words neuer published by any heretofore. By H.C. Gent.*, (London: Printed [by Eliot's Court Press] for Edmund Weauer, 1623), Sig.C3r, Sig.H5v and Sig.I5v.

[52] "sodomy, n.". OED Online. June 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/Entry/183887?redirectedFrom=sodomy (accessed July 17, 2021).

[53] "buggery, n. and adj.". OED Online. June 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/Entry/24372?redirectedFrom=buggery (accessed July 17, 2021).

[54] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.19.

[55] Marissa Nicosia, 'Wasting time in the committee-man curried', *postmedieval* 10 (March 2019):68–81, p.76.

partners.[56] Goldberg argued that same-sex acts 'emerge into visibility only when those who are said to have done them also can be called traitors, heretics, or the like, at the very least, disturbers of the social order'.[57] However, even though they could be laden with other meanings, 'sodomy', 'buggery', 'catamite', and others were clearly used to refer to same-sex activity. Moreover, in many texts, especially in travel literature, they were often accompanied by qualifiers such as 'unnatural lust' or 'sodomitical boys'. Additionally, even the wider connotations of Sodom and sodomy cannot be divorced from ideas of sex: it is impossible to disentangle early modern sodomy into neat piles of 'same-sex activity' and 'everything else'. The keyword method might be imprecise at times, but so is queer reading.

A variety of keywords, including 'sodomy', 'buggery', 'catamite', 'ganymede', 'buggerer', 'sodomite', 'Ingle', 'hermaphrodite', and others were used to refer to male same-sex activity and people who engaged in it in early modern Anglophone discourses. McEnery and Baker conducted argued that there are 'strong skews in the data at times towards religious interpretations of the world and religious allegory'.[58] However, there were no 'strictly religious' or 'strictly secular' interpretations of words like 'sodomy' and 'sodomite'. Religion and religious thinking penetrated all aspects of the life of early modern people. Disentangling it into 'religious interpretations of the world' is potentially a futile task. Most early modern Anglophone people 'interpreted the world' in a religious framework. As the work of Elena Levy-Navarro, Donald Mager, and Michael Warner, among many others, has showed, for many prolific authors on sodomy, such as John Bale, 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' were not, first and foremost, about sexuality.[59] As Levy-Navarro argued, 'sodomy

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[56] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982), p.75; Goldberg, *Sodometries*, p.19; B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and The Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in The Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp.3-12 and pp.38-39 .

[57] Goldberg, *Sodometries*, p.19.

[58] McEnery and Baker, 'The Public Representation', p.199.

[59] See Elena L. Levy-Navarro, 'Burning in Sodom: Sodomy as the Moral State of Damnation in John Bale's The Image of Both Churches', *Reformation* 9 (2004):67–98;; Michael Warner, 'New English Sodom', in Jonathan Goldberg (ed.), *Queering The Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), pp.332, 353-4, footnote number 10; see also, more broadly, Donald N. Mager, 'John Bale and Early Tudor Sodomy Discourse' in Goldberg, *Queering The Renaissance*.

signifies figuratively as a form of collective judgment visited upon the wicked'.[60] McEnery and Baker traced the occurrence of their selected keywords per million words. Thus, their data does not account for the specific distribution of the word in different texts and can be easily skewed by a high occurrence in a single work or works of a single author published in a cluster. McEnery and Baker's work is valuable as a starting point for a keyword-based study of male same-sex activity in early modern Anglophone discourses. It provides a thorough selection of nouns which could refer to individuals involved in same-sex activity between men, and some interesting granular data: the exact number of occurrences of specific keywords ('sodomite', 'catamite', 'ganymede', and 'buggerer') in individual books in a given decade.[61]

I traced the usage of some of my most-used keywords which potentially referred to same-sex activity differently from McEnery and Baker. I focused on the number of texts which mentioned specific words per year and per decade. I used the current version of the EEBO corpus (August 2020).[62] A thorough quantitative keyword analysis was not the aim of this dissertation, which focuses on qualitative analysis and close readings of Anglophone discourses. I produced only a crude approximation of the distribution of some of my most-used keywords. I traced the usage of the following keywords, and their variants, suggested by EEBO: 'Sodom', 'sodomy', 'sodomite', 'sodomitical', 'buggery', 'buggerer', 'catamite', 'ganymede', and 'hermaphrodite'. I counted the number of individual texts they appeared in, by decade, between 1477 and 1699. Counting texts, rather than mentions, allows us to trace the usage of the keywords across early modern Anglophone discourses, rather than focus on clusters of texts and authors who actively used these words (for example, one of Bale's texts mentions 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' more than 50 times).[63] I collected all the data on the same day, the 6th of August 2020, to avoid missing texts which might be added at any points between the collection of the data. I also estimated the number of overall printed texts

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[60] Levy-Navarro, 'Burning in Sodom', p.68; this will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

[61] McEnery and Baker, 'The Public Representation', p.201 Table 1, p.202 Table 2 and p.203 Figure 1.

[62] Diana Kichuk, 'Metamorphosis: Remediation in Early English Books Online (EEBO)', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 22 (2007):291–303; Michael Gavin, 'How to Think about EEBO', *Textual Cultures: Text, Contexts, Interpretation* 11 (2017):70–105.

[63] John Bale, *The First Two Partes of The Actes or Vnchast Examples of The Englysh Votaryes Gathered Out of Their Owne Legenades and Chronycles* (London: For John Bale ... and are to be solde wythin Paules chayne, at the sygne of S. John Baptist, 1551), EEBO text search for 'Sodom' and 'sodomy'.

available on EEBO and the number of word-searchable texts generated by the Text Creation Partnership (TCP). It is important to remember that more than half of the texts on EEBO are not word-searchable; moreover, some texts interrupt words, meaning that a word-search would not pick them up. I then calculated the appearance of the keywords listed above per word-searchable text and compared that to the overall number of available texts. With all this in mind, my estimations are crude and approximate. However, they shed light on some of the key issues around the uses of these keywords in early modern Anglophone discourses. The results can be seen in Figure 1 (all keywords) and Figure 2 (keywords excluding the most popular 'Sodom', 'sodomy', and 'sodomite').

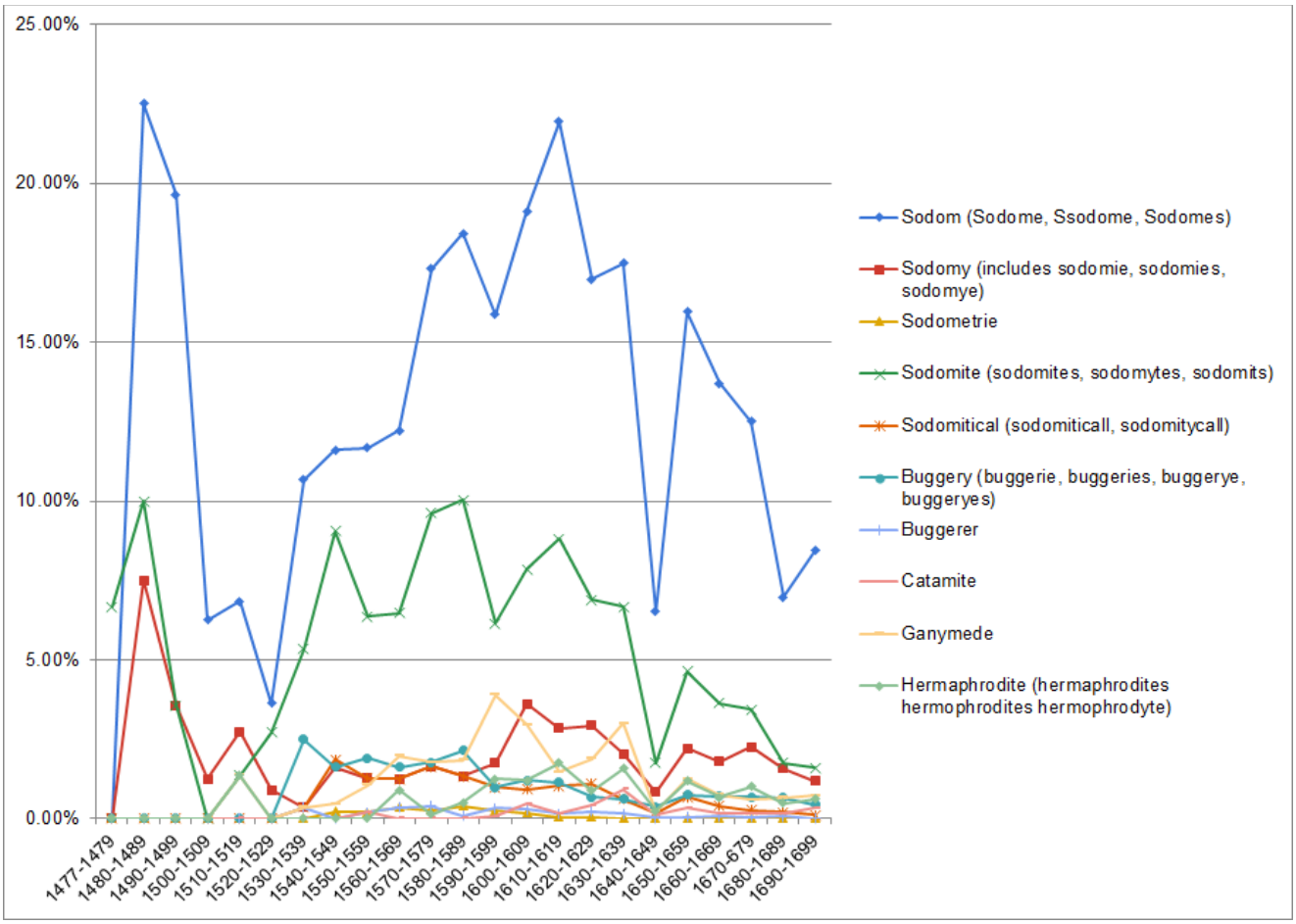

Figure 1. The percentage of EEBO-searchable books which mention all the keywords used in this thesis between 1477 and 1699. Y axis represents the percentage of EEBO-searchable books which mention one of the keywords under consideration.

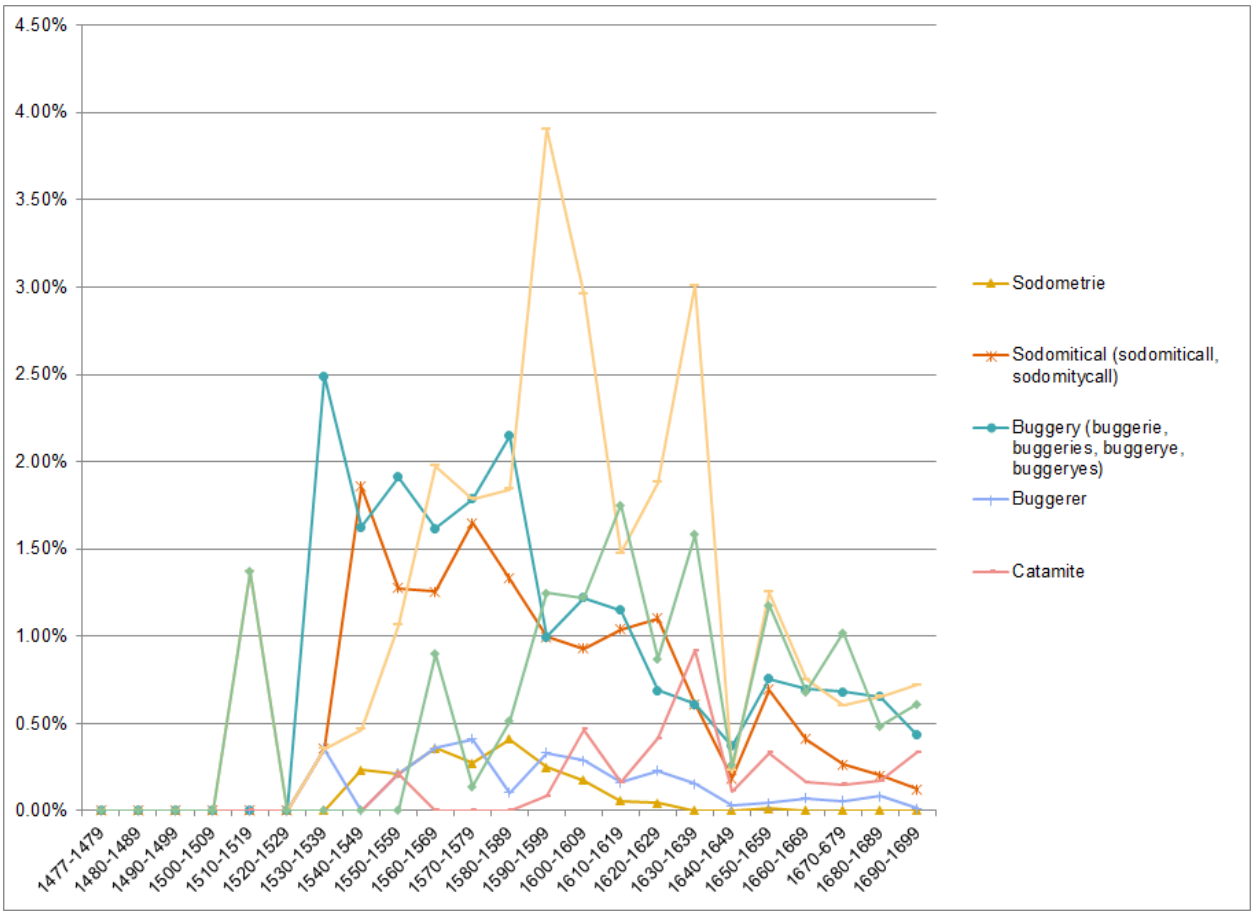

Figure 2. The percentage of books which mention the less popular keywords in EEBO-searchable books between 1477 and 1699. Y axis represents the percentage of EEBO-searchable books which mention one of the keywords under consideration.

There was no straightforward decline in the usage of any of these words in the early modern period. 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' share some of the key features of their trajectories: a rise at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, a sharp fall in the 1640s, a modest recovery in the 1650s and 1660s, and a steeper fall by the end of the century. 'Sodomite' followed a similar trajectory in the seventeenth century, although its peak seems to have occurred in the 1580s. If we were to adjust these figures for the steady rise in searchable texts over the same period (1590s-1690s), all three words would follow a smoother curve. Instead of focusing on the narrative of 'decline' in the seventeenth century, potentially caused by a reduction in the use of what William M. Hamlin called 'God-language', it might be more helpful to focus on the specific peaks and falls,

and to read the seventeenth century in the context of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[64] With all the caveats listed above, some key trends emerge. They include a high proportion of the selected keywords in the very early texts (1480s and 1490s), a poorly-documented decline at the beginning of the sixteenth century, another rise coinciding with the Reformation, a substantial curve in the first third of the seventeenth century, a sharp fall during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, a rise high in raw numbers but low in percentage terms during the Interregnum, a percentage rise during the Restoration (potentially caused by a decline in raw numbers of published texts), and a low to average percentage overall by the end of the century, accompanied, significantly, by the highest raw number for 'sodomy' in the 1680s.

The city of Sodom was of importance in the context of travel. 'Sodom*'* (the Biblical city) and 'sodomite*'* (either a person who committed sodomy or an inhabitant of the city of Sodom) provide an interesting qualitative case study for tracing the connections between these specific keywords and travel accounts. Biblical topography, viewed as 'pieces of history that served for mnemonics rather than as sites of the divine', formed a large part of early modern Anglophone descriptions of Palestine, by then under Ottoman control.[65] A prominent part of that topography was the site of the Biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, associated in early modern Anglophone discourse with the many sexual sins and transgressions that led to their damnation. Using the keyword method and targeting 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' as identified keywords, we can analyse their appearance in early-modern travel accounts of the Ottoman Empire. Both individual accounts of the Ottoman Empire, such as works of Henry Timberlake or William Lithgow, and broader collections, such as *Purchas his pilgrimage*, refer to 'Sodom' and 'Sodomites' in the context of Biblical geography, mentioning that a particular traveller passed the location of the Biblical city. For example, chapter XVIII in the 1613 edition of Purchas is dedicated to '*Palaestina,* and the first Inhabitants thereof, the *Sodomites, Idumaeans, Moabites, Ammonites,* and *Canaanites*'. [66] William Biddulph

[64] For the narrative of the decline of God-language, see William Hamlin, 'God-Language and Scepticism in Early Modern England', *English Literature* 1 (2014):17-41.

[65] 'Introduction' in Judy A. Hayden and Nabil Matar, eds., *Through the Eyes Of The Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.13.

[66] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of The Vworld and The Religions Obserued in All Ages and Places Discouered, from the Creation Vnto This Present In Foure Partes. This First Containeth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, And America, With the Ilands Adiacent.*

mentioned the 'the Sea of *Sodome*, called *Mare mortuum'* in his account several times.[67] William Lithgow described his journey 'along the Lake of *Sodome*', paying attention to the physical topography of the land he was travelling through.[68] He conceptualised his journey in terms of Biblical geography, stating that 'this contagious, and pestilentious lake of *Sodome*, resembleth much (as may be supposed) that infernall gulfe of Hell'.[69] He also made an ironic commentary on the existence of Purgatory and on Catholic views on the matter by arguing that if a Purgatory exists, it should be where Sodom and Gomorrah once stood, emphasising that it was the '*purging* of *Sodom* and *Gomorha;* which was with fire and brimestone' that eventually destroyed the cities.[70] This remark shows that for at least some travel writers, the physical location of Sodom invoked the association with the Biblical story itself and, consequently, with Hell and sin. However, very few if any authors connected the physical location of city of Sodom to same-sex activity or contemporary Ottoman sodomy specifically. This case study demonstrates that the words 'Sodom' and 'sodomite' (meaning an inhabitant of the city of Sodom) existed outside 'religious' sources

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Declaring The Ancient Religions Before the Floud ... With Briefe Descriptions of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoueries, Priuate and Publike Customes, And the Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature, Or Humane Industrie, In the Same. By Samuel Purchas, Minister at Estwood in Essex (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613), p.81.

[67] William Biddulph, *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia, And to The Blacke Sea and Into Syria, Cilicia, Pisidia, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Canaan, Galile, Samaria, Iudea, Palestina, Ierusalem, Iericho, And to The Red Sea: And to Sundry Other Places. Begunne In the Yeare Of Iubile 1600. And By Some of Them Finished in This Yeere 1608. The Others Not Yet Returned. Very Profitable to The Help of Trauellers, And No Lesse Delightfull to All Persons Who Take Pleasure to Heare of The Manners, Gouernement, Religion, And Customes Of Forraine And Heathen Countries*, (London: Printed by Th. Haueland. for W. Aspley, and are to bee sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Parrot, 1609), p.102.

[68] William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable and True Discourse, of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination from Scotland, To The Most Famous Kingdomes In Europe, Asia And Affricke With The Particular Descriptions (More Exactly Set Downe Then Hath Beene Heeretofore In English) Of Italy Sycilia, Dalmatia, Ilyria, Epire, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, Thessalia, And The Whole Continent Of Greece, Creta, Rhodes, The Iles Cyclades ... And The Chiefest Countries of Asia Minor. From Thence, To Cyprus, Phaenicia, Syria ... And The Sacred Citie Ierusalem, &c.* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Thomas Archer, at his shop in Popes head Palace, 1616), p.89.

[69] Ibid., p.98.

[70] Ibid., p.98, my italics.

such as sermons or Biblical commentaries without losing their religious meaning and association. They could invoke notions of sin without additional qualifiers specifying same-sex activity. This shows some of the difficulties of disentangling same-sex activity from the keywords that were used to describe it.

What do all these numbers tell us? A variety of factors could have affected the number of texts mentioning any of the keywords under question in any given decade. 'Sodom', 'sodomy', and 'sodomites' were present in Anglophone print from the very beginning of printing in England. Even adjusted for the percentages of searchable texts, the earliest decades of printing in the English language display both an awareness of male same-sex activity and a framework for conceptualising it, centred around the Biblical story of Sodom. Some of the uses of certain keywords can be explained by the political context, such as the presence of 'buggery' in the discourses of the 1530s, when the 1533 Buggery Act was passed. The increase in mentions of 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' in the early seventeenth century might be explained by the increase in Anglophone narratives of travel to the Holy Land.[71] The wider increase in Reformed and Puritan discourses could also be responsible for the increase in mentions of 'Sodom' and 'sodomites' in printed sermons and other religious texts. In other cases, the context might determine the *absence* of certain keywords. Most of the keywords I searched for in this overview had the lowest percentage of appearance in the 1640s, when the number of publications, especially pamphlets and other political prints, skyrocketed due to the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. The low presence of the keywords from this search in those texts demonstrates that sexual slurs or the Biblical imagery of the city of Sodom were not especially popular in this period compared to other frameworks of thinking about the conflict between the King and the Parliament. The 1650s witnessed peaks for several of the keywords in terms of raw numbers, but very few in terms of percentage. The high volume of publications, coupled with more relaxed censorship rules, led to an explosion of all manner of printed discourses.[72] The most immediate effect of the Licensing of the Press Act of 1662 was an overall reduction in the number of printed texts, which led to a percentile increase in most of the

[71] For the general background on English travellers in the Holy Land, see Hayden and Matar (eds.), *Through the Eyes of The Beholder*.

[72] See Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2017), pp.132-162.

keywords in this study.[73] The persistence of 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' in the second half of the seventeenth century could be explained by the wider co-option of 'sodomy' into Restoration satirical discourses.[74] The raw peak of 'buggery' in the 1680s, for example, coincided with the Popish Plot and an increase in satirical political pamphlets between early Whigs and Tories. Sodomy and other sexual transgressions played a key role in those satirised debates.[75] Finally, the emergence of the early Societies for the Reformation of Manners, coupled with the repeal of the Licensing of the Press Act, could have affected the enduring appeal of 'Sodom' and 'sodomy' to late Stuart Anglophone authors.[76] However, these mentions do not easily and exclusively map onto wider political, economic, and social contexts of Anglophone encounters with Turks or any other non-European peoples.

Sodomy in early Anglophone print

What is the place of Turks, or any other non-European peoples, in this story? The following paragraphs will provide a qualitative overview of some of the late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Anglophone print discourses on 'Sodom', 'sodomy', and other keywords from this search. They will also trace the first appearances of mentions of 'sodomy' in relation to the Turks, and the contexts which shaped those crucial early texts and prepared the way for the long seventeenth-century discourses to be discussed throughout this dissertation. As the brief overview below will show, fifteenth and sixteenth-century sodomy was not exclusively or even primarily associated with Muslims, Turks, or any other non-Christians. Late fifteenth-century mentions of 'sodomites'

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[73] Raymond Astbury, "The Renewal of the Licensing Act in 1693 and Its Lapse in 1695." *Library* S5-XXXIII.4 (1978):296-322.

[74] Humberto Garcia, *Islam and The English Enlightenment*, 1670-1840 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp.41-50.

[75] See more on this in chapter 5; see Paul Hammond, 'Titus Oates and "Sodomy"' in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain 1660-1800*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) and Garcia, *Islam and The English Enlightenment*, pp.41-50.

[76] See Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800', *Journal of British Studies* 46:2 (April 2007): 290-319.

refer to semi-mythical early medieval British rulers. A mid-sixteenth century 'sodomite' was much more likely to be Catholic than he was to be Muslim in Anglophone printed texts. Although there was a wider medieval precedent for the connection between Islam and 'sodomy', it was not extensively built upon in Anglophone printed discourses prior to the 1570s.[77] Moreover, later sixteenth-century Anglophone discourses on Turkish 'sodomy' were initially based on European sources translated into English from French and German, rather than on first-hand Anglophone travel accounts.

Pre-Reformation sodomy in Anglophone secular print was connected to 'wicked' and tyrannical rulership. The first mention of the keyword 'sodomy' or 'sodomite' in Anglophone printed discourse occurred in 1477, just a year after the introduction of the printing press to England by William Caxton. In a description of the rule of king Gorbodian, a supposed early British ruler, wise rulers were instructed to 'the waye may be the surer Bren the Sodomytes and punysshe the men taken in fornicacion after their estate'.[78] If prosecution of sodomy was associated with good rulership, bad rulership was associated with sodomy itself. According to a text published in 1480, another supposed early British ruler, king Menpris killed his brother and 'bicame so wikked and so lecherous that he forsoke his own̄ wif and vsed the synne of sodomie'.[79] Sometimes a ruler was connected with sodomy without commentary on his rulership. For example, following *Historia Regnum Brittanie*, William Caxton's edition of Ranulph Higden's *Polycronicon*, written around 1344 and translated to English in 1387, stated that Maelgwn (Malgo), a 6th-century king of Gwynedd, 'was infect with the vyce of sodomye'.[80] The story of Menpris or Mempris appeared

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[77] For the medieval context, see John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam In The Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp.238, 249.

[78] Anonymous, *Here Endeth the Book Named the Dictes or Sayengis of The Philosophhres* ... (London: Printed by William Caxton, 1477), Sig.b3v.

[79] 'Of kyng Madan howe he regned in pees all his lyfe and of Menpris and of Maulyn his sones and howe Menpris slowe Maulyn his brother & how wolues drou hym al to peces' Ca.vj in Anonymous, *In The Yere Of Thyncarnacion Of Our Lord Ih[Es]U Crist M.CCCC.lxxx. And In the xx. Yere Of the Regne Of Kyng Edward The Fourthe, Atte Requeste Of Dyuerce Gentilmen I Haue Endeauourd Me To Enprinte The Cronicles Of Englond As In This Booke Shall By The Suffraunce Of God Folowe …*. (London: Printed by William Caxton, 1480), Sig.a8v.

[80] Ranulf Higden, *Prolicionycion* (London: Printed by William Caxton, 1482),p.CCxxxv. On the historical Maelgwn, see D. Thornton, 'Maelgwn Gwynedd (d. 547/549), king of Gwynedd' *Oxford Dictionary of*

four more times in various chronicles published between 1485 and 1528, and both Malgo and Mempris were mentioned in a chronicle published in 1533.[81] The theme of tyrannical rulership was picked up in later early modern discussions of both religious – Catholic – tyranny and tyrannical rule abroad.

The earliest printed mentions of sodomy were also steeped in Christianity. Menpris was supposedly punished by God for his behaviour, and in *The holy appostle and doctour of the peple saynt Poule sayth in his epystle*, published in 1483, the reader was encouraged to 'eskape the disordynate and vnnaturel synne of lecherye of the sodomytes by the vertu of good fayth'.[82] According to the 1483 edition of *Legenda aurea sanctorum* on the night of Nativity, 'all the sodomytes that dyde synne ayenst nature were deed and extynct', as 'god hated so moche this synne'.[83] The first printed definition of sodomy was also made in a religious context. It was published in 1496 in a discussion of the Sixth Commandment (Thou Shalt Not Commit Adultery). It stated that 'sodomye' is 'mysuse of mannes bodye or womans in lecherye ayenst kynde & pollucyon of mannes bodye or womans by ther owne sterynge & by themself whiche is a full horryble synne'.[84] Although, as Robert Mills has demonstrated, 'sodomy' could mean a variety of

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National Biography. Retrieved 5 Aug. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17768.

[81] Anonymous, *Here Begynnys A Schort [And] Breue Tabull On Thes Cronicles ...//Saint Albans chronicle* (London, 1485), Sig.C6r; Anonymous, *Here Begynnys A Schort [And] Breue Tabull On Thes Cronicles* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1502), Sig.C1r; Anonymous, *Here Begynneth A Shorte And Abreue Table On The Cronycles* ... (London: In powlys chyrche yarde at the west dore of powlys besyde my lorde of londons palays by me Iulyan Notary, 1515), Sig.B4v; Anonymous, *The Cronycles Of Englonde With The Dedes Of Popes And Emperours, And Also The Descripcyon Of Englonde* (London: In Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde, 1528), Sig.C14r; Robert Fabyan, *Fabyans Cronycle Newly Prynted, Wyth The Cronycle, Actes, And Dedes Done In The Tyme Of The Reygne Of The Moste Excellent Prynce Kynge Henry The VII. Father Vnto Our Most Drad Souerayne Lord Kynge Henry The.VIII. To Whom Be All Honour, Reuere[N]Ce, And Ioyfull Contynaunce of His Prosperous Reygne, To the Pleasure Of God And Weale Of This His Realme Amen*, (London: by wyllyam Rastell, 1533), Sig.b1r and Sig.h5v.

[82] Jacobus de Cassolis, *The Holy Appostle and Doctour of The Peple Saynt Poule Sayth In His Epystle. Alle That Is Wryten Is Wryten Vnto Our Doctryne and For Our Lernyng* ... (London: Printed by William Caxton, 1483), Sig.H5r.

[83] Jacobus, de Voragine, *[Legenda aurea sanctorum, sive, Lombardica historia]*, (London: William Caxton, 1483), p.5.

[84] Anonymous, *Diues [et] pauper* (London: E[m]prentyd by me Wynkyn de worde, 1496), Sig.O1r-Sig.O1v.

things in medieval culture, this definition is quite specific.[85] Several religious and devotional texts, including *The floure of the commaundementes of god* (1510), mentioned sodomy in the decades leading up to the Henrician Reformation.[86] Religious reform of the sixteenth century redefined the place of sodomy in Anglophone discourses, weaponising it as a framework for criticising religious opponents, especially Catholics and Catholicism.

There is a rich literature on sodomy and the Reformation, the role of sodomy in cross-confessional debates, and the relationship between the Reformation and the establishment of Henry VIII's Buggery Act.[87] It is not my intention to provide further insight into associations between sodomy and Catholicism in early modern Anglophone discourses. Instead, I would like to focus on several key points, relevant to this thesis specifically, which come out of these discussions. Discourses on sodomy and Catholicism were present at a time before and during the Reformation when Protestants were neither in the majority nor at the centre of power in England, and when Catholicism was neither a foreign nor subversive domestic threat from an insubordinate minority, as it would be later in the sixteenth century. Protestant attacks on Catholic sodomy coincided with the early stages of the Henrician Reformation and were based on Continental arguments. For example, William Tyndale's response to Thomas More argued that 'the church byndeth no man to chastite [...] for it geueth licence to who soeuer wyll to kepe hores ād permitteth to abuse mēs wiues and sofereth sodomitrie'.[88] It is important to remember that at this point, and arguably throughout the reign of Henry VIII, the Reformation was not a straightforward social and theological switch from Catholicism to Protestantism and that many early reformers, including

[85] See Robert Mills, *Seeing Sodomy In The Middle Ages* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 25-81.

[86] Anonymous, *Ihesus. The Floure of The Commaundementes of God with Many Examples and Auctorytees Extracte and Drawen as Well of Holy Scryptures as Of Other Doctours and Good Auncient Faders, The Whiche Is Moche Vtyle and Prouffytable Vnto All People*…. (London, 1510), FolioCCVr-FolioCCVII.v.

[87] See Levy-Navarro, 'Burning in Sodom'; Mager, 'John Bale and Early Tudor Sodomy Discourse'; Winfried Schleiner, '"That Matter Which Ought Not To Be Heard Of": Homophobic Slurs in Renaissance Cultural Politics', *Journal of Homosexuality* 26 (1994):41–75.

[88] William Tyndale, *An Answere Vnto Sir Thomas Mores Dialoge Made by Vvillyam Tindale.* (Antwerp: S. Cock, 1531), p.xcviij.

Tyndale, were not safe or accepted in England.[89] Anti-Catholic writings focused on ideas of Protestant martyrdom and Catholic cruelty. For example, in the writings of Anne Askew, edited and published by John Bale in 1546, strong, pious and righteous Anne criticises Catholic priesthood for 'malice, pryde, whoredome, sodometrye, with other most deuylysh vyces' and asks her examiners whether 'we must now beleue in the bawdrye of prestes, or that their Sodometrye and Whoredome for want of marryage, can be no impediment to their Godmakynge'.[90] Donald Mager has argued that for Bale, many of whose writings mention sodomy, 'sodomy is a highly charged anti-papal discourse', especially significant as an argument in favour of marriage as the only natural outlet for human desire.[91] Bale was obsessed with sodomy: for example, *The first two partes of the actes or vnchast examples of the Englysh votaryes*, edited by him in 1551, contains 50 mentions of a variant of 'Sodom', 'sodomy' or 'sodometrye'.[92] The same text has 34 mentions of variants of the word 'cruel'. For instance, Bale argued that 'Englyshe churche' began 'with tyrannye', as 'that *carnall Synagoge* (than called the Englysh churche) whiche came from Rome with Augustine, most cruelly persecute, at her first cōmyng in, the christen churche of the Brytaynes in these holy martyrs'.[93] The immediate Reformation period also triggered associations between sodomy and Catholic homosocial spaces such as monasteries. Those associations extended well into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As this short overview shows, one thing sodomy was not associated with in the first half of the sixteenth century is Islam, Muslims or Turks. This can partly be explained by the relative lack of awareness of the Ottoman Empire in England. However, there was some awareness of the Turks

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[89] Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.16-64.

[90] Anne Askew, *The First Examinacyon of Anne Askewe Lately Martyred in Smythfelde, By the Romysh Popes Vpholders, With the Elucydacyon of Iohan Bale*. (Wesel: Printed by D. van der Straten], 1546), pp.25, 36. See also J. Gairdner, 'Askew, Anne (1521–1546), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*', Retrieved 5 Aug. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-798.

[91] Mager, 'John Bale and the early Tudor sodomy discourse', p.151.

[92] Bale, *The First Two Partes*.

[93] Ibid., pp.26-7, my emphasis.

evident in the court culture of Henry VIII.[94] Moreover, there was a very high awareness of Lutheran discourses in early Reformation England, and accusations of sodomy against the Turks were rife in German Lutheran discourses.[95] In England, though, sodomy was associated with specific people and sites: by the middle of the sixteenth century, sodomy in Anglophone discourses was Catholic, homosocial, and associated with tyrannical rulership. These frameworks provided a fertile ground for incorporating Muslim Turks into discourses on sodomy. However, that process was not straightforward.

There was a connection between Muslims and sodomy in medieval European discourses which shall be discussed at length later in the thesis.[96] Significantly, this connection was not established in early Anglophone print. The earliest use of the word 'sodomy' in the same text as a reference to the Turks in vernacular English print was made in 1480.[97] *Prolicionycion*, printed in 1482, also contains lengthy passages both on 'Saracens' during the crusades and on the Turks, and mentions 'sodomy', as discussed above, but those two things are not connected in the text.[98] John Bale was one of the earliest authors to introduce the idea of a connection between any of the keywords discussed above and the Turks in 1546. He argued that 'soche an other knauerye ys vsed amonge the Turkes relygyouse buggerers to this present daye'.[99] However, this remark was made in the context of 'sayntes' who 'were begottē in whordome', and was very specifically about procreative

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[94] Edward Hall, Henry VIII, Vol. 1 of *The Lives of The Kings*, reprint of 1550 folio edition (London and Edinburgh, 1904), pp.15-16; see Charlotte Jirousek 'Ottoman Influences in Western Dress' in S. Faroqhi and C. Neumann, eds., *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren Publishing, 2005), for more context.

[95] Silke R. Falkner, '"Having It off" with Fish, Camels, and Lads: Sodomitic Pleasures in German-Language Turcica', *Journal of History of Sexuality* 13 (Austin, 2004):401–27, pp.407-408.

[96] See Chapter 4.

[97] Anon., *In the Yere of Thyncarnacion of Our Lord*, reference to sodomy Sig.a8v., references to the Turks Sig.X6r-Sig.Y6r.

[98] Higden, *Prolicionycion*, pp.CCxliiiij and CCxlviij.

[99] John Bale, *The Actes of Englysh Votaryes Comprehendynge Their Vnchast Practyses and Examples by All Ages, from the Worldes Begynnynge to Thys Present Yeare, Collected Out of Their Owne Legendes and Chronycles* (Antwerp: By S. Mierdman], 1546), p.17.

sex.[100] One of the earliest direct connections between non-procreative sex and the Turks in Anglophone print was made by a 1566 newsheet, which stated that 'they [the Turks] use such Sodomish abhomination and tyranny as may not the shame be knowen, nor without harty sorrow be declared' against their prisoners.[101] This particular pamphlet encouraged Christian princes to fight the Turks and help the enslaved prisoners.[102] The first mention of this theme in a travel account or cosmography comes from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, published in English in 1572, but originally published in German in 1544. Münster's text focused on enslaved Christians, who 'are compelled to suffer the filthy lust of those that haue bought them, and great lamētacion is hard in the night time bothe of yong men & yong women, suffring much violence'.[103] Even children of 'sixe or seuen yeres' were not spared from 'the cruelnes of that filthy nacion, against nature in the rage of voluptuousnes'.[104] The next identifiable mention of sodomy in relation to the Turks comes from Nicholas de Nicolay, whose *Quatre premiers livres des navigations* were first published in French in 1567 and translated into English in 1585, and who travelled to the Ottoman Empire in the 1550s. Nicolay mentioned sodomy in two contexts: he stated that the 'Turkes of Alger', actually renegade 'Spaniards, Italians, and of Prouence, of the Ilands and Coastes of the Sea Mediterane' were 'giuen all to whoredome, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vices'.[105] He also mentioned sodomy in relation to the Dervishes twice in the text.[106] Although Nicolay's text was not published in English as a separate volume again, it was included in at least

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[100] Ibid., p.16.

[101] *Newes From Vienna the 5. Day Of August. 1566. Of The Strong Towne And Castell Of Tula In Hungary xi.* (London: John Awdeley, 1566), Sig.A3v.

[102] Ibid.; see also Ian Jenkins, 'Writing Islam: Representations of Muhammad, the Qur'an and Islamic Belief and the Construction of Muslim Identity in Early Modern Britain', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cardiff University (2007), p.331.

[103] Sebastian Münster, *A Briefe Collection and Compendious Extract of The Strau[N]Ge And Memorable Things, Gathered Oute Of The Cosmographye Of Sebastian Munster* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1572), p.48.

[104] Ibid., p.48.

[105] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois...* (London: Thomas Dawson, 1585), p.8.

[106] Ibid., pp.103, 105.

one later compilation, *Purchas His Pilgrimage*.[107] David Brafman has argued that Nicolay influenced European constructions of the Islamic world well into the nineteenth century.[108]

These examples show that the earliest connection between sodomy and the Turks in Anglophone discourses was imported from the continent, be it through a German cosmography or a French account. Moreover, in both cases the texts were several decades out of date. Munster's text and the 1566 newsletter fed into the framework of connecting sodomy and cruelty, familiar in early Anglophone print. Either way, the idea of sodomitical Turks was established in Anglophone discourses by the 1580s, when Meredith Hanmer, later himself accused of sodomy, preached about 'sodomitical' Muslim Turks.[109] As will be discussed in a later chapter, by the 1590s at least some Anglophone authors had sophisticated ways of conceptualising of the connection between sodomy and Islam.[110] For most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, discussion of these ideas by Anglophone travellers was rare. It was only by the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that travellers were expecting to associate sodomy and the Turks, and this was based on the imported discourses and their reception. In order to understand these processes, we need to examine the types of text on encounter available in early modern Anglophone discourses, the types of people who were likely to embark on foreign travels, and, crucially, the ways in which they were expected to relay their experiences, which were heavily moulded by *ars apodemica* and instructions for travellers.

Anglophone travellers and their accounts

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[107] Nicolay in Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of The Vworld and The Religions Obserued in All Ages and Places Discouered, From the Creation Vnto This Present Contayning a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, And America, With the Ilands Adiacent….* (London, 1626), see Index.

[108] David Brafman, 'Facing East: The Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's "Travels in Turkey"', *Getty Research Journal* 1 (2009), 153–160, p.154.

[109] Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of A Turke a Sermon Preached at The Hospitall of Saint Katherin […]* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue dwelling without Temple-barre, 1586), Sig.C5r.

[110] Anonymous, *The Policy of The Turkish Empire. The First Booke* (London: Printed by Iohn Windet for W[illiam] S[tansby] and are to be soulde at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, 1597), p.46.

The following section of this chapter will discuss different types of Anglophone sources about travel and encounter. It will argue that these sources were written, translated, edited, printed, and read as a part of an interconnected corpus and thus should be approached holistically. This section will also look at *ars apodemica* literature and argue that, far from fanciful 'fantasies', mentions of foreign vices played a key role in conceptualising the very purpose of travel: they were supposed to warn the potential traveller of the dangers which might await him, and encourage him to think deeper about his motivations for travel in the first place. Travellers were expected to write about foreign vices and to be as accurate as they could.

There are several different types of sources dealing with foreign lands in early modern Anglophone discourses. Travel accounts, or *relations*, are the most straightforward: they were written by individual travellers about their journeys. These include the accounts of Henry Blount, William Lithgow, George Sandys, and many others. However, even these seemingly straightforward narratives are more complex than they appear. As will be discussed below, the content of travel accounts was highly influenced by *ars apodemica* literature.[111] First-hand accounts were also often rewritten and expanded upon in subsequent editions, incorporating wider knowledge about the traveller's destination. Moreover, first-hand accounts include diverse types of texts, such as relations, captivity narratives, ship journals, newsletters, and many others. These types of texts had different purposes. For instance, ship journals tended to be specifically about the journey itself and included instructions on how to navigate the waters, whereas some captivity narratives aimed to recount experiences in often hostile non-Christian lands and were written to restore the author's reputation and demonstrate that they did not convert to a different religion and were safe to be reintegrated into their native community.[112] Descriptions of particular polities, rather than specific journeys, aimed to provide an overview of governance of a country and often served as a way to gain patronage and recognition for the author as an expert on a particular country. Good examples

[111] For an overview, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: Teaching the eye to see', *History and Anthropology* 9 (March 1996):139–90.

[112] Nabil Matar, 'Introduction', in Daniel J Vitkus and Nabil Matar (eds.), *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives From Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p.33.

of this include Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, which was met with great success and ensured the author's subsequent career development, and the anonymous 1597 *The Polity of the Turkish Empire*, the publication of which stopped after the first volume (out of two planned), clearly demonstrating that such ventures were not always successful.[113]

In addition to first-hand accounts, Justin Stagl has identified several other types of texts about foreign lands.[114] They include collections of travel reports, such as Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et viaggi* (1550 onwards) and Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589); cosmographies, such as Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia* (1544); and 'statistical' works, such as Francesco Sansovino's *Del Governo de i regni et delle republiche cosi antiche come moderne* (1561).[115] Similar types of texts were published in English in the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries. Collections of travels were usually carefully curated by the editor, most famously in the English context, such as by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.[116] The original accounts and travellers, however, were referred to in most cases. Cosmographies were more systematically arranged, and specific points in them referred to previous authors. Taking this a step further, some books analysed a specific theme, such as religion, as was the case with Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia*, or bodily modifications in Bulwer's *Anthropometamorphosis*.[117] Atlases and more statistical works, such as John Ogilby's *Africa*, methodically went through

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[113] On Rycaut, see Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey: Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); on *The Polity* see Anders Ingram, *Writing The Ottomans: Turkish History In Early Modern England. Early Modern Literature in History*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.54-5.

[114] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.55-6.

[115] See Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of The Overseas World in The De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), for more context of De Bry.

[116] For more context, see David B Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook. Vols.1&2* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974); L.E Pennington, ed., *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of The Life, Times and Writings of Samuel Purchas 1577-1626: Vols.1&2* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1997).

[117] Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia, Or, A View Of All Religions In The World* ... (London: John Saywell, 1658); J.B., *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd: Or, The Artificiall Changling Historically Presented* (London: William Hunt, 1653).

regions and individual countries around the world.[118] Travel literature overlapped significantly with historical writings, and many cosmographies and descriptions of polities included historical overviews. A separate genre of writing histories of other nations was also developing over the early modern period.[119] Additionally, foreign lands were referenced in plays, poems, and popular ballads.[120] This short overview demonstrates that knowledge about foreign lands was complex, layered, built on previous discourses, and available in a variety of forms and genres for a variety of different audiences.

Anglo-Ottoman encounter did not happen in a vacuum. In order to demonstrate the significance of a more holistic approach to these sources, it is important to analyse the social backgrounds and networks of some of the key travellers in this period. I will focus on tracing some of the interconnections of travellers who at some point journeyed to the Ottoman Empire and its vassals in North Africa, although similar conclusions could be made about a variety of travellers to different destinations. First and foremost, it is important to remember that no traveller went to just one destination; journeys in a world with no planes are always conducted *through* somewhere. So even a person who ventured outside England and headed to the Ottoman Empire just once in their lives would have sailed through the Mediterranean, stopping at various points along the way, or journeyed through most of Europe on foot. For example, Fynes Moryson and his brother journeyed through the Netherlands and Germany, crossed the Alps, boarded a ship in Venice, and sailed through Cyprus on their way to Jerusalem in 1595.[121] The complexities of these journeys were reflected in travel accounts. The first edition of William Lithgow's accounts, to name just one,

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[118] John Ogilby, *Africa Being an Accurate Description Of The Regions Of Ægypt, Barbary, Lybia, And Billedulgerid, The Land Of Negroes, Guinee, Æthiopia And The Abyssines*… (London: 1670).

[119] Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans*, pp.17-37.

[120] See for context Işil Şahin Gülter, *The Ottoman Turks in English Heroic Plays* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019); Daniel Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2000); Nat Cutter, 'Peace with Pirates? Maghrebi Maritime Combat, Diplomacy, and Trade in English Periodical News, 1622–1714', *Humanities Basel* 8 (2019), p.179; Anders Ingram, 'The Ottoman Siege of Vienna, English Ballads and the Exclusion Crisis', *Historical Journal* 57 (Cambridge, UK, 2014):53–80.

[121] E. Thompson, 'Moryson, Fynes (1565/6–1630), traveller and writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19385.

claimed to include 'the particular descriptions (more exactly set downe then hath beene heeretofore in English) of Italy, Sycilia, Dalmatia, Ilyria, Epire, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, Thessalia, and the whole continent of Greece, Creta, Rhodes, the iles Cyclades ... and the chiefest countries of Asia Minor. From thence, to Cyprus, Phænicia, Syria ... and the sacred citty Ierusalem'.[122] Moreover, a journey to the Ottoman Empire often included different areas of the empire, rather than just Constantinople, which was reflected in the travel accounts. For example, Henry Blount, chiefly remembered in the context of his journey to the Levant, travelled from Venice to the Balkans, then to Constantinople, then to Egypt via Rhodes.[123] Viewing these individuals as travellers to a homogenous entity called the 'Ottoman Empire' and reading these texts as a disconnected 'discourse' on the Ottomans is misleading, as that is not how the journeys were planned, conducted, experienced, or written about.

Many individuals involved in journeys to the Ottoman Empire also had wider roles and connections in the relationships between the Three Kingdoms and the world around them. According to his writings, John Smith (best known for his later career in Virginia) joined the Austrian forces fighting the Turks in 1600, was granted a coat of arms by Zsigmond Bathory in 1602, was captured by Tatars, sold into slavery to Turks, murdered his master, escaped, travelled to Morocco, and eventually came home to England by the winter of 1604-05.[124] George Sandys, who travelled to the Levant in 1610-12 and made one of the very first references to coffee by an Englishman in his writings, was the younger brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, a leading member of the Virginia Company.[125] In his own career, George was appointed treasurer of the Virginia colony

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[122] William Lithgow, *A Most Delectable, And True Discourse, Of an Admired and Painefull Peregrination From Scotland, To The Most Famous Kingdomes In Europe, Asia And Affricke.* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1614), Sig.A1r.

[123] N. Matar, 'Blount, Sir Henry (1602–1682), traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2687.

[124] G. Morgan, 'Smith, John (bap. 1580, d. 1631), soldier and colonial governor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25835.

[125] J. Ellison, 'Sandys, George (1578–1644), writer and traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24651.

in 1621 and lived in Virginia at least until the dissolution of the Virginia Company by the crown in 1624.[126] In addition to his many journeys listed above, the Scotsman William Lithgow intended to sail to Russia closer to the end of his life.[127] Before embarking on the trip to the Levant he is most known for in 1634, Henry Blount went on a separate trip to Spain, France, and Italy in 1629.[128] Later in the century, Paul Rycaut, whose father was originally from Antwerp, was known not only as an expert on the Ottoman Empire, but also as an active (if somewhat underqualified) translator of Spanish.[129] His interest in Spain is explained by his experiences of living there and studying at the University of Alcalá de Henares.[130] Following his extensive involvement in the Ottoman Empire as the private secretary and chancellor of the Levant company and diplomat in the 1660s, Rycaut junior was appointed 'William and Mary's resident at the three Hanse Towns of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen' in 1689.[131] Sir John Finch, who served as the English Ambassador at the Ottoman Court between 1672 and 1682, had spent a decade in Italy earlier in his life (1651-1661).[132] The Shirley brothers, best known for their involvement in Anglo-Persian

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[126] Ibid.; on Sandys in the Levant see Julia Schleck, *Telling True Tales Of Islamic Lands: Forms Of Mediation In English Travel Writing, 1575-1630* (Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), pp.31-61.

[127] M. Garrett, 'Lithgow, William (b. 1582, d. in or after 1645), traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16774.

[128] N. Matar, 'Blount, Sir Henry (1602–1682), traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2687.

[129] S. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700), diplomat and author', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24392; '[Rycaut] had a very slight knowledge of the Spanish language and he did not scruple to make wild guesses at the meaning of sentences, and to omit whole chapters. Thus, he only gives fourteen out of the twenty-six chapters in the first book, and sixteen out of the twenty-six i the second.' C.S. Markham, *The First Part Of The Royal Commentaries*, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1869-71), vol.1, p. xvi.

[130] S. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700)'.

[131] S. Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700)'.

[132] S. Hutton, 'Finch, Sir John (1626–1682), physician and diplomat', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9439.

encounters in the early seventeenth century, were competing with the Levant trade in general and the Levant Company specifically and represented themselves as champions of 'Christendom against the Turk'.[133] Both Thomas and Anthony Shirley fought in the Low Countries in the 1580s.[134] These examples, among many others, show that travellers to the Ottoman Empire need to be seen in the wider context of their lives and travels elsewhere, and, consequently, their texts need to be read more holistically.

It is challenging to make any arguments about dissemination, readership and responses to early modern Anglophone texts dealing with transcultural encounters without a deep archival study of individual volumes, their ownership, and potential marginalia in these texts. Such a study is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, I have taken some initial steps to map out the beginnings of the study of dissemination of travel accounts. I traced the individual editions of some of the key works I engage with throughout this dissertation and the number of surviving copies of those editions according to the English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC). This estimate aims to provide a crude idea of the dissemination of these texts in relation to each other. Direct comparison is limited by the age and initial value of the editions relative to each other, among many other factors. Further study of the ownership and dissemination of these texts requires research into book lists of specific printers, booksellers, and libraries and inventories of individual book owners, and tracing the individual surviving volumes to their previous owners where possible. Moreover, 'survival rate' of books is not always a helpful avenue to assess their popularity. Sarah Werner argues that 'books that were heavily used were, essentially, used up'. [135] Survival rate might indicate completely the opposite of popularity – it might show that a certain book was not heavily used, or that it was considered to be valuable. One of the ways to mitigate for this is to compare books in similar genres, as I will do here. However, there was diversity within 'travel literature' and the value of books. Thus, I paid close attention to reprints, not just the number of surviving copies. I also

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[133] R. Raiswell, 'Sherley [Shirley], Sir Thomas (1564–1633/4), privateer and travel writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Retrieved 30 Jul. 2020*, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25436.

[134] R. Raiswell, 'Sherley [Shirley], Sir Thomas (1564–1633/4)'.

[135] Sarah Werner, *Studying Early Printed Books 1450-1800: A Practical Guide* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 2019), p.118.

compared survival rates of reprints of the same work. All of this is indicative, and book history is not the primary purpose of this thesis. With these limitations in mind, my research demonstrates some interesting findings.

An individual edition of an eyewitness travel account used in this dissertation with the most surviving copies is Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, published in 1617.[136] 91 individual surviving copies of this account are recorded in ESTC. However, no further editions of this account were published. The most long-lasting individual account is Henry Timberlake's *A True and Strange discourse on the travailes of two English Pilgrims*, first published in 1603.[137] It went through 18 editions between 1603 and 1738. However, 11 of those editions included Timberlake's account as a part of a wider collection on Jerusalem and the Holy Land.[138] In fact, Timberlake's account was not in print at all between 1631 and 1683, and individual surviving copies of this account, published separately or as a part of a collection, never go above 12 – hardly a bestseller. The more popular eyewitness accounts, such as those of Henry Blount or George Sandys, survive in larger numbers. However, there are differences in the dissemination of popular individual travel accounts. For example, Sandys's account went through 9 individual printings between 1615 and 1673. Blount's account also went through 9 printings, but over a shorter time period – 1636 to 1671. However, more individual copies of Sandys's account survive: the survival rate of his travel account averages at 39.5 per printing and the individual printings never dip below 30. Blount's

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[136] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written By Fynes Moryson Gent. : First In The Latine Tongue, And Then Translated By Him Into English: Containing His Ten Yeeres Trauell Through The Tvvelue Dominions Of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Jtaly, Turky, France, England, Scotland, And Ireland. (*London: John Beale, 1617).

[137] Henry Timberlake, *A True and Strange Discourse on The Travailes of Two English Pilgrims* (London: Thomas Archer, 1603); for Timberlake, see also Joan Taylor, *The Englishman, The Moor and The Holy City: The True Adventures of An Elizabethan Traveller* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006).

[138] Henry Timberlake, Samuel Brett,*Two Journeys to Jerusalem, Containing, First, A Strange and True Account of The Travels of Two English Pilgrims ... By H.T. Secondly, The Travels of Fourteen Englishmen, In 1669 ... By T.B. With The Rare Antiquities, Monuments, And Memorable Places and Things Mentioned in Holy Scripture: And an Exact Description of The Old and New Jerusalem, &c. To Which Is Added, A Relation of The Great Council of The Jews Assembled in The Plains of Ajayday in Hungaria in 1650. To Examine the Scriptures Concerning Christ. By S.B. An Englishman There Present. With An Account of The Wonderful Delusion of The Jews by A Counterfeit Messiah ... At Smyrna, In 1666 ... Lastly, The Fatal and Final Extirpation and Destruction of The Jews Throughout Persia, In 1666. And The Remarkable Occasion Thereof.* (London, Nath. Crouch, 1683).

account, on the other hand, averages at just 13.4 per printing and never rises above 29. Paul Rycaut's influential *The Present State…* went through 12 printings between 1667 and 1701. It averages out at 17.8 surviving copies per printing. However, this is not reflective of severe disparities between individual printings: only 3 copies of the 1701 edition survive, compared to 48 copies of the 2nd edition printed in 1668. Rycaut's other major work, *The history of the Turkish empire from the year 1623 to the year 1677*, survives in 2 individual editions, printed in 1680 and 1687, but they survive in 75 and 29 copies respectively. These estimates do not include various compilations of Rycaut's work, often published alongside a reworked version of Richard Knolles's *History of the Turks*. William Lithgow's account of his travels survives in 8 individual printings between 1614 and 1692. He expanded his original account in 1623 and 1632, adding additional materials and descriptions of his further voyages. The account was printed twice in 1632, surviving in 11 and 25 copies respectively. His account was not published between 1640, around the time of his death, and 1682, when a version surviving in 17 copies was printed.

Specific contexts matter to the popularity of individual texts; interest in the Ottoman Empire and mentions of Ottoman sodomy were not uniform throughout the early modern period. The examples of Rycaut's second history and the publications of his compilations and the revival of Timberlake and Lithgow in the 1680s demonstrate an increased interest in Ottoman affairs in the 1680s. Even more specific political and religious contexts could fuel interest in specific texts. For instance, by far the most popular captivity narrative in the seventeenth century, according to the ESTC text survival metric, is Adam Elliot's 1682 account (63 copies for its single edition).[139] William Okeley's *Eben-ezer*, which went through 3 printings between 1675 and 1684 and survived in an average of 7.6 copies per printing, provides a contemporary comparison.[140] However, Elliot's account was published in the midst of a high profile libel suit between Elliot and Titus Oates at the height of the Exclusion Crisis and Popish Plot.[141] Similarly, James Wadsworth's account, which

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[139] Adam Elliot, *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates, The Salamanca-Doctor from Perjury, Or, An Essay To Demonstrate Him Only Forsworn In Several Instances By Adam Elliot* ... (London: Printed by T. Snowden for the author, 1682).

[140] William Okeley, *Eben-ezer: Or, A Small Monument Of Great Mercy, Appearing In The Miraculous Deliverance Of William Okeley, Williams Adams, John Anthony, John Jephs, John - Carpenter, From The Miserable Slavery Of Algiers…* (London: Printed for Nat. Ponder, 1684).

[141] See Hammond, 'Titus Oates and "Sodomy"', for more context.

went through 3 printings in 1629-1630 and has not been in print since, survived in an average of 18 copies per printing. His account, called *The English Spanish Pilgrime*, described his experiences in North Africa.[142] However, its focus was Wadsworth's conversion from Catholicism to Anglicanism and his anti-Spanish sentiment, appealing during the Anglo-Spanish War (1625-1630).

This overview demonstrates that the popularity of travel accounts throughout the period was not uniform and did not increase in a linear manner as the century progressed. Instead, it was highly dependent on specific circumstances: both the authorship of the texts themselves (Sandys's account survives in more copies than Blount's) and the particular social and political contexts of their publications. Similar attention and specificity are required in analysing not only which accounts were published, but what was and was not included in them.

Ars apodemica

Why would someone want to write about foreign sodomy in the first place? After all, sodomy was supposed to be an 'unspeakable sin', a deed which is not supposed to be discussed openly. A key motivator was *ars apodemica* literature, which encouraged travellers to write about vices they encountered in order to warn other travellers and to avoid temptation. These ideas are intrinsically connected to debates about benefits and dangers of travel in this period. The re-emergence of classical ideas of the advantages of travel went hand in hand with the continuing importance of suspicion of travel and strangers. The Reformation changed the place of the most prominent form of medieval travel – pilgrimage – in discussions and realities of travel across the Three Kingdoms. Finally, the development of the observational method and educational travel, which often went hand in hand, gave birth to the most famous form of pre-twentieth century European travel: the

[142] James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime. Or, A Nevv Discouerie Of Spanish Popery, And Iesuiticall Stratagems...* (London: By T[homas] C[otes] for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene-Arbor, 1629).

Grand Tour.[143] However, the story of early modern travel has as much space for continuity as it does for radical change. The debates on advantages and disadvantages of travel went on well into the eighteenth century; religion in general and Protestantism specifically still played a significant role in preparation for long-distance travel at the end of the period; and arguments in favour of the significance of the personal experience of travel flourished decades before their supposed ascendance into prominence in the works of Francis Bacon. This part of the chapter will explain what sorts of arguments were made in favour of and against travel in the period under discussion, how they directly influenced the content of travel accounts, cosmographies, atlases, and other types of travel writing, and, ultimately, why sodomy was discussed in recollections of foreign lands.

Ars apodemica, and instructions for travellers more widely, was a popular genre of humanist texts discussing travel and systematisation of knowledge about other lands. *Ars apodemica* texts directly influenced how travel accounts were structured and what was covered in them. The analysis in the following section is fully based on the *Art of Travel* online database, created by the National University of Ireland, Galway.[144] The database contains 93 items, published in English between 1553 and 1883. These texts include treatises, instructions for travellers, and other types of texts published as separate books, and essays, letters, prefaces, and chapters published in wider collections or conduct books. Out of these, I consulted all 66 individual texts published between 1553 and 1712. I used the keyword method, outlined above, to search for mentions of 'sodomy*'*, 'buggery*'*, 'ganymedes*',* and other words which might indicate same-sex activity. This search was not particularly fruitful, with one notable exception to be discussed below. A broader and more contextual close reading proved to be a more suitable method for analysing these texts. However, the texts were much more helpful in pointing out why travellers might write about foreign 'vices' more generally. The following analysis is based on focusing on the idea of vices, customs, manners, and the significance of describing these in one's travel writings.

One reason for mentioning sodomy in travel accounts was the formulaic structure of these texts. Instructions for travellers provided specific templates of what should be covered in a travel account,

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[143] For more context, see Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and The Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); R. Ansell, 'Educational travel in Protestant families from post-Restoration Ireland', *Historical Journal* 58:4 (2015): 931-958.

[144] https://artoftravel.nuigalway.ie/

in what order, and in what amount of detail. As Stagl and Rubiés have demonstrated, these texts were first produced in Latin from the second half of the 1570s onwards in several European countries by humanists such as Theodor Zwinger, Hugo Blotius, and Hieronimus Turler. The standard travel method scheme was produced in Latin in 1577 by Hilarius Pyrckmair.[145] This schema was reprinted anonymously many times and influenced similar schemes produced in English, such as those included in Robert Dallington's *A method for trauel* (1605) and William Davison's *The Most Notable and Excellent Instruction for Travellers* (1633).[146] These texts are the only examples of actual schemata published in English in my sample. However, the principles behind the schemata were explored in many more texts.[147] Sometimes, these instructions were included in published travel accounts, such as Fynes Moryson's chapters 'Of Travelling in General' and 'Of Precepts for Travellers' in his *Itinerary*.[148] None of the instructions or schemata I consulted mentioned sodomy directly. However, most of them included instructions to include descriptions of foreign vices in one's travel account. For example, Davison's schemata included it between 'Virtues' and 'Studies'.[149] Thomas Palmer instructed travellers to note 'whether the people be effeminate for want of good discipline, as commonly those are where either vices, or great excesse abound' and more generally, 'what vices and vertues the people are most giuen vnto; and that whether by defect or administration of lawes, or by their own temperatures'.[150] Curzon advised prospective travellers to 'take remarks of the Country...all its Imperfections and wants in

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[145] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, p.61.

[146] Robert Dallington, *A Method for Trauell Shewed by Taking The View Of France. As It Stoode in The Yeare of Our Lord 1598*, (London: Thomas Creede, 1605); Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, William Davison, *Profitable Instructions Describing What Speciall Obseruations Are to Be Taken by Trauellers in All Nations, States and Countries; Pleasant and Profitable.* (London: 1633).

[147] Henry Curzon, 'Of Travel' in *The Universal Library: Or Compleat Summary of Science. Containing Above Sixty Select Treatises* (London, George Sawbridge, 1712); Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of The Meanes Hovv to Make Our Trauailes, Into Forraine Countries, The More Profitable and Honourable* (London: Printed, by H[umphrey] L[ownes] for Mathew Lownes, 1606).

[148] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Part III, pp.1-11 and pp.11-37.

[149] Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, William Davison, *Profitable Instructions*, p.10.

[150] Palmer, *An Essay*, pp.75, 78.

Manners'.[151] Most straightforwardly, Francis Bacon instructed travellers to note 'whatever is memorable in places'.[152]

In order to determine *why* travellers were instructed to make note of foreign vices, we need to take a step back and consider the wider context of debates around the reasons for foreign travel in the early modern period. The long seventeenth century witnessed a heated debate on the advantages and spiritual dangers of travel. On the one hand, several authors pointed out the dangers of exposure to foreign vices and advised against travel. Joseph Hall's 1617 *Quo Vadis* is perhaps the strictest example of this line of argument, but it was echoed in many other texts, including, for instance, George Benson's 1609 sermon published later in the same year.[153] Hall's book was also republished as a broadsheet collection of sayings in 1674.[154] Warnings of the corrupting nature of travel peppered Anglophone discourses on travel as late at 1726, well into the era of the Grand Tour.[155] On the other hand, arguments in favour of travel were not the result of a seventeenth-century process of wider availability of travel and its increasing importance in English society. They were present at the very start of the period and stemmed from a humanist tradition. Haly Heron's *A Newe Discourse of Morall Philosophie…* (1579), 'one of the earliest courtly conduct books written by an English author', emphasised the importance of personal experience and,

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[151] Curzon, *The Universal Library*, p.182.

[152] Francis Bacon, *Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, Of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (London, 1625), p.102.

[153] Joseph Hall, *Quo Vadis?: A Just Censure Of Travell As It Is Commonly Undertaken By The Gentlemen Of Our Nation* (London: Printed by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, 1617), p.47; George Benson, *A Sermon Preached At Paules Cross* (London: By H. L[ownes] for Richard Moore, and are to be sold at his shop in S. Dunstans Church-yard, 1609), p.26.

[154] Joseph Hall, *Bishop Hall's Sayings Concerning Travellers to Prevent Popish and Debauch''d Principles* (London: Printed for William Miller at the Gilded Acorn in S. Paul's Church-Yard, near the little north door, 1674).

[155] See Béat Louis de Muralt, *Letters Describing the Character and Customs of The English and French Nations. With A Curious Essay on Travellinge; And A Criticism on Boileau's Description of Paris* (London, 1726), Letter 6.

consequently, the profitableness of travel.[156] Heron argued that 'of experience commeth prudence, by prudence knowledge, by knowledge wisdom, than the which nothing is more precious and divine'.[157] This sentence was underlined by an unidentified reader in the British Library copy of the book, showing that the importance of experience mattered to at least someone who read this work. In 1622, Henry Peacham insisted that 'the most eminent and wise men of the world [...] have beene the greatest trauailers'.[158] Some authors throughout the period under question pointed out both the advantages and disadvantages of travel in their works. In the words of John Toland, 1705, 'travel can be profitable or hurtful'.[159]

This overview demonstrates that the seventeenth century witnessed as many continuities as changes when it came to travel and travel advice. The discourses described above were shaped by anxieties about travel and benefits which were perceived to outweigh those dangers. The complexities of these discourses and the reprints and repetitions of earlier texts such as Joseph Hall's show that although a shift towards more educational travel might have occurred in this period, there were profound similarities in anxieties about travel at the beginning and the end of this period. This corpus of texts can and should be analysed as an interconnected discourse, and the following paragraphs will treat it as such, using examples from across the period.

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[156] Kraye, J. (2004, September 23). Heron, Haly (c. 1550–1591), author and soldier. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 28 Jul. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13088.

[157] Haly Heron, *A Newe Discourse of Morall Philosophie, Entituled, The Kayes of Counsail...* (London: Printed by [H. Bynneman for] Ralph Newberie, 1579), p.108.

[158] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman Fashioning Him Absolute in The Most Necessary & Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde Or Bodie That May Be Required In A Noble Gentleman* (London: [by John Legat] for Francis Constable, and are to bee sold at his shop at the white lio[n] in Paules churchyard, 1622), p.200.

[159] John Toland, *The Agreement Of The Customs Of The East-Indians, With Those Of The Jews, And Other Ancient People* (London: Printed for W. Davis, at the Black Bull, next the Fleece-Tavern, in Cornhil, 1705), p.150; a similar sentiment is expressed in Robert Greene, *Greenes Mourning Garment Given Him By Repentance At The Funerals Of Love, Which He Presentes For A Favour To All Young Gentlemen That Wish To Weane Themselves From Wanton Desires* (London: Printed by I. W[olfe] for Thomas Newman, 1590), p.5, p.7, dialogue pp.4-7; and in William Darrel, *Gentleman (A) Instructed In The Conduct Of A Virtuous And Happy Life. Written For the Instruction of A Young Nobleman* (London: Printed for E. Evets at the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1704), pp.544 - 56.

Understanding moral anxieties around travel uncovers the motivation for mentioning foreign vices. Some of the prerequisites for travel even in the most pro-travel texts were confidence in one's own religion, knowledge of one's own country, and either a mature enough age or the presence of a tutor and guide to protect the traveller from foreign influences. Despite being one of the most famous early modern Englishmen associated with travel and encounter, Samuel Purchas warned his readers of the dangers of travel. Although he professed to 'speake not against Trauell', he argued that it was only 'vsefull to vsefull men [...] industrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education', whereas others could not 'trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themselues'.[160] Religious faith was meant to protect the traveller from foreign vices. In 1617, Fynes Moryson insisted that travellers should be 'well instructed in the true religion', lest 'they should bee seduced by Papists'.[161] Religion retained its significance throughout the seventeenth century and Anglicanism specifically mattered at the end of the period as much as it did in the beginning.[162]

Travellers were supposed to protect themselves from foreign vices. In a tract published in English in 1592, Justus Lipsius advised his readers to 'haue diligent care in this behalfe, least you fall into

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[160] Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes. Contayning A History of The World, In Sea Voyages & Lande-Travells, By Englishmen & Others. Wherein Gods Wonders in Nature & Providence, The Actes, Arts, Varieties, & Vanities of Men, With A World of The Worlds Rarities, Are by A World Of Eywitnesse-Authors, Related To The World. Some Left Written by M. Hakluyt at His Death. More Since Added. His Also Perused & Perfected. All Examined, Abreviated with Discourse. Adorned With Pictues and Expressed in Mapps* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Ros, 1625), vol. I p.[ii].

[161] Moryson, *Itinerary*, Part III Book 1, p.3.

[162] For some examples see Francis Osborne, *Advice to A Son, Or, Directions For Your Better Conduct Through The Various And Most Important Encounters Of This Life Under The Generall Heads 1. Studies &c., II. Love And Marriage., III. Travell., IV. Government., V. Religion, Conclusion* (Oxford: Printed by H. Hall, printer to the University for Thomas Robinson, 1656), p.60; Curzon, *The Universal Library*, p.180. See also Anonymous, 'The Art of Travelling to Advantage' in *An Account Of The First Voyages And Discoveries Made By The Spaniards In America Containing The Most Exact Relation Hitherto Publish'd, Of Their Unparallel'd Cruelties On The Indians, In The Destruction Of Above Forty Millions Of People: With The Propositions Offer'd To The King Of Spain To Prevent The Further Ruin Of The West-Indies ... To Which Is Added, The Art of Travelling, Shewing How a Man May Dispose His Travels to The Best Advantage* (London: Printed by J. Darby for D. Brown at the Black Swan and Bible without Temple-Bar, J. Harris at the Harrow in Little Britain, and Andr. Bell at the Cross-keys and Bible in Cornhil, 1699), p.3, for the importance of the role of fixed mind in protecting the traveller from foreign influences.

the naturall faults of those nations where you trauell'.[163] In 1655, Thomas Culpeper warned that travellers should be 'untainted with vices, which in travelling increase like snow balls'.[164] Fynes Moryson noted that 'a greater feare distracteth euen the mindes of the wiser sort, that they see many returne from forraine parts corrupted with vices proper to them'.[165] Robert Johnson (1601) warned that 'because in forraine countries there are any peculiar vices couered with the specious semblance of humanities, which [...] growing into custom, vnworthingly find not only pardon, but also commendation'.[166] Travellers, in his words, must observe 'the chiefest preservations of reason against any such infection'.[167] Vices were also seen as something travellers could bring home with them, if they 'return laden with nothing but the vices, if not the diseases of the Countries which they haue seene'.[168]

One of the reasons to include mentions of vice in travel accounts was to warn future travellers. Justus Lipsius, one of the most popular authors of travel advice in early modern Europe, insisted that it was important to describe 'the nature and vices both of the men, and the women: with the meanes how to vse and demeane your selfe towardes them for your owne safetie and defence'.[169] John Gailhard insisted that it was the duty of previous travellers to tell prospective travellers as

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[163] Justus Lipsius, *A Direction for Trauailers Taken Out Of Iustus Lipsius, And Enlarged For The Behoofe Of The Right Honorable Lord, The Yong Earle Of Bedford, Being Now Ready To Rrauell. They That Go Downe into The Sea In Shippes, See The Great Wonders Of The Lord.* (London: By R. B[ourne] for Cutbert Burbie, and are to be sold at his shop in the Poultry, by S. Mildreds Church, 1592), Sig.C2v.

[164] Thomas Culpeper, *Morall Discourses and Essayes, Upon Severall Select Subjects* (London: Printed by S. G[riffin]. for Charles Adams, and are to sold at his shop at the sign of the Talbot, near Saint Dunstans Church in Fleetstree, 1655), p.68.

[165] Moryson, *Itinerary*, Part III Book 1, p.5.

[166] Robert Johnson, *Essaies or Rather Imperfect Offers* (London: Printed by Iohn Windet, for Iohn Barnes, 1601), p.28.

[167] Ibid., p.28.

[168] Epistole to the Reader in Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, William Davison, *Profitable Instructions*.

[169] Lipsius, *A Direction for Trauailers*, Sig.C3r.

much as possible about the countries they planned on visiting, as 'how can he that knows it not tell me of it?'.[170]

Although there was a certain degree of debate on this matter, travellers were warned off sexual and romantic relationships during their travels. *Ars apodemica* literature represented romance as distracting and potentially disruptive. John Toland, writing in 1705, insisted that 'a Traveller ought to shun as much as it is possible making Love o the Places thro' which he passes, he must erect a strong Rampart about his Heart, against this Passion'.[171] The anonymous *A letter of advice*, published in 1688, instructed travellers to 'set a strict Guard then upon all your Senses, watch all the Ports and Avenues of your Soul against the incursion of carnal Temptations'.[172] Sometimes these warnings were more specific and focused on potential pollution and effeminacy. *A letter of advice* argued that 'you are under the most forcible Obligations by the Laws of Nature and Christianity, to avoid and abstain from all carnal Pollutions, and every kind and degree of Effeminacy: For unless you keep under your Appetite (as Prudence directs,) 'twill presently set on fire the whole Course of Nature, and plunge both Soul and Body into most desperate, damnable, and irreparable Mischiefs'.[173]

Although many writers talked of lusts and temptations in general terms, there was only one specific mention of sodomy as a warning to travellers in the database. Francis Osborne's 1656 *Advice to a Son* contains a lengthy passage, warning male travellers from the lusts of Italian men:

> who travels to Italy, handsome, young and beardlesse, may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect him from the Lust of men, as the Charmes of women: an imiety

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[170] Jean Gailhard, *The Present State of The Princes and Republicks of Italy with Observations on Them* (London: Printed for John Starkey, living at the Myter near Temple Bar in Fleet street, 1668), Preface, Sig.A11v.

[171] Toland, *The Agreement of The Customs Of The East-Indians*, p.154.

[172] Anonymous, *A Letter Of Advice To A Young Gentleman Of An Honourable Family, Now In His Travels Beyond The Seas For His More Safe And Profitable Conduct In The Three Great Instances, Of Study, Moral Deportment, And Religion : In Three Parts / By A True Son Of The Church Of England* (London: Printed for R. Clavell, at the Sign of the Peacock in S. Pauls Church-Yard,1688), p.43.

[173] Ibid., p.41.

> not to be credited by an honest heart, did not the ruins of Sodom, calcin'd by this unnatural heat, remain still to witnesse it.[174]

Osborne warned his travellers of the practical dangers of sodomy and how to avoid them. He argued that Italians 'maintain[ed] to this end, Emissaries abroad, to entice men of delicate complexions, to the houses of these decrepit Lechers, under the pretence of an assignation made by some Feminine beauty', connecting the dangers of lust for women to the dangers of sodomy.[175] He further argued that 'thus ensnared, the poore uncircumspect young man cannot with conscience doe, or safely refuse this base office'.[176] Although Osborne stressed that a man with conscience could not succumb to sodomitical advances, he also emphasised that in such a situation it would be unsafe for the young traveller to refuse, and thus prevention or being warned in advance was paramount.

A response to Osborne, written by John Heydon in 1658, highlights another reason why sodomy was mentioned in relation to specific societies: the reputation of specific countries and cultures. As the paragraphs above demonstrate, travel advice and travel knowledge were layered and reliant on previous texts and established discourses. Sodomy was a part of those interconnected discourses. Heydon's text provides a clear case study for the significance of reporting and reputation. Heydon wrote a defence of Italy as a destination for travel, stating that 'I never saw the lust of men in Italy, nor the charms of women'.[177] Although he insisted that 'France indeed is onely guilty of Sodomy', he argued that 'Italy and Spain are not'.[178] His next passage is revealing of the role travel accounts play in shaping discourses of sodomitical societies. He advised Italy and Spain to 'not onely be free from sin, but from suspicion, for it is not enough to be well lived, but *well reported*, and

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[174] Osborne, *Advice to A Son*, p.74.

[175] Ibid., p.75.

[176] Ibid., p.75.

[177] John Heydon, *Advice to A Daughter, In Opposition to The Advice to A Son, Or Directions for Your Better Conduct Through the Various and Most Important Encounters of This Life* (London: Printed by J. Moxon, for Francis Cossinet, at the Golden Anchor in Tower Street, at Minchoon lane end, 1658), p.105.

[178] Ibid., p.105.

oftentimes weighty matters are as much carried by reputation as substance'.[179] At the end of the day, a reputation for sodomy could 'come rather by destiny, then by deserving'.[180] This highlights another reason travellers had for writing about foreign sodomy: because they were expected to, as a particular country already had that reputation in travel literature.

Sodomy and other foreign vices could also be mentioned in the context of arguments in praise of the advantages of travel. Most of these arguments relied on the concept of profit. Spiritual and educational profit for the individual traveller, profit for their Commonwealth, and monetary and mercantile profit were just some of the ways in which profit was understood in the context of travel and travel advice. Travels should be 'be Profitable both to Themselves, and to their Country'.[181] There was no expectation that everything foreigners did was sinful or full of vice. Foreign virtues could be learned as, according to Gailhard, 'every nation has some particular vices and virtues, one to be avoided and the other learned'.[182] John Toland insisted that 'the principal Design of a Traveller ought to be to improve himself by every thing that he finds among Foreigners'.[183] Foreign vices, in their turn, could teach a traveller the value of virtue. Obadiah Walker wrote in 1673 that one of the advantages of travel was 'tasting perpetually the varieties of Nature, to be able to judge what is good and better'.[184]

One of the specific contexts in which vices should be noted was the governance of the various lands travellers visited: the regulation of vices and the vices of the rulers. In 1578 William Bourne argued that travellers should take note of individuals 'that are wise and sober, and discreet in the good gouernemēt of the common weale, such as doo maintayne vertue and suppresse vice'.[185] This

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[179] Ibid., p.105, my italics.

[180] Ibid., p.105.

[181] Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, William Davison, *Profitable Instructions*, p.75.

[182] Gailhard, *The Present State*, Sig.A11v.

[183] Toland, *The Agreement of The Customs of The East-Indians*, p.151.

[184] Obadiah Walker, *Of Education Especially of Young Gentlemen: In Two Parts* (Oxford: at the Theater, 1673), p.192; a similar argument is made in Palmer, *An Essay of The Meanes*, p.60.

[185] William Bourne, *A Booke Called the Treasure for Traueilers Deuided into Fiue Bookes or Partes, Contayning Very Necessary Matters, For All Sortes of Trauailers, Eyther by Sea or By Lande, Written by*

advice resonated in the instructions to take note of princes, magistrates, governance, and the law, which peppered *ars apodemica* literature. *Profitable Observations*, published in 1633, instructed the reader to note 'the imperfections & vices of the Prince and Magistrates'.[186]

There was a limit to which mentions of vice could be profitable. In a tract published in 1633, Fulke Greville argued that travellers should not 'spend your spirits, and the pretious time of your trauaile, in a captious preiudice, and censuring of all things, nor in an infectious collection of base vices and fashions of Men and Women, and generall corruptions of these times; which will bee of vse onely among Humorists for iests and table-talke'.[187] Thomas Neil stated that 'it is a most vaine and frivolous thing to enquire about every sleight rumour, which is set abroach by the common people'.[188] Mentions of sodomy could be considered vulgar or frivolous, and thus could be omitted from some accounts. In theory, at least, they served specific purposes: to warn and to educate. Mentioning vices, in moderation, was at the heart of the purpose of travel – profiting the traveller and their country.

Conclusion

Early modern vernacular English print had a plethora of words to refer to same-sex activity and other things deemed to be sexual deviancy. Some of them, such as 'sodomy', were used as a broad term, whereas others, such as 'Ganymede', denoted a specific concept (in the case of 'Ganymede', a younger male lover of an older man, often in a situation of monetary exchange). The most widespread words denoting same-sex activity stemmed from 'Sodom'. However, 'Sodomite' could also refer to the inhabitants of the Biblical city of Sodom, which is, while connected to sexual

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William Bourne (London: [by Thomas Dawson] for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Paules Churchyarde, at the sygne of the blacke Beare, 1578), Sig.B4v-C1r.

[186] Robert Devereux, Philip Sidney, William Davison, *Profitable Instructions*, p.125.

[187] Fulke Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Vworkes of The Right Honorable Fulke Lord Brooke Written in His Youth, And Familiar Exercise with Sir Philip Sidney. The Seuerall Names of Which Workes the Following Page Doth Declare* (London: Printed by E[lizabeth]. P[urslowe]. for Henry Seyle, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Tygers head in St. Paules Church-yard, 1633), p.297.

[188] Thomas Neale, *A treatise of direction, how to travell safely and profitably into forraigne countries written by Thomas Neal …* (London: Printed for Humphrey Robinson, 1643), p.150.

deviancy, a different context for the usage of the word. Other words, especially 'buggery', gained popularity in vernacular English print following specific events – in the case of 'buggery', it became more widespread in print following the 1533 Buggery Act. Other words, such as 'Ganymede' and 'catamite', had classical roots. Their presence in vernacular English print was reinforced by vocabulary transfers from Continental languages, such as Italian and Spanish.

A close reading of printed vernacular English texts demonstrates that mentions of same-sex activity and sexual deviancy were present in vernacular English print from the very beginning of printing in England. They appeared in religious texts and in chronicles, as a comment on tyranny of rulers. Turks and Muslims were also mentioned in early English print but were not associated with sodomy. The earliest printed mention of such a connection I could find was in *Newes From Vienna the 5. Day Of August. 1566*.[189] That association was the result of a transfer of continental discourses in the middle of the sixteenth century. The association between Turks and sodomy was popular in German discourses. It also appeared in some Continental eyewitness accounts of the Ottoman Empire. Two continental sources – Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, published in English in 1572, and Nicholas de Nicolay, whose *Quatre Premiers Livres des Navigations* were first published in French in 1567 and translated into English in 1585 – contributed to the development of the association between sodomy and the Turks in vernacular English print.[190] It was a wide-known enough trope to be used in a sermon by Meredith Hanmer in 1586. The trope might have also been disseminated through oral and manuscript transmission, and the invisibility of such transmission in print is one of the limitations of working exclusively with printed sources.

By the time when increasing numbers of Anglophone eyewitnesses travelled to the Ottoman Empire at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, they were expecting to see sodomy. In turn, they wrote about it partly because they were expected to notice vices and record them in their writings. The genre conventions of travel writing in the early modern period were influenced by *ars apodemica* literature, which placed a great emphasis on warning future travellers of foreign vices and preparing them for the mortal dangers of their journeys. Moreover, individual travellers and captives such as Adam Elliot might have had specific reasons

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[189] See above, p.73.

[190] See above, p.73.

to talk about sodomy – this point will be further discussed in a later chapter. It is challenging to assess the reception of these accounts. One of the ways to do that is to track their dissemination, which has its own methodological difficulties. Tracking the popularity of accounts enables us to suggest which accounts had more influence on later travellers. By this metric, the account of William Lithgow was the most reprinted one throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, whereas the most widely disseminated account of the second half of the century was the work of Paul Rycaut.

By the time Turks started being associated with sodomy in early modern Anglophone printed discourses, Anglophone print had gone through almost a century without that association. Anglophone printed discourses on sodomy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries created a set of frameworks in which sodomy in general was understood. It was often based on previous medieval discourses but was altered during the Reformation. Early modern Anglophone discourses on sodomy not only accommodated the emerging religious divide but were actively employed at the heart of some of the social and theological arguments against Catholicism. Early modern sodomites in Anglophone discourses could be figures from the past, foreign and domestic Christian and pagan rulers, Catholics, monks, Popes, characters from Greek and Roman mythology, and, of course, the Bible. This was fertile ground for emerging discourses on non-European and non-Christian peoples, and several of them were connected to gendered and sexual transgressions in Anglophone discourses of the 1580s and 1590s.

However, this does not mean that sodomy was just a rhetorical tool for demonising one's religious opponents, Christian or not. Instead, it was a part of a complex web of wider European travel and encounter discourses, including not only previous travel accounts, but also *ars apodemica* texts. Writing about foreign vices, including sodomy, was steeped in discussions of the purpose of travel and was shaped by expectations of both the form and the content of travel accounts. Filtered through the lens of Christianity, Protestantism, and ideas about cosmography, climate, and many other factors, Anglophone mentions of foreign sodomy were still expected to reflect the societies they were describing.

Chapter 2. Encountering the Age of Beloveds

'*Catamites* are their serious loves'

Henry Blount, 1636

Understanding the Anglophone conceptualisation of sodomitical Turks is impossible without understanding early modern Ottoman homoeroticism and gender dynamics. This chapter highlights the similarities and differences between Ottoman and Anglophone ideas of same-sex relationships in the Ottoman Empire and the wider Muslim world. It has three major aims: to outline the Ottoman homoerotic culture which Anglophone texts depicted, to demonstrate the ways in which Ottoman anxieties about homoeroticism mapped onto concerns voiced in Anglophone literatures of travel, and to show some of the ways in which Anglophone observers selected a specific explanation for what they saw from a multitude of available alternatives. The first part of this chapter will demonstrate that early modern Ottoman society had a flourishing homoerotic culture.[1] What happened on the ground in transcultural encounters mattered; it makes all the difference between labelling the content of Anglophone texts as 'fantasy' and reading them in a more nuanced way, reflective of the perspectives of Ottoman voices. However, it is the aim of this chapter to demonstrate that Ottoman homoeroticism was not an idyllic queer culture; Ottoman authors expressed anxieties about homoerotic behaviours and differentiated between very specific affectionate, emotional, and sexual encounters, some of which were deemed acceptable, whereas others were not. This is not a new argument: Khaled el-Rouayheb demonstrated these debates in his work at length.[2] This chapter places an even greater emphasis than previous scholarship did on

[1] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1999) has argued that either this was not the case or it did not matter, see p.110.

[2] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500-1800* (Chicago [Il.]: Chicago University Press, 2005), pp.13-25.

anxieties about homoerotic behaviour among the people who actively participated in the so-called Age of Beloveds, not just on the concerns of more conservative voices in Ottoman discourses.

The second part of the chapter demonstrates overlaps between some Ottoman and Anglophone concerns, including anxieties about homosocial spaces, the sex trade, social status, and certain intoxicating substances and sites where they were consumed. This shows that Anglophone comments were not only reflective of the situation in the Ottoman empire, but also shared at least some of the conceptualisations of same-sex activity. The third part of the chapter demonstrates that Anglophone writers and readers had a framework for understanding male same-sex love within the concept of friendship, which was not dissimilar from the Ottoman one, but chose to interpret Ottoman homoeroticism in a sexualised manner. That interpretation was not deliberate misinterpretation, as deliberate misinterpretation presumes an understanding of a phenomenon and an active choice to report it in a false light. What Anglophone authors were doing instead was choosing one of a variety of possible interpretations, all of which can be clearly seen in Ottoman discourses, in a process of clarifying the presence of bodily carnal desire in Ottoman homoeroticism. This is quite far from either inventing and fantasising about Ottoman 'sodomy' or purposefully misinterpreting a sexual culture.[3]

The Age of Beloveds and Ottoman anxieties about homoerotic behaviours

Same-sex intercourse was forbidden in Islamic law. However, there was a lively homoerotic culture in the Ottoman Empire, which focused on love, admiration, and sociability between men and boys. This Ottoman homoerotic culture is often labelled The Age of Beloveds in scholarly research. This term was coined by Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı. They identified the Age of Beloveds as a specific period of early modern European and Ottoman history between the fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which was based on court culture, urban homosocial

[3] As Matar argued; Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, pp.123-127.

environments, and love – both in general terms and the more specific religious idea of love.[4] They argued that at the heart of the Age of Beloveds was 'an agreement that what was most special about same-sex (male-male) attractions and loving relationships lay, not in the mechanics of sexual satisfaction, but in the possibility of a relationship based in mutual understanding and something closer to a balance of power'.[5] They showed the importance of the overlap between sexual and spiritual desire in love of boys.[6] Andrews and Kalpaklı showed that although *liwat* (either male desire to be penetrated or male same-sex activity) was not allowed by either *sharia* law or *kanun*, there was a reluctance to prosecute *zina* (fornication) by the Ottoman legal establishment throughout this period.[7] Following the work of Annemarie Schimmel, they argued that Ottoman men who participated in the culture of the Beloveds could interpret their own behaviour within the framework of the acceptable moral universe of Islamic mysticism.[8] Andrews and Kalpaklı attributed the waning of the Age of Beloveds to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, focusing on demographic changes and the decline of the literary economy as the main factors behind that process.[9]

Since the publication of *The Age of Beloveds* in 2005, several major criticisms and elaborations of the thesis have been made. The two major areas of further discussion are periodisation and the appropriateness of the male/female binary to the study of Ottoman homoeroticism. Alan Mikhail and Christine M. Philliou have criticised the whole concept of 'ages' in Ottoman history, stressing the danger of falling into a series of disconnected and isolated periods..[10] Abdulhamit Arvas has

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[4] Walter G Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in arly-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), p.337; see also p.37 for a concise description of the homoerotic culture the authors described.

[5] Ibid., p.20.

[6] Ibid., pp.56, 160.

[7] Ibid., p.273.

[8] Ibid., p.302.

[9] Ibid., p.311-21.

[10] Alan Mikhail and Christine M Philliou, 'The Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54 (Cambridge, October 2012), 721–45, p.732.

stressed the longevity of homoerotic culture beyond the mid-seventeenth century.[11] Moreover, Arvas has argued that *The Age of Beloveds* is 'at times trapped in a heteronormative angle [...] as they constantly try to elucidate why Ottomans preferred same-sex interactions and expressions of love, as if there must have been a good reason to go astray'.[12] The masculine/effeminate dichotomy has been challenged by research into the nature of early modern Ottoman 'effeminacy'. Effeminacy, as Mark Baer has demonstrated, was associated with excessive female influence, not homosociality.[13] İrvin C. Schick has also pointed out that 'rather than a male/female dichotomy, sources clearly view men, women and boys as three distinct genders', as 'boys are not deemed 'feminine', nor are they mere substitutes for women'.[14] Serkan Delice has criticised this approach and stressed that the category of third gender assumes a binary gender system.[15] A reassessment of the Age of Beloveds through exploring alternative chronological narratives, sources, and angles has already started, and this chapter aims to enrich our perspectives.

There is no doubt that residents of the early modern Ottoman Empire felt some anxiety about same-sex relationships. Scholars of early modern Islamicate sexualities, including Dror Ze'evi and Khaled El-Rouayheb, have outlined anxieties surrounding Ottoman relationships between lovers

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[11] Abdulhamit Arvas, 'From the Pervert, Back to the Beloved: Homosexuality and Ottoman Literary History, 1453–1923' in E. L. McCallum and Mikko Tuhkanen (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Gay and Lesbian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 145-63, p.151; Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, pp.40-41; İrvin Cemil Schick, 'Ottomanizing Pornotopia: Changing Visual Codes in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Erotic Miniatures' in F. Leoni and M. Natif (eds.), *Eros and Sexuality in Islamic Art*, (London: Ashgate, 2013), 157–207, makes a similar point in relation to erotic paintings.

[12] Abdulhamit Arvas, 'Travelling Sexualities, Circulating Bodies, and Early Modern Anglo-Ottoman Encounters', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, (2016), p.148.

[13] Mark Baer, 'Manliness, Male Virtue and History Writing at the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Court', *Gender & History* 20:1 (April 2008), 128-48; El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500-1800*, p.21.

[14] İrvin Cemil Schick, 'What Ottoman Erotica Teaches Us About Sexual Pluralism', *The Iranian*, https://iranian.com/2018/04/15/ottoman-erotica-teaches-us-sexual-pluralism/, accessed 27/09/2020.

[15] Serkan Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows: Masculinity and Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul' in Gul Ozyegin (ed.), *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), p.124.

and beloveds, and, to a lesser extent, female same-sex relationships.[16] A number of early modern Ottoman writers and commentators expressed anxieties around the role of homosensuality in the refined homosociability of the day. For example, Ahmad al-Aqhisari (d. 1632), a Hanafi jurist and theologian, lamented that

> 'in this time, [homosexuality] has spread in this Muhammadan community [...] it has reached such a point that they are proud of it and blame someone who has no beardless friend [(*amrad*]), speaks evil of him, and says that he is not a human (*adami*) and has no taste (*madhaq*) [...] they are proud of having a beardless friend standing before them and they dress him with the best clothes, made of prohibited [things], so that they might be seen in their best disposition'.[17]

Similarly, Mustafa Ali noted that 'some mannerless people [...] consider it suitable, when they attend gatherings hosted by important people and leading figures, to fix a lustful stare at the beardless servant boys. They are neither shamed by the host of the gathering, nor do they believe that a lustful stare is truly forbidden'.[18] These anxieties are very similar to the ones outlined by Khaled el-Rouayheb in his work on Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire in this period. Dror Ze'evi cited a number of treatises against the love of boys, including the seventeenth-century Jerusalem scholar Muhammad Abu al-Fath al-Dajjani's *The Distinct Necklace on Love of*

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[16] Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp.88-98; El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, pp.111-8 and 118-36.

[17] Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Al-Qādir Rūmī, Yahya Michot (trans.), *Against Smoking: An Ottoman Manifesto* (Oxford: Interface Publications; Markfield, Leicestershire: Kube Publishing, 2010), p.21; on, Ahmad al-Aqhisari, see Mustapha Sheikh, *Ottoman Puritanism and its Discontents: Ahmad al-Rumi al-Aqhisari and the Qadizadelis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); on smoking, see James Grehan, 'Smoking and "Early Modern" Sociability: The Great Tobacco Debate in the Ottoman Middle East (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)', *American Historical Review* Vol.111 (5) (2006), 1352-1377.

Mustafa bin Ahmet Ali, Douglas Scott Brookes (trans.), *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisations, Harvard University, 2003), p.113.

Beardless Youth.[19] al-Dajjani lamented that 'love for beardless boys has spread like a rage, especially among the Sufis of this age'.[20] He was adamant that 'sodomy [*liwat]* is forbidden [*haram*] and considered one of the greatest sins [*kabira*] by consensus of the Muslims'.[21] He then went on to argue that even actions not strictly forbidden, such as gazing, were to be prohibited because they could lead to forbidden intercourse.[22] El-Rouayheb has further fleshed out the finer details of these debates among Arab scholars in the early modern period. He has showed that the Meccan scholar Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (d. 1566) argued for the religious permissibility of Ottoman love poetry, as an 'amorous verse is not an indication of having looked with lust' and that composing such poetry was about craftsmanship, not about being in love.[23] Haytami also argued that boys 'who surpass women in beauty [...] are more tempting [...] and so more deserving of prohibition'.[24] 'Alwan al-Hamawi (d. 1530) argued that 'looking at the beardless youth is prohibited, whether he is handsome or not, with lust or without it, whether one fears temptation or not'.[25] This brief overview shows that the position of intercourse in relation to the homosensual culture of the beloveds, outlined by Andrews and Kalpaklı, was a source of anxiety for a number of commentators across the empire in the early modern period. The following case studies outline these anxieties as expressed even by individuals who actively participated in the culture of the beloveds, rather than observing it from the outside.

The first case study of this chapter is an anecdote about the poet Me'ali which is placed firmly within the Age of Beloveds as defined by Andrews and Kalpaklı. They discussed it at length in *The Age of Beloveds*, and this chapter is indebted to their translation.[26] The story was presented by

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[19] See Moshe Perlman, 'A Seventeenth Century Exhortation Concerning Al-Aqsa', *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 (1973), 261–68 on the author.

[20] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, p.89.

[21] Ibid., p.89.

[22] Ibid., p.90.

[23] El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, p.111.

[24] Ibid., p.112.

[25] Ibid., p.112.

[26] Ibid., Chapter 7, especially pp.228-34 for the analysis.

the biographer of Me'ali, 'Aşık Çelebi, who refused to attest to its authenticity in his 1568 book *Meşairü'ş-şu'ara*, a *tezkire* (biographical compendium).[27] Hatice Aynur has stated that it was the second most read *tezkire* after Latifî's.[28] This story was written by an active participant in the culture of the Beloveds and is reflective of the anxieties about the limits of such relationships. Aşık Çelebi, born in Prizren (Kosovo) in 1520, served as a *kadi* (judge) in Üsküp (Skopje) where he died in 1572. Hatice Aynur has argued that he 'chose Aşık (lover)' because he was fond of male beauties.[29] Aşık Çelebi reiterated 'his fondness for 'mahbûbs' (beloveds)' throughout the book.[30] He described several of his own infatuations with various Beloveds, including Kurd and Sani.[31] According to another source, Nevizade Ata'i, Aşık died of lung disease after having fallen in love.[32] Arvas pointed out that Aşık Çelebi often described his own and other poets' visits to the bathhouse to observe and flirt with beautiful young men.[33] Thus, the story clearly shows engagement with the homosensual culture by someone who participated in it.

In the story, the poet Me'ali, who was at the time a local *kadi(judge)* in Mihaliç, is enamoured of a son of a janissary. The boy initially is encouraging and discouraging at the same time, which was expected behaviour of a beloved in this situation.[34] Me'ali addresses the boy with love poems throughout the story.[35] Eventually, Me'ali hopes for the relationship to become physical, if not sexual: 'no longer content with mere observation, [he] longed for communion and pleasant companionship, or even hoped [...] for a kiss, an embrace, a moment sitting side by side'.[36] The

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[27] Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, p.217.

[28] Hatice Aynur, 'Autobiographical Elements in 'Āşıḳ Çelebi's Dictionary of Poets,' in Ralph Elger and Yavuz Köse (eds.), *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern (Oriental) Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, And Turkish: 14th–20th Century*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), p.17.

[29] Ibid., p.24.

[30] Ibid., p.24.

[31] Ibid., p.24.

[32] Ibid., p.25.

[33] Arvas, 'Travelling Sexualities', p.160.

Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, p.217.

[35] Ibid., pp.219, 220, 222.

[36] Ibid., p.218.

boy worries about the reaction of the townsfolk, framing his reasoning as concern for the reputation of the *kadi*, rather than his own. The boy suggests a meeting in a secure place, which he chooses.[37] Unbeknown to the *kadi*, it is a leper village. The boy is planning to trick the *kadi* to go to the village and scare him, not to have sex with him. The boy stops the *kadi's* attempts at physical contact as, in Aşık Çelebi's words, 'to insist on having one's way before we have looked each other over, before bashfulness has been driven way like a stranger by the hand of joyous ease, is no more than crude lust and is forbidden even among the devotees of love'.[38] He advises the *kadi* to 'calm' himself and to wait till they have had some wine, which he promises to bring.[39] He then describes what is to follow: a night of touching and physical passion, which might or might not include sexual intercourse.[40] None of that ever happens, as the boy leaves the *kadi* after this speech, supposedly to get the wine, but never comes back. The *kadi*, leaving the place of their rendezvous, encounters the lepers and is scared of catching their disease.[41] Me'ali laments to the lepers that he is a 'devotee of catamites and a boy chaser'.[42] He accuses the boy of tricking him and asks the lepers to get him help from the town.[43] Me'ali gets home, is ill for a long time, and remembers his ordeal with terror. The moral of the story is neatly summed up by Aşık: 'this situation resulted in his asking forgiveness of God for his drunkenness with the cup of lust and his worship of passion [...] thereafter he walked the paths of righteousness'.[44]

Andrews and Kalpaklı read the story primarily in the context of narratives of seduction of a higher class man by a lower class boy or woman.[45] Andrews and Kalpaklı explained early modern seduction narratives as inseparable from those of courtly patronage, and interpreted this story as a

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[37] Ibid., p.218.

[38] Ibid., p.222.

[39] Ibid., p.223.

[40] Ibid., p.223.

[41] Ibid., pp.224-5.

[42] Ibid., p.227.

[43] Ibid., p.227.

[44] Ibid., p.228.

[45] Ibid., p.228.

reversal of courtly power-dynamics, where the 'powerful man cedes power and submits to a dominating beloved who exerts control by being inaccessible, unmoved and silent'.[46] They also stressed that the reversal is not straightforward as it 'combines the dominance of the prince with the submission of the supplicant'.[47] They stressed the significance of the 'questionable morals' of the boy in the story, and the way in which the boy is represented as a 'love-addicted jurist's catamite', associating with whom would make the lover a rascal himself.[48]

It is, however, possible to read this story in a different context, as a story about the place of the sexual in the homosensual culture of the Beloveds, rather than as only a comment on power dynamics of the seduced and the seducer. Read in that context, the story reveals some of the key anxieties about the nature of the culture of Beloveds and allows us to trace the continuity and change between this anecdote and later seventeenth and eighteenth-century narratives. The anecdote, whether intentionally satirical or not, has one clear moral lesson: being a boy chaser is contrary to righteous behaviour. The anecdote does not necessarily present the boy as merely a rascal. The boy is not a participant in sexual activity at any point in the anecdote. He arguably follows the conventions of a beloved's behaviour by flirting with Me'ali, encouraging and discouraging him at the same time. However, when it comes to physical contact, he regulates the *kadi's* behaviour, insisting that physical contact is not supposed to happen before the lover and the beloved get to know each other. He clearly states that physical contact before mutual understanding has happened is 'forbidden'.[49] Crucially, even in his description of physical contact, he does not explicitly mention intercourse, even though he goes into detail on what exact physical activity is about to happen. He uses several euphemisms, which could be interpreted as meaning intercourse, but he does not state it anywhere explicitly in his speech. He also states that any physical contact is something that will happen only once they have drunk wine. In the story, the boy uses these excuses to avoid physical intercourse with the *kadi*, as he does not intend to have sex with him. Over the course of the story, the boy does not actually consume wine himself; he only suggests the

[46] Ibid., p.231.

[47] Ibid., p.233.

[48] Ibid., p.236.

[49] Ibid., p.222.

prospect to Me'ali, who readily agrees. Neither, of course, does any intercourse or indeed any physical contact between the boy and the *kadi* happen. Me'ali later self-identifies as a boy-chaser and potentially someone who had committed intercourse with other 'catamites', but this specific boy is not actually a catamite in the story. Read in this light, the story is not just a light-hearted satire about the reversal of power between a lover and a beloved, both of whom participate in a homoerotic culture.

Rather, seen from this perspective, the story is about a boy who is pursued by a lover who intends to overstep the conventions of how such relationships were supposed to develop, a lover too overcome by lust and physical passion. The boy protects his own honour, even though he states he does not care for it. He states that the 'unsophisticated' inhabitants of the town will gossip about the sexual aspect of the relationship if it is consummated openly. Initially, this attitude seems to be confined to uneducated townsfolk, othered as a social group by both Me'ali and the writer. However, the overall moral of the story casts doubt on whether the reader is supposed to identify with the educated *kadi* who frequents homosocial gatherings or the townsfolk and their attitudes to sex between boys and men. Alongside the reversal of power dynamics stressed by Andrews and Kalpaklı a parallel story emerges: a story of a boy who defends his honour through his own initiative by punishing a lover for overstepping the boundaries of how lovers should behave. This opens up ambiguities in the narrative of the Age of Beloveds in relation to emotion and sexuality as the centrepieces of homosensual sociability. It suggests that sexual activity between men and boys was highly socially and culturally regulated and could be the subject of considerable anxiety, as it was not without risks to one's honour and reputation.

The next case study of this chapter will demonstrate that very similar anxieties persisted well into the seventeenth century. Several episodes of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* demonstrate his ambiguous and complex relationship with homoeroticism. Evliya Çelebi (161-1682), an Ottoman gentleman and traveller, wrote his ten-volume work at the end of his life. *Seyahatname* is, according to Suraiya Faroqhi, possibly the most widely used source for early modern Ottoman history.[50] However, its frequent mentions of male homosensuality and possible sexual intercourse

[50] Robert Dankoff and Gottfried Hagen, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), p.ii.

have yet to be examined in detail. Robert Dankoff, the leading scholar of *Seyahatname*, provided a first step in that process. In a footnote on his translation of the source, he stated that 'in Evliya's usage, the *dilber* (translated in these pages as 'pretty boy', 'darling boy' or 'sweetheart') was the object of erotic desire, while the *mahbûb* (translated as 'lovely boy') was more the object of aesthetic appreciation'.[51] These categories were not clear cut. Evliya's views on Ottoman malemale affection will be analysed through a close reading of several key episodes of *Seyahatname*, ranging from a description of Evliya's experiences as a page in the sultan's harem to his many experiences of homosociability throughout his travels. This chapter will argue that there was a lot of ambiguity in Evliya's treatment of the subject and that, despite frequent mentions of lovers and beloveds, the leitmotif of his work was to distance himself from the idea of intercourse with boys, either as a passive or an active partner.

At first glance, *Seyahatname* supports the narrative of an openly homoerotic Muslim culture prevalent in Western historiography on Muslims in the second half of the twentieth century.[52] Evliya seemingly painted a picture of a highly homosensual culture in which a staple marker of any geographic location is the beauty of the local *mahbûb* of Galata, Isfahan, Sahlan, and many others.[53] Similarly, *dilber* seems to have been an even more obviously erotic concept than *mahbûb*, present in many a public bath and courtly social gathering, from Galata and Sophia to Tabriz and Vienna. *Dilber* and *mahbûb* were far from the only words Evliya used to refer to young men. Social status and the social role of the youth in question were as important. Evliya referred to young soldiers as *yiğitler*, a word that simultaneously signifies an age older than that of a boy and intrinsic masculinity.[54] The word *gulam*, extensively used by Evliya, means both a 'lad' and a 'slave', making the term interchangeable. Evliya did not refer to any of his own slave boys as either *mahbûb* or *dilber* at any point, in a bid to distance himself from the connotations of being

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[51] Evliya Çelebi, Robert Dankoff, Sooyong Kim (trans.), *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from The Book of Travels by Evliya Çelebi* (New York: Eland, 2011), p.42, footnote 13.

[52] See outline in El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, pp.1-9.

[53] Evliya Çelebi, Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* 10 vols. (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yaynıları, 1999-2006), Vol.1, p.214; Vol.2, p.123; Vol.2, p.130.

[54] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, pp.183-4; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff, et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.6, p.216.

involved in sexually suspect relationships, as further analysis will show. Finally, neutral terms, just meaning 'boy', could also be used with reference to sensuality and love. For example, at one point someone Evliya converses with states that he 'ha[s] fallen in love with those two boys over there' (*'men şu iki oğlanı severem'*), without designating the boys in question as either *dilber* or *mahbûb*.[55] This shows a diversity of terms were employed to refer to young men. However, the words *dilber* and *mahbûb* were predominant in the homosocial and homosensual contexts of *Seyahatname*. Frequent mentions of encounters between 'men' and 'boys' of various social standing do not, however, equal an unambiguous acceptance of same-sex intercourse by Evliya. His assessment of the culture of the Beloveds, which he himself actively participated in at the court of Murad IV, was heavily dependent on the exact circumstances of each episode he described.[56]

One of the most prominent episodes dealing with male to male sexuality directly in *Seyahatname* is the story of the Fountain of Luck. This story fits the pattern of Evliya's ambiguous attitudes not only to homosensuality, but to the sexual act between men and boys as well. In the story, Evliya and several of his companions travel to 'a fountain of pure water that refuses to flow for any man who has ever committed murder, or any man who was sodomised in his youth'.[57] Several of Evliya's companions, including Muezzindaze Ali Çelebi and an unnamed old man, are instantly identified as 'catamites' (*mef'ûlmüşsün*) as they approach the Fountain. One of the slave boys, Himhim Mehmet Çelebi, extinguishes the Fountain before he even approaches it, and the people present laugh that he 'must have been sodomised quite a lot!'.[58] Evliya is very particular about his own engagement with the Fountain. He stresses that 'one of my slave boys came forward and

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[55] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.152; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff et al, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.5, p.18.

[56] For Evliya at court, see Dankoff and Hagen, *An Ottoman Mentality*, pp.34-40.

[57] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.106; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff, et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.3, pp.228-9. 'Bu çeşme ol ayn-ı zülâldir kim ömründe kan etmişse ve âlem-i sabâvetinden terü tâzeliğinde yef'allendi ise ol cereyan eden çeşmesârdan su alup nûş edemez'.

[58] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.107; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff, et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.3, p.229. 'çok if'âl bâbına çekmişler'.

fearlessly took a drink'.[59] Moreover, although he is initially reluctant to take part, he does so eventually, and his ability to easily drink the water is emphasised. What are we to make of this story? One reading is whimsical – the laughter and good humour of all the participants in the event is stressed several times throughout the episode, and it is hard to judge whether any of the implications of the Fountain being extinguished were meant to be taken seriously. Moreover, my attempts to identify the fountain itself, which is meant to be located somewhere near Sofia, have been futile; there does not seem to be a source of water anecdotally connected with sexual purity in the region. Evliya himself called the Fountain 'Spring of Plato the Divine', and such a place, thought in Evliya's times to be built upon an ancient shrine of Plato, does exist and is located near Konya. If the site was meant to be known to the readers as the site in Konya, it is possible to identify the episode as one of those in which, in the words of Robert Dankoff, 'his Ottoman readers would recognise whimsy when it occurred, and would enjoy it'.[60] This episode demonstrates that direct references to male to male sexual intercourse could be used humorously in early modern Ottoman discourse; that it was permissible to directly identify named individuals, whether real or not, as participants in male to male intercourse; and that despite these two considerations, it was still very important for the author of such an account to stress his own bodily purity and that of young men in his charge.

One more case study demonstrates the ambiguous place of sexual intercourse and desire in early modern Ottoman culture and reinforces the arguments in favour of the continuation of Ottoman homoeroticism into the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. Osman Aga of Temesvar (c. 1670-after 1725), an Ottoman captive in the Holy Roman Empire between 1688 and 1700, wrote an account of his captivity in 1724.[61] He described an encounter with an Austrian boy who climbed naked into Osman's bed and invited him to undress and join the boy.[62] Osman commented that 'if

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Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.108; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff, et al., *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.3, p.229. 'Andan bizim bir gulâmımız varup bî-bâk u bî-pervâ nûş etdi'.

[60] Dankoff and Hagen, *An Ottoman Mentality*, p.170.

[61] Wendy Bracewell, *Orientations: An Anthology of East European Travel Writing, Ca. 1550-2000* (Budapest: New York: Central European University Press, 2009), p.42.

[62] Charles Sabatos, 'The Ottoman Captivity Narrative as a Transnational Genre in Central European Literature', *Archiv Orientální: Journal of African and Asian Studies* 83:2 (2015), 233-254, p.250.

a pervert had been in my place, he would not have been able to restrain himself, for there was a strong desire, the boy was attractive and we could bring up all sorts of subjects'.[63] The boy 'interrogated [Osman] about the degrading morals of the Turks that he had heard so much about, and he wanted [Osman] to teach him, naked as he was next to me in bed, how one would go about it'.[64] Osman 'controlled [himself] completely and even if [he] was quite aroused at times, [he] did not let [himself] go and did not stray'.[65]

Charles Sabatos interpreted this encounter as an opportunity for Osman to stress his own chastity and his faithfulness to Islam in the land of the infidels, and compared it to Christian captivity accounts which often had a similar purpose.[66] This is a significant factor. In 1709, the Moroccan ambassador returned from a visit to England to find himself accused by a Turk whom he had helped in Lisbon of 'loseing his Religion, committing disorderly actions...abominable [and] unnatural sins not fit to be named', and the story was reported back in England.[67] Some North African Muslim writers wrote both of the sexual depravity of Christian lands and of the sexual seduction which might happen there. Ahmad bin Qasim, a Morisco who fled Spain in 1599 and served as a Moroccan ambassador in France and the Netherlands in the 1610s, wrote of his infatuation with a French woman. When a Christian suggested that Ahmad fondle her, he replied that 'we are prohibited in our religion to do anything like that. The text reads: 'Do not touch what is not permitted [to] you in money or body'. And this woman's body is not permitted [is not

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[63] Ibid., p.250.

[64] Ibid., pp.250-1.

[65] Ibid., p.251; the original account can be found in Osman Ağa, *Gâvurlarin Esiri. [Yazan] Temeşvarli Osman Ağa. Türkçesi: Esat Nermi* ([Istanbul]: Milliyet Yayinlari, 1971), p.112.

[66] See Chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis.

[67] Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), p.99.

halal].'[68] Mohammad bin abd al-Wahab al-Ghassani (d. 1707), another Moroccan ambassador, commented on Christian sexual depravity in the account of his journey to Spain (1690-91).[69]

Osman Aga's account, however, did not focus on the contrast between Christian infidel moral depravity and Muslim rejection of it – although, in a way, it did make that distinction, as it was the Austrian boy who reportedly initiated the encounter. Neither did it mirror Christian accounts, which would have stressed their horror at the prospect of a sodomitical encounter.[70] Instead, he noted the fascination of the boy by a practice reportedly widespread in Islamic lands. In this episode, he did not actively deny that to the boy. He also acknowledged his own sexual desire for the boy and did not specify whether he did or did not share a bed with him whilst naked. Osman only specified that he did not commit sexual intercourse. This difference could be due to Osman Aga's personality, or a wider Ottoman acceptance of talking about physical desire for boys, which can be seen in Evliya's writings. Either way, his account showed a complex ambiguity around sexual desire for boys, rather than outright condemnation or acceptance.

The European fascination with the sodomy of Islamic societies was also acknowledged by Ahmad bin Qasim. He described an episode during his stay in Paris, when a man he met gave him a copy of the Qur'an, 'written in Frankish', which claimed that Muslims condoned sodomy. The details of this interaction will be discussed in a later chapter, but the key aspect of the story was that bin Qasim acknowledged and lamented the widespread sodomy among Islamic societies, and blamed it for the formation of the Christian stereotype of a sodomitical Muslim:

> 'As for this heinous deed, it is widespread among Muslims so much that the Christian imagined that it was condoned in our religion, because it is so widespread and because it is not punished. It was been said that some keep boys specifically for this purpose, and they

[68] Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of The Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p.16.

[69] Ibid., pp.180-1.

[70] See the account of Adam Elliot as the best example of this; see Chapter 5 of this thesis.

> do not remember that it is forbidden in the religion of Islam and that God almighty grew so angry because of this deed that he destroyed four cities with all the people in them.'[71]

These case studies demonstrate that 'the Age of Beloveds' was not a culture of acceptance of all forms of homoeroticism. Moreover, it is impossible to distil the discourses around the culture of the Beloveds into 'critical' and 'accepting'. These three accounts derive from different genres: a biographical compendium, a travel diary, and a captivity narrative. They are united by the social context of their production and readership: all three are narrative sources which were written by educated men for a relatively elite readership. Still, they demonstrate a general trend in representing the culture of the Beloveds as intentionally vague and ambiguous, and demonstrate anxieties about the exact place of sexuality and sexual intercourse in that culture.

Shared anxieties

The next part of this chapter will demonstrate the overlaps between anxieties about the culture of the Beloveds in Ottoman discourses and those reflected in Anglophone discourses on the Ottoman empire. These include, but are not limited to, the consumption of coffee in coffeehouses, the consumption of intoxicants such as wine and *boza*, attendance at bathhouses, and the behaviours of certain dervishes. Many of these specific anxieties are reflected in *Dellakname-i Dilküşa* or 'The Book of Shampooers that Opens the Soul', an openly erotic Ottoman treatise written in 1686 by Derviş İsmail, the Istanbul-based *kethüda-yı hamamcıyan* or Chief of the Bath Keepers, analysed at length by Serkan Delice.[72] There had been some doubts about this source's authenticity, but Serkan Delice has convincingly argued that the manuscript which some scholars had reservations about corresponded with an authoritative extract of this text published by the respected author of the Istanbul Encyclopaedia, Reşat Ekrem Koçu.[73] This treatise connects some of these seemingly

[71] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*, p.194.

[72] Serkan Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows', p.124.

[73] Ibid., p.124.

disparate themes, such as the connection between sodomy and bathhouses and the involvement of coffeehouse owners in same-sex activities, and will be referred to throughout this part of the chapter. Each of these things – coffeehouses, bathhouses, Dervish orders and others – had specific multiple meanings and contexts in Anglophone and Ottoman discourses. Sodomy was not uniformly associated with any of these sites, substances. or social groups. In many texts and contexts, coffeehouses and bathhouses were not associated with illicit sexuality at all, in both Ottoman and Anglophone contexts. This complex relationship between Ottoman and Anglophone discourses shows that, overall, Anglophone texts were reflective of the existence of early modern Ottoman homoeroticism in reality. However, a process of cultural interpretation of those realities also happened in those texts.

One of the common themes among both Ottoman and Anglophone commentators on male same-sex affection was a focus on coffee and coffeehouses. Contemporary Ottoman observers distinguished between consuming coffee at home, consuming it during social gatherings. and consuming it in the coffeehouse.[74] There was a wide variety of coffeehouses in the early modern Ottoman Empire; most of them were seen as respectable sites of sociability and were not actively associated with sodomy. In his seminal overview of Ottoman coffeehouses, Ralph S. Hattox has argued that 'some coffeehouses indeed appear to have accommodated a variety of sexual tastes'.[75] Coffee as a substance was attacked by some observers as encouraging immoral behaviours. For example, Ahmad al-Aqhisari argued that 'using [coffee] necessarily forces one to observe these forbidden behaviours during gatherings, to mingle with the fools and the vile, to receive it from the hands of beardless youths, to touch their hands and to commit acts of disobedience'.[76] As

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[74] For coffeehouses, see Uğur Kömeçoğlu, 'The Publicness and Sociabilities of the Ottoman Coffeehouse.' *Javnost* 12:2 (Ljubljana, Slovenia: 2005), 5-22; Cemal Kafadar, 'How Dark is the History of the Night and How Black the Story of Coffee, how Bitter the Tale of Love: the Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul', in Arzu Öztürkmen and Evelyn Birge Vitz (eds.), *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), pp.243-269; Ekrem Işın, 'Coffeehouses as Places of Conversation' in Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (eds.), *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2003), pp.199-209

[75] Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), pp.109-111.

[76] Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd Al-Qādir Rūmī, *Against Smoking*, p.64.

Khaled El-Rouayheb showed in his discussion of the debates around coffeehouses and baths, these sites were of major concern to a number of Arab thinkers in this period. For example, Muhammad Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi argued that 'taking [coffee] from beardless boys while looking at them and pinching their behinds, there is no doubt as to its prohibition'.[77] Evliya Çelebi equated coffeehouses and sites serving alcoholic beverages in his description of Cairo. He stated that 'in the coffee houses, *boza* shops and taverns, and in Rumeli Square, are to be found all the catamites; they too pay a tax'.[78] Following a description of 'huts of fornication' at a 'bazaar of women', Evliya stated that 'there is a bazaar for boys in every coffee house, where pretty boys are on display, with earrings on their ears and their doe-like eyes smeared with collyrium; this is a special bazaar of filth [...] one or two thousand such men [Hadari fellahin] foregather in every coffee house and raise a ruckus beyond description; day and night a thousand boy dancers prance about with coquettish gestures, catching the hearts of lovers in the traps of their flowing locks'.[79] In a story recorded in *Dellakname-i Dilküşa*, Darıcalı Gümüş Ali, a Janissary and a proprietor of a coffeehouse, rounded up Yemenici Balî, a bathhouse worker, and repeatedly raped him in the police station.[80] In another story, Hasan Ağa, the proprietor of the Piyalepaşa Bath, solicited one of his shampooers in a coffeehouse in Hasköy Pier; the boy started receiving clients for sex work after a few days in his employment.[81] These examples show that in some cases, there existed an association between the social circles of coffeehouses, *boza* houses, and bathhouses and male same-sex sexual activity in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts.

The extent to which Anglophone discourses connected coffeehouses and sodomy is limited. Many travellers' accounts which mentioned sodomy in other contexts, such as the accounts of Adam Olearius or Thomas Herbert, did not connect it to either coffee or coffeehouses.[82] However, that

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[77] El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, p.41.

[78] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.394

[79] Ibid., p.425.

[80] Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows', pp.127-8.

[81] Ibid., pp,130-1.

[82] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2011), pp.16-19.

connection was clearly made in some seventeenth-century Anglophone texts. The only English traveller to the Ottoman empire who commented on coffeehouses and sodomy was George Sandys.[83] Sandys stated that 'although they be destitute of Tauerns, yet they haue their Coffa-houses, which something resemble them [...] there sit they chatting most of the day [...] many of the Coffa-men keeping beautifull boyes, who serue as stales to procure them customers'.[84] Farther afield, George Manwaring, the author of the account of the travels of Sir Anthony Shirley, wrote that in Persia

> 'as in England we use to go to the tavern, to pass away the time in friendly meeting, so they have very fair houses, where this coffee is sold; thither gentlemen and gallants resort daily, where the owners of these houses do keep 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 they do use in their beastly manner, instead of women, for all the summer time they keep their women very close in their houses, and have the use of boys'.[85]Their focus was on the presence of the boys in coffeehouses, not on coffee as an intoxicating substance. Sandys focused on the role of 'Coffa-man' in 'keeping' the boys and facilitating same-sex encounters, a theme which resonates with the connection between coffeehouse proprietors and sexual relationships with boys in *Dellakname-i Dilküşa*. Although the connection between coffeehouses and sodomy was not the dominant theme in discourses on coffee and coffeehouses in either Anglophone or Ottoman discourses, when the connection did appear, it emphasised similar concerns: the potential for coffeehouse owners to act as facilitators of sodomitical encounters.

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[83] El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, p.41; Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p.32.

[84] George Sandys, *A Relation of A Journey Begun An. Dom. 1610: 4 Bookes, Containing A Description of The Turkish Empire, Of Aegypt, Of the Holy Land, Of the Remote Parts of Italy, And Ilands Adioyning* (London, 1615), p.66.

[85] George Manwaring, *A True Discourse of Sir Anthony Sherley's Travel into Persia, What Accidents Did Happen in The Way, Both Going Thither And Returning Back, With The Business He Was Employed In From The Sophi: Written By George Manwaring, Gent, Who Attended On Sir Anthony All The Journey, In The Three Brothers; Or The Travels And Adventures Of Sir Anthony, Sir Robert, And Sir Thomas Sherley, In Persia, Russia, Turkey, Spain, Etc.* (London: Hurst, Robinson 1825), pp.38-9.

In fact, coffee itself was often seen as reducing, rather than increasing, lust in seventeenth-century Anglophone discourses. For instance, Edward Pococke argued that it 'asswageth lust', citing the works of Dawud al-Antaki, a Cairo-based sixteenth century medical writer and practitioner.[86] Brian Cowan has argued that although coffee was seen as a Turkish drink in seventeenth-century England, there was no connection made in the mind of English observers between coffee as a substance and illicit sexuality.[87] On the contrary, coffee was seen as an 'anti-aphrodisiac' that could leave men and women childless.[88] For instance, a satirical pamphlet, *The Women's Petition Against Coffee*, claimed that coffee-drinkers were likely to be 'cuckold by dildos'.[89] The absence of association of the drug itself with illicit sexuality was deeply connected to the forms of sociability it encouraged. Cowan has stated that 'English coffee houses were never blamed for harbouring the sin of sodomy'.[90] He argued that an association between coffee and the virtue of sobriety was important for the early development of coffeehouse commercial sociability.[91] These notions contrasted with the image of coffee as a facilitator of 'wasteful, unprocreative sex,' available to English readers in the travel accounts of George Sandys and George Manwaring.[92] As Cowan's research demonstrated, the first association predominated.

There was more potential for connecting coffeehouses and sodomy in the latter part of the seventeenth century, but that potential was not developed. The perception and modes of promotion of coffeehouses in England changed as the seventeenth century went on. Whereas the 'early English coffeehouses' tried to distance themselves from Turkishness 'by emphasising the

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[86] Anṭākī, Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar, Edward Pocoke (trans.), *The Nature of The Drink Kauhi, Or Coffe, and the Berry of Which It Is Made Described by An Arabian Phisitian*... (Oxford: Printed by Henry Hall, 1659), Sig.A3r.

[87] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, pp.25-6, 32, 39.

[88] Ibid., p.40-1.

[89] Anonymous, *The Women's Petition against Coffee Representing to Publick Consideration the Grand Inconveniencies Accruing to their Sex from the Excessive Use of That Drying, Enfeebling Liquor: Presented to The Right Honorable the Keepers of The Liberty of Venus* (London, 1674), p.6.

[90] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, p.41.

[91] Ibid., p.44.

[92] Ibid., pp.41, 268.

innocence of the coffee house experience', later coffeehouses were accused of having 'consciously constructed the Turkish aura' as an exoticised selling point.[93] These critics argued that English morals were degenerated by the 'luxurious and effeminate' custom of this new form of sociability.[94] However, even in this context, anti-coffee pamphlets did not accuse coffeehouses of promoting sodomitical behaviours.[95] *Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses (1661)* encouraged women to 'petition his Majesty to forbid Men the drinking of effeminating Coffee, and to command them instead thereof to drink delicious Chocolate', but 'effeminating' did not equal 'sodomitical'.[96] Cowan has argued that the coffeehouse was at the centre of some concerns about the appropriate management of masculine behaviour'.[97] However, sodomy was not one of those anxieties. Foppery and effeminacy were seen as a result of men appropriating 'female politeness' within the 'masculine public sphere', rather than as a sign of same-sex activity.[98] Restoration public discourse was rich in very explicit references to buggery and sodomy of one's political opponents, so the stark absence of such accusations in regards to coffeehouses in similar types of sources – satirical and/or polemical pamphlets – is a sign of a genuine absence of such anxieties.[99]

It is likely that the association of coffeehouses with sodomy in foreign – Ottoman and Persian – contexts reflected a response to observations of local forms of sociability, especially of the presence of boys in coffeehouses. This focus on boys in coffeehouses was by no means universal; only one early modern English traveller in the Ottoman Empire wrote about these concerns. However, it existed as a part of a wider Anglophone discourse on Islamic societies, including

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[93] Ibid., pp.115, 131.

[94] Ibid., p.131.

[95] Anonymous, *The Character of A Coffee-House with the Symptomes Of A Town-Wit* (London: Printed for Jonathan Edwin, at the three Roses in Lud-Gate-Street,1673); M. P., *A Character Of Coffee And Coffee-Houses By M.P.* (London: Printed for John Starkey, neer the Devil-Tavern, by Temple-Bar, 1661), no mention of sodomy throughout.

[96] M. P., *A Character of Coffee and Coffee-houses*, p.4.

[97] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, p.229.

[98] Ibid., p.230.

[99] Humberto Garcia, *Islam And The English Enlightenment, 1670-1840* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), Chapter 1.

Persia.[100] This focus on boys, rather than the homosocial context of the coffeehouse or anxieties about the potential of coffee as a drug to encourage sodomy, parallelled Ottoman anxieties expressed by Evliya Çelebi and others regarding coffeehouses and illicit sexuality. In that sense, Ottoman and Anglophone discourses on early modern Ottoman coffeehouses reflected similar concerns and overlapping anxieties.

Intoxication and its association with licentiousness, prostitution and sexual assault were a concern for both Ottoman commentators and Anglophone observers. Although coffee was seen by some Ottoman commentators as an intoxicating substance (as the above shows), wine and alcohol in general were seen with more suspicion. The place of alcohol in Ottoman culture was ambiguous: some rejected it outright as *haram*, forbidden, whereas others, such as Mustafa Ali, condemned misuse of alcohol and over-drinking, rather than drinking per se.[101] Taverns and wine houses were supposed to be operated by non-Muslims for a non-Muslim clientele. However, that was not always the case in practice. As Fariba Zarinebaf has showed, there were a series of crackdowns on the sale of wine and other alcoholic beverages throughout the early modern period.[102] Taverns, coffeehouses, and *boza* shops in Istanbul and Galata were ordered to close down in 1567; taverns were ordered to be closed in all Muslim neighbourhoods and on streets near bathhouses as female Muslim residents were sexually harassed by drunkards in 1575; distilling of *raki* and wine was banned in 1606; and the sale of wine to Muslims was banned in 1689. Many of these bans were not very effective in practice, as many neighbourhoods were mixed and many Muslims made wine at home to bypass the ban.[103]

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[100] Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Trauaile Begunne Anno 1626. Into Afrique and The Greater Asia, Especially the Territories Of The Persian Monarchie: And Some Parts Of The Orientall Indies, And Iles Adiacent* (London: Printed by William Stansby, and Iacob Bloome, 1634), p.87; on Persia, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[101] On alcohol, see Rudi Matthee, 'Alcohol in the Islamic Middle East: Ambivalence and Ambiguity', *Past & Present* 222, Supplement 9 (2014), 100-25. An interesting episode discussing homoeroticism and wine is mentioned in Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, pp.61-62, but had to be cut from this dissertation due to the word limit.

[102] Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700-1800* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), pp.98-9.

[103] Ibid., p.99.

In Ottoman lands, sites of intoxication such as *boza* houses and wine-houses were often associated with sexual activity. Ebry Boyar and Kate Flee have argued that 'many of the young male dancers in the wine houses were prostitutes'.[104] The poet Ahmed Cavid Hadika lamented that 'in the wine-house of love I drank my fill/I loved a beautiful boy dancer and I had my fortune stolen'.[105] As is shown above, Evliya associated *boza* shops and taverns with the sex trade in Cairo. He also stated that 'all the male and female prostitutes are noted in [the Sheikhs of Arasat] registers, and they exact taxes from them'. The stress on intoxication and its association with fornication and the threat of sexual violence is evident in Evliya's description of the dangers of visiting Babulluq as a client. Evliya told a cautionary tale of a young man who comes to 'Babulluq where he makes out with a sweetheart in one of the huts'. If the young man 'wants wine and kebab', he gives money to the bazaar jobber, who fetches the 'wine or the *boza*' and drugs it. The youth is then robbed by the jobber's associates, who 'use him as they wish, then dump him in a corner or a remote spot'. When 'the refined youth recovers he sees that he is naked' but 'he cannot even tell anyone what happened'. This episode, and 'God knows how many such incidents', is later used to justify the 'cleansing' of Cairo. When the governor, 'Canpoladzade Huseyn Pasha [...] was told about them, he realised that they constituted a loss of revenue, and that he would be liable, so he ordered his chief doorkeeper to tear down the houses of prostitution'.[106] Evliya stressed that the governor closed down the prostitution outlets not out of moral concern but out of fear for his own financial liability resulting from high crime levels in the area. The governor was represented as morally corrupt. The harshness of Evliya's attitude to Egyptian homoeroticism might be explained by a form of colour and cultural prejudice towards Arabs.

Wine was likewise seen as an important part of Ottoman 'sodomy' in European accounts. Jean de Thevenot, whose *Travels* were translated into English in 1687, stated that the Turks 'are very Amorous, but with a brutish Love; for they are great Sodomites, and that is a very ordinary Vice amongst them, which they care so little to conceal, that their Songs are upon no other Subject, but

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[104] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.201.

[105] Ibid., p.201; see also Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, pp.102-107.

[106] All these quotes are from Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.394.

upon that Infamous Love or Wine'.[107] Moreover, concerns about drink, drunkenness, and sodomy can be traced in Anglophone sources describing England itself. A 1625 plague pamphlet stated that 'London is situated as pleasantly as Sodom' and that in drunkenness 'wee exceede the Nation, that within these fifty yeeres wee hated for drunkennesse and I doubt, That sinne of Sodomy is vsed in too many places of the City'.[108] Humphrey Stafford blamed his sodomitical conduct against two boys on his drunkenness.[109] In his execution speech, he lamented that 'he wished that all men would haue a care neuer to delight in making of men drunk, which, as it should seeme, was the sin his soule then chiefly stood guiltie of'.[110] Taverns were associated with the potential danger of sexual assault and of consensual sodomy, in England and outside of it. For example, in his journal account of his diplomatic mission in Tripoli in the late 1680s, Thomas Baker described a rape of a Dutch 'Renegado' in a tavern by, initially, two 'Turks' and then 'thirty four' more soldiers 'without ye least shame or feare of punishment'.[111] This account was not published and differs from most published sources in the extent of the gruesome detail, but not the tone or the focus on the legal aspect of the case. Similarly to Evliya Çelebi, Baker identified tavern-going as a morally lax activity which could lead to unintended consequences. Unlike coffee, alcohol and intoxication were similarly connected to sodomy in both Ottoman and Anglophone discourses. However, there are relatively few if any Anglophone sources which associate drinking alcohol with sodomy

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[107] Jean de Thévenot, *The Travels Of Monsieur De Thevenot into The Levant in Three Parts, viz. into I. Turkey, II. Persia, III. the East-Indies* (London: Printed by Henry Clark, for John Taylor, at the ship in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1687), p.58.

[108] Anonymous, *The Red-Crosse: Or, Englands Lord Haue Mercy Vpon Vs* (London: Printed for Iohn Trundle, and are to be sold at his shop in Smith-field, neere the Hospitall-gate, 1625), p.1.

[109] Anonymous, *The Arraignement, Iudgement, Confession, And Execution Of Humfrey Stafford Gentleman Who on the Tenth Of This Present Month Of Iune, 1607. Suffered, At Saint Thomas of Waterings* (London: Printed by E. A[llde] for A. J[ohnson] and F. B[urton] & are to be solde at the signe of the Flower-de-Luce and Crowne in Paules Church-yarde, 1607), Sig.C1r.

[110] Ibid., Sig.C1r.

[111] Thomas Baker, C. R. Pennell (ed.), *Piracy And Diplomacy In Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal Of Thomas Baker, English Consul In Tripoli, 1677-1685* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London : Associated University Presses, 1989), entry of 3rd of June 1682/3; see also Chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis on drunkenness and sexual violence.

specifically and exclusively in the Ottoman context; the connection between sexual misbehaviour and alcohol was seen as fairly universal.

Bathhouses were another site associated with male same-sex activity in early modern Ottoman sources. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba argued that bathhouses provided a focal point in the lifecycle of Muslim men, who entered this homosocial space for the first time at pubescence. He argued that 'an astonishing promiscuity reigns in the hammam that seems to have survived all censors and prohibitions'.[112] Dror Ze'evi has argued that '*hammam* [...] carried connotations of women and sex'.[113] The homoerotic potential of bathhouses and conservative anxieties about those spaces have been stressed by Khaled El-Rouayheb.[114] For example, 'the Egyptian scholar 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Munawi (d. 1622) [argued] against men making use of beardless boys as masseurs when they visited the baths; he also urged the owner of a bath not to employ beardless boys, and not to allow them to strip in the bathhouse'.[115] They occupied a more ambiguous space in the writings of active participants in the culture of the Beloveds, as Abdulhamit Arvas has showed through an analysis of the writings of Aşık Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi.[116] Evliya's description of baths in Sophia stressed uninhibited embraces and unnamed activities in the corner between the lovers and their boys. He called 'this pool Lovers' Lair because everyone here embraces his darling boy uninhibitedly and they can go off in a corner to dally undisturbed'.[117]

There were also more openly pronounced anxieties about what was going on in the bathhouses. As Serkan Delice demonstrated, *Dellakname-i Dilküşa*, dedicated to exploring the homoerotic context of bathhouses, did not depict a world of unlimited and widely socially accepted sexual

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[112] Abdelwahab Bouhdiba and Alan Sheridan (trans.), *Sexuality in Islam* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp.167-8.

[113] Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, p.123.

[114] El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, p.42.

[115] Ibid., p.42.

[116] Arvas,'Travelling Sexualities', p.105.

[117] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, p.103; Evliya Çelebi, Dankoff et al, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol.3, p.225. 'Hakîr bu havza 'mecma'-i dilberân' dedim. Zîra herkes dilber-i ra'nâlar ile bîlâ vâsıta koç-kucağ ba'dehû bir genc künci bucâğ isterse ol çağ; istenezse öbür çağ eder'.

abundance; while 'the image of the hîz or "catamite" shampooer' was not demonised, neither was it condoned.[118] The story of Hamlacı İbrahim is a good case study for this: he moved from the Black Sea region to Istanbul to visit his uncle, a boatman serving the Imperial Guard. İbrahim was recruited as a boatman and a barber's apprentice. When it emerged that he had had consensual sex with Kürt Haso Ağa, İbrahim was rejected by his uncle and expelled from the barracks of Imperial Guard boatmen and from the barber's where he was an apprentice.[119] The story of Yemenici Balî is even more revealing of the cruelty and power imbalances of the world of apprentices and bathhouse shampooers. Yemenici Balî, 'the recruit of the 59th Regiment as well as the apprentice of a master shoemaker in Tophane', was taken to a *kulluk* (guardhouse or police station) by an older Janissary from his regiment and repeatedly raped there by several men. The police superintendent was alerted of what was happening as a 'drinking party', came to the *kulluk*, saw the rape, and punished Yemenici Balî 'by adding his highly esteemed name to the list, and to crown it all, imprinted the word "catamite" on his calves'. With his name on the list, the only place Yemenici Balî could work in was the bathhouse: 'he headed to the Kaptan-ı Derya Kılıç Ali Paşa Bath in Tophane, kissed the hand of a master shampooer, undressed himself and joined [in order to start working in] the bath'. He made a name for himself as he 'could allow himself to be fucked as many times as possible, which would be included in the price'. The young man allegedly got in touch with the author of the text, Derviş İsmail, in September 1685, when İsmail became the Chief of the Bath Keepers. Yemenici Balî 'cried his eyes out and exclaimed that he now was absolutely sick of getting fucked [and] asked for deliverance from the bath and wanted his name to be deleted from the police superintendent's list'. Derviş İsmail saved him 'from the claws of the police superintendent', hired him as a servant for his own house, and 'put him, outwardly, in charge of smoking pipes', but in reality made him 'his own bedfellow in [his] private room'.[120] This story demonstrates not only the role of bathhouses as sites of selling sex, but also the precarious social and legal position of the shampooers, who might take up this job as a result of legal limitations on how else they could make a living (the superintendent's list) or who might be rejected by their

[118] Serkan Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows', p.134.

[119] Ibid., p.131.

[120] Ibid., pp.127-8.

families and more respectable employers if someone found out that they had been 'fucked', consensually or not. *Dellakname-i Dilküşa*, a deliberately and intensely erotic text, shows glimpses of the uglier side of the 'culture of the Beloveds', not apparent in more idealised texts about Beloveds by Aşık Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi, and reveals a much more complex place of male-male sex in the early modern Ottoman bathhouse.

Some Anglophone texts associated Ottoman bathhouses with sodomy. Joseph Allen Boone has argued that expressions of 'hammam's homoerotic potential' were picked up by a number of foreign visitors, including the Dutch traveller Johann Baptiste Gramaye (1610) and the Portuguese soldier Joao Mascarenhas (1627), both of whom associated hammams with sodomy and adultery.[121] Gramaye's account was published in the 1619 edition of *Purchas* without identifying the author of the original.[122] Anna Suranyi has argued that 'travellers often imagined that private and public baths were settings for licentiousness', citing George Sandys.[123] In his discussion of bathhouses, Sandys stated that 'much unnatural and filthie lust is said to be committed daily in the remote closets of these darksome Bannius: ya women with women'.[124] The 1617 edition of *Purchas* stated that 'the Turks are given in both Sexes to unnatural lust [...] even the women in publike baths'.[125] More broadly, bathhouses were associated with gender and sexual transgressions of all sorts. For example, John Bulwer, a natural philosopher and author of *Anthropometamorphosis*, discussed them in relation to the practice of shaving pubic hair, which

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[121] Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, p.81.

[122] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas, His Pilgrim. Microcosmus, Or the Historie Of Man. Relating The Wonders Of His Generation, Vanities In His Degeneration, Necessity Of His Regeneration* (London: Printed by W[illiam] S[tansby] for Henry Fetherstone, 1619), p.282.

[123] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of The English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark [Del.]: Cranbury, NJ: U of Delaware, Associated University Presses, 2008), p.116.

[124] George Sandys, *A Relation Of A Iourney Begun An. Dom. 1610*, p.69.

[125] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgramage, Or, Relations Of The World And The Religions Observed In Al Ages And Places Discovered, From The Creation Unto This Present : In Foure Parts: This First Contayneth A Theologicall And Geographicall Historie Of Asia, Africa And America ... : With Briefe Descriptions Of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoueries; Private And Publike Customes, And The Most Remarkable Rarities Of Nature, Or Humane Industrie, In The Same* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henry Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1617), p.334.

he condemned as unnatural.[126] This shows an awareness of bathhouses as homosensual sites in European discourses.

Such an association was so prevalent that sexuality played a key role in Anglophone debates on the acceptability and usefulness of bathhouses in the middle of the seventeenth century. An exchange between the physician Peter Chamberlain (1601-1683) and an anonymous respondent on the benefits of public bathhouses in 1648 exemplifies some of the key arguments in that debate. As the title of his work shows, Chamberlain's aim was to 'vindicate' public bathhouses of 'the objections and scandalls obtruded on them'.[127] One of the arguments he aimed to refute was that bathhouses 'may be occasions of Sinne'. He argued that any public building, including churches, 'Innes, for Feastings, for Tavernes, Victualling-Houses, Ale-Houses, All Houses' could be accused of the same (which, as the above shows, they sometimes were). He argued that 'Publick places are not so fit for Wantonnes as Privat'.[128] This argument was refuted by the anonymous author of *Publique Bathes Purged. Or, A reply to Dr Chamberlain*. The anonymous author stressed that 'much unnarall lust is said to be committed in the Cels and retirements which belong unto them; yea, women with women, a thing incredible [...] so saith M. Sands in his travell, to whom the Doctor directs us', using references to George Sandys, quoted by Chamberlain, to stress the benefits of the baths. He also argued that 'Churches [...] Meeting places, Taverns, Innes are [...] in Possession already [and] necessary; neither of which can be said of publique Bathes'. ' He stressed that the homosocial nature of bathhouses, which was intended to prevent heterosexual intercourse, instead provided 'occasion a more unnaturall and horrid uncleannesse'.[129] This case study shows

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[126] J. B. (John Bulwer), *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd, Or the Artificial Changeling. Historically Presented, in the Mad and Cruel Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Fineness, And Loathesome Loveliness of Most Nations, Fashioning & Altering Their Bodies from The Mould Intended by Nature. With A Vindication of The Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, And an Appendix of The Pedigree of The English Gallant* (London: J. Hardesty. 1650), p.383.

[127] Peter Chamberlen, *A Vindication of Publick Artificiall Baths & Bath-Stoves from the Objections and Scandalls Obtruded on Them, by Those That Do Not, or Will Not, Know Their Great Benefit to the Publick, by Way of Answer to Som Fellowes of Our Colledge of Physitians in London, and Others* (London, 1648).

[128] All the quotes are from ibid., p.4.

[129] All the quotes are from Anonymous, *Publique Bathes Purged. Or A Reply to Dr Chamberlain His Vindication of Publique Artificial Bathes from The Pretended Objections and Scandals Obtruded on Them* (London, 1648), p.9.

that there was a debate around the links between sexuality and bathhouses, and that the influence of travel accounts was not straightforward: both authors read Sandys, and yet only one of them stressed the sodomy of the Turks and its connection to the bathhouses.

However, throughout the seventeenth century, other Anglophone authors advocated the benefits of baths in England and many did not discuss rumours of sexual impropriety. For example, Edward Jorden wrote a lengthy tract about baths and explained their role in Turkish society but did not mention sodomy at all. He claimed to have read 'the Turkish History', most likely by Knolles, which discusses sodomy. It is unlikely that he did not know of rumours about illicit sexuality in the bathhouses, but he did not discuss them.[130] The anonymous *A True Account of the Royal Bagnio*, published in 1680, provided a detailed description of Turkish baths in the Ottoman Empire and then discussed the new bathhouse in London, 'as near a *Turkish* Fashion as it may be'.[131] The author expressed a positive opinion of both Turkish and London baths and did not associate them with illicit sexuality. The empirical physician Samuel Haworth mentioned rubbers and barbers who would undress their clients in his 1683 *A Description of the Duke's Bagnio*, but did not express any concerns about potential sexual connotations of these practices.[132] Brian Cowan has argued that owners of bathhouses and their champions 'worked hard to avoid any association with prostitution' as 'it seems that so many bagnios were in fact fronts for bawdy houses'.[133] These examples show that the specific concerns Anglophone commentators had were quite different from Ottoman anxieties. Some Anglophone concerns focused on the potential for sexual relationships between clients of a bathhouse, rather than the presence of attractive bathhouse employees, who

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[130] Edward Jorden, *A Discourse of Natural Bathes, and Mineral Waters Wherein, the Original of Fountains in General Is Declared, the Nature and Difference of Minerals with Examples of Particular Bathes, the Generation of Minerals in the Earth, from Whence Both the Actual Heat of Bathes, and Their Virtues Proceed, by What Means Mineral Waters Are to Be Discover'd, and Lastly, of the Nature and Uses of Bathes, but Especially of Our Bathes at Bathe, in Someerset-shire* (London, 1669), p.107.

[131] Person of quality, *A True Account of the Royal Bagnio, With A Discourse Of Its Vertues By a Person Of Quality* (London: Printed by Joseph Hindmarsh, 1680), p.6.

[132] Samuel Haworth, *A Description of the Duke's Bagnio, And of the Mineral Bath and New Spaw Thereunto Belonging with an Account Of the Use Of Sweating, Rubbing, Bathing, And The Medicinal Vertues Of The Spaw* (London: Printed for Sam. Smith, at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1683), pp.4, 8.

[133] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, p.118.

were at the centre of Ottoman concerns. The presence of boys was not stressed in either Anglophone discourses on Ottoman bathhouses, which focused on female same-sex relationships, or Anglophone critiques of bathhouses in England. The positive discourses on English bathhouses stressed the homosocial nature of interactions between the clients and the employees of bathhouses, rather than representing it as a source of anxiety. It could be explained by a different type of sociability encouraged by bathhouses in the two societies.

Homosocial religious environments in the Ottoman empire were a source of anxieties about male same-sex behaviour among both Ottoman conservative commentators and Anglophone visitors. They were often focused on certain Sufi orders; many of the critics were themselves members of other Sufi orders. Khaled El-Rouayheb has demonstrated various arguments around the issue.[134] The Egyptian poet Hasan al-Badri al-Hijazi (d. 1718/19) wrote that the 'long-haired' mystics are 'in depravity the most elevated of men [...] they have taken beardless boys as their aim unabashedly, thus coveting perdition'.[135] The Meccan judge Ahmad al-Murshidi (d. 1638) stated that 'the Sufis [...] have outdone the people of Lot by adding the beating of drums to fornication'.[136] The Syrian mystic Mustafa al-Bakri (d. 1749) 'composed a tract condemning certain mystics active in Syria at the time'.[137] El-Rouayheb also showed that these anxieties were not groundless, as certain Sufis connected the physical embrace of young accolades with religious ecstasy. Moreover, el-Rouayheb showed that the practice of 'contemplating handsome boys' was a 'living tradition' among certain orders. The contemplation of beauty was not the limit of these concerns: late seventeenth-century satirical proverbs claimed that if a youth 'becomes a dervish, the buggers will queue up behind him', and anecdotes from anti-Sufi tracts focused on Sufi 'saints' transmitting their 'light' through semen by sodomising their novices.[138] As El-Rouayheb has pointed out, most of these sources are either satirical or defamatory rather than descriptive, so they should be treated with caution when it comes to the realities of Sufi practices. Nevertheless, they show anxieties about what could

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[134] El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, pp.36-9.

[135] Ibid., p.36.

[136] Ibid., p.37.

[137] Ibid., p.37.

[138] Ibid., pp.37-8.

happen to the novices, and those anxieties were shared by anti-Sufi Muslim commentators and European visitors.

Early modern Anglophone authors were aware of Sufi connections to same-sex activity.[139] *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613) includes a range of information on various Sufi orders, including followers of '*Elhesenibnu Abilhaseu*' who 'contrarie to the Alcoran sing loue-songs and dances, with some phantasticall extasies; affirming themselues to be rauished of diuine loue'.[140] The '*Torlaquie* [...] commit also abominable Sodometire'.[141] Henry Blount ascribed 'profest *Sodomy*, which in the *Levant* is not held a vice' to all of the 'foure feverall *Orders* in their *Religion*'.[142] Paul Rycaut wrote of the 'Order of *Bectash*' that they are 'are a most licentious sort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and loose sort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Disciples'.[143] These examples show that Anglophone observers were often equipped with the necessary analytical tools to understand the specific nature of Ottoman anxieties about homosensuality in certain strands of Sufism, including a stress on 'divine love'. Moreover, people like Rycaut had enough knowledge to identify not just Sufism but specific orders as 'sodomitical'.

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[139] The connection between Islam and sodomy in early modern Anglopohne discourses will be discussed in much more detail at a later point in this thesis; see Chapter 4.

[140] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage, Or, Relations Of The World And The Religions Observed In All Ages And Places Discovered, From The Creation Unto Present: In Foure Partes, This First Containeth A Theologicall And Geographicall Histoire Of Asia, Africa And America, With The Islands Adjacent ... With Briefe Descriptions of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoveries, Private and Publike Customes and The Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature or Humane Industrie in The Same* (London, 1613), p.229.

Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgramage* (1617), p.355.

[142] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of A Iourney, Lately Performed By Master H. B. Gentleman, From England By The Way Of Venice, Into Dal[Matia,] Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes And Egypt, Unto Gran Cairo: / [W]Ith Particular Observations Concerning The Moderne Condition Of The Turkes, And Other People Under That Empire* (London: Printed by I. L for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls Church-yard, 1636), p.79.

[143] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, The Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents And Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline*… (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, at the Mitre between the Middle-Temple-Gate and Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, and the Star in Little-Britain, 1668), p.149.

These examples all suggest that 'othering' through stereotypes of sodomy is only a part of the story of Anglophone conceptualisations of same-sex activity in the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period.[144] Anders Ingram has argued that 'the Other as a model gives a false sense of coherence' and 'does very little to draw us towards contemporary debates, concepts and contexts'.[145] Although not completely identical, Anglophone and Ottoman discourses on Ottoman homoeroticism often overlapped, especially in situations where at least some Anglophone observers could make direct observations and circulate that information in wider Anglophone discourses. Anglophone authors often selected different motifs from various strands of complex debates in the Ottoman Empire, but the inconsistency of Anglophone accounts represents that not everyone chose the same strand. A stress on overlapping anxieties allows us to identify several issues which were crucial for Anglophone and Ottoman observers. Contextualising those anxieties in English ideas of male same-sex love allows us to focus on the key differences that drove Anglophone observers to conceptualise Ottoman love for boys as 'sodomy': social inequality, excessive passion, and sexual intercourse. The final part of this chapter will outline the context of early modern English male same-sex love and will discuss this mismatch in detail.

Emotional ecologies of love

In order to understand early modern Anglophone interpretations of Ottoman 'sodomy', one must understand early modern Anglophone ideas of pure love between men: friendship. Friendship provided a context and a reference point for English speakers as they sought to understand same-sex relationships in the Ottoman Empire. It was not the case that Anglophone authors were coming from a strictly and narrowly 'heteronormative' perspective in the modern sense when they were describing the culture of the Beloveds. Anglophone writers were familiar with ideas of normalised

[144] Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen*, p.113 for an example of the argument that mentions of Ottoman sodomy in Anglophone sources was an 'othering' process.

[145] Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.10.

emotional love and affection between men, which was often deemed purer and stronger than love between men and women. Love between two social equals in the form of friendship was normalised in Anglophone culture in the same way the culture of the Beloveds was normalised in Ottoman homosociability. Scholars have compared homoerotic cultures in England and the Ottoman Empire to draw parallels between them.[146] Arvas and Allen Boone have discussed Ganymede as a point of comparison as well.[147] The goal of this chapter is different: instead of comparing seemingly similar homoerotic cultures, based on the similarities of age of the participants in a homoerotic encounter, this chapter will look at ideas of prescribed norms and their limits in both societies when it came to male love. Homoerotic poetry existed in early modern England but was not openly and socially entrenched in the same way as Ottoman homoerotic poetry. Early modern English men might have fallen in love with younger men, but writing poetry praising the eyes of the younger men was not the social norm in early modern English culture. However, expressing love, emotional connection, and admiration for a friend was the norm, and it shaped the context in which Anglophone observers and readers reacted to Ottoman 'sodomy'. The difference in the norms of understanding male love accounted for an overtly sexual interpretation of the culture of the Beloveds in Anglophone discourses.

Early modern queer history is informed by history of friendship.[148] However, few scholars see early modern 'friendship' as a queer love in its own right.[149] George E. Haggerty explored the

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[146] Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, p.159, pp 329-353.

[147] Arvas,'Travelling Sexualities', pp.69-123; Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, p.60.

[148] There is a rich historiography of the historical approaches to early modern friendship. This thesis is informed by it. For a selection of key texts and concepts, see Marc D. Schachter, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity To Early Modern France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) Valerie Traub, 'Friendship's Loss: Alan Bray's Making of History' in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.21; See a selection of overviews in Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds.) *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship between Men, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Katherine O'Donnell and Michael O'Rourke (eds.), *Queer Masculinities, 1550-1800: Siting Same-Sex Desire In The Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006); See also George E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in The Eighteenth Century* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1999).

[149] See discussions in David M. Halperin, *How to Do The History Of Homosexuality* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago, 2002), p.101-102; Valerie Traub, 'Friendship's Loss: Alan Bray's Making of

wholesomeness of 'men in love' in the eighteenth century.[150] Although Haggerty strongly criticised the distinction between sexual love and friendship which dominated the theoretical underpinnings of the field, he still implied a difference between love and friendship, arguing that eighteenth-century men 'found in the rhetoric of friendship a vocabulary to describe precisely what culture would avoid'.[151] Two recent historiographical and theoretical developments are helpful in fusing friendship and love, instead of clearly differentiating between sexual desire and emotional affinity. On the one hand, the emotional turn allows us to approach early modern friendship as an emotion in its own right.[152] On the other, the emergence of historicising asexuality allows us to be more mindful in differentiating between sexuality and emotional love.[153] The interconnection between the history of emotions and history of sexuality is a fruitful approach to the study of seventeenth-century friendship. The intense emotional relationship described and venerated by the theorists of friendship, a 'marriage of souls', might reflect the ideal rather than everyday practice of every friendship that occurred between 1580s and 1700. However, it also allows us to see what was defined as permissible within the boundaries of male to male affective relationships. Finally, early modern friendship offers a potential avenue into the study of early modern cultures of asexuality, which opens up the possibility to employ the well-established tools of queer theory of

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History' in Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Love, Friendship, and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.21.

[150] Haggerty, *Men in Love*, p..

[151] George Haggerty, 'Male Love and Friendship in the Eighteenth Century' in *Love, Sex, Intimacy and Friendship*, p.72.

[152] On emotions, see Monique Scheer, 'Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuian approach to understanding emotion', History and Theory 51 (2012):193–220, William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework For The History Of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Barbara H. Rosenwein 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review* 107:3 (2002):821-845; see also Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006) and Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling : A History Of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[153] For some overviews of helpful concepts in queer theory, see Wendy Peters, 'Queer Identities: Rupturing Identity Categories and Negotiating Meanings of Queer', *Canadian Woman Studies* 24:2/3 (2005):102-107; Sam Killermann, 'Breaking through the Binary: Gender As a Continuum', *Issues* 107 (2014), 9-12; , Ela Przybylo, Danielle Cooper, 'Asexual Resonances: Tracing a Queerly Asexual Archive', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, Volume 20, Number 3, (2014):297-318.

asexuality – sexualisation, hypersexualisation and desexualisation in representations as a result of power imbalances – into the study of early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounter.

Friendship was universally conceptualised in early modern England as 'in the definition to be *betweene* two' and a relationship based on love.[154] Apart from pure love for one another, there was a set of established features advised, desirable, or even compulsory in a friend. Equality of mind and disposition, of social status, and of religion were universally hailed as the foundation of friendship.[155] There were certain emotional expectations a friend was supposed to fulfil. A friend was supposed to provide emotional support that 'will sucour vs, in our paines and trauels, councell vs in all perrilles and daungers, reioyce with vs in our prosperityes, and will be sorrowfull with vs in our aduersities, and disgraces of fortune'.[156]

There was supposed to be no place for the sexual in this emotional love. Not only was sodomy not a part of this framework, it was contrary to the very definition of friendship. Early modern treatises on friendship conceptualised vice as something that could incapacitate true friendship.[157] None of the ten conduct books and essays on friendship used for this analysis expressed any serious concerns about the potential sexualisation of homosocial friendship. Some authors, such as Jeremy Taylor, affirmed that friendship must not include a sexual element, stressing that friendship 'cannot,

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[154] Lambert Daneau, *True and Christian Friendshippe with All the Braunches, Members, Parts, And Circumstances Thereof, Godly and Learnedly Described. Written First in Latine by That Excellent and Learned Man, Lambertus Danæus, And Now Turned into English. Together Also With A Right Excellent Inuectiue Of The Same Author, Against The Wicked Exercise Of Diceplay, And Other Prophane Gaming* (London: [By G. Robinson] for Abraham Veale, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Lambe, 1586), Sig.A8r; Samuel Masters, *A Discourse Of Friendship Preached At The Wiltshire-Feast, In St. Mary Le-Bow-Church December The 1st, 1684* (London: Printed by T.B. for Marm. Foster and Awnsham Churchill, and are to be sold at the Black Swan at Amen-Corner, 1685), p.6; Edward Benlowes, *A Glance At The Glories Of Sacred Friendship*… (London: Printed by R.D. for Humphrey Mosely, at the Princes Arms in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1657), pVI.

[155] Anonymous, *A Discourse of Friendship. By E.G. Gent*, (London: Printed by J. B. for the author, and are to be sold by Thomas Fabian at the sign of the Bible in St. Pauls Church-Yard, a corner shop next Cheap-side, 1676), p.23.

[156] Anonymous, *The Mirrour of Friendship Both Hovv to Knovve a Perfect Friend, and How to Choose Him. With A Briefe Treatise, Or Caueat, Not to Trust In Worldly Properitie. Translated Out Of Italian Into English By Thomas Breme Gentleman* (London: By Abel Ieffes [and William Dickenson], dwelling in Sermon lane, neere Paules chayne, 1584), Sig.B4v-B5r.

[157] Wither, *Friendship*, p.24; see Chapter 4 of this thesis on sodomy as a repeated habit.

must not be all that endearment which [marriage] is'.[158] Sensuality and pleasure, however, were conceptualised as a part of friendship, although not as a sole purpose of it. Indeed, that was the chief distinction which *A Discourse on Friendship* made, arguing for the *necessity* of love and sensual satisfaction in friendship, if it is accompanied by a rational satisfaction of the mind. Friendship should 'not only […]raise and inflame the heart with the love of the object in order to [achieve] a sensual satisfaction, though that be necessary [...], but rather […] improve the superiour faculties in order to [achieve] a rational satisfaction, from whence the pleasure of the minde proceeds'.[159] Sexuality was a concern for theorists of friendship in a particular context: some authors argued for the primacy of marriage over homosocial friendship precisely because it included a normative procreative sexual purpose, whereas others rejected this notion on the basis of the supposed inferiority of women and the impossibility of a true friendship with a legal, social, moral, and intellectual inferior.[160] Edmund Tilney argued that 'no friendship is, or ought to be more deere and surer, than the loue of man and wife'.[161] This had profound implications for discourses on friendship. Edmund Leites, whose work relies on conduct books, has argued that Puritan ideas of marriage 'reject Cicero's attitude toward women, friendship, and sexuality' and stress that 'husband and wife are to be the best of friends; sensuality and sexuality are to be integral parts of this friendship: friendship and erotic romance go hand in hand'.[162] However, there were considerable similarities between heterosocial marriage and homosocial friendship in early

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[158] Jeremy Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices, And Measures of Friendship with Rules of Conducting It / Written in Answer to A Letter from The Most Ingenious and Vertuous M.K.P. By J.T.* (London: Printed for R. Royston at the Angel in Ivie-lane, 1657), p.74.

[159] Anonymous, *A Discourse of Friendship. By E.G. gent*, p.23.

[160] For the debate on women see Anon., *A Discourse of Friendship. By E.G. Gent*, p.51; Harriette Andreadis, 'Re-Configuring Early Modern Friendship: Katherine Philips and Homoerotic Desire', *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 46:3 (2006):523-42, p.525; on Taylor, see also Penelope Anderson, *Friendship's Shadows: : women's friendship and the politics of betrayal in England, 1640-1705* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)p.79; see the debate between Taylor and Wither - Taylor, Ibid., p.72, George Wither, *Friendship*, p.7.

[161] Edmund Tilney, *A Briefe And Pleasant Discourse Of Duties In Mariage, Called The Flower Of Friendshippe* (London, 1571), Sig.A6v; see more in Edmund Leites, 'The Duty to Desire: Love, Friendship, and Sexuality in Some Puritan Theories of Marriage', *Journal of Social History* 15:3, Special Issue on the History of Love (Spring, 1982):383-408, pp.385, 391.

[162] Leites, 'The Duty to Desire', p.391.

modern England. Conduct books advised choosing a wife of a kindred spirit, similar disposition, and social status – just like a friend.[163] Moreover, friendship was referred to and conceptualised as a form of marriage throughout the period. For instance, Edward Benlowes started his very definition of friendship with a reference to marriage, arguing that 'It is the Marriage of Affections, so Of Fortunes, Interests, and Counsels too.[164] Lambert Daneau argued that friendship is 'a Pact or Couenaunt made betweene two persons, (God himselfe beeing called to witnesse) wherein they faithfully promise, th'one to th'other, mutually to loue, cherish, and entierly to conserue, protect, maintaine and defend one the others person, estate, and goods, so farre foorth as it may lawfully bee done, without breach of God his lawe, or dishonour to his worde'.[165] George Wither, in his 1654 work, professed the superiority of friendship over marriage and lamented the absence of a legal framework for friendship as a union of souls. He argued that as 'it is not possible for me to go higher in evincing the excellency of *Friendship* in relation to all other *Loves*', a union based on such love should, in his view, should also be allowed to be a 'legal and ordinary Union'.[166]Although Wither's text could potentially be satirical, it is reflective of wider discourses on friendship as marriage. Even Jeremy Taylor argued that all marriages, including friendships, should 'be honoured by like dignities, and measured by the same rules, and conducted by their portion of the same Laws'.[167] In this sense, the idea of same-sex marriage existed in early modern England, and male love was seen as worthy of a strong, even covenantal, commitment.

These ideas formed the context in which Anglophone authors observed and reported the Ottoman culture of the Beloveds. Anglophone writers did not come from a culture in which only heteronormative love was socially accepted. They could differentiate between sexual encounters

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[163] Richard Graham Viscount Preston, *Angliae Speculum Morale the Moral State of England, with the Several Aspects It Beareth to Virtue and Vice: With the Life of Theodatus, And Three Novels, viz. The Land-Mariners, Friendship Sublimed, The Friendly Rivals* (London: Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to be sold at the Blew Anchor in the lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1670), pp.85-93.

[164] Benlowes, *A Glance at the Glories of Sacred Friendship*, p.III.

[165] Daneau, *True and Christian Friendshippe*, Sig.A6v.

[166] Wither, *Friendship*, p.8.

[167] Taylor, *A Discourse of the Nature, Offices, And Measures of Friendship*, p.74. See also Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp.13-42.

and love. The sexualisation of the culture of the Beloveds, which caused anxieties among Ottoman observers as well, was the basis for a sexual interpretation of it as 'sodomy' in early modern Anglophone discourses.

Some Anglophone texts demonstrate a rather accurate understanding of the culture of the Beloveds. Henry Blount is one of the very few English travellers who described his own experiences of not only encountering Ottoman 'sodomitical boys', but also participating in forms of homosociality described by Evliya. Although Blount's experiences did not extend to reciting verses or admiring the beauty of the boys, he encountered a procession including numerous pageboys, and spoke to 'Murath Bashaes' in an environment which would not have been unfamiliar to Evliya. Having described the covered wives, Blount went on to explain that 'beside these wives, each *Basha* hath as many, or likely more *Catamites*, which are their serious loves; for their Wives are used (as the *Turkes* themselves told me) but to dresse their meat, to Laundresse, and for reputation'.[168] Here Blount openly acknowledged the emotional importance of the boys to their *Bashas* and contrasted it with the utilitarian purpose of the women in an Ottoman man's life, mirroring Anglophone discourses on rejecting women as acceptable friends and participants in the purest form of love. Unlike that of most other Anglophone observers, Blount's description of the boys went beyond merely noticing them and ascribing a sexual act to them by labelling them sodomitical. He stressed the youth of the boys and the care put into their upkeep. The boys 'are usually clad in *Velvet*, or *Scarlet*, with guilt *Scymitars*, and bravely mounted [...] to each of them a Souldier appointed, who walkes by his bridle, for his safetie'.[169] This description is not far from Evliya's descriptions of a *mahbûb* pageboy, with the details of their outfits and jewellery.[170]

Anglophone authors were aware of the refined sociability that often accompanied the elite incarnation of the culture of the Beloveds. Paul Rycaut also observed the homosensual and homoerotic culture of the Beloveds and the sociability it entailed. He stated that 'persons of eminent degree in the Seraglio become inveigled in this sort of love, watching occasions to have a

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[168] Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant*, p.14.

[169] Ibid., p.14.

[170] Evliya Çelebi, *An Ottoman Traveller*, pp.59-60.

sight of the young Pages that they fancy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the Mosque, or to their washings or baths'. These remarks, again, are reminiscent of the debates between Islamic scholars of the permissibility of gazing upon boys. He also stated that 'the Grand Signiors themselves have also been slaves to this inordinate passion'. He listed several specific Sultans, including Murad IV and Mehmet IV, and their specific young male favourites.[171] His descriptions of the favourite boys of Murad IV in particular are similar to Evliya Çelebi's account of his time at the page's school and the court of Murad IV, pining for Musa, a former favourite who had been murdered.[172] Rycaut stressed not just sexuality in these examples (in fact, he did not actually directly speak of sexuality), but companionship and admiration of beauty. 'Sodomy' was not a mindless beastly sexual act – it might have been an excessive passion, but that passion was clearly understood to consist of emotional involvement as well as the physical sexual act. However, the excess of passion was criticised, alongside the sexual activity. For example, Joseph Pitts, writing in 1704, stated that ''tis common for men to fall in love with boys as 'tis here in England to be in love with women. And I have seen many when they have been drunk that have given themselves deep gashes on their arms with a knife, saying 'tis for the love they bear to such a boy'.[173] These examples show that early modern Anglophone observers understood emotions to be an integral part of the culture of Beloveds.

Paul Rycaut was one of the few Anglophone authors to openly acknowledge not only the similarities between Ottoman homoerotic relationships, but the direct references to 'true friendship'. He argued that youths in the palace school were taught 'a handsome and gentle deportment, instructs them in Romances, raises their thoughts to aspire to the generous and virtuous actions they read of in the Persian Novellaries'.[174] This refined learning 'endues them with a kind of Platonick love each to other, which is accompanied with a true friendship amongst

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[171] All the Rycaut quotes are from Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, pp.33-4.

[172] Dankoff and Hagen, *An Ottoman Mentality*, pp.39-43.

[173] Daniel J. Vitkus and N. I. Matar, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York; Chichester: Columbia UP, 2001), p.236.

[174] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p.31.

some few'.[175] Discussing 'the Affection and Friendship the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other', Rycaut argued that 'the Doctrine of Platonick love hath found Disciples in the Schools of the Turks' and 'that they call it a passion very laudable and virtuous, and a step to that perfect love of God, whereof mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of love and admiration of his image and beauty enstamped on the creature'.[176] This echoed Ottoman arguments in favour of the culture of the Beloveds, especially in some Sufi contexts. Rycaut's criticism was also reminiscent of Ottoman criticisms of the culture of the Beloveds, discussed earlier in this chapter. He argued that in this 'amorous disposition', 'the colour of virtue' was painted over with 'the deformity of their depraved inclinations', as 'in reality this love of theirs, is nothing but libidinous flames each to other'.[177] This sexualisation of the culture of the Beloveds was not unique to Rycaut or to Western European observations of Ottoman society, and it demonstrates a shared concern between certain Anglophone observers, such as Rycaut, and Ottoman anxieties across the spectrum, discussed earlier in this chapter. This sexualisation of a culture understood to self-identify as asexual ('Platonick love' and 'perfect love of God') by both external and internal observers complicates our understanding of the processes of sexualisation and hypersexualisation, as it demonstrates that in this case these processes did not rely on power dynamics, imperial or otherwise.

Friendship provides a complex lens for the analysis of Anglophone concepts of Ottoman 'sodomy'. Nabil Matar has argued that for Rycaut, Platonic love did not degrade into sodomy in Christian countries because it conventionally occurred among married men, whereas in the Ottoman empire it happened among unmarried men.[178] Echoing these sentiments, Serkan Delice has also connected early modern Ottoman friendship to homosociality in his analysis of the works of Mustafa Ali.[179] Ali commented on the new phenomenon of 'friendship' between rich adult men and attractive young boys. Ali explained this preference for beardless boys by the lack of available women to

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[175] Ibid., p.31.

[176] Ibid., p.33.

[177] Ibid., p.33.

[178] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p.123.

[179] Serkan Delice, 'Friendship, sociability, and masculinity in the Ottoman Empire: An essay confronting the ghosts of historicism', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42 (2010), 103–125, p.108.

socialise with in the public sphere.[180] These relationships included 'spirited conversation, intimate talk, familiarity [and] companionship', but were criticised by Ali as a 'failure of masculinity, as well as a corrupt form of intimacy and sociability'.[181] On the one hand, this comparison between Ali and Rycaut again demonstrates an overlap between Ottoman and Anglophone anxieties about homoeroticism, this time manifested in concerns about the corruption and sexualisation of the idea of friendship. However, there is a crucial difference between their remarks: Rycaut was talking about socially equal relationships between pages, whereas Ali was talking about intra-generational relationships.

Social differences between participants of different ages in the Ottoman culture of the Beloveds, as well as the sexual element of these relationships, prevented Rycaut and others from seeing it as a true friendship. The marital status of male friends did not matter in early modern England. Conjugal marriage was, at best, something that happened in parallel to the love between men, and at worst, something unworthy of the same intellectual and emotional status. Rycaut did not attempt to conceptualise the relationships between older lovers and younger Beloveds as friendship, apart from comparing them to failed friendship – favouritism of princes – in his discussion of the sultans' court. His sexualisation of the culture of the Beloveds was based on the argument that admiration of divine love in the beauty of the Beloved is a valid form of expression of love, but which should not be corrupted by excessive earthly passion. On this point, Rycaut's observations show an overlap with concerns of Ottoman commentators on the culture of the Beloveds. He interpreted the culture of the Beloveds in a highly sexualised way, not because he could not envisage strong love or admiration of beauty between men, but because of a mismatch between the conventions of early modern Ottoman homoeroticism and early modern Anglophone friendship as far as the age of the participants was concerned. This example enriches our understanding of sexualisation and desexualisation as theoretical tools in approaching asexually erotic cultures of the past.

[180] Ibid., p.108.

[181] Ibid., p.109.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed, first and foremost, to demonstrate that for early modern Anglophone observers, Ottoman sodomy was not a proto-colonial fantasy but a homoerotic culture depicted as a result of direct observation, which was subsequently interpreted within the context of Anglophone ideas and anxieties about love between men and potential sites for the development of illicit sexuality.[182] Those anxieties often overlapped with Ottoman concerns about the limits of permissibility in the homoerotic cultures of the Age of Beloveds. However, that overlap did not represent a shared culture of concerns and anxieties about homoeroticism, nor was it always very precise. Instead, reading Anglophone and Ottoman remarks about Ottoman homoeroticism alongside each other reveals complex and nuanced ways in which Anglophone texts conceptualised Ottoman 'sodomy'; some remarks were highly thought through and based on direct observation, whereas others reflected hearsay and increasingly circulating stereotypes. Finally, the process of cultural understanding of the Ottoman 'Age of Beloveds' by Anglophone travellers represented less a direct translation and more a complicated cultural interpretation of homoerotic and homosocial practices within the Anglophone discourses and systems of values regarding male love and sex. Sexualisation – in the form of an interpretation of a phenomenon as sexualised, whilst being aware of the alternative – of a culture of asexual erotics did not have to depend on power dynamics and privilege. Although colonial power dynamics were not involved in the early modern Anglo-Ottoman encounter, Anglophone observers sexualised a culture they had the capacity to not sexualise. This shows that something other than power dynamics can fuel processes of sexualisation and desexualisation, prompting us to rethink the centrality of power to stereotype formation.

[182] For the exact opposite argument, see Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p.126. Matar argued that Anglophone mentions of Ottoman 'homosexuality stemmed not from direct observations but from the desire to denigrate the religious adversary'.

Chapter 3. Environmental determinism and same-sex activity

This chapter will examine the extent to which sodomy served as a marker of naturalised difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. It will argue that early modern Anglophone medical discourses had the tools for naturalising difference through a humoral and climatic determinism in relation to same-sex activity. Some authors saw climate and humours as fully responsible for an individual's body and its functions. However, Anglophone authors often employed a more holistic model of environmental determinism which considered not just climate and humours, but diets and customs as an interlinked ecology. Environmental determinism played a role in connecting bodies and customs. It had the potential to essentialise same-sex activity and represent it as a fixed feature of certain societies and individuals, existing in the form of 'proneness', or addiction, which was seen to be a result of repeated actions by individuals and by societies at large, across generations. However, due to the flexibility of these frameworks, most Anglophone authors did not argue for an exclusively deterministic explanation for same-sex activity, as doing so would remove some of the individual's agency in choosing to commit unnatural sexual acts. Early modern Anglophone discourses left ample space for stressing an individual's responsibility for repeated actions and habitual sins. Anglophone texts considered agency to be crucial in determining the existence of same-sex acts and other unnatural behaviours. Nevertheless, Anglophone authors saw certain unnatural acts, from castration to penile inserts, as acceptable if the rationale behind them was clear and necessary. This focus on rationale, such as arguments in favour of the pleasurability of same-sex experiences, provided some later authors with the tools and framework in which limited arguments in favour of same-sex activity could be made in the eighteenth century. Although this chapter does not focus on the Anglophone encounter with the Islamic world per se, it explains the general framework of Anglophone thought on human difference, which applied to that region as well. Moreover, the chapter traces the potential influences of medieval medical writers from the Islamic world on European thinking about the body and sexuality.

This chapter responds to a tension within recent literature on same-sex activity in early modern Anglophone texts. There seems to be a division between scholars working on the history of early modern sexuality, who argue, in general, that sodomy was seen as an act anyone could commit, and scholars of early modern encounter, who stress that contemporaries gave environmental and geographically specific explanations for patterns of sexual behaviour.[1] Scholarship on the history of sexuality over the past 30 years has engaged with the so-called acts vs. identities debate, and the general consensus of this debate, seen in the work of Alan Bray and Jonathan Goldberg, is that same-sex activity was seen as an act everyone is potentially capable of in early modern Anglophone discourses.[2] At the same time, environmental determinism and climatic theory gave early modern authors the tools to tie sexual behaviours to the climates and humours of individuals exhibiting them. Some scholars have tied environmental determinism to the early development of racialised thinking. Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton have continued a rich tradition of scholarship exploring the sexualisation and racialisation of various tropes in European medieval and early modern discourses.[3] Loomba and Burton viewed sodomy, female same-sex relationships, the supposedly excessive carnal appetites of women, and the desire to have sex with white men as mutually interchangeable and conceptually overlapping under the umbrella of excessive lustfulness. Peter Biller has demonstrated that Albertus Magnus's thirteenth-century writings connected the bodily heat of black women to their licentiousness, and that similar themes were evident in a number of medieval texts.[4] At the same time, most scholars have argued that same-

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[1] Ania Loomba and Jonathan Burton (eds.), *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.18.

[2] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1982), pp.25-6; Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* Stanford, [Calif.]: Stanford University Press, 1992), p.243.

[3] For some examples, see Peter Biller, 'Black Women in Medieval Scientific Thought', *Micrologus* 13 (2005):477–92; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, And The European Conquest Of The Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Charles de Miramon, 'The carnal knowing of a coloured body: sleeping with Arabs and blacks in the European imagination, 1300-1500' in Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (eds.), *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[4] Biller, 'Black Women', p.486.

sex activity was not pathologised in early modern Europe.[5] Kevin Siena found this absence strange, as a discussion of disease 'gave a valuable tool to demonise perpetrators'.[6] However, some scholars, such as Richard Trexler, have discussed sodomy within the context of contagion and argued that the principle of infection was significant for understanding early modern sodomy.[7] Both environmental determinism and pathologising are at odds with universalising conceptions of sodomy as a sin, as both explanations remove part of the responsibility of an individual for their actions, determined by climate or disease. Consequently, racialised academic explanations of early modern sodomy have not extensively engaged with early modern Anglophone religious discourses, or have not always acknowledged the centrality of a religious framework for understanding same-sex activity in early modern Anglophone writings. It is difficult to overstate just how central a religious Christian framework was, and the extent to which a religious worldview underpinned all other early modern discourses. This chapter aims to unpack these tensions through a discussion of the range of discourses employed by early modern authors to explain sodomitical behaviours.

Classifying 'unnatural lusts'

Early modern Anglophone discourses offered a variety of explanations for same-sex activity. Some of those explanations seem mutually exclusive, or at least at odds with each other. However, they can often be found within the same text, if not the same paragraph. The writings of Andrew Willet clearly demonstrate that the same author could deploy a range of explanations for 'unnatural' sexual activity. Willet (1561/2-1621) was a Church of England clergyman and an active writer whose works were published during his lifetime and long after his death.[8] Willet's writings are of

[5] See Kenneth Borris and George Sebastian Rousseau, *The Sciences of Homosexuality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp.5-7.

[6] Ibid., p.6.

[7] Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, pp.145-7.

[8] Milton, A. (2008, January 03). Willet, Andrew (1561/2–1621), Church of England clergyman and religious controversialist. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 27 May. 2020, from

particular interest as they demonstrate the often contrived, confused, and mutually exclusive understandings of sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourses. On the one hand, a universalising explanation of sodomy as a sin seemingly prevailed and anyone was seen as capable of unnatural lusts given the right circumstances. On the other, in certain cases, the individual's responsibility seems to have been diminished, as their acts were explained by climatic determinism, humoral imbalances, and behaviours developed through repetition.

Willet's views were most clearly expressed in his commentaries on the Old Testament, one of which, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum*, first published in a single volume in 1633, dealt extensively with the issue of unnatural sexual activity.[9] Willet divided the 'the sinnes of unnaturall lust' into three distinct categories: bestiality, non-procreative sexual activity, and same-sex sexual activity committed by a specific type of person – the 'molle'. In his own words, the 'sinnes' were first, 'those which are committed with another kinde, as with brute beasts, Levit. 18.23'; second, 'that which is committed with that sex, which is not for that naturall use; which was the sinne of the Heathen'; and third, 'effeminate, wanton, and lascivious persons: molles, as the Latine Interpreter translateth, who doe commit uncleannesse with the same kinde, with the same sex, and with the same person, that is, with themselves, in the voluntarie emission of their nature'.[10] Only the second category referred specifically to Sodomites (Genes. 19), and those men who 'liers with men [...] without their great repentance, excluded the Kingdome of heaven, and inheritance of God, 1 Cor.

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https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29445.

[9] Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum: That Is, A Sixfold Commentary Upon the Two First Bookes of Moses, Being Genesis and Exodus Wherein These Translations Are Compared Together: 1. The Chalde. 2. The Septuagint. 3. The Vulgar Latine. 4. Pagnine. 5. Montanus. 6. Iunius. 7. Vatablus. 8. The Great English Bible. 9. The Geneva Edition. And 10. The Hebrew Originall. Together With a Sixfold Vse of Every Chapter, Shewing 1. The Method or Argument: 2. The Divers Readings: 3. The Explanation of Difficult Questions and Doubtfull Places: 4. The Places of Doctrine: 5. Places of Confutation: 6. Morall Observations. In Which Worke, About Three Thousand Theologicall Questions Are Discussed: Above Forty Authors Old and New Abridged: And Together Comprised Whatsoever Worthy of Note, Either Mercerus Out of The Rabbines, Pererius Out of The Fathers, Or Marloran Out of The New Writers, Have in Their Learned Commentaries Collected. By Andrew Willet, Minister of The Gospell of Iesus Christ* (London: Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are to be sold by William Lee at the signe of the Turkes head in Fleet-street, 1633), pp. 332, 423.

[10] Ibid., p.332

6.9'.[11] The third category is potentially the most interesting, as it refers to 'so called molles, tender, delicate, effeminate', who 'can endure no griefe in resisting of carnall concupiscence, Tostat. quast. 22.'[12] This last category is based on a gendered predisposition to a lack of strong will to resist the desires of the flesh and a willingness to satisfy them through the 'the sinne of Er and Onan'.[13] Thus, not all unnatural sins are same-sex activity, according to Willet; not all of them are even 'sodomitical'; however, the word sodomy was used as a blanket term for all of these sexual activities and many others elsewhere in Anglophone writings.[14] This example shows both the significance of a religious framework for understanding the 'unnatural sins' in early modern Anglophone thinking, and the complexities of categories involved in defining such behaviours.

One could question a potential tension in ascribing unnatural activity to nature, as is seemingly the case in the first two of Willet's explanations of 'inclination' to unnatural sexual activity in specific countries or due to disease. At first glance, what Willet and any climatic and humoral explanations of unnatural sexual activity seem to argue is that nature can encourage and outright produce climates which make unnatural sexual activity inevitable, creating a seeming contradiction. However, the simple answer to this is that Anglophone authors saw God's creation as corrupted, and thus nature could produce all manners of unnatural things, from monstrous births to sinful behaviours. As Willet argued, 'the wickednesse and corruption of mans nature [...] without Gods grace is prone even unto the most vile, monstrous and ugly sinnes'.[15] The more interesting question is the extent to which an environmental, climatic, or pathological explanation of unnatural sexual activity had the potential to remove part of an individual's responsibility for the sins of unnatural sexual activity. Answering these questions requires an understanding of early modern environmental determinism and the potential of medieval and early modern European medical discourses for pathologising unnatural sexual activity.

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[11] Ibid., p.332.

[12] Ibid., p.332.

[13] Ibid., p.332.

[14] See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[15] Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum*, p.332.

Willet's work is interesting because it shows the ways in which religious discourses engaged with natural philosophy and alternative explanations for same-sex activity. Willet's explanation for what drives people to commit these 'unnatural sins' is multifaceted. He argued that 'unnatural lust, [...] this bestiall sin may be committed two waies; either indirectly when one, not at the first intending any such filthy act, but being inflamed with lust' commits this 'carnall act, because it cannot be satisfied as he would, seeketh to have it satisfied howsoever' or 'else directly at the first there is a wicked inclination unto this bestialitie'.[16] This quote clearly shows that, at least for Willet, a high-profile commentator on the Old Testament, there was no tension between acknowledging the universality of 'unnatural lusts', which anyone is capable of, and situating it in specific circumstances, driven by 'inclination'. Quoting Alonso Tostado, Bishop of Avila, a fifteenth-century Castilian theologian, Willet stated that there are three reasons why 'some men are caried into these unnaturall lusts'.[17] These reasons are 'their vile corrupt nature, which is procured by the evill disposition of the country: as in Aethiopia and Lybia, and toward the poles in the remote countries, monstrous shapes and formes are found, which are the fruits of such unnaturall lusts'; second, 'frensie and madnes· and other distemperatures of the braine'; 'and third, an evill use and custome, as it seemeth the Sodomites even from their childhood were exercised in those acts of filthines'.[18] This quote is revealing for several reasons. First, it shows that early modern Anglophone understanding of sodomy incorporated earlier discourses and was an amalgamation of a wider European body of knowledge. Second, confessional divides and differences, which were often expressed in cross-confessional accusations of sodomy, did not prevent mainstream Protestant Anglophone authors from engaging with relatively recent pre-Reformation authors from staunchly Catholic countries by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This quote also cautions us against rigidly dividing 'religious' and 'secular' discourses: not only were wider discourses informed by a religious understanding of the world, but religious texts incorporated ideas of natural philosophy. The content of this quote demonstrates that a wide variety of

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[16] Ibid., p.423.

[17]Ibid., p.423; see more on Tostado and sodomy in François Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and The Transgression of Gender Norms* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp.38-9.

[18] Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum*, p.423.

explanations for 'unnatural' sexual acts could be proposed alongside a universalising understanding of 'sodomy'. The 'vile corrupt nature' of a specific country could encourage unnatural acts, which produce 'monstrous' offspring. This explanation serves as a bridge between a late medieval worldview of Tostado, reliant on marvellous travel, and seventeenth-century beginnings of the increasing importance of observation as evidence.[19]

Willet's second explanation is even more interesting, as it offers a framework for pathologising 'unnatural' inclinations, based on 'distemperatures of the braine', steeped in humoral theory and humoral explanations of disease.[20] Finally, the third explanation, which Willet ascribed to the Biblical 'Sodomites', relies on the language of custom, and, even more precisely, on the cultivation of certain behaviours in children, which encourages a widespread acceptance of those customs in society as a whole. His fourth explanation of illicit sexuality was connected to idolatry and 'false' religion. He stated that ''better reasons ...than all these' was that 'these unnaturall and beastly lusts are the traits of Idolatry and false worship as here immediately it followeth, that they should not offer unto any other gods'.[21] The connection between illicit sexuality and 'false religion' is a large topic, which deserves special attention, and thus it will be dealt with at length in Chapter 4 of this thesis. All these explanations are contradictory, if not mutually exclusive. These explanations informed wider Anglophone discourses on 'sodomitical' societies, in one way or another, and it is often difficult to untangle those threads. This chapter will attempt to test these three broad explanations – climate, pathologising, and developed patterns of behaviour – against the framework of the very first, universalising explanation of unnatural sexual acts.

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[19] On marvellous travel see Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism : Asian Peoples And Cultures In European Travel Writing, 1245-1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); on observational method, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for Travellers: Teaching the Eye to See', *History and Anthropology* 9 (March 1996). 139–90; see also Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 1400– 1600* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[20] This explanation is very unusual.

[21] Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin & Exodum*, p. 423.

Climate

Early modern Anglophone medical frameworks provided tools for close associations between climates, landscapes, diseases, and unnatural behaviours. They also explained the place of the unnatural in the order of nature. In order to demonstrate these processes, it is important to understand the basic principles of Galenic medicine. A succinct summary is provided in Hunayn ibn Ishaq's (809–873) Introduction to his *al-Masā'il fī al-ṭibb* (Questions about Medicine), known in the West as The Isagoge of Joannitius.[22] Ibn Ishaq was an influential Assyrian Nestorian Christian translator and one of the key people behind the transmission of classical Greek and Persian knowledge to Arabic and Syriac discourses. The Galenic medical framework consists of the naturals, the non-naturals, and the contra-naturals. The naturals include 'the elements, the mixtures [of qualities] (*commixtiones*), the humours (*compositiones*), the members [of the body], the powers (*virtutes*), the faculties (*operationes*), and the spirits; some people add to these four others: namely, the ages of life, the colours, the shapes, and the distinction between male and female'.[23] The non-naturals can include changes of air, the seasons of the year, modalities of terrain, exercise, rest, baths, types of foods and drink, sleep and wakefulness, and, crucially for this chapter, sexual intercourse.[24] The Isagoge commented on sexual intercourse as 'beneficial for the body [as] it dries the body and diminishes the natural power and so cools it down, although oftentimes the body is warmed by a good deal of vigorous motion'.[25] The contra-naturals include all diseases, from fevers and swellings to diseases of the members.[26] According to Ibn Ishaq, if 'each of the natural things in the human body preserves its proper nature, health is maintained'.[27] Various diseases can occur due to imbalances of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture influenced by a misuse

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[22] Faith Wallis (ed.), *Medieval Medicine: A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p.140.

[23] Wallis, *Medieval Medicine*, p.141, translation by Faith Wallis from the edition by Gregor Maurach, "Johannicius. Isagoge ad Techne Galieni," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62:2 (1978), 148–74. Latin.

[24] Wallis, *Medieval Medicine*, pp.144-6.

[25] Ibid., p.146.

[26] Ibid., pp.147, 149.

[27] Ibid., p.147.

of the non-naturals – specific types of food, lack of exercise and other similar things.[28] Moreover, certain diseases are of an 'unnatural' type, and are caused by 'an unnatural evil, together with a certain humor'.[29] These include issues caused by improper conception, problems during the delivery of the child, excessive members, diminutive members, excess of bones, lack of bones, and other similar health issues.[30] These occur due to 'either from a great deal of humour, or from an excess of the natural power, or from agitation of both'.[31]

This short summary of the principles of Galenic medicine shows that within this framework, 'unnatural' did not mean something outside of the realm of the possible, or something that could not be determined by humours and the climate or by other features of the environment. If anything, Galenic medicine assumed a very close connection between humours, environments, and even customs, which could determine people's diets or the amount of exercise they habitually do. Any sexual intercourse is a non-natural, which, in Galenic terms, simply means that it is an external activity of the body. In addition, certain sexual dysfunctions, for example, the thickening of the womb, were pathologised and were thus considered to be contra-natural.[32] Thus, on the one hand, the apparent conflict between natural climates encouraging unnatural activities might be semantic. However, that still leaves us with the issue of potentially ascribing sins – committed by choice – to factors outside of an individual's control. One such framework could be pathologising 'unnatural' sexual activity, suggested by Willet in his ascribing of unnatural sexual activity to both climate and frenzy.

Ascribing specific diseases – contra-naturals – to landscapes and climates was widespread in early modern Anglophone thinking. Andrew Wear has argued that the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* 'acted in Europe as a conscious or unconscious template for views on the relationships between places, health, disease, and the physical and mental constitutional nature of people and

[28] Ibid., p.151.

[29] Ibid., p.151.

[30] Ibid., p.152-3.

[31] Ibid., p.153.

[32] Ibid., p.188.

nations up to the early twentieth century'.[33] The environment – including both the climate and the landscape – was seen to shape the physical, mental, and moral nature of people. Disease was seen to be shaped by both the climate and various features of the landscape, such as fens and bogs.[34] According to Nicolas Culpeper, one of the most popular mid-seventeenth century medical writers, 'English bodies, through the nature of the Region, our kind of diet and nourishment, our custom of life, are greatly divers from those of strange Nations, whereby arises great variety of humours and excrements in our bodies, from theirs'.[35] Similar sentiments could be found almost a century earlier in William Harrison's *An Historical Description of the Island of Britain* (1577, 1587).[36] These sentiments, as Wear argued, 'look forward to the pathologised racism of the nineteenth century'.[37] However, these ideas did not translate into a fully-fledged theory of naturalissation of difference. One of the reasons, as Wear explained, was the flexibility of this tradition – it was used both to argue in favour of English colonisation of the New World on the basis that 'English bodies were naturally fitted to the North American environment', *and* to explain high levels of mortalities in the colonies.[38] Thus, the potential for naturalisation of difference in early modern Anglophone medical discourses existed, but was limited.

This leaves us with two distinct questions: could a particular non-natural – in this case, sexual activity – be ascribed to the humoral composition of region-specific bodies, and could sexual

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[33] Andrew Wear, 'Place, Health, and Disease: The Airs, Waters, Places Tradition in Early Modern England and North America', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), 443–465, p. 443.

[34] Ibid., p.446.

[35] Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's School of Physick: Or The Experimental Practice Of The Whole Art. Wherein Are Contained All Inward Diseases From The Head To The Foot, With Their Proper And Effectuall Cures; Such Diet Set Down As Ought To Be Observed In Sickness Or In Health* (London: N. Brook, 1659), p.4, quoted in Phil Withington, 'Intoxicants, addiction and the humoral body' in Kathryn James and Phil Withington, (eds.), *Intoxicants and early modern European globalization* (HJ Special Issue, forthcoming 2022, online 2021), p.16. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Withington for giving me a pre-publication copy of his work.

[36] William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Georges Edelen (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover Publications, 1994), pp.444–45; quoted in Wear, 'Place, Health, and Disease ', pp.449-450.

[37] Wear, 'Place, Health, and Disease', p.449.

[38] Ibid., pp.454, 456, 457-8.

activity itself be something contra-natural, a disease, the spread of which could be subsequently understood as relating to certain climates which encourage that spread? The answer to the first question is yes, as Willet showed in his explanation of unnatural sexual activity. However, early modern authors felt more comfortable in ascribing specifically opposite-sex encounters or lustfulness in general, rather than same-sex activity in particular, to humoral and climatic factors. Jean Bodin argued that 'southerners [were] abundant in black bile, which subsides like lees to the bottom when the humours have been drawn out by the heat of the sun', and that explained their lack of self-control when it comes to sexual appetites. For example, 'in Ethiopia [...] the race of men is very keen and lustful'.[39] Very occasionally, writers connected sodomy to climatic theory directly. For example, following Bodin, Robert Burton also argued that 'all hote and Southerne Countries are prone to lust' and even 'all the beauties their countries can afford [...] cannot keep them from adultery, incest, Sodomy, and such prodigious lustes'.[40] Francis Osborne, an essayist active in the first half of the seventeenth century, argued that the Turks kept concubines in order to prevent 'sodomy and bestiality, sins infesting these hot countries'.[41] However, most authors, especially those directly writing about travel or human difference, did not conceptualise unnatural sexual activity in climatic terms.

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[39] Jean Bodin, Beatrice Reynolds (trans.) *Method For The Easy Comprehension Of History* (New York: Norton, 1969), p.143; see Burton and Loomba, *Race in Early Modern England*, p.18, for more examples on general lustfulness.

[40] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy : Vvhat It Is. VVith all The Kindes, Cavses, Symptomes, Prognostickes, And Severall Cvres of It. In Three Maine Partitions with Their Seuerall Sections, Members, and Svbsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, Opened And Cvt Vp / By Democritvs Iunior. With A Satyricall Preface, Conducing to The Following Discourse.* (Oxford: Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short, for Henry Cripps, 1621), pp.545, 546.

[41] Francis Osborne, *Politicall Reflections Upon The Government Of The Tvrks. Nicolas Machiavel: The King Of Sweden's Descent Into Germany: The Conspiracy Of Piso And Vindex Against Nero: The Greatnesse And Corruption Of The Court Of Rome: The Election Of Pope Leo The Xi: The Defection From The Church Of Rome: Martin Luther* (Oxford: Printed by Hen: Hall printer to the University, for Tho: Robinson, 1662), p.81.

Pathologies and pathologising

Although some authors ascribed specific features to different peoples based on climate, and lustfulness was one of those features, many more authors went for a more holistic model of environmental determinism which included climate, bodies, diets, and customs as an interconnected ecology, rather than a simplistic model of naturalised human difference in which some peoples were naturally sodomitical and others were not. This leaves us with a further question about the extent to which, within the framework of environmental determinism, Anglophone authors considered sodomy to be an individual choice or a result of a pathology which could spread.

The framework of Galenic medicine allowed for pathologising same-sex activity. Ancient Greek and medieval Arab, Persian, and Syriac writers had ample frameworks for pathologising same-sex activity as a bodily disease, and even suggested possible cures. There was a chain of transmission of those ideas from Ancient Greek to early medieval Arabic, Persian, and Syriac texts, and eventually to medieval European discourses which relied on both Greek texts transmitted through Arabic, Persian, and Syrian intellectual traditions and Arabic, Persian, or Syrian medical texts themselves. However, at a certain point in that transmission, the idea of same-sex activity as a curable bodily disease was disfavoured. Even though both Ancient Greek and Islamic authors who wrote of same-sex activity as a disease were known in early modern England and at least some of their texts were translated into English and appeared in print, specific texts about same-sex activity as a disease were not part of early modern Anglophone medical discourses. This breakage in the chain of intellectual transmission can be cautiously explained by a greater reliance on Ibn Sina, rather than Al-Razi (854–925). Al-Razi was a Persian polymath and physician who served as the chief physician of Baghdad and Ray hospitals.[42] Both of these prolific early medieval medical writers became a staple of Latin and vernacular early modern medical writings, but Ibn Sina's

[42] Albert Iskandar, "Al-Rāzī", *Encyclopaedia of The History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western cultures* (Dordrecht; London: Springer, 2006), pp.155–156; see also Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā, Fuat Sezgin, Māzin 'Amāwī, Carl Ehrig-Eggert, and E. Neubauer (eds.), *Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ar-Rāzī (d. 313/925): Texts and Studies* (Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1999), for a contemporary edition of his writings.

ideas about sexual behaviour were more influential and more in line with the Christian framework of conceptualisation of sexual activity as a choice.

The key framework for European discussions of the possibility of pathologising same-sex desire was *Problemata*, a text attributed to Aristotle in the medieval and early modern periods.[43] Qusta ibn Luqa (820-912), a Syrian Melkite Christian physician and philosopher, referred to Aristotle's *Physical Problems* and *Physiognomy* as his main sources on male same-sex activity in his book on human difference.[44] Moreover, he reported that Hunayn ibn Ishaq attracted his attention to the issue.[45] Qusta cautiously explained the desire to be penetrated by the small size of a man's penis which stimulated itchiness and a desire for motion. The text of the *Problemata* was translated into Latin by the thirteenth century. The question given by the Latin text is 'Why do certain people with whom intercourse is had experience enjoyment and indeed these also acting but these not?'[46] In his comment on the problem, Pietro d'Abano (c.1257-1316) identified two main causes of perianal sexual stimulation in men: anatomical and psychological. These men are such either from birth, that is, their disposition arises from their inner nature, or else because of mental processes by which habit becomes second nature. Pietro unambiguously represented the disposition and the causes that underline it as contrary to the ordinary and the proper cause of nature; indeed, he called theirs a 'monstrous nature'. Pietro's argument can be summed up by the following: 'although it is against the nature of species, is not, however, against the nature of the individual'.[47] *Problemata* was published in English in 1595 as *The Problemes of Aristotle with Other Philosophers and*

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[43] For a detailed analysis of the authorship and dissemination of this text see Ann Blair, 'Authorship in the Popular "Problemata Aristotelis"', *Early Science and Medicine* 4 (1999): 189–227.

[44] Franz Rosenthal, 'Ar-Rāzī on the Hidden Illness', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52:1 (Spring 1978), p.49.

[45] Ibid., p.49.

[46]Joan Cadden, '"Nothing Natural Is Shameful": Vestiges of a Debate about Sex and Science in a Group of Late-Medieval Manuscripts', *Speculum* 76:1 (2001), 66-89, p.75; see also Joan Cadden, *Nothing Natural Is Shameful: Sodomy and Science in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) more generally.

[47] Joan Cadden, "Nothing Natural Is Shameful", pp.76-7.

Phisitions.[48] It was re-published at least twelve times over the course of the seventeenth century. However, the earliest Edinburgh edition, which all the subsequent publications are based on, does not contain a translation of *Problemata* 4.26. Thus, although the text and discussions of it had been a part of scholastic culture in Europe, it did not transfer to Anglophone discourse in the seventeenth century as the parts about sodomy were not translated and/or included in English-language editions of the text. Anglophone discourse had no extensive tools for pathologising same-sex activity within a humoral framework based on Aristotle's (or pseudo-Aristotle's) ideas. This leaves us with the question of whether medieval Islamic discourses transferred to early modern Anglophone ones.

Medieval Arabic medical discourses, based on the Greek, often conceptualised the male who wanted to be anally penetrated as suffering from a disease called *ubnah*.[49] Khaled El-Rouayheb demonstrated that, thought to be 'usually inherited (*mawruth*), the disease could also be caused by being subjected to penetration, since the anal itch could be the effect of especially pungent semen'.[50] Some of the sources El-Rouayheb used were the writings of Al-Razi. Al-Razi was unusual among medieval Muslim medical authors insofar as he argued that *ubnah* could be cured. Al-Razi's text is very interesting, but it is not widely representative of the opinions held on the matter. Al-Razi himself claimed that his work was the first to deal extensively with the subject, and Franz Rosenthal has argued that this claim is difficult to rebut.[51] Even if a concept was known in Arabic medical discourse, it is the dissemination, both in the Arab world and beyond, that is significant. This factor is not always considered by scholars of male to male relationships in Islamic societies. For example, although scholars such as Khaled El-Rouayheb and Dror Ze'evi discussed Al-Razi's text, only one manuscript copy of the section on curing *ubnah* survives.Al-Razi's writings are still significant, as they demonstrate the conceptual possibility of seeing *ubnah* as a bodily disease in the Galenic framework. Al-Razi explained male desire to be penetrated

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[48] Full publication history can be accessed in Blair, 'Authorship in the Popular "Problemata Aristotelis"'.

[49] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500-1800* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.19.

[50] Ibid., pp.19-20.

[51] Franz Rosenthal, *Science and Medicine in Islam: A Collection of Essays* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), p.48.

through, in Franz Rosenthal's words, 'predominantly genetic causes'.[52] He argued that it was the predominance of female sperm in a male body which caused weakly developed male sexual organs: 'the testicles, and the sperm ducts and vessels do not fully tend outward and do not hang down low and are not big and strong, but the contrary is the case'.[53] As a result, the organ responsible for the production of sperm and sexual desire was closer to the rectum and thus the man enjoyed receiving anal sex.[54] He explained that 'if it happens by chance that the male new-born child is feminine and those parts of the body are placed in that manner, he is affected by something like the motion of tickling in the region of the rectum when the sperm is plentiful and sharp, just as masculine persons have that in the pubic region when the sperm is plentiful and sharp'.[55] The vast majority of Al-Razi's treatise was dedicated to the cure, not the origins, of *ubnah*. He argued that 'the best treatment consists of frequently massaging penis and testicles and drawing them downward' and that 'maids and slaves with nice faces and much practice in this matter should be put in charge of the patient, in order to rub and massage that place and apply themselves to it and kiss and fondle it'.[56] Although a number of various oils could, according to Al-Razi, facilitate the process, ultimately, 'there is nothing more harmful for someone affected by this disease than having passive intercourse, as there is nothing more useful for him than practicing active intercourse or attempting to practice such intercourse as much as possible'.[57] Finally, not everyone could be cured, for 'if the *ubnah* is prolonged, the person affected by it cannot be cured, in particular, if he is obviously feminine and effeminate and loved very much to be like a woman'.[58] Clearly, Al-Razi conceptualised the issue as perfectly natural, if undesirable. Al-Razi's ideas about *ubnah* were not extensively disseminated in European medical discourse. Franz Rosenthal demonstrated that only one copy of the section on curing *ubnah* survives, in Rabat, and argued that

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[52] Ibid., p.50.

[53] Ibid., p.55.

[54] Ibid., p.55.

[55] Ibid., p.56

[56] Ibid., p.57.

[57] Ibid., p.58.

[58] Ibid., p.57-8.

the copyist or compiler of the Tehran manuscripts of the treatise 'must have omitted' that part of the text.[59] He argued that this omission could be due to the influence of Ibn Sina and his school, who might have considered the idea of *ubnah* as a curable disease 'superfluous and outdated'.[60] However, there is evidence that Al-Razi's ideas about curing *ubnah* circulated in wider medieval Islamic discourses beyond his lifetime. His ideas were quoted by Ahmad al-Tifashi (c. 1184-1253), a Berber poet best known for his *A Promenade of Hearts*.[61] Miguel Antonio de Freitas Boronha has demonstrated that al-Tifashi quoted Al-Razi's ideas of massages by female slaves and the use of oils of Egyptian willow tree and musk as a cure for *ubnah*.[62] This shows that Al-Razi's views were not marginalised and forgotten, were available to Muslim authors, and could be available to Europeans who wanted to read and translate them. On the other hand, Al-Razi's ideas about sexuality in general actively circulated in European Latin and vernacular early modern discourses. Al-Razi himself, known as *Rhazes*, was well-known and respected as a medical author in early modern England. Edward Leigh (1602-1671), an English Parliamentarian and lay writer, stated that 'amongst the *Arabians*, *Avicenna*, *Rhazes*, *[...]Alsaharavius* were chief'.[63] His name appears in at least 23 texts published between 1578 and 1698.[64] He was referred to in discussions of a variety of ailments, from wasp stings to eye swelling.[65] However, only one of the references to

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[59] Rosenthal, 'Ar-Rāzī on the Hidden Illness', p.46.

[60] Ibid., p 51.

[61] J. Ruska and O. Kahl, "Tifashi" in H.A.R. Gibbs, B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, C. Bosworth et al (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, 11 vols. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960-2002), vol.10, p.476.

[62] Miguel António De Freitas Boronha, 'Male Homosexuality in Islamic Normative and in the Mujun Literature of al-Andalus and the Maghreb between the 10th and 13th Centuries', Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of Lisbon, (2014), p.119; Ahmad ibn Yusuf Tifashi, René R. Khawam (ed.), *Les Délices Des Coeurs, Ou, Ce Que L'on Ne Trouve En Aucun Livre* (Paris: Libella, 2011), p.340.

[63] Edward Leigh, *Fœlix Consortium, Or, A Fit Conjuncture Of Religion And Learning In One Entire Volume, Consisting Of Six Books...* (London: Printed for Charles Adams, 1663), p.45.

[64] EEBO wordsearch for 'Rhazes'.

[65] Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents Describing at Large Their True and Lively Figure, Their Several Names, Conditions, Kinds, Virtues ...* (London: Printed by E. Cotes for G. Sawbridge ... T. Williams ... and T. Johnson ... 1658), p.657; Alexander Read, *The Chirurgicall Lectures of Tumors and Vlcers Delivered On Tusedayes Appointed For These Exercises, And Keeping Of Their Courts In The Chirurgeans Hall These Three Yeeres Last Past, viz. 1632, 1633, and 1634*. (London, 1635), p.283.

Rhazes discusses sexuality. An anonymous translation of extracts from Giovanni Benedetto Sinibaldi's *Geneanthropeiae*, first published in Latin in Rome in 1642, proclaims that the contents were 'never before [printed] in English'.[66] The text, published in English as *Rare Verities. The cabinet of Venus unlocked, and her secrets laid open* in 1658, is solely focused on sex and sexuality. The only reference to Al-Razi is an instruction of how to 'inlarge the pudenda to a fit proportion' – to 'take an Indian nut, and open it, and you shall find in it a sweet water, then take a Leech and put into it, and let it be inclosed for eight dayes, then take it out and pound it, and anoint the yard'.[67] The level of detail provided in this recipe is reflective of the rest of the text. The rest of the text is quite explicit on sodomy, arguing that humans are more lustful than animals and thus are likely to want to have sex with animals, rather than the other way round, or that the 'Clytoris lies latent within a womans pudenda, which answers to a mans virile; this if it chance to grow over-much, may stand in stead of a mans members, yet without effusion of seed [...] wherefore heretofore there hath been laws enacted against feminine congression, being it is a thing that happens too common and frequent'.[68] In other words, the text is sexually explicit and does not shy away from acknowledging the existence of same-sex activity or from explaining it. If either Sinibaldi or the translator had access to Al-Razi's ideas about curing *ubnah*, they wouldn't have avoided publishing them.

There are several explanations as to why certain texts, extracts from texts, or ideas might not have been circulated or disseminated. As the examples of *Problemata* and Al-Razi's writings show, ideas of pathologising same-sex activity were not widely available in early modern Anglophone discourses. Another example of a similar process is the writings of Albertus Magnus (d. 1280)..

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[66] Giovanni Benedetto Sinibaldi, Anonymous (ed.), *Rare Verities. The Cabinet Of Venus Unlocked, And Her Secrets Laid Open. : Being A Translation Of Part Of Sinibaldus, His Geneanthropeia, And A Collection Of Some Things Out Of Other Latin Authors, Never Before In English* (London: Printed for P. Briggs, at the Dolphin in St Pauls Church-yard, 1658), title of the book.

[67] Ibid., p.41.

[68] Ibid., p.13, p.14; for the original text, see Giovanni Benedetto Sinibaldi, *Geneanthropeia Sive De Hominis Generatione Io. Benedicti Sinibaldi Geneanthropeiae Sive De Hominis Generatione Decateuchon: Ubi Ex Ordine Quaecunque Ad Humanae Generationis Liturgiam, Eiusdemque Principia, Organa, Tempus, Usum, Modum, Occasionem, Voluptatem, Aliasque Omnes Affectiones, Quae In Aphrodisiis Accidere Quoquomodo Solent, Ac Possunt ... Pertractantur ...* (Rome, 1642).

He conceptualised sodomy as something requiring a cure – *alzabo*.[69] Although his writings were well known across medieval and early modern Europe, the precise mention of *alzabo* was obscure and not available in early modern Anglophone discourse.[70] Why did this happen? One possible explanation is that specific passages were deliberately edited out. As Helmut Puff has demonstrated, many late medieval and early modern European authors did not discuss sodomy in detail to prevent emulation.[71] Referring to sodomy as 'unspeakable' or not to be named often served a similar function in Anglophone discourses.[72] However, as some of the above texts, especially *Rare verities*, show, naming and providing details was not an issue for some authors. That alone cannot account for a near-absence of pathologising sodomy as a bodily disease in early modern Anglophone discourses. Writing about al-Razi's works, Frank Rosenthal offered another possible explanation: the debate about the nature of sodomy was happening earlier, in the tenth and eleventh century Islamic societies.[73] The humoral theory was not the only framework for pathologising same-sex activity, even within Arabic discourses. Al-Razi's opinion on the direct relationship between bodily gender flexibility and the desire to be anally penetrated was not uncontested. Several authors, including Ibn Sina and Ibn Hubal, pointed out that those affected by *ubnah* might be physically better endowed than other males. Their conclusion was that the 'disease cannot, therefore, be genetic and cannot be caused by weaker male semen'. As a result, they concluded that '*ubnah* is a cultural disease, or one spurred by imagination'.[74] In its essence, it was closer to the 'customs' rather than 'humours' of Anglophone medical discourses, and yet it was envisaged as a disease requiring treatment. This point is very significant, as the idea of a 'cultural disease', or at least behavioural contagion, was much more widespread in early modern European

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[69] John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p.316.

[70] A keyword search and a closer reading of all the editions of Magnus in English in the early modern period show this.

[71] Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany, and Switzerland, 1400-1600* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), pp.100-101; pp.129-130.

[72] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, p.63.

[73] Rosenthal, 'Ar-Rāzī on the Hidden Illness', p.51.

[74] Franz Rosenthal, *Science and Medicine in Islam*, p.38.

discourses than a humoral pathologising of unnatural sexual activity. A fuller explanation of the absence of pathologising same-sex activity as a bodily disease in early modern European texts would require extensive research into the transmission and dissemination of medieval Arabic and Latin texts. However, a tentative explanation might be rooted in the similarity between the idea of a 'cultural disease' and 'customs'. Ibn Sina's ideas were more in line with Christian ideas of sodomy as an active choice and a societal, rather than bodily, ill. The idea of 'cultural disease' allows for one further possibility of pathologising same-sex activity through the language of contagion.

Some scholars have argued that early modern discourses on human difference pathologised unnatural sexuality through the language of contagion. Richard Trexler, in his overview of Spanish conceptualisations of pre-Conquest American sexual practices, argued that 'the principle of infection' was paramount.[75] He interpreted the writings of Cieza de Leon, Michele di Cuneo, and Gilberto Freyere as demonstrating that 'sodomy was essentially a pathology that spread from one area to another', '"contagious" in the language of the sources'.[76] Cieza de Leon, Michele di Cuneo, and Gilberto Freyere were not medical writers or practitioners, and they used the language of contagion without elaborating on what they meant. Trexler relied on Albertus Magnus as the sole source for European medical thinking on the connection between pathology and sodomy in medieval and early modern Europe. However, Magnus was one of the very few medieval authors who made that connection, and the influence of this particular strand of thought in early modern Europe was limited. Unfortunately, Trexler did not provide further evidence of the reception of that particular passage from Albertus in early modern discourses. However, the language of contagion does not equate pathologising. The presence of the language of contagion does not demonstrate that a society thought of sodomy as a disease. Despite arguing for the primacy of pathologising over social or religious factors in the conceptualisation of early modern sodomy, Trexler quoted Cieza de Leon explaining pre-Inca sodomy as a religious rite, in which the 'Indians who would assist in temples' were spoken to by the devil and seduced into sodomy.[77] Early modern

[75] Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, pp.145-147.

[76] Ibid., p.145.

[77] Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, p.146.

Anglophone writers sometimes used the language of contagion and infection when speaking about sodomy. William Bradford's 1640 *Of Plymouth Plantation* spoke of 'how one wicked person may infect the many'.[78] However, infection in this case did not equate to 'disease', but a behaviour which could be learned from others. In Bradford's account, Thomas Grainger, who was accused of bestiality, 'said he was taught it [bestiality] by another that had heard of such things from some in England when he was there, and they kept cattle together'.[79] By and large, same-sex activity was not pathologised in early modern Anglophone discourses, even though Galenic medicine allowed for a framework of such pathologising, which had been pursued by some authors whose writings were disseminated in early modern England. The language of contagion, at first glance, allowed for pathologising. However, a closer reading of the texts referring to contagion demonstrates that it relied on the language of customs, and not on bodily ideas of contagion. In order to understand the relationship between bodies and customs, we need to understand the concepts of proneness and addiction in early modern Anglophone discourses.

Addiction to sodomy

Addiction (that is, the embodiment of repeated behaviour), rather than humoral theory, was the key to early modern Anglophone concepts of unnatural sexual activity. Most Anglophone texts used the language of 'inclination' or 'proneness' rather than an explicit humoral explanation for Ottoman male-male desire. For example, William Lithgow argued that the Turks were 'extreamly inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury; and generally addicted, besides all their sensuall and incestuous lusts, unto *Sodomy*'.[80] As the overview above shows, early modern Anglophone authors

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[78] William Bradford, Samuel Eliot Morison (ed.), *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647 The Complete Text*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p.367.

[79] Ibid., p.367; also read Goldberg, *Sodometries*, Chapter 7 on the Bradford case.

[80] William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica : Perfited By Three Deare Bought Voyages, In Surveying Of Forty Eight Kingdomes Ancient And Modern* (London: By I. Okes, 1640), p.163.

had the tools to naturalise difference. However, most of them did not do so, and what seemed at first glance to be the result of climate, humours, or disease was recognised to be the result of individual choice, either solely or alongside conflicting naturalising language. Proneness to sodomy, it seems, had the capacity to essentialise difference, making it a fixed feature of certain societies. It was seen to be a result of repeated action, which created custom. The next part of this chapter will deal with the issue this conceptualisation creates: to what extent were people still seen as responsible for their actions resulting from addiction to sodomy? Is addiction a framework in which difference could be essentialised and, potentially, naturalised?

Early modern concepts of addiction were different from what we understand as addiction today. Although gambling is the only behavioural addiction officially recognised by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5* (2013), according to Jose Murgatroyd Cree, 'the most common types of addiction referred to in EEBO-TCP (which covers the period 1475 to 1700) are addiction to study, pleasure, and religion'.[81] Deborah Willis has argued that addiction was primarily conceptualised as 'sinful habituation'.[82] Rebecca Lemon's model of early modern addiction blended two different understandings of addiction: as a choice, and as compulsion.[83] Phil Withington has stressed the significance of establishing compulsion through repeated behaviour and custom. Withington defined custom as 'social practices by which individuals and groups of people did and said things over time'.[84] He argued that custom described and explained 'how reflective decisions 'to addict' to certain practices became [...] embodied and reflexive dependencies'.[85] John Downame's *Four Treaties*, published in 1609, succinctly sum up this

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[81] Jose Murgatroyd Cree, 'Protestant Evangelicals and Addiction in Early Modern English', *Renaissance Studies* 32 (2018), 446–462, p.1; interestingly, sexual addiction is not recognised by DSM-5 due to insufficient research into the topic. Substance addiction is, of course, pathologised by DSM-5; see Jon E Grant and Samuel R Chamberlain, 'Expanding the definition of addiction: DSM-5 vs. ICD-11', *CNS Spectrums* 21 (New York, USA, 2016), pp.300–303, on expanding the definition of addiction.

[82] D. Willis, 'Doctor Faustus and the Early Modern Language of Addiction', in Sara Munson Deats and Robert A. Logan (eds.), *Placing the Plays of Christopher Marlowe* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p.135.

[83] Rebecca Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), p.10.

[84] Ibid., p.15.

[85] Withington, 'Addiction, intoxicants and the humoral body', p.21.

process: 'first sin is committed, then practiced, and often practice bringeth custom, and custom becomes a second nature, and hath in it the force of a law which must be obeyed, not in courtesy but upon necessity'.[86] Steven Shapin has demonstrated how custom as second nature accounted for the non-naturals of humoral medical discourses – sexual activity included – shaping the body through its 'transactions with the environment'.[87] According to Thomas Tryon, a popular late seventeenth-century health and lifestyle writer, people should not 'pass immediately from a disordered kind of Life, to a strict and precise course', as it could be 'dangerous to be driven off forcibly from that which a Man hath been long accustomed to'.[88] He explicitly referred to both substances and behaviours in his writings. He argued that 'if a Man accustom himself to [...] any Vanity or Vice whatsoever, it will become essential or all one with him, and he will be in pain if he be not practising it, and so becomes a Vassal to Folly and Impiety'.[89] Thus, inclination or addiction to something was conceptualised as a custom, arising from repetitive behaviour, which had the potential to alter both the mind and body of the individual and become indispensable to them.

Similarly, as a custom, it could be learned from other people. Paul Rycaut argued in 1668 that 'the Turks pretend to have learned [sodomy] from the Italians'.[90] Thus, addiction in general and

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[86] John Downame, *Foure Treatises Tending to Disswade All Christians from the Abuses of Swearing, Drunkennesse, Whoredome, and Bribery, ... Whereunto Is Annexed a Treatise of Anger, 2 Parts* (London: Printed by W. Hall and I[ohn] B[eale] for Michaell Baker, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Greyhound, 1613), p.93, cited in Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion*, p.82 and Withington, 'Addiction, intoxicants and the humoral body', p.14.

[87] Steven Shapin, 'Why Was "Custom a Second Nature" in Early Modern Medicine?', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 93 (2019):1–26, p.5.

[88] Thomas Tryon, *The Way to Save Wealth: Shewing How a Man May Live Plentifully for Two-Pence A Day. Likewise how to make a hundred noble dishes of meat, without either flesh, fish, or fowl. To make bread of roots, herbs, and leafs of trees. ...* (London, 1695), p.70, quoted in Withington, 'Addiction, intoxicants and the humoral body', p.14.

[89] Thomas Tryon, *Wisdom's Dictates, Or, Aphorisms & Rules, Physical, Moral, And Divine, For Preserving the Health of The Body, And The Peace Of The Mind ...* (London: Printed for Tho. Salisbury, at the sign of the Temple near Temple-Bar in Fleetstreet, 1691), p.128; see also Withington, 'Addiction, intoxicants and the humoral body', p.19.

[90] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries, their Military Discipline ... : Illustrated With Divers Pieces Of Sculpture, Representing The*

addiction to sodomy specifically is consistent with what Margaret Hodgen called 'theory of diffusion' (geographical or generational transmission of culture) in early modern European ethnography.[91] This line of thinking, reminiscent of contemporary theories of social contagion, is much more likely to explain Martyr's and Bradford's remarks about 'infection' and 'spread' of sodomy.[92]

The framework of addiction and inclination to certain customs grapples with the role of free will and personal agency in these behaviours. One of the key concepts for understanding the relationships between addiction and agency is the idea of being 'given into' a particular pattern of behaviour. It was used alongside addiction in early modern Anglophone writings commenting on human difference. Jose Cree has argued that 'by the seventeenth century ADDICT was a staple of ethnographic literature, and a tool of early modern ethnographic analysis'.[93] Cree has further demonstrated that although 'addiction' was a significant keyword, 'prone' and 'given' were also employed in these discourses, often by the same authors.[94] The concept of 'being given over' to something was significant in early modern understanding of addiction and vice and the place of free will in it. As Lemon argued, the very definition of addiction in sixteenth-century English thesauruses, such as the works of Thomas Cooper, was based on the concept of 'giving over' or 'bequeathing', and granted 'agency to the addict'.[95] Although Thomas' definition explained addiction as something 'initially free' but eventually 'constraining', it was the original choice to

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Variety Of Habits Amongst The Turks, In Three Books (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, at the Mitre between the Middle-Temple-Gate and Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, and the Star in Little-Britain, 1668), p.81.

[91] Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, Pa. University of Pennsylvania Press 1964), p.257.

[92] For modern social contagion theory, see Nicholas A Christakis and James H Fowler, 'Social Contagion Theory: Examining Dynamic Social Networks and Human Behavior', *Statistics in Medicine* 32 (England, 2013):556–577.

[93] Jose Murgatroyd Cree, 'The Invention of Addiction in Early Modern England', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, (2018), p.180.

[94] Ibid., pp.180 -1.

[95] Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion*, pp.55-6.

commit an action that mattered, especially in the legal context.[96] Addiction was an 'active process of giving oneself over' and the addict 'consented to be overtaken'.[97] As Lemon pointed out, this has repercussions for conceptualising criminal responsibility, as 'early modern legal theorists insisted upon strict responsibility when it comes to addictive action'.[98] The case study Lemon focused on was intoxication, and the extent of criminal responsibility of intoxicated individuals, in contexts in which intoxication itself was not criminalised. In fact, she argued that drunkenness 'did not excuse but exacerbated guilt' and that as a result, some legislators 'pressed to criminalise drunkenness itself'.[99] In the case of sodomy, it had already been criminalised in English law since the Buggery Act of 1533, and no theorists or legislators ever suggested that the concept of addiction to sodomy could diminish an individual's responsibility in any way. In fact, the concept of addiction erodes the distinction between sodomy and sodomite, as being prone or addicted to sodomy by definition requires repeated action. Thus, in the legal sense, there was no question of pathologising or naturalising addiction to sodomy by removing the agency and consent of the preparator of acts of sodomy.

The legal understanding of agency to commit sodomy, unhindered by concepts of addiction or proneness, stemmed from a theological understanding of sin and free will. Where do addiction, proneness, and being given over to vice leave us with free will and responsibility for committing the vice? The key to this issue lies in Romans 1, one of the most influential Biblical passages on unnatural lusts.[100] As humans 'changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man' (Romans 1:23), God 'gave them up to uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves' (Romans 1:24) and 'gave them up unto vile affections' (Romans 1:26). This passage refers specifically to same-sex activity, as it states that 'their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature' (Romans 1:26) and 'the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another'

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[96] Ibid., p.56, p.106.

[97] Ibid., p.55.

[98] Ibid., p.106.

[99] Ibid., p.106; we will see that in the discussion of the Henry Stafford case in Chapter 5.

[100] All subsequent quotes are from the King James Bible.

(Romans 1:27). Significantly, this was understood to be the point at which humanity was given over to 'a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient' (Romans 1:28) and to be able to 'have pleasure in them that do them', despite 'knowing the judgement of God' (Romans 1:32). This Biblical passage explains where the capacity for committing unnatural sexual acts came from in the first place and why it can exist in God's creation. Both the ability to do something irrational and to pursue pleasure even in the face of awareness of God's wrath are crucial components of committing non-procreative sexual acts. Being 'given over' to these acts firmly places the agency for committing these acts upon the perpetrators, not just through their own consent to commit certain acts, but also through a theological understanding of why God would not interfere in the existence of such acts in the first place.

These ideas saturated early modern Anglophone religious discourses on sin and free will. A good case study for this issue is *The French Academie*, a work by a Protestant French author Pierre de La Primaudaye, first published in English in 1586.[101] Jose Cree argued that *The French Academie* does not 'represent the work of any single school, but rather a diverse collection of knowledge gathered together under a Christian banner', and is thus useful as a summative representation of early modern Anglophone religious discourses on addiction.[102] La Primaudaye focused on intemperance as the major driving force behind 'villanies' such as sodomy, atheism, church-robbery, and others.[103] According to him, an 'intemperate man committeth euill of election and setled purpose to follow it, accounting it a good thing, and to be desired'. This perception of vice as a good thing 'commeth through a long custome and habite of vice, which is the cause that he neuer repenteth him of the fact, but taketh pleasure therein'.[104] As a result of repeated action, 'the

[101] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie, Wherin Is Discoursed the Institution Of Maners, And Whatsoeuer Els Concerneth The Good And Happie Life Of All Estates And Callings, By Preceptes Of Doctrine, And Examples Of The Liues Of Ancient Sages And Famous Men...* (London: By Edmund Bollifant for G. Bishop and Ralph Newbery, 1586); the quotes below are from the 1618 edition, *The French Academie Fully Discoursed and Finished in Foure Bookes* (London: Printed [by John Legat] for Thomas Adams, 1618).

[102] Cree, 'The Invention of Addiction in Early Modern England', p.147.

[103] Pierre de La Primaudaye, *The French Academie*, p.78.

[104] Ibid., p.78.

sensuall and vnreasonable part of the soule contendeth no more with reason, which then is as it were starke dead, and suffereth it selfe to be carried to vgly and vnnaturall vices'.[105] Consequently, the divine part of the soul 'forsaketh God altogether, who seeing himselfe forsaken, leaueth her to her concupisciences, from whence is engendred this exceeding luxuriousness euen against nature'.[106] He then discussed a long list of men who had committed sexual transgressions, from classical figures such as emperor Hadrian to '*Iohannes a Casa* Archbishop of Beneuento [who] wrote a booke in praise of the abominable vice of Sodomitry' and 'Sigismundus Malatesta, Lord of a part of Romaignola a prouince of Italy [who] striued to haue carnall knowledge of his sonne Robert'.[107] As these examples show, La Primaudaye conceptualised intemperance as a result of repeated actions by an individual, not a societal custom. Such a conceptualisation allows an ever-sharper focus on agency, as both choosing to commit sin in the first place and the failure to repent for it later are clearly ascribed to the individual's choice.

Discussions of agency and sin were a staple of cross-confessional debates. Jeremy Taylor, a Church of England cleric most active in the 1650s, but still influential after his death in 1667, wrote at length about habitual sins.[108] He outlined his portrayal of as a Catholic argument on facility to sin. He stated that 'the frequent repetition of sinful acts will in time naturally produce a habit, a proper physical, inherent, permanent quality; but this is so natural, that it is no way voluntary but in its cause, that is, in the actions which produc'd it, and therefore it can have in it no blame, no sinfulness, no obliquity distinct from those actions that caused it'.[109] Consequently, 'when the single acts of sin are repented of, the remaining habit is innocent, and the facility to sin

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[105] Ibid., p.78.

[106] Ibid., p.79.

[107] Ibid., pp.80-1.

[108] Spurr, J. (2006, September 28). Taylor, Jeremy (bap. 1613, d. 1667), Church of Ireland bishop of Down and Connor and religious writer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 28 Sep. 2020.

[109] Jeremy Taylor, *Symbolon Theologikon, Or, A Collection Of Polemicall Discourses Wherein The Church Of England, In Its Worst As Well As More Flourishing Condition, Is Defended In Many Material Points, Against The Attempts Of The Papists On One Hand, And The Fanaticks On The Other…*(London: Printed by R. Norton for R. Royston, bookseller to the King's most excellent Majesty, at the Angel in Amen-Corner, 1674), p.654; I've taken a posthumous publication of his work to show his lasting influence.

which remains, is no sin at all'.[110] Taylor vehemently disagreed with this line of argument. He started with a proposition that 'man is bound to repent of his sin as soon as ever he hath committed it', to prevent the development of a sinful habit in the first place.[111] He acknowledged that 'a sinful habit hath in it proper evils, and a proper guiltiness of its own', crucially, 'besides all that which came directly by the single actions'.[112] Repeated action does not remove responsibility. If anything, it adds a further obligation to repent in a 'distinct manner', as they are 'not pardon'd but by the introduction of the contrary'.[113] Although Taylor did not talk about whole societies, a similar line of thinking was the driving force behind the insistence on a proper regulation of sodomitical behaviours in Anglophone discourses, to be discussed in Chapter 6.

As this overview of addiction shows, as a framework for understanding repeated actions, it had the potential to essentialise difference and to reduce an individual's agency over their own actions. However, most discourses on early modern addiction still placed the responsibility for those actions on the individual who committed them, even when they could be more predisposed to certain actions. As Jose Cree's discussion of disposition in the writings of La Primaudaye showed, an individual's disposition to certain pleasures could be directed by their individual passions, and to overpower reason.[114] However, even on an individual level, crucially, a 'disposition could result in addiction to either a vice or a virtue, or it could be subdued through force of will, or strength of reason'.[115] The next part of this chapter will consider the issues of reason and rationale behind unnatural acts in early modern Anglophone discourses. It will look at not only unnatural acts, but also unnatural bodies, to demonstrate that in cases when individuals could not change what they were, the emphasis was on their actions, not on their 'unnatural' bodies. Moreover, artificial unnatural bodies, achieved through bodily modifications, were not necessarily seen as unacceptable in all circumstances. The reasoning and rationale behind the bodily modification in

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[110] Ibid., p.654.

[111] Ibid., p.654.

[112] Ibid., p.654

[113] Ibid., p.654.

[114] Cree, 'The Invention of Addiction in Early Modern England', p.185.

[115] Ibid., p.185.

question, as well as issues of consent and coercion, were seen as key, and the agency of the individual was the centrepiece of these discussions.

Agency and choice

The concept of unnatural bodies is helpful for understanding the link between defined bodily characteristics and sinful behaviour in early modern Anglophone discourses. It allows a clear focus on the distinction between things an individual had control and agency over and things they had no choice in. Agency and choice were central to early modern Anglophone conceptions not just of unnatural acts, but also of unnatural bodies, from the moment of conception of a child and up to bodily modifications. On the one hand, there was a distinction between unnatural bodies, such as those of hermaphrodites, which an individual (as opposed to their parents) had no control over. However, they did have control over what they did with their bodies – for example, having an enlarged clitoris was unnatural but not something a woman was responsible for; using it to penetrate another woman, however, was a choice she had agency in. This distinction was not just between bodies unnatural from birth and bodies modified during an individual's lifetime, such as those of eunuchs. In the latter case, many authors still stressed the agency – or lack of thereof – of both the perpetrators of the act, such as doctors who performed castrations, and of the individuals themselves and their consent towards the modification of their bodies. Moreover, certain unnatural modifications could be explained and even made acceptable if Anglophone authors saw them as rational, having a health benefit, or preventing other unnatural behaviours. Analysing unnatural bodies in Anglophone discourses allows us to tease out these nuances in relation to the questions of choice and agency.

Vernacular medicine is full of references to misuse of seed and improper conception, which focus on human behaviour and action. For example, the famous midwife Jane Sharp argued that rape prevented conception – 'this extream hatred is the reason why women seldom or never conceive

when they are ravished' – and that is the framework in which rape was seen as 'unnatural'.[116] Similarly, explanations for the conception of hermaphrodites often blamed 'unnatural' forms of sexual activity between men and women. Levinus Lemnius, a sixteenth-century Dutch physician whose work was translated into English as *The Secret Miracles of Nature in Four Books* in 1658, explained the conception of hermaphrodites as a result of improper intercourse at an unacceptable time during a woman's cycle. He later added that 'sometimes this vicious and infamous conception is begot by undecent copulation, when the woman besides Natures custome lyes uppermost, and the man under her, sometimes to the great hurt of their health'.[117] Non-procreative sexual activity – 'unnatural and unreasonable desires after they have conceived with Child' – could cause a miscarriage or result in a misshapen body of the child.[118] The 1637 English translation of Jacob Rueff's *The Expert Midwife* discusses several 'monstrous births'. Although the term 'hermaphrodite' and its clear association with monstrosity was known in 1630s England, the translator still chose to relate hermaphroditism explicitly to sodomy – in this case, presumably referring to the non-procreative sexual activity of the parents. Rueff explained two 'monstrous' births with reference to sodomy: describing a child born in Krakow in 1547, he argued that '[t]he cause of this mishapen Monster, wee ascribe to God alone; yet not withstanding through the insight

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[116] Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book: Or, The Whole Art of Midwifry Discovered : Directing Childbearing Women How to Behave Themselves in Their Conception, Breeding, Bearing, and Nursing of Children ...* (London: Printed for Simon Miller, at the Star at the west end of St. Pauls, 1671), p.99. See more on Sharp in E. Hobby, '"Secrets of the female sex": Jane Sharp, the reproductive female body, and early modern midwifery manuals.', *Women's Writing: The Elizabethan To Victorian Period* 8 (2001), 201–12.

[117] Levinus Lemnius, John Streater (trans.), *The Secret Miracles of Nature: In Four Books. Learnedly and Moderately Treating of Generation, and the Parts Thereof; the Soul, and Its Immortality; of Plants and Living Creatures; of Diseases, Their Symptoms and Cures, and Many Other Rarities Not Treated of by Any Author Extant; Whereof See More in the Table of Contents. Whereunto is Added One Book Containing Philosophical and Prudential Rules how Man Shall Become Excellent in All Conditions, Whether High Or Low, and Lead His Life with Health of Body and Mind. Fit for the Use of Those that Practise Physick, and All Others that Desire to Search Into the Hidden Secrets of Nature, for Increase of Knowledg* (London: Printed by Jo. Streater, and are to be sold by Humphrey Moseley at the Prince's Arms in S. Paul's Church-Yard, John Sweeting at the Angel in Popes-Head-Alley, John Clark at Mercers-Chappel, and George Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-Hill, 1658), p.29.

[118] Sharp, *The Midwives Book*, p.185.

of our reason, we may perceive also the detestable sinne of Sodomie in this Monster'. Another child allegedly born in 1512 was described as 'of both sex, to signifie filthy Sodomy'.[119]

Explanations behind the conceptions of 'unnatural' bodies laid responsibility on the parents and did not normally comment on any predisposition to unnatural sexual activity by the child themselves. Misuse of an unnatural body part, on the other hand, was seen as the individual's responsibility. An enlarged clitoris is an example of such an unnatural body part. Thomas Bartholin argued that the clitoris in 'some Women it grows as big as the Yard of a man: so that some women abuse the same, and make use thereof in place of a mans Yard, exercising carnal Copulation one with another'.[120] The 1689 English translation of Isbrand van Diemerbroeck's 1672 anatomical treatise stated that 'contrary to the common Course of Nature, this part grows out much more in length like the Yard of a Man, so that Women have made an ill use of it, by copulating with others of their own Sex'.[121] Later on in the text, Diemerbroeck ultimately defined hermaphrodites 'not such as partake of both Sexes, but [..] really women, whose Genitals are not rightly form'd, while the Stones fall down into the Lips of the Privity, and the Clitoris grows out to an extraordinary Length.'[122] For a number of medical writers, there was a difference between the unnatural bodies of these people, which they have no control over, and the unnatural acts they commit, which are a product of active choice. For example, Helkiah Crooke referred to the 'mutuall and vnnaturall lustes' of 'those wicked women' who 'doe abuse' 'this part' of their bodies, rather than women who have large clitorises in general, and called only the former 'tribades'.[123] This shows that although anatomy could be pathologised, it was not assumed that unnatural bodies created

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[119] Jacob Rueff, *The Expert Midwife ... Six Bookes Compiled in Latine By The Industry of James Rueff ... And Now Translated into English* (London: Printed by E[dward]. G[riffin]. for S[imon]. B[urton]. and are to be sold by Thomas Alchorn at the signe of the Greene Dragon in Saint Pauls Church-yard, 1637), pp.157-159.

[120] Thomas Bartholin, *Bartholinus Anatomy Made from the Precepts of His Father…* (London: Printed by John Streater living in Clerken-well-Close, 1668), p.76.

[121] Ysbrand van Diemerbroeck, *The Anatomy of Human Bodies …* (London: Printed for W. Whitwood at the Angel and Bible in Little-Britain, 1694), p.184.

[122] Ibid., p.184.

[123] Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia a Description of the Body of Man…* (London: Printed by William Iaggard dwelling in Barbican, 1615), p.238.

unnatural sexual tendencies. Bodies, not sexual acts, were pathologised, but 'pathological' bodies did not predetermine sinful sexual acts.

Unnatural bodies could be made as well as born. Female same-sex activity could be the result of using aids, not just of misusing an enlarged clitoris. Valerie Traub has argued that the assumption of a male role in sexual intercourse through the use of prosthetics, not sexual desire in itself, was crucial to that condemnation.[124] Misuse of an artificial body part was identified as key to unnatural behaviours. Discussing specific bodily modifications, which could be explained by customs, was an avenue through which these individual behaviours could be ascribed to whole societies. Bodily modifications, ranging from castration and circumcision to adding material objects such as penile inserts to bodies, were a crucial avenue of discussing unnatural sexual activity in early modern Anglophone discourses on human difference. This is seen especially clearly in the writings of John Bulwer, a seventeenth-century natural philosopher.

Bulwer is known principally for his writings on gesture and deafness and his quest for a universal language. The issues of the universalism of human nature and the particularities of human customs around the world were central to this thinking. Justin Smith has argued that Bulwer exemplifies degenerationist thinking as he 'effectively accounts for all human diversity in terms of harmful cultural practices'.[125] Bulwer was convinced that there was an appropriate way to maintain the body, 'dictated by nature'.[126] As the short overview of medical discourses provided above shows, Bulwer's thinking was consistent with many of the wider frameworks he interacted with. Justin Smith's argument on Bulwer's views on the natural maintenance of the body could have easily been applied to Jane Sharp. Bulwer's text is based on an amalgamation of earlier geographical and travel narratives. Similarly to La Primaudaye and Christian concepts of addiction, Bulwer's ideas

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[124] Valerie Traub, *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality In Shakespearean Drama* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), p.153; see also on her position Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.229-276; see also Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*: *Pornography And Bodies In Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.143.

[125] Justin E.H. Smith, *Nature, Human Nature, and Human Difference: Race in Early Modern Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), p.22.

[126] Ibid., p.127.

on human difference are thus representative of wider intellectual developments in the period. His *Anthropometamorphosis* is a compendium of knowledge, reflective of Bulwer's wide interests and full of references to most of the medical and travel literature available in England by the time of its publication in 1653. *Anthropometamorphosis* is a long tract about bodily alterations around the world. Each chapter covers a body part, be it legs, arms, or head, and describes different ways in which peoples around the world alter that part of the body through tattoos, face paint, piercings, hairstyles, and other artificial alterations. The sources for this formidable work of synthesis include both anatomical treatises from Galen to Crooke and innumerable travel accounts. Bulwer is an invaluable source for studying the often-elusive reception of travel literature and the ways in which knowledge about the world was disseminated and appropriated for further intellectual inquiry. It is also interesting and important in its own right, as Bulwer's focus on customs gives us both an insight into the frameworks in which human sexual diversity could be conceptualised and explained, and exposes a tension in those frameworks in relation to unnatural sexualities in a way that most travel accounts, often inconsistent in their natural philosophical approaches or simply uninterested in exploring the theoretical frameworks they operated within, simply cannot do.

Although Bulwer focused on body modifications, his broader aim was '*principally to discover the abuses of the parts*.'[127] Theresa Braunschneider's linguistic analysis of the words 'use' and 'abuse' in relation to female to female sexual activity in seventeenth-century Anglophone medical discourses has shown that the word 'abuse' was actively employed to describe unnatural sexual activity.[128] Adding to Braunschneider's analysis, 'abuse' was explicitly connected to action and agency; for Bulwer, peoples of various cultures chose to behave in a certain way. This reinforced the idea of the unnatural, including unnatural sexuality, as a custom. One of the key tools employed by Bulwer in relation to harmful customs was to explain the reasoning behind them, be it the need for eunuchs to protect the women in the homosocial environment of the harem, or the presumed

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[127] J. B. (John Bulwer), *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd, or the Artificial Changeling. Historically Presented, In the Mad And Cruel Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Fineness, And Loathesome Loveliness Of Most Nations, Fashioning & Altering Their Bodies From The Mould Intended By Nature. With A Vindication of The Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, And an Appendix of The Pedigree of The English Gallant* (London: J. Hardesty, 1650), p.347.

[128] Theresa Braunschneider, 'The Macroclitoride, the Tribade and the Woman: Configuring Gender and Sexuality in English Anatomical Discourse', *Textual Practice* 13:3 (1999):509-32, pp.514-520.

health benefits of circumcision. Bulwer relied on exploring bodily modification of the privy parts – castration and circumcision – as part of his commentary on the unnatural use of 'privy parts'.[129] Both those practices were easier to rationalise, either in medical or in practical terms, and allowed Bulwer to consider unnatural sex without forcing him to deal with the rationalisation of sodomy directly.

The rationale behind any customs or practices was key to Bulwer: if he could justify an unnatural bodily alteration, he deemed it acceptable. One such example is seeing bodily alterations as healing practices; for example, castration was permissible if required for healing purposes.[130] Bulwer defined 'Eunuchisme' as a 'way of degrading men from their manhood', a 'violence to Nature [...] stopping the primigeniall Fountaines of Seed, and those ways which Nature had assigned for the propagation of Posterity'.[131] He connected castration, first and foremost, to the prevention of procreation and thus a violation of nature. He also made it clear that there were cases in which this 'violation of nature' was permissible: he argued that it was unnatural to castrate men 'not having in those parts any disease that might require any such extirpation', but argued that '*verily a dispensation may be granted in case of these inexorable, and otherwise incurable diseases'*.[132] One of the examples Bulwer used of a disease curable by castration was mania. He also mentioned 'Leprosie' as a disease which could possibly be cured that way, through altering the manhood of the suffered: 'you shall not easily find any *Castrati,* or women, troubled with that disease'.[133]

Bulwer identified castration as a custom of different societies – he argued that 'the Genitall parts put a difference between Nation and Nation, so between one Religion and another'.[134] Bulwer did not see castration as exclusively a feature of Muslim societies. For example, '*in* Florence *they are so given to the musique of the Voice, that there the Great ones keep their* Castrati, *whose Voices*

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[129] J. B. (John Bulwer), *Anthropometamorphosis*, pp.311-65.

[130] Ibid., pp.258-9.

[131] J. B. (John Bulwer), *Anthropometamorphosis*, p.354.

[132] Ibid., p.362.

[133] Ibid., p 362.

[134] Ibid., p.357.

scandalise their breeches' and Assyrians used to castrate men 'to make them more fit to keep their women'.[135]However, Bulwer did draw strong associations between 'all parts of the *Levant*' and 'Eunuchisme'.[136] He specified that a particular type of castration, 'the totall deprivation of the Genitals' was particularly popular in the Ottoman Empire and Persia. He argued that that 'the Eunuches in the Great Turks *Seraglio* [...] are all of them not only gelt, but have their Yards also cleane cut off' and that 'this kind of Eunuchisme was of old a fashion in *Persia*, and all parts of the *Levant*'.[137] He explained the practice as having a particular rationality to it, as a means of altering human nature by reducing courage and lust and increasing judgement and loyalty: 'although it abate their courage, yet they generally prove men of the greatest judgement and fidelity, their minds being set on businesse rather than on pleasure'.[138]

Consent, agency, and culpability were central to Bulwer's conceptualisation of castration. Doctors who performed castration were directly culpable in the act; however, their culpability was mitigated by the influence of people in positions of power. The consent of the eunuchs themselves was ambiguous at best. Bulwer argued that among the eunuchs of the Turkish 'Seraglio', 'few or none of them are gelt against their will' and as 'they would be in great danger of death, wherefore to get their consent they promise them faire, and shew unto them the assurance they may have (in time) to become great men'.[139] Thus, although eunuchs in the Ottoman Empire themselves were castrated with their consent, the doctors who performed the act could be 'compelled' to do so 'by Great ones, against their wills'.[140] Bulwer condemned Muslims enslaving Christian boys and turning them into eunuchs. He was also drawing a clear distinction between most eunuchs, who consented to being castrated for the sake of worldly influence, and those who resisted, assuming the point of culpability at the point of consent. In other words, people were not to be blamed for

[135] Ibid., pp.355, 357.

[136] Ibid., p.360.

[137] Ibid., p.360.

[138] Ibid., p.360.

[139] Ibid., p,360.

[140] Ibid., p,359.

their own abduction or selling into slavery, but they were to be held culpable if they consented to bodily modification.

The genital modification practice which Bulwer focused on most in that regard was circumcision. Circumcision was connected to two specific cultures of peoples of a certain religion – Muslims and Jews – to a much larger degree than castration. Bulwer was adamant that there is no theological justification for the practice and that all the peoples who practise it do so for some other reason, even if they explain the practice in religious terms. For example, Bulwer argued that '*Mahomet* in the *Alcoran* commanded Circumcision, not as any point of Religion, but for meere superstition, or as some say, lest there should remaine some filth under the Prepuce after his Followers had washed themselves'.[141] Circumcision was seen by Bulwer as potentially serving a number of functions. It could be done 'for cleannesse, because it was better to be cleane than comely or beautifull', as in the case of ancient Egyptians, or 'by the prescript of Religion' in several societies, from ancient Egypt and biblical Jews to contemporary Muslims all around the world.[142] Bulwer conceptualised circumcision as an unnatural act. He argued that 'if God would have had only the Fore-skin cut off, he had from the beginning made man without a Prepuce'.[143] He admitted the possibility of being 'borne Circumcised by Nature' but stated that 'this naturall Circumcision is very rare'.[144] Bulwer also acknowledged the potential for circumcision to be 'done for a naturall end'.[145] Following Jobson's analysis of the practice in Benin, Bulwer concluded that 'it were done out of meere necessity, as a Morall Law for the preservation of their lives and healths, and so found out by their precedent Ancestors, and by strict observations laid peremptorily upon them'.[146] As in the

[141] Ibid., p.370.

[142] Ibid., p.366.

[143] Ibid., p.379.

[144] Ibid., p.376-377.

[145] Ibid., p.372

[146] Ibid., p.375.

case of castration, he accepted it as a form of healing of specific ailments – '*an Epidemicall disease or Gangrene*' – but it was '*directly against the honesty of Nature*' in any other case.[147]

The concept of unnatural bodies allows us to see most clearly the role of agency and choice in committing unnatural acts. Early modern Anglophone discourses allowed for the concept of unnatural bodies for which individuals were not deemed responsible, because either they were born with such a body or it was transformed without their consent. What mattered was what they did with such bodies. This stress on an individual's, and not their body's, responsibility persisted in the eighteenth century. Moreover, even naturalisation of same-sex desire, which started happening in eighteenth-century Anglophone discourses, was universalising: instead of certain bodies deemed to be sodomitical, same-sex desire itself was starting to be seen by a limited number of authors as perfectly natural.

Concluding remarks: the naturalisation of desire in the eighteenth century

This chapter demonstrated that although early modern Anglophone discourses, infused by the ideas of humoral and climatic determinism, had the tools for pathologising same-sex activity or conceptualising it as intrinsic to certain types of bodies, very few early modern Anglophone authors committed to that explanation. Even discussions of unnatural bodies emphasised personal responsibility of the individuals: a body could be unnatural, but only inappropriate use of that body was sinful. This applied to both individuals born with unnatural bodies (hermaphrodites) and bodily modifications. Overall, unnatural sexual activity was viewed as the personal responsibility of the individual who committed it, unmitigated by notions of addiction or disease, which could potentially have removed some of that responsibility.

Eighteenth-century debates on the connection between specific bodies and same-sex desire grew out of the discussions outlined above. In this later period, there was more willingness among some authors to confront the ideas of rationale for same-sex activity, such as pleasure or absence of a

[147] Ibid., p.378-9.

risk of pregnancy. James Parsons was one of the first authors to discuss this issue in 1741. He argued that hermaphrodites did not exist, and that individuals deemed to be hermaphrodites were women with enlarged clitorises. They 'do not desire Women more than Men from a mere natural inclination', explained by their more masculine nature, but 'because by a Gratification of this Nature there is not so much danger of being expos'd'.[148] For Parsons, women have sex with other women as they have desire sexual pleasure from the act and they choose this pleasure as, unlike sex with men, it carries no risk of pregnancy.[149] According to Parsons, there is no such thing as natural same-sex sexual desire; it is a choice, explained by an obvious rationale. Other authors, such as Thomas Cannon, went as far as acknowledging same-sex desire as something natural to all humans, and thus, again, not specific to any individual groups of human beings.[150] He explicitly stated that 'Unnatural Desire is a Contradiction of Terms' and that 'Desire is an amatory Impulse of the inmost Parts'.[151] Cannon argued that male same-sex desire is not exclusive – 'Man's ruling Passion is the Love of Variety' – and that the love of the self inspires people to procreate regardless of their other sexual interests.[152] These discussions of rationale still operated within the familiar paradigm of same-sex desire not being intrinsic to specific bodies, be they foreign and racialised or abnormal in some other way. Rationale and choice are present in the text which acknowledges that same-sex desire is natural. Ultimately, they still regarded same-sex activity as the choice and responsibility of the person who committed it.

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[148] James Parsons, *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites* (London: Printed for J. Walthoe, over-against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, 1741), p.22.

[149] Ibid., p.22.

[150] For more details on the discovery and context of the manuscript, see Hal Gladfelder, 'In Search of Lost Texts: Thomas Cannon's Ancient and Modern Pederasty Investigated and Exemplify'd', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 31:1, (2007): 22-38. pp.23, 26-27.

[151] Hal Gladfelder, "The Indictment of John Purser, Containing Thomas Cannon's Ancient and Modern Pederasty Investigated and Exemplify'd", *Eighteenth-century Life* 31, no. 1 (2007): 39-61, p.54.

[152] Ibid., p.54.

Chapter 4. Male same-sex activity and the reception of Islam

> 'This doctrine is the sinne of Sodome, the flesh is the matter, the burning lust is a preamble of the fire falling from heauen, & the iustice of God threatneth euerlasting fire & torments for such Mahometical Sodomits.'[1]

These words were delivered by the Welsh preacher Meredith Hanmer at Saint Catherine's-by-the-Tower on 2 October 1586 to commemorate the baptism of 'Chinano', a 'Turk' who had been enslaved and served on Spanish galleys in the Caribbean.[2] Hanmer's association of Muslims with sodomy was typical in the early modern British Isles. More broadly, his words reflected a stereotype pervasive across Latin and reformed Christendom, that Muslim societies within the Ottoman Empire, Safavid Persia, and beyond were prone to sodomy. This chapter aims to dissect this stereotype through a close reading of Anglophone texts that associate Islamic doctrine specifically with sodomy, and to answer the question: what was 'Mahometical' about these 'Sodomits'? The connection between licentiousness and Islam in early modern Anglophone thinking has been highlighted by a number of scholars. Nabil Matar argued that Islam specifically was used to explain the 'sodomy' of Muslims in early modern Anglophone discourses: 'sodomy was Islamic and separated between the civilised and uncivilised'.[3] Patricia Parker and Jacqueline Pearson focused, in different ways, specifically on the role of Islam and sexuality in early modern

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[1] Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke a Sermon Preached at The Hospitall of Saint Katherin […]* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue dwelling without Temple-barre, 1586), Sig.C5r.

[2] David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1625* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp.200-204 for the whole episode. Cinano was not an ethnic Turk but a renegade. It is interesting that Hanmer was accused of being a sodomite himself by an anonymous Catholic opponent, who used it to explain Hanmer's move to the Church of Ireland. See Alan Ford, 'Hanmer, Meredith (1543–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12204, accessed 1 June 2015; see also Jacqueline Pearson, ''One Lot in Sodom': Masculinity and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Narratives of Converted Turks", *Literature and Theology* 21:1 (2007):29-48, p.36, for a more detailed analysis of the case.

[3] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp.113-5 for a discussion of the issue.

Anglophone conversion narratives into Islam and from Islam to Christianity respectively.[4] They both highlighted the close relationship between sexuality and conversion narratives. The work of these scholars is helpful in furthering our understanding of early modern reception of Islam in England and its connection to sexuality. However, none of these scholars singled out Islam as a lens of analysis of early modern sexual stereotypes. This chapter aims to rectify that and demonstrate the multiple ways in which Islam was and was not connected to sodomy and was represented either as condoning or condemning sodomy by a variety of early modern Anglophone texts.[5]

This chapter will examine the relationship between religion and essentialisation of difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. It will argue that although some authors clearly associated Islam and sodomy, and saw Islam as the defining factor behind the supposed sodomy of the Muslims, there was a wider variety of discourses and opinions on the subject. Conversion presented an immediate challenge to the essentialising potential of religious difference, as individuals can convert throughout their lifetimes. It is important for the subject matter of this chapter as (homo)sexual opportunities were sometimes understood to have been the underlying reason behind an individuals' conversion.[6] However, this chapter is primarily concerned with religion as an identifiable and identified feature of specific societies, not individuals – in this case, Muslim societies in Anglophone texts. This chapter will question whether Anglophone texts viewed all Muslim societies as having the same fixed characteristics (namely, proneness to sodomy), explained by the Muslim-ness of those societies. Moreover, doctrinal epistemology differs from social custom associated with religion. Anglophone authors could have argued that

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[4] See J. Pearson, '"One Lot in Sodom": Masculinity and the Gendered Body in Early Modern Narratives of Converted Turks', *Literature & theology* 21:1 (2007), 29-48; and Patricia Parker, 'Preposterous Conversions: Turning Turk, and its "Pauline" Rerighting', *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2 (2002): 1–34.

[5] On the reception of Islam in the Three Kingdoms in the early modern period, see Matthew Dimmock, *Mythologies of the Prophet Muhammad in Early Modern English Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.1-23; Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.73-119.

[6] For discussions of conversion as a sexual opportunity, see Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and The Making of The Ottoman Elite, 1575-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.101-5.

sodomy was condoned by Islamic scriptures which were, in the eyes of the English, a false doctrine in any case. However, Anglophone authors could also connect sodomy to wider practices of Islam, not seen as connected to or supported by Islamic holy texts in Anglophone writings, such as dervish practices. If the former – associations with doctrine – had been more prevalent, one could argue that Islam was used as a marker of essentialised difference. However, the prevalence of the latter would indicate the centrality of religious customs, not religious doctrine, to essentialisation of the 'Muslim other'.

There is some evidence which demonstrates that some Anglophone authors saw Islam specifically as either the main factor behind the supposed sodomy of Muslims, or the main uniting characteristic of otherwise different sodomitical societies. The first part of the chapter will demonstrate various strands of that evidence. On the one hand, religious affiliation in general and Islam specifically was sometimes associated with specific humours and climates of particular people. Religious difference could be essentialised by arguing that some individuals or whole societies were predisposed to specific religions. Environmental determinism and naturalised religion aside, Islam could also serve as a marker of essentialised cultural difference. This chapter will show as much through a comparison of the supposed sodomy of the Ottomans and the Persians, the two best-known Muslim societies in early modern Anglophone discourses.

However, this narrative of the orientalised, essentialised Muslim sodomite in Anglophone sources was disrupted by the broad variety of ways in which Anglophone discourses represented Islam as condemning *or* condoning sodomy. Many factors, including the political or religious affiliation of individual Anglophone authors, their knowledge of Islamic doctrine, and their experience of Muslim societies and the genre conventions of the texts they were writing, determined the extent to which individual authors and texts associated Islam with sodomy. The reception of Islam in European discourses did not always rely on actual knowledge of Islamic theology; for example, Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (c. 1243-1320), the influential Italian Dominican friar, travel writer and Christian missionary in the Levant, knew the Qur'an very well but still claimed that it condones sodomy and bestiality (which it emphatically does not).[7] However, the increasing

[7] Rita George-Tvrtkovic, *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p.159; see p.84 for a note explaining that the statement is incorrect.

availability of texts on Islamic doctrine in seventeenth-century England and Scotland made it harder for various authors to claim that there was a direct connection between the Qur'an and sodomy, which led to a further refocus on the practice of Islam, rather than its doctrine, as sodomitical. The authors who wished to make that connection focused on specific mentions of boys in Paradise.[8] More detailed engagement with Islamic doctrine allowed some Anglophone authors, such as the prominent Quaker George Fox, to polemicise against Muslim practices of sodomy by pointing out that Muslim doctrine itself condemned it.[9] Discussions of Islam and sexuality reflected English political anxieties throughout this period, but especially in the 1670s and 1680s, throughout the period of English involvement in Tangier, the lead up to the Exclusion Crisis, and during the Exclusion Crisis itself. Finally, late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Anglophone pro-Islamic rhetoric did not include discussions of sodomy at all. These writers were enthusiastic about Muslim sexuality, previously represented as 'licentious', and claimed that Muslims were obeying divine commands familiar and necessary for Christians – to procreate.[10] Because of this positive focus on procreation, these discourses side-lined or ignored associations between Islam and sodomy, which did not fit into the framework of praiseworthy procreative sexuality. Finally, it is difficult to make any sort of teleological or chronological argument about Anglophone connections between Islam and sodomy, because so many texts were reprinted

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[8] Lancelot Addison, *The Life and Death of Mahumed, the Author of the Turkish Religion Being an Account of His Tribe, Parents, Birth, Name, Education, Marriages, Filthiness of Life, Alcoran, First Proselytes, Wars, Doctrines, Miracles, Advancement, &c.* (London: Printed for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar, 1679), p.136; Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture Fully Displayed in the Life of Mahomet with a Discourse Annexed for the Vindicating of Christianity from This Charge* (London: Printed for William Crooke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. 1679. And are to be sold at the Bible in Westminster-Hall, 1697), p.26.

[9] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers Together with a Postscript of George Pattison's Taking the Turks and Setting Them on Their Own Shoar* (London: Printed for Ben. Clark, in George-yard, in Lumbard-street, 1680), p.3.

[10] Anonymous, *A Letter from an Arabian Physician to a Famous Professor in the University of Hall in Saxony, Concerning Mahomet's Taking Up Arms, his Marrying of Many Wives, his Keeping of Concubines, and his Paradise* ([London?, 1706), p.10; [Mary Wortley Montagu], *The Genuine Copy of a Letter Written from Constantinople by an English Lady, Who Was Lately in Turkey, and Who Is No Less Distinguish'd by Her Wit Than Her Quality [i.e. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu]; to a Venetian nobleman [i.e. the Abbé Conti] ... Translated From The French Original, Which Is Likewise Added.* (London: Printed and sold by J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, A. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar, 1719), p.5.

decades after their first publication. Older sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts, some of which were translated into English decades after their original publication, continued to circulate in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Anglophone discourses and to influence discourses on Islam and sodomy.

Islam and essentialisation of difference: Persians and 'Turks' in comparison

Early modern Anglophone frameworks for conceptualising religion had the potential to relate it to both naturalisation and essentialisation of difference. Rebecca Anne Goetz has argued that English colonial involvement in Virginia created the idea of hereditary heathenism, which intensified and solidified after the Powhatan 1622 attack on Jamestown.[11] Peter Harrison has argued that Islam, among other religions, was connected to climate and pathology in a variety of ways in the seventeenth century.[12] On the one hand, early modern authors such as Humphrey Prideaux argued that Islam was designed by the 'impostor' and false prophet Muhammad to appeal to 'Arabians' who were climatically predisposed to (heterosexual) carnal lusts.[13] Several seventeenth and eighteenth-century authors, such as Herbert of Cherbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftesbury, and David Collyer denied that climate had a direct effect on disposition to certain religions. However, they argued that climate and environment encouraged certain activities, which were reflected in various world religions past and present.[14] Finally, authors such as Robert Burton (1621), Meric Casaubon (1655), and Henry More (1662) developed frameworks for pathologising religious melancholy, excess of religion, and lack of religious fervour.[15] Burton argued that 'all

[11] Rebecca Anne Goetz, *The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), p.64.

[12] Peter Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions in the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp 116-125.

[13] Ibid., pp.116-7.

[14] Ibid., p.117.

[15] Ibid., pp.121-5.

superstitious idolatres, Ethnicks, Mahometans, Jews, Hereticks, Enthusiasts' and others suffered from an excess of religion, resulting from their specific humoral imbalances.[16] More referred to Muslims, Anabaptists, and Quakers, among others, when he argued that 'religious melancholy led to such movements of the mind that the subject was sorely tempted to believe that he was genuiely posessed of divine spirit'.[17] These frameworks show that Islam was used as a reference point in various frameworks for naturalising and essentialising human difference.

Many scholars identify Islam as a crucial marker of difference and the driving force behind unfavourable opinions of Islamic societies in medieval and early modern European discourses.[18] There is an extensive history of Europeans constructing Islam as a religion which permits sodomy, either directly or indirectly.[19] A range of Islamic societies were read as sodomitical in the early modern period as well. The Ottoman Empire and Persia were the primary focus of such comments.

Persia was favourably compared to the Ottoman Empire in early modern European discourses. Margaret Meserve has argued that 'as the humanists demoted the Turks from imperial Persian oppressors to cannibalistic wild men, they simultaneously upgraded the notion of Persian identity'.[20] Ultimately, Persia 'became a generally positive political construct'.[21] Jane Grogan has made a very similar argument about sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English writings on

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[16] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy,* 8th ed., (London: Pr. for Peter Parker, 1676) p.386.

[17] Harrison, *'Religion' and the Religions*, p.123.

[18] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam In The Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp.238, 249; John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People In Western Europe From The Beginning Of The Christian Era To The Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp.278-82; David F Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.172-83; Susan Schibanoff, 'Mohammed, Courtly Love, and the Myth of Western Heterosexuality', *Medieval Feminist Newsletter* 16 (1993): 27-32; Gregory S. Hutcheson, 'The sodomitic moor: queerness in the narrative of Reconquista' in Glenn Burger and Steven F. Kruger (eds.), *Queering the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis; London : University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

[19] See Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West : The Making Of An Image* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1962), pp.165-7.

[20] Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), p.218.

[21] Ibid., p.221.

Persia, partly based on the enduring legacy of humanism. She argued that 'Ancient Persia was much admired by those who knew their classical writers, and the usually complimentary comparison between Safavid and Achaemenid Persia became something of a commonplace for historians, geographers, travellers and scholars'.[22] She stressed that 'English attitudes to Safavid Persia are markedly different to fearful attitudes to the Ottomans and Ottoman imperial success' and that 'early modern travel accounts of Persia were largely positive, helped by the travellers' habit of comparing Persia to the more powerful, much feared Ottoman empire'.[23]

Despite the generally positive associations Europeans had with Persian society, they did often associate it with sodomy as well. Jane Grogan argued that exoticisation and orientalisation of Persia in early modern Anglophone writing emerged as a direct result of the popularity of Thomas Herbert's travel account, first published in 1634.[24] However, a close reading of a variety of late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century sources, both originally written in English and translated into English, shows a more complicated picture. Although mentions of sodomy and other illicit behaviours are less abundant than in descriptions of the Ottoman Empire, these notions were still present throughout the early modern period. The Italian scholar Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, whose account of travels to 'West and East Indies' was published in English in the 1550s and 1570s, acknowledged the religious change in Persian society, arguing that the Persians 'haue in auncient tyme been Christians'.[25] He read contemporary Persians as Muslim and, despite acknowledging their military valour and honourable apparel, he still claimed that 'both the Persians, and also their

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[22] Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.2.

[23] Ibid., pp.8, 23.

[24] Ibid., p.182; Thomas Herbert, *A relation of some yeares trauaile, begunne anno 1626. Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian monarchie: and some parts of the orientall Indies, and iles adiacent. Of their religion, language, habit, discent, ceremonies, and other matters concerning them. Together with the proceedings and death of the three late ambassadours: Sir D.C. Sir R.S. and the Persian Nogdi-Beg: as also the two great monarchs, the King of Persia, and the Great Mogol. By T.H. Esquier·* (London: Printed by William Stansby, and Iacob Bloome, 1634).

[25] Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The History of Trauayle in the VVest and East Indies, and Other Countreys Lying Eyther Way, Towards the Fruitfull and Ryche Moluccaes As Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, AEgypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapan* (London: by Richarde Iugge, 1577), p.331.

neighbours of Ormus, are detestable Sodomites'.[26] Nicolas de Nicolay, whose account was widely available in early modern England, argued that 'like vnto the Turkes and other nations of the East partes, [the Persians] are so giuen vnto the detestable sine against nature, that they take it for no shame, but haue places appointed and ordeined for the same'.[27] Nicolay's essentialising explanation of the sodomy of the 'Eastern' peoples was offset by his mentions of renegades engaging in the same practices, and, more importantly, his stress on the temporal change in Persian customs specifically.[28] He argued that the contemporary practices of the Persians were 'contrary to their auncient customes'.[29] Robert Coverte made a similar direct comparison with the Turks, based on religion rather than any notion of 'Easterness': 'generally [Persians] doe worship Mahomet, and are common Buggerers, as the Turks are'.[30] These examples demonstrate that the Persians were associated with sodomy long before Herbert. Indeed, Herbet's specific focus on dancing boys, identified by Joseph Alleen Boone among others, was not new to the 1630s either.[31] William Parry's 1601 text specifically identified 'boyes and Curtezans, dauncing strange kinds of Iigges (jigs)'.[32] In this context, Herbert's description of Isfahan does not represent a shift towards exoticism and orientalism, but a continuation of popular and widespread discourses. He claimed that 'at the North end of the *Mydan* [...] the King [...] sees the Sodomiticall Boyes and Wenches

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[26] Ibid., p.332; Persians were read as proto-Christian or Christian by some Italian humanists; see Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, pp.203-4.

[27] Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations and Voyages, Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois* (London: [at the cost of John Stell] by Thomas Dawson, 1585), p.116.

[28] Ibid., p.8.

[29] Ibid., p.116.

[30] Robert Coverte, *A True and Almost Incredible Report of an Englishman, That (Being Cast Away in the Good Ship Called The Assention in Cambaya the Farthest Part Of The East Indies) Trauelled By Land Through Many Vnknowne Kingdomes* (London: Printed by William Hall, for Thomas Archer and Richard Redmer, 1612), p.56.

[31] Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p.102; on dancing boys see pp.102-7.

[32] William Parry, *A New and Large Discourse of the Trauels of Sir Anthony Sherley Knight, By Sea, And Ouer Land, To the Persian Empire Wherein Are Related Many Straunge And Wonderfull Accidents: And Also, The Description And Conditions Of Those Countries And People He Passed By: With His Returne Into Christendome. Written By William Parry Gentleman, Who Accompanied Sir Anthony in His Trauells* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Felix Norton, 1601), p.22.

dance, and sport together, and when he is away, the people haue them'.[33] Finally, Herbert himself commented on the widespread sodomy in Perisa and connected it directly to Islam. He argued that relationships with 'Ganymedes' were 'commanded in the Alcoran, and for the Authour himselfe, Bonfinus writes that he permitted Sodomy and lay with beasts'.[34] Overall, although a high number of accounts did not discuss Persian supposed sodomy at all, the trope was widespread enough in Anglophone imagination throughout the early modern period. Sodomy was represented as static and often indirectly connected to Islam, rather than something learned at a specific point in the past, or something that could potentially be unlearned. However, as the example of Nicolay shows, these discourses were complicated. The same text could have essentialising and processual frameworks in relation to sodomy. This was not a simple matter.

It is also important to note that early modern Anglophone discourses had sophisticated understandings of the ethnic diversity of Islamic societies. For example, the English traveller Fynes Morrison argued in 1617 that 'the Arabians, howsoeuer subiect to the Turk, yet exercise continuall robberies with all libertie and impunitie'.[35] This is just one of many examples of clear divisions between 'Turks', 'Moors', 'Arabians', and 'Persians' in early modern Anglophone writings. Amongst those categories, the Turks are of particular interest. Early modern Anglophone writings on the Turks were influenced by humanism and concerned with their societal development and genealogy. Anders Ingram has argued that the theory of Scythian ancestry of the Turks became mainstream in humanist historical writing and was adopted by Anglophone writers, Richard Knolles in particular, from a variety of continental sources.[36] Humanist influence can also clearly be seen in ascribing sodomy to Muslims; both Herbert in the seventeenth century and, for example, the preacher Meredith Hanmer in the sixteenth referred to the work of Antonio Bonfini (1434-

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[33] Herbert, *A Relation of Some Yeares Trauaile Begunne Anno 1626.*, p.87.

[34] Ibid., p.158.

[35] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Vvritten by Fynes Moryson Gent. First In the Latine Tongue, And Then Translated by Him into English: Containing His Ten Yeeres Trauell Through the Tvvelue Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, And Ireland* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, dwelling in Aldersgate street, 1617), p.225.

[36] Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans : Turkish History In Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.6-7.

1503), cited as 'Bonfinus', in their mentions of Muslim 'sodomy' and bestiality.[37] However, alongside this supposed genealogical development of the Turk ran a parallel narrative which saw 'natural' Turks and renegades as a part of the same category of 'Turk'. This is significant, as it prioritises religious identification over a genealogical one. For example, Nicolas de Nicolay stated that 'the most part of the Turkes of Alger [...] are Christians renied, or Mahumetised, of al Nations', prioritising religion as the main signifier of difference.[38] For him, these Turks, the renegades, were 'Spaniards, Italians, and of Prouence, of the Ilands and Coastes of the Sea Mediterane, giuen all to whoredome, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vice'.[39] This tension provided two different avenues for potential essentialisation of difference: one through religion, and one through an unchanging ethnicity. In the latter case, sodomitical behaviours explained as malign customs could still serve as a marker of essential difference to a degree. That degree was determined by discourses concerning the regulation of those customs.

This overview demonstrates that despite widespread arguments on contrasts between the reception of the Turks and the Persians, both were regarded as sodomitical societies. This could easily give the impression that early modern Anglophone texts viewed Islam as responsible for fixed and unchanged sodomy of various Muslims around the world. The medieval context of connections between sodomy and Islam, and persistent early modern connections of a variety of Islamic societies to sodomy, suggest that Islam was used as a marker of sexual difference. Consequently, religion as an analytical category of signifying difference had the potential to serve as a marker of essentialised difference. And yet the story was much more complicated than that; sixteenth and seventeenth-century evidence demonstrates that there was a variety of ways in which Anglophone writers conceived of the connection between Islam and sodomy, and that the views of individual writers were shaped by their religious, political, and intellectual contexts, by their personal awareness of Muslim societies and Muslim doctrine, and by genre conventions of the texts they were writing. Due to continuing translation and dissemination of earlier texts, there was no clear and straightforward relationship between the wider availability of texts on Islam in England and

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[37] See the Herbert reference above; see also Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke*, Sig.C5r.

[38] Nicholas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations and Voyages*, p.8.

[39] Ibid., p.8.

the wider awareness of the fact that Islam condemned sodomy. However, there is some evidence to show that the more well-read later seventeenth and eighteenth-century Anglophone authors were influenced by the increasing dissemination of accurate information on Islamic doctrine, and that the association between Muslim doctrine (not necessarily practice) and sodomy decreased throughout the period in question.

Late sixteenth-century comments on Islam and sodomy in Anglophone sources

Some contemporaries recognised the discrepancy in many Islamic societies between laws surrounding sodomy and widespread social practice. Brotton has argued that 'the terms "Islam" and "Muslim" appeared in English in their theological sense only in the seventeenth century' and that 'when religion was mentioned it was in relation to the "law of Muhammad"'.[40] The phrase 'the law of Muhammad' persisted throughout the period and was understood, among other things, as legal guidance employed for the governance of Islamic polities, including the Ottoman Empire.[41] Therefore, one way contemporaries sought to understand the relation between Islam and sodomy was to analyse the extent to which Islamic law succeeded in regulating it in a given society. Many believed that Turkish sodomy was insufficiently regulated by this legal system. For example, the anonymous *The Policy of the Turkish Empire*, sometimes attributed to Giles Fletcher, provided

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[40] Ibid., p.25.

[41] See, for example, Richard Allestree, *The Vanity Of The Creature By The Author Of The Whole Duty Of Man, &c. ; Together With A Letter Prefix'd, Sent To The Bookseller, Relating To The Author* (London: Printed for John Kidgell at the Golden-Ball near Grays-Inn-Gate in Holborn, 1684), p.41; Anonymous, *Here Begynneth a Lytell Treatyse of the Turkes Lawe Called Alcaron. And Also It Speketh Of Machamet The Nygromancer* (London: In fletestrete in the sygne of the Sonne by me Wynkyn de worde], 1519), title of the book; Anonymous, *Newes From Poland Wherein Is Truly Inlarged The Occasion, Progression, And Interception Of The Turks Formidable Threatning Of Europe* (London: Printed by F. K[ingston] for B. D[ownes] and William Lee, and are to bee sold at his shop in Fleet-street, at the signe of the golden Buck, neere Serieants Inne, 1621), Sig.A4r; Moïse Amyraut, *A Treatise Concerning Religions, In Refutation Of The Opinion Which Accounts All Indifferent· Wherein Is Also Evinc'd The Necessity Of A Particular Revelation, And The Verity And Preeminence Of The Christian Religion Above The Pagan, Mahometan, And Jewish Rationally Demonstrated* (London: Printed by M. Simmons for Will. Nealand bookseller in Cambridge and are to be sold there and at the sign of the Crown in Duck-lane, 1660), p.342.

the most detailed discussion of Islam as a legal system in relation to prosecution of sodomy.[42] With a general reference to 'the Turkish Alcoran, and other Bookes of their lawe', the author very clearly stated that 'the Mahometan religion doth esteeme the sin of lust or vncleannes to be no lesse hateful and abominable than any other of the deadly sinnes whatsoeuer'. He argued that lawful marriage was a command to avoid fornication. However, the law, in his view, had been neglected as 'they are so outragiously giuen ouer to the abominable sin of Sodomie'. The author was quite specific on both the legal position of Islam on sodomy and the practice (or lack thereof) of actual punishment for it: 'albeit the law of MAHOMET doth command that Sodomites shuld be stoned to death: yet [...] this lawe of theirs seemeth eyther to bee abrogated, or forgotten, or cleane neglected and contemned'. This was seen by the author not only as a neglect of the legal system, but also as a failure of religious duty. The author was very clear on the laws, stemming from Islamic theology, which condemned sodomy in the strictest terms. Unlike Hanmer, the author was quite specific about what exactly sodomy could mean, and his detailed illustrative case study focused specifically on attempted male to male sexual assault as an example of 'sodomy'.[43]According to *The Policy of the Turkish Empire,* unlike in the author's own day, in the times of Mohammed himself this law had been strictly upheld. Referring to 'one of the Bookes of their Prophet MAHOMET', the author told a story of a youth who was pursued by a male suitor, who 'finding [the youth] vnwilling to yeelde vnto his desire', threatened him with violence.[44] The youth tried to flee but ended up killing the abuser in self-defence. The brothers of the slain man apprehended the youth and brought him to court, where Mohammed 'pronounced him to bee guiltlesse' and proclaimed that sodomites were 'for euer damned both in soule & bodie'. The brothers denied that the slain man had committed any sodomitical attempts and demanded justice. Mohammed asked them for, in their opinion, a just verdict, and they asked for the death by which their brother died. Mohammed sent them to the brother's tomb, asking them to see how exactly their brother died. They 'found not anie bodie within it, but sawe the emptie place all filled with a

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[42] Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans*, pp.54-55.

[43] All the quotes in this paragraph are cited from Anon., *The Policy of The Turkish Empire. The First Booke* (London: Printed by Iohn Windet for W[illiam] S[tansby] and are to be soulde at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, 1597), p.46.

[44] Ibid., p.46.

darke fog or myst, and with a most filthie stench'. Horrified by what they saw, the brothers returned to Mohammed, who told them that Satan had taken both the body and the soul of their brother, '*a most impure and lewd man*', and that the youth was guiltless.[45] This story is quite specific and, at first glance, looks like it could have been based on a real *hadith*. However, no such *hadith* exists. Due to the anonymous authorship of *The Policy*, it is difficult to determine whether this story was based on an Ottoman folk tale about the Prophet which the English author had access to, or whether it was their own invention.

This story, which quite clearly set out a supernatural punishment not just for the sexual act of sodomy but also the intent to commit it, was presented by the author to explain the abundance of male to male sexuality in contemporary Ottoman society. He argued that Mohammed believed 'there is a Plague ordained of God for all those who do defile themselues with anie vncleane & filthie lust'.[46] However, contemporary Turks, according to the author of *The Policy*, used the divine punishment outlined in this story to argue that sodomy was a sin to be judged by God, not an offence to be punished in this life: 'do not these Miscreants the Turkes at this day appoint or set down anie paines for that vice; but do referre the same to the Iudgement and Tribunall Seate of God: not sparing (in the meane time) to pollute themselues with all kinde of viciousnes and vncleane lusts'.[47] The key argument was that Mohammed in this anecdote 'did commit the punishment of this sinne vnto the diuine iustice and vengeance'.[48] Rather than actually prosecuting the offender before his death, as he was pursuing the youth, or by absolving the youth of guilt for the murder without reference to divine judgement, God intervened directly in the case and judged it. No other early modern Anglophone author, with the possible exception of George Fox, treated this issue in such a detailed manner. Ultimately, the anonymous author found a way to acknowledge the abundance of male to male sexual activity in early modern Ottoman society and to connect that abundance to Islamic religion through, rather than despite, their evidently considerable knowledge of Islamic theology and the legal position of Islam on male to male

[45] All the subsequent quotes in this paragraph are from ibid., p.47.

[46] Ibid., p.47.

[47] Ibid., p.47.

[48] Ibid., p.47.

sexuality.[49] The author's comment on how exactly the Ottomans explained that they do not follow the teachings of the Qur'an on the issue went beyond signalling the Ottoman Turks as irreligious and unable to follow even their own rules; it subtly commented on the shortcomings of Mohammed as a an executive rather than legislative figure and, in its commitment to acknowledging only 'lawful marriage' as a legitimate form of Islamic sexuality, served as a precursor to the late seventeenth-century reception of Islam's views on sexual relationships.

Travel, observation and wider dissemination of knowledge about Islam

To be sure, it is important to avoid a teleological narrative in which a higher awareness of Islamic theology, displayed in *The Policy of the Ottoman Empire*, replaced an earlier set of misunderstanding and prejudice. A number of seventeenth-century authors still believed that Islamic doctrine condoned sodomy.[50] At the same time, acknowledgement of the existence or even prevalence of sodomy in Islamic societies did not directly translate into ascribing it to Islamic doctrine, and the knowledge evident in *The Policy* influenced a number of travellers. For example, William Lithgow, who was very particular about his condemnation of sodomitical behaviours in a number of Islamic locations he visited, wrote of the 'the opinions of the *Turkes*, concerning their Heaven and Hell [...] those who have done Buggery (as the most part of them do) and homicide shall fall headlong from it, to the profoundest pit in Hell'.[51] Busbecq, published in English in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, stated that there was an abundance of the 'most filthie and vnnaturall kind

[49] For the debates on permissibility of male to male affection in Islam see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic world, 1500-1800* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), pp.13-33.

[50] Herbert, *A Relation Of Some Yeares Trauaile*, p.158.

[51] William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travailes from Scotland, to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica : Perfited By Three Deare Bought Voyages, In Surveying Of Forty Eight Kingdomes Ancient And Modern* (London: By I. Okes, 1640), pp.159, 163.

of Sodomie' among the Turks, their law to the contrarie notwithstanding'.[52] Overall, Anglophone travel in the first half of the seventeenth century showed a mixed response to connecting Islamic theology to sodomitical behaviours, which did not always match a particular author's wider views on the Islamic societies they visited.

One of the most widespread consequences of increasing awareness of Muslim societies in early modern Anglophone discourses was a trend which connected specific Islamic religious sects or institutions, rather than Islam as a whole, with sodomitical behaviours. This demonstrates a shift away from a focus on Islamic theology as condoning sodomy towards an emphasis on Islamic social practice of religion allowing sodomy. This trend did not originate in the seventeenth century, or even in Anglophone discourse itself, but was part of the processes of pan-European exchange of knowledge about the Islamic world. Purchas, for example, argued that the '*Deruis* are fornicators, and most detestable in that most detestable sinne of Sodomie', citing Nicolas de Nicolay, whose *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des Navigations et Peregrinations Orientales* was first published in Lyon in 1567.[53] Following Leo Africanus, Purchas discussed the followers of '*Elhesenibnu Abilhase*', who 'gaue certaine rules to his disciples, contratie to the Alcoran-principles', and traced the history of the sect and its complicated relationship with pre-Ottoman and Ottoman authorities.[54] Having acknowledged their sometime heretic status, he stated that 'they may not marry, but are reputed Sodomites'.[55] Henry Blount ascribed 'profest *Sodomy*, which in

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[52] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of The Vworld and The Religions Obserued in All Ages and Places Discouered, from the Creation Vnto This Present In Foure Partes. This First Containeth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, And America, With the Ilands Adiacent. Declaring The Ancient Religions Before the Floud ... With Briefe Descriptions of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoueries, Priuate and Publike Customes, And the Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature, Or Humane Industrie, In the Same. By Samuel Purchas, Minister at Estwood in Essex* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613), p.246.

[53] Ibid., p.261. On Dervishes, see J.K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London: Luzac and Co, 1937).

[54] Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage,* p.228; for more information on Sufi orders, see John Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1971).

55 Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage,* (1613), p.229.

the *Levant* is not held a vice' to all of the 'foure feverall *Orders* in their *Religion*'.[56] Blount did not comment on whether this sodomy was done in accordance with or against the postulates of the Qur'an, but his mention of the Levant, rather than Islam specifically, potentially indicates that he considered the local character, influenced by climate, to be responsible for this; elsewhere in the text he discussed various ways in which Islam was interpreted by Turks, Tatars, Arabs, and Persians based on the genius of their nations.[57] These ideas persisted later in the century. The diplomat Paul Rycaut, whose *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* was first published in 1668, wrote of the 'Order of *Bectash*' that they are 'are a most licentious sort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and loose sort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Disciples'.[58] This focus on Janissaries, who were formerly Christian converts, demonstrates that sodomy was not associated with a particular ethnicity, but was seen as a part of the customs of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, modern scholarship on Janissary sexual behaviours has demonstrated that many Janissaries did in fact get involved in emotional and sexual same-sex affairs, often with bathhouse workers.[59] He added that '*Bektaschi* [...] against the instinct of nature use Carnal Copulation promiscuously with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters', explaining it by a 'weak and illogical comparison of the lawfulness and reason, that he who

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[56] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of A Iourney, Lately Performed By Master H. B. Gentleman, From England By The Way Of Venice, Into Dal[Matia,] Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes And Egypt, Unto Gran Cairo: / [W]Ith Particular Observations Concerning The Moderne Condition Of The Turkes, And Other People Under That Empire* (London: Printed by I. L for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls Church-yard, 1636), p.79.

[57] Ibid., p.80.

[58] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, their Sects and Heresies, their Convents and Religious Votaries, their Military Discipline ... : Illustrated With Divers Pieces Of Sculpture, Representing The Variety Of Habits Amongst The Turks, In Three Books* (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, at the Mitre between the Middle-Temple-Gate and Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, and the Star in Little-Britain, 1668), p.149; on the Bektashi order see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*.

[59] Serkan Delice, 'The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows: Masculinity and Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul' in Gul Ozyegin (ed.), *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* (London, New York: Routledge, 2016), p.134.

engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine, should rather taste of the Fruit'.[60] Like Blount, Rycaut did not comment as to whether these practices were condoned by the Qur'an or accepted by other Muslim religious authorities, even though he stressed that they were widespread in society at large. Followers of this decadent lifestyle co-opted sexual depravity as a part of their views on hospitality: 'if any by chance receives a Guest within his Gates of their own judgment, besides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handsome Bedfellow of which Sex he most delights'.[61] These discussions of certain Sufi orders and their supposed connection to same-sex activity were present in Ottoman religious discourses as well.[62] The Meccan judge Ahmad al-Murshidi (d. 1638) argued that 'the Sufis of the age and time [...] have outdone the people of Lot by adding the beating of drums to fornication'.[63] This overview shows that there was an extent to which Anglophone descriptions of Ottoman sexual behaviours actually mapped onto Ottoman practices and concerns, and that there was a transfer of knowledge between the Ottomans and Anglophone eyewitnesses.[64]

In part because of increasing awareness of the details of Muslim theology and religious practice, fewer authors throughout the seventeenth century represented sodomy as directly sanctioned by Islam.[65] The 1649 translation of the Qur'an into English from the French original contributed to that process.[66] Regardless of the identity of the translator, this text contributed to the connection

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[60] Richard Knolles, Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History From The Original Of That Nation, To The Growth Of The Ottoman Empire With The Lives And Conquests Of Their Princes And Emperours / By Richard Knolles ... ; With A Continuation To This Present Year MDCLXXXVII ; Whereunto Is Added, The Present State Of The Ottoman Empire, By Sir Paul Rycaut* (London: Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1687), p.65.

[61] All these quotes ibid., p.64.

[62] On Islamic concerns about Sufis and sexuality, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality*, pp.36-9 and 95-110.

[63] Ibid., p.37.

[64] For this argument, see also Abdulhamit Arvas, 'Travelling Sexualities, Circulating Bodies, and Early Modern Anglo-Ottoman Encounters', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, (2016), p.35.

[65] On the development of Arabic studies, see G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisedome and Learning: The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[66] See Arjan Van Dijk, 'Early Printed Qur'ans: The Dissemination of the Qur'an in the West.' *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 7:2 (2005):135–43. There is intense debate on the identity of the translator. Alexander

between sodomy and Islam in Anglophone discourses in several crucial ways. First, the text included the story of Sodom and Gomorrah as it is told in the Qur'an, which showed that the story of Lot, familiar to the English Christian readers, was part of the foundations of Islamic theology. However, the 1649 English text of the Qur'an did not include the actual word Sodom (or sodomy, for that matter) in the story, including only an indirect reference to condemnation of non-procreative sexual practice: 'that you were but a small handfull of men, and he caused you to multiply; consider the end of the wicked'.[67] The second contribution of this translation was an affirmation of the presence of handsome boys in Muslim idea of paradise. In the translation of 'The Chapter of Judgment, containing fourscore and nineteen Verses written at Medina', the text refers to 'young boyes shall go about them with vessels, Cups, and Goblets, full of delicious drink, that shall not offend the head, neither intoxicate them'.[68] Although the idea of a licentious Islamic paradise had been present in Anglophone discourses before 1649, the presence of boys specifically in that passage had been contested; for example, Meredith Hanmer referred to *Angels* serving in paradise, not boys.[69] This is significant as the focus on boys in paradise allowed Anglophone commentators who wished to allude to the permissibility of sodomy in Islam to allow the idea of a sodomitical Islam to continue, despite increasing knowledge of the actual position of the Qur'an on sexual transgressions. Alongside the shifting focus towards Islamic practice rather than theology, this was one of the major trends of seventeenth-century Anglophone views on Islam and sodomy. Alexander Ross, who might have been the first translator of the Qur'an into English,

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Ross has been identified as the possible translator, and some scholars, including Nabil Matar, still argue in favour of his involvement in the process. Thomas E. Burman summarised other scholarship on the issue of the authorship of this translation by stating that the authorship was attributed to Ross 'often, and wrongly', whereas scholars such as Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard did not associate Ross with the translation. See Nabil Matar, 'A Note on Alexander Ross and the English Translation of the Qur'an', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 23:1 (2012):76–84, .Thomas E. Burman, 'European Qur'an Translations 1500-1700' in D. Thomas and A. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*. *Volume 6 Western Europe (1500-1600)* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p.36.

[67] *The Alcoran of Mahomet, Translated Out of Arabique into French; By the Sieur Du Ryer, Lord of Malezair, And Resident for The King of France, At Alexandria. And Newly Englished, for the Satisfaction of All That Desire to Look into The Turkish Vanities*, (London, 1649), p.98.

[68] Ibid., p.336.

[69] See above.

wrote about the connection between Islam and sodomy in original works, including *Πανσεβεια ("Pansebeia"), or View of All the Religions in the World, with the Lives of Certain Notorious Hereticks*. Similarly to Blount and Rycaut, he also made a connection between 'the Order of *Dervises* go about begging almes in the name of *Haly*, son in Law to their god *Mahomet*' who 'are given to Sodomy and all uncleanness'.[70] Ross's own view on Islam was quite condemnatory, but even within his comprehensive overview of world religions, where he could have provided more detailed commentary on the doctrine of Islam condoning sodomy, he focused on the practice of it by 'wicked and irreligious [...] hypocritical orders' who were not following their own doctrine.[71] Finally, some of the books on Islamic theology printed in English in the seventeenth century avoided the subject altogether, either due to greater awareness of the issue expressed by the authors or, as was the case among authors presenting arguments sympathetic to Islam, due to the specific way in which they relied on procreative sexuality as a positive characteristic. For example, *The Confusion of Muhamed's Sect, or a Confutation of the Turkish Alcoran* by Johannes Maurus (Juan Andres), translated from Spanish in 1652, did not mention sodomy, buggery, beautiful boys, or any unnatural lust at all, and stated that Paradise would be full of 'the *chast* Virgins and youths'.[72] An early sixteenth-century convert from Islam himself, Andres had a much deeper knowledge of Islamic theology and did not perpetuate the connection between male to male sexuality and Islamic religious texts.[73]

Many Anglophone discussions of Islam – and by extension, its relationship to sodomy – were in fact proxies for larger discussions of Christianity. Deism, a late seventeenth and early eighteenth-

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[70] Alexander Ross, *Pansebeia, Or, A View Of All Religions In The World With The Severall Church-Governments From The Creation, To These Times* (London: Printed by T[homas]. C[hilde]. for John Saywell, and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the Grey-hound in Little-Britain, without Aldersgate, 1655), p.169.

[71] Ibid., p.162.

[72] Johannes Maurus, *The Confusion Of Muhamed's Sect, Or A Confutation of the Turkish Alcoran. Being A Discovery of Many Secret Policies and Practices in That Religion, Not till Now Revealed* (London, 1652), p.145, my italics.

[73] Zachary Zuwiyya, 'Juan Andrés', in David Thomas, general editor, *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500 - 1900*, Consulted online on 04 April 2019 <http://dx.doi.org.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_24646>

century intellectual movement searching for a natural religion, was one among many examples in which comments about Islam were inseparable from comments about various types of Christianity.[74] This trend did not start in the late seventeenth century, however. Islamic theology had been represented in Anglophone discourses through the lens of comparison with Christianity throughout the Long Reformation and post-Reformation periods. Islam was compared by Anglicans to both Catholicism (due to its stress on good deeds and certain devotional practices) and (often radical) Protestantism, due to their perceived doctrinal similarities to one another.[75] Accusations of sodomy and other sexual transgressions were also a part of inter-confessional post-Reformation rhetoric in Europe as a whole and in the Three Kingdoms in particular.[76] Sometimes the two were connected, and notions of a sodomitical Islam were used to comment on various Christian denominations. An illustrative case study for this approach is *Luthers Alcoran*, originally written by the French cardinal Jacques Davy Duperron. This anti-Huguenot book, according to Humberto Garcia, was 'translated as royalist propaganda that is interested in linking Puritans to Mahometan Turks'.[77] The book has a comparative chapter on 'Whether Mahumetisme, or Lutheranisme more inclines their Belieuers to Vice and Sinne?'.[78] Directly quoting from a Latin version of the Qur'an, the author argued that Mohammed permits his followers to 'Take as many wiues as you will, either two, or three, or foure; And if it happen, that any of them you shall not loue, it is lawfull to change her for another,' and 'to lye with all such bond slaue women, which thou shalt redeeme by bying; also it shalbe lawfull for thee, to haue the vse of the body of the

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[74] Peter Gay (ed.) *Deism: An Anthology* (Princeton, N.J : Van Nostrand, 1968), p.9

[75] Humberto Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp.41-50.

[76] On sodomy and the Reformation see Winfried Schleiner, '"That Matter Which Ought Not To Be Heard Of": Homophobic Slurs in Renaissance Cultural Politics', *Journal of Homosexuality* 26 (1994):41–75; Elena L. Levy-Navarro, 'Burning in Sodom: Sodomy as the Moral State of Damnation in John Bale's The Image of both Churches', *Reformation* 9 (2004):67–98; Christopher Elwood, 'A Singular Example of the Wrath of God: The Use of Sodom in Sixteenth-Century Exegesis', *Harvard Theological Review* 98 (2005): 67–93.

[77] Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p.249.

[78] Jacques Davy Du Perron, *Luthers Alcoran Being A Treatise First Written in French by the Learned Cardinall Peron, of Famous Memory, Against the Hugenots of France, And Translated Into English by N.N.P.* (London, 1642), p.157.

daughters of thy Aunts, either by the Fathers syde, or the Mother syde; yea of all sayre Women, which couer to prostitute themselues to thee willingly'.[79] In other words, '*Mahumet* alloweth only the sinne of the flesh (to the which a Man is prone by Nature)'.[80] Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone, on the other hand, was interpreted to 'giue the reynea to all kind of Sinne in generall; whether it be the sinne of *Carnality* with *Mahumet*, *Theft*, *Homicide*, *Sodomy*, or any other flagitious *Crimes* whatsoeuer'.[81] This example is significant, as it reaffirms the importance of authoritative knowledge and quotations from the Qur'an itself in the reception of Islamic views on sexuality; as a result, the stress is specifically on transgressive intercourse between men and women, things 'a Man is prone [to] by *Nature*' (sodomy, of course, being the *unnatural* sin). Sodomy specifically was mentioned in the list of sins the all-encompassing Protestant doctrine would allow through justification by faith alone, not Islam. This example shows both the intrinsic place of post-Reformation conflicts in European, and Anglophone specifically, reception of Islamic doctrine and the complex role of sensuality within it.

These two themes – the focus on heteronormative sensuality in Islamic doctrine and the conflict between different denominations of Christianity – remained a crucial part of the reception of Islam in Anglophone discourses in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, to be discussed below. Higher awareness of Islamic doctrine, mediated by the spread of Arabic scholarship in Europe and the publication of the Qur'an in English (making it accessible to non-Latin readers), was combined with greater exposure to the customs of Islamic societies, especially in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. These two factors contributed to the shift in ascribing sodomy to the practice of Islam, be it the customs of religious orders or Muslim communities in general, rather than to the doctrine itself. However, the focus on doctrine, if read carefully, was never strong in Anglophone discourses to begin with; even the late sixteenth-century discourses offered a multitude of viewpoints on this issue. These trends were exacerbated in the later period, driven partly by the sharpening conflict between Anglicanism and radical Protestantism in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Religion was still crucial in this period, when fears of

[79] Ibid., p.158.

[80] Ibid., p.159.

[81] Ibid., p.159.

'popery and arbitrary government' were countered by a panic around the influence of radical Protestantism allied with Islam.[82] Accusations of sodomy and associations between Islam, not just Muslim societies, and sodomy were rife in this period.

Second half of the seventeenth century: Nonconformism, political satire and free thinking

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed further development of the connection between Islam and sodomy in Anglophone discourses. In this period, discourses on Islam and Muslims were closely connected to confessional and political conflicts within England itself. Moreover, not only Anglicans wrote about Muslim sodomy: several nonconformist groups and religious and intellectual movements, such as Quakers and deists, developed their own approaches to Muslim sexuality.

Quakers present an interesting case study in the diversity of religious opinions on Muslim sodomy in Anglophone discourses. One of the most detailed sources shedding light on the Anglophone reception of Islam in relation to same-sex activity in the late seventeenth century is George Fox's proclamation *To the Great Turk and his King at Argiers*, published in 1680. This text was created in the context of internal Quaker confession-building, the definition of orthodoxy, and a stress on a greater discipline of their members. The Quakers of the 1650s were a very loose-weave group and most of the more radical members were systematically expelled in the following decades as their leaders tried to present the denomination as more respectable; for example, they called themselves the Society of Friends to appear less threatening. A stress on the Quaker captivity in

[82] This argument is presented in Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, pp.41-50; see also Matthew Birchwood, 'News from Vienna: Titus Oates and the True Protestant Turks' in Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock (eds.), *Cultural Encounters between East and West, 1453 - 1699* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), pp.65-9, for a genealogy of comparisons between nonconformist Protestantism and Islam between 1640s and 1680s; see Scott Sowerby, 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England', *Journal of British Studies* 51 (January 2012):,26–49, for the wider context of opposition to Anti-Popery.

Algiers was part of this process of identity-building of Quakers as a 'suffering people'.[83] In this address to the Ottoman Sultan – written and published in English and unlikely to have ever been read by an Ottoman ruler – Fox discussed in detail the 'Alcoran's' position on sodomy. Fox was very specific about the offence in question: he did not call it 'sodomy' but specified that he was referring to the practice of men lying with men as they would with women. This specific phrase, 'man lyeth with mankind, as he lyeth with Women', or a version of it, was used at least seven times throughout the fourteen-page text.[84] He also referred to the refusal of slaves 'to defile and abuse their Bodies with Mankind' and used the word 'Abomination' as a shorthand for 'to lie with mankind as with Womankind'.[85] Both of these formulations were quotes from Leviticus in the King James translation of the Bible.[86] Finally, he used the phrase 'such impious abominable Actions' to refer to the events described in the '*Alcoran* and Scriptures concerning *Lot*'.[87] The adjective 'abominable' was used six times throughout the text, often in conjunction with references to men lying with men, but sometimes separately from them. The text is full of specific references to what Fox considered to be the Qur'an – most likely, the text of the 1649 English edition. Fox referred to the Biblical story of Sodom and Lot, as told by '*Mahomet* [...] in your *Alcoran*, chap. 15. pag. 161'.[88] Fox provided an overview of the story of the fall of Sodom, and asked the Sultan 'how can you look up to the great God of Truth, and in your owned Alcoran and Scriptures concerning Lot, and suffer such impious abominable Actions, to be committed at Argier, for your men to whip young men, and force, because they will not lye with men as women'.[89] He returned

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[83] See Richard C. Allen, Rosemary Moore (eds.), *The Quakers, 1656-1723: the evolution of an alternative community* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018) for the context of the late 17th-century Quakerism. See also Justin J. Meggitt, 'A Turke turn'd Quaker: conversion from Islam to radical dissent in early modern England', *Seventeenth Century* 34 (May 2019), 353–380, on the context of Quakerism and its (perceived) connection to Islam.

[84] Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers*, p.2, three times; p.3, twice; p.4, once; p.9, once.

[85] Ibid., p.6, p.2.

[86] Leviticus 18:22 and Leviticus 20:13

[87] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers*, p.4.

[88] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers*, p.3.

[89] Ibid., p.4.

to the story of Lot in his discussion of other Biblical prophets and stories, arguing that 'have not you Turks forgotten *Lots* Preaching, and degenerated from your own Alcoran [...] to follow that unknown filthiness, with which you defile your selves (to wit,) the Lust of men'.[90] These references, specifically to the story of Lot and thus a direct Qur'anic command related to male to male sexuality, were not the primary focus of Fox's rhetoric.

More often, instead of quoting references to either sodomy or male to male sexuality in the Qur'an, Fox emphasised other, broader ideas and interpreted them in relation to same-sex activity and cruelty. Humility and obedience to God, seen by Fox as the foundational principles of Islam, were referenced by him most often. For example, he argued that in 'c. & p. 11. again, you say, *Wheresoever men do turn themselves, there the Face of God will meet them, his Divinity extendeth through the whole Earth*', and connected it to same-sex activity by questioning 'how dare you in the face and sight of God act such things, and not repent, and fear his divine Majesty'.[91] He referred to specific passages in the Qur'an whenever possible. For example, he argued that 'if God be full of goodness for the people, as *Mahomet* saith, c. 10. p.130. then you are degenerated from his Goodness'.[92] He also invoked the fear of the Day of Judgement, shared by Islam and Christianity, as 'the Wicked shall be deprived of Protection at the day of Judgement [...] and again in your Alcoran you say, You shall all one day appear before his Divine Majesty, to be judged. Therefore, dread and fear this day, you that commit such Abominations, and act such Cruelties'.[93] This passage did not refer to same-sex activity directly. However, he referred to the 'lust of men' throughout the very short text often enough for the reader to connect 'Abominations' and 'Cruelties' to male to male sexuality. 'Abomination' specifically was the keyword Fox used in his discussions of Biblical prophets. Apart from references to specific parts of the Qur'an and other Islamic texts, Fox used Biblical prophets to anchor his anti-sodomy rhetoric, knowing their significance in Islam. For example, he argued that 'is it not declared against, by the Mighty and Eternal God, by *Moses* and all his holy Prophets; who saith, It is an Abomination to lie with

[90] Ibid., p.8.

[91] Ibid., p.6.

[92] Ibid., pp.6-7.

[93] Ibid., pp.5-6.

mankind as with Womankind'.[94] References to Biblical prophets were connected to degeneration from their principles and improper execution of justice. For example, Fox argued that 'Mahomet saith, chap. 21. pag. 200. That *David and Salomon who rendred Justice in the Field, that the Flocks of the Village entred by night without Shephards*; Now are not you fallen and degenerated from this Justice both of David and Solomon?'.[95]

Fox represented the Scriptures and the Qur'an as both religious and temporal law. On the one hand, he argued that 'Then here are not you the Wicked that are exiled, that disobey his Law, and commit such abominable things, and therefore you cannot exalt Gods Glory'.[96] He also commented on the exercise of power through the law of the 'Alcoran' in contemporary Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Fox used religious rhetoric to comment on royal authority, arguing that 'such Emperours, Kings and Magistrates as wink at, and suffer such wicked Abominations and Impieties, the great God will bring his Judgments and Vengeance upon them'.[97] When discussing captivity, Fox acknowledged both that slaves could be forced into transgressive sexual activity, and that they had a space wherein to defy their masters. He argued that they were severely punished for refusing, but did not acknowledge instances of completed acts of sexual violence. Instead, he questioned whether the Sultan himself would have been able to survive the kind of punishment his subjects inflicted on the slaves: 'could you undergo such punishment as you inflict upon some of our Chast people, because they will not submit to such abominable impieties, as some of your Subjects would force upon them that you have now in Captivity'.[98] This comment connected a proper exercise of authority to the concept of 'do[ing] that to others, which you would not have others do unto you'.[99] However, the focus of Fox's comments on the proper exercise of authority was solely concerned with the enslavement of, and sexual violence committed against, Christian captives: 'Now, are not you *Turks* degenerated, not only from the Law of God, but from *Mahomet's* teaching in his

[94] Ibid., p.2.

[95] Ibid., pp.7-8.

[96] Ibid., p.9.

[97] Ibid., p.2.

[98] Ibid., p.3.

[99]Ibid., p.3.

Alcoran? Do not ye devour the poor Orphans, who you take Captive, and injure them when you beat them, because they will not give you more mony than they have, and because they will not lie with your men, which is abominable?'.[100] Fox's sole focus was the captives, not the Sultan's own subjects. This rhetoric is potentially connected to later Quaker anti-slavery tracts of the 1680s and 1690s.[101] It is interesting to note that Quakerism itself was often connected to sodomy and other sexual transgressions in Anglophone anti-nonconformist rhetoric.[102] Although Fox did not directly acknowledge the authority of the Qur'an or its equality to the scripture, he used it as an argument to persuade the Ottoman Sultan, an Islamic ruler. His entire argument was based on finding similarities between the Scriptures and the Qur'an, and by definition he did not employ Islam as a mechanism of essentialising difference.

Both sexuality and religion played a prominent role in party politics of the Three Kingdoms in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Mentions of sexuality in relation to Islam could be used to reflect very immediate political concerns of Anglophone commentators. For example, Lancelot Addison wrote in his 1671 account of *West Barbary* that 'the Moors abhorre the [unnatural] villany, believing that it is not in man's Nature to be so preposterous; and that it was at first the malitious invention of some vile and impudent Strumpet'.[103] The term 'preposterous' had religious significance, as it was used by Anglican authors to condemn both Catholics and Muslims for turning their back – 'preposterating' – on Biblical testaments. It was also associated with the story of Biblical Sodom and Gomorrah, in which Lot's wife turned back to the cities and turned into a

[100] Ibid., p.9.

[101] See Katharine Gerbner, 'Antislavery in Print: The Germantown Protest, the "Exhortation," and the Seventeenth-Century Quaker Debate on Slavery', *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9 (2011), 552–75.

[102] See for example John Denham, *A Relation Of A Quaker, That To The Shame Of His Profession, Attempted To Bugger A Mare Near Colchester* (London, 1659); on Quakers and Islam see Justin J. Meggitt, *Early Quakers and Islam: Slavery, Apocalyptic And Christian-Muslim Encounters In The Seventeenth Century* (Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2013).

[103] Lancelot Addison, *West Barbary, Or A Short Narrative of The Revolutions of The Kingdoms Of Fez And Morocco With An Account Of The Present Customs, Sacred, Civil, And Domestick* ([Oxford] : Printed at the Theater in Oxford [by H. Hall], and are to be sold by John Wilmot, 1671), p.193.

pillar of salt (Genesis 19:26).[104] Gabriel Glickman has situated Addison's positive comments on the 'Moors' in the immediate context of the early stages of the English involvement in Tangier, defined by 'high Aspirations' and a desire 'to make Tangiers famous'.[105] Glickman argued that 'the worldview that raised Tangier as a paramount national interest posed a challenge to other established principles and practices in English foreign policy', as this initial cooperation with and interest in North African Muslims was replaced by a realignment towards the Catholic, especially Portuguese, presence in the region through a foreign policy 'distinctly foreign to English Protestant culture'.[106] Ultimately, the English experiences in Tangier 'dramatised tensions at the heart of English national identity, probing the question of whether the Catholic or the Islamic threat offered the supreme command upon the public conscience, and of whether affinities toward a greater Christendom transcended the particular needs of the Protestant cause'.[107] These tensions crystallised closer to home in the lead up to, and during, the Exclusion Crisis.

One of the clearest case studies demonstrating this is anxieties around Titus Oates and his supposed support for Count Imre Thököly (known in Anglophone discourses as Count Teckley) and the Ottoman sultan during the Ottoman-Habsburg conflicts of the 1680s.[108] Count Thököly brokered an alliance with the Ottomans against the Habsburgs, and his rebels, joined with Transylvanian Unitarian troops, comprised a large proportion of the Ottoman army during this conflict and at the siege of Vienna.[109] It is important to remember that although it was the last major Ottoman military

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[104] Parker, 'Preposterous Conversions', pp.2-3.

[105] Gabriel Glickman, 'Empire, "Popery," and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662-1684', *The Journal of Modern History* 87 (2015), 247-80, pp.256-7.

[106] Ibid., p.258.

[107] Ibid., p.279.

[108] There was a widespread association of Titus Oates with sodomy after the Popish Plot, which was not always ascribed to the influence of Islam or Muslims; Oates's supposed sodomy was habitually compared to Italians, to Catholics in general, to John Calvin, and even to William III in the 1690s. For more detail see Paul Hammond, 'Titus Oates and "Sodomy"' in Jeremy Black (ed.), *Culture and Society in Britain 1660-1800*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), especially pp.90-7.

[109] For more context on the connection of the siege of Vienna and the Exclusion Crisis, see Anders Ingram, 'The Ottoman Siege of Vienna, English Ballads and the Exclusion Crisis', *The Historical Journal*, 57:1 (2014):53-80.

assault on Europe, there was no reason for the contemporaries of the conflict to think so. The Ottoman threat was real and, as Humberto Garcia has argued, caused crisis and panic in England in particular, where Islam was associated with radical Protestantism due to perceived doctrinal similarity, especially on the issue of religious toleration. As he argued, Tory sources 'sought to contain this crisis by casting Count Teckley's [Thököly's] political and military failure as a sign of divine retribution against the infidels, Muslim and Protestant alike'. Several Tory satirical works were published in the early 1680s, often posing as letters between Oates and Teckley, or Oates's addresses to the English nation. Garcia argued that these pamphlets aimed to 'discredit the nonconformist defence of English toleration' and 'sought to raise public awareness about the 'Turkish' constitutional ideals shared by English Whigs and Hungarian rebels'.[110] Religion was key to this process, as these satires aimed at discrediting 'English Teckelites, or radical dissenters who grounded a reformist agenda on constitutional principles that required a heretical rereading of the Islamic prophetic tradition'.[111] Garcia explained the frequent references to sodomy in these satirical texts in the framework of 'rebellion and seduction', borrowed from Melinda Alliker Rabb.[112] He described the references to sodomy as signifying 'rebellion stemming from sexual self-interest alone'.[113] Seen in isolation, this interpretation is sufficient to explain the references. However, within the context of wider Anglophone views on the connection between Islam and sodomy it occupies a significant position, as it shows the continuing importance of religion, not just climate or culture, in ascribing sexual transgressions to Ottoman Muslims. It also demonstrates that within the context of the doctrinal struggle between Anglicans and radical Protestants, the stress on or omission of references to male to male sexual activity in Islam allowed the respective authors to strengthen their cases: no radical Protestants dealt directly with the issue of supposed permissibility of sodomy in the doctrine or practice of Islam, although most focused on the charges of lustfulness and licentiousness between men and women. On the other hand, Tory Anglicans

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[110] Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p.31.

[111] Ibid., p.37.

[112] Melinda Alliker Rabb, *Satire and Secrecy in English Literature from 1650 to 1750* (New York, 2008), p.93; Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p.47.

[113] Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p.47.

highlighted supposed Islamic sodomy to implicitly criticise Islam. The types of sources under consideration are also crucial: Tory satirical pamphlets, written in a time when accusations of effeminacy and sexual transgression for political purposes were widespread, were arguably more likely to focus on the supposed effeminacy and/or sodomy of their opponents.[114] However, Tory pamphlets, though undoubtedly satirical in their nature, showed a clear connection between sodomy and Islam, rather than using sodomy as an umbrella accusation against anyone on the other side of the argument.That connection was, however, far from straightforward. The pamphlets focused primarily on the practice of Islam, rather than the doctrine, although they did not explicitly state so. For example, *A Letter from Count Teckley to the Salamanca Doctor* from 1683 stated that if Oates 'shall think fit to change the Climate You are in, and take a Voyage' to the sultan's dominions, he would receive a variety of benefits.[115] The sultan 'will immediately creat You the Mufti, or Chief Priest of Mahomet [...] and that You may never want a continual supply of Males to satisfie Your carnal Appetite, he promises to erect a masculine Seraglio, where a constant number of Bums shall be continually prostrate to receive Your Discipline'.[116] In a follow up pamphlet, 'Oates' replies that he 'must confess I began to be tired with our True Blue Protestant Bums, (having Bugger'd almost the whole Party over) that I long for those Mahometan back-sides, assured me in the Grand Seigniors Masculine Seraglio'.[117] At first glance, it seems that these pamphlets establish a straightforward link between Islam, a religion permitting sodomy, and Oates's sexual behaviour. However, a closer reading of the sources reveals a more complicated picture. Some of the pamphlets, often playing up Oates' conversion from Catholicism and his background at the University of Salamanca, represent Oates as first and foremost a turncoat, who

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[114] See Brian William Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence Of The British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp.131, 230-3, 242-3, and Marissa Nicosia, 'Wasting time in The Committee-man Curried', *postmedieval* 10 (March 2019), 68–81.

[115] Anonymous, *A Letter from Count Teckely to the Salamanca Doctor, Giving an Account of the Siege of Vienna, and the State of the Ottoman Army* (London: Printed for Charles Corbet at the Oxford Arms in VVarwick Lane, 1683), Sig.A1v; there could be an allusion to the (in)significance of climatic theory and environmental determinism of sexual behaviour here, which cannot be fully explored due to spatial constraints.

[116] Anonymous, *A Letter from Count Teckely to the Salamanca Doctor*, Sig.A1v.

[117] Anonymous, *Dr. Oates's Answer to Count Teckly's Letter Giving Him a True Account of the Present Horrible Plot* (London, 1683), Sig.A1v.

would not be loyal to Islam if he converted. For example, John Norris referred to him as 'Religions *Tennis-ball*, Bandied and toss'd about by all'.[118] Norris commented on Oates's travels 'From England unto France and Spain, And thence to England back again', and accused him of being 'A Renegado [...] Who wants but Circumcision, [...] To make him either Turk or Jew'.[119] Norris also stressed Oates's insincerity in any religion and his willingness to follow several of them at the same time; he 'Needs not read *Alec. Rosse* over' as he 'Has a *Pansebeia* in himself'.[120] Norris satirically commented that Oates did not need actual knowledge of any of these religions. Oates, accused of sodomy in general or attempted sodomy against named individuals in various texts, was not represented as a sincere convert to Islam seeking a religion which would permit him to fulfil his sexual needs. Instead, he was represented as a turncoat who would turn to any religion for sexual gain – *Pansebia* described several other 'sodomitical' cultures ranging from Ancient Greece to Peru. The focus of both *Pansebia*, as is shown above, and the pamphlets is on followers of a certain religion practicing sexual acts, potentially despite what their religion might teach.

This parallels Anglophone views on the appeal of heteronormative sexuality, exemplified in Dryden's epilogue for Nathaniel Lee's *Constantine the Great*. In this case, the sexual pleasure provided by the 'Kind Black-ey'd Rogues, for every true Believer [...] was more than mortal Man e're tasted, One Pleasure that for threescore Twelve-months lasted'.[121] However, the reception of heteronormative licentiousness and male to male sexual acts in Anglophone discourse, in this and especially in immediately following periods, was not uniform; whereas anti-Islamic authors such as Humphrey Prideaux would still mention the beautiful boys of the Islamic Paradise alongside

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[118] John Norris, John, *A Murnival Of Knaves, Or, Whiggism Plainly Display'd, And (If Not Grown Shameless) Burlesqu't Out Of Countenance* (London: Printed for James Norris, at the Kings-Arms without Temple-bar, 1683), p.30.

[119] Ibid., p.30.

[120] Ibid., p.30; see David Allan (2007, October 04). Ross, Alexander (1591–1654), Church of England clergyman and writer on philosophy, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. Retrieved 9 Apr. 2019, from http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24110.

[121] Nathaniel Lee, *Constantine the Great, a Tragedy Acted at the Theatre-Royal, by their Majesties Servants* (London: Printed by H. Hills Jun. for R. Bently, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden, and J. Tonson, at the Judges-Head in Chancery-Lane near Fleet-street, 1684), A4v.

accusations of heteronormative licentiousness of Mohammed, his proto-Deist and Deist opponents, such as Henry Stubbe and John Toland, focused on refuting arguments concerning exclusively heteronormative Muslim 'licentiousness'.

Late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: conservatism and freethinking

The wider religious context of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is significant in understanding Anglophone discourses surrounding sodomy. The later Restoration years witnessed an emergent critique of Restoration society, emanating from nonconformist and Anglican groups who believed that English people had become too permissive and morally corrupt.[122] As a result, a series of societies for the reformation of manners emerged in the later seventeenth century, encompassing a broad spectrum of moral panics. The idea behind them was that traditional religious institutions could no longer fulfil the objectives for which they were designed – proselytising, social discipline, the maintenance of orthodoxy – and thus various societies had to be founded to continue this work.[123]

In the context of these panics, the connection between male to male sexuality and Islamic Paradise in Anglophone discourses, present throughout the period, became an especially significant trope. For example, Lancelot Addison, whose awareness of Islam might have developed during his tenure as a chaplain in Tangier, argued that Mohammed 'did not grant his Sectaries only in this life a prodigious filthiness and carnality, but he promised them the like in Paradise'.[124] Addison's previous commitment to unveiling 'a different mode of *Civility*' among the 'Moors' during the early days of the English involvement in Tangier was replaced by a stress on their 'filthiness and carnality' by 1679, further stressing the significance of the immediate context of Anglophone

[122] On the relationship between sexuality and these societies, see Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'Sex and Societies for Moral Reform, 1688-1800', *Journal of British Studies* 46:2, (April 2007): 290-319.

[123] See Brent S. Sirota, *The Christian Monitors: The Church Of England And The Age Of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp.69-109.

[124] Addison, *The Life and Death of Mahumed*, p.136.

discourses on Islam.[125] By 1679 Addison, who had previously not mentioned sodomy or boys in his writings on West Barbary, stated that in Paradise 'they shall have their *Guildemin Mohalledun*, Pages to wait upon them clothed in Tissues, and surpassing in beauty; who have no other employment but to be Cup-bearers to the *Musulmin*'.[126] Although he did not state directly that the 'filthiness' signified male to male sexual encounters, it is possible to deduce as much from his description of it as 'uncouth [...] as may not with due modesty be named to an ingenuous Reader', which is unlikely to have been a reference to heteronormative encounters, as he describes those openly as 'filthiness of *Venery*'.[127] Humphrey Prideaux, who was actively involved in discussions of the necessity of ecclesiastical reform, employed the same trope and argued that in Islamic Paradise wine would be served '*by beautiful Boys, who shall be continually running round their Beds to serve them up unto them in Cups of Gold, and Glasses fixed on Diamonds*'.[128] He also identified illicit personal sexual gratification as the driving force behind people's doctrinal positions: 'the true Reason which induceth the Atheist to deny the Being of God, and the Epicurean Deist his Government over us; it is that they may give themselves up, without fear of future Judgment, to all those Bestial Enjoyments of Lust and Sensuality which their corrupt Hearts carry them after'.[129] Although Prideaux did not directly target Islam in this passage, there was a long tradition of associating Islam with atheism, as is shown in the discussion by Rycaut above, of interpreting conversion to Islam as sexual temptation and of associating Islam and racial Protestantism. This brief overview shows that late seventeenth-century Anglophone anti-Islamic discourse retained the focus on Islamic licentiousness in relation to both genders and on ideas of Paradise as an anchor for that discussion.[130]

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[125] Addison, *West Barbary*, Preface.

[126] Ibid., p 121.

[127] Ibid., pp.121, 81.

[128] Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture*, p.26, On Prideaux and reform see Sirota, *The Christian monitors*, p 84.

[129] Ibid., p.xx.

[130] Whilst the focus of this chapter is on male same-sex activity, female same-sex activity was also mentioned in several European accounts of the Ottoman Empire, see Valerie Traub, The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 5.

Freethinking pro-Islamic texts all dealt with notions of Islamic licentiousness as well, albeit focusing on heteronormative sexuality. These included Henry Stubbe's *An Account of the Rise and Progress of Mahometanism* (1674?, circulated in manuscript), Charles Blount's compilation *The Oracles of Reason* (1693, published anonymously), John Toland's *A Letter from an Arabian Physician* (1706, published anonymously), and Mary Wortley Montagu's *The Genuine Copy of a Letter Written from Constantinople* (1718/19, published anonymously). This group of texts cannot be narrowed down to a particular intellectual movement or a specific political allegiance. Some of these authors, especially Blount and Toland, are considered to be a part of the proto-Deist and Deist movements.[131] What united them was their willingness to entertain arguments sympathetic to Islam. They saw as unproblematic the possibility of corporal senses in Paradise and that the sexual activity which could potentially happen there could be free of sin. For example, Toland argued that after resurrection 'we are to have the Senses of Tasting, Smelling, Feeling, Hearing and Seeing (which we must have – if our Bodies are perfest)' and that the presence of these senses would make corporal interaction possible.[132] Moreover, all those senses had been present in Christian Paradise before the Fall and thus 'no Sinfulness, no Meanness in fuch fort of Enjoyments: For in the State of Innocence, the Almighty took care, that the most perfećt Couple that ever the World faw, ſhould not be without them'.[133] Angels, animals, and humans – Adam and Eve – needed to consume food and, in the case of animals, propagate in Paradise, and thus 'there is nothing baſe or finful in Eating and Drinking, and Propagating our Kind, even in the moſt perfect State that can be conceiv'd'.[134] Similarly, Mary Wortley Montagu argued that Muslim women fulfilled the Old Testament command to 'be fruitful and multiply' and, if Christian female saints

[131] On Deism, see Gay, *Deism*; Jeffrey R. Wiglesworth, *Deism in Enlightenment England : Theology, Politics, And Newtonian Public Science* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2009).

[132] Anonymous, *A Letter from an Arabian Physician*, p,10.

[133] Ibid., p.10.

[134] Ibid., p.11.

were to be judged 'by this system of Virtue', they would be found to 'have been infamous Creatures, that past their whole Lives in the most abominable Libertinism'.[135]

Although these free-thinkers were more open to Islamic corporality, this applied purely to heterosexual relationships at the expense of a focus on sodomy. Humberto Garcia has argued that, by employing the voice of a fictional Muslim (as Toland's and Montagu's texts do), Anglophone authors were allowed to 'safely convey [their] libertine views on sexuality while disavowing authorial responsibility'.[136] He argued that Toland in particular 'used [his] radical deist theology [to argue that] the Muslim notions of a sexual paradise and polygyny are not inherently sinful because there is no primordial evil inherent in sexual pleasure,' and that Montagu adopted this 'libertine argument' to highlight the importance of 'civic virtues of sexual reproduction'.[137] This needs further qualification: not only Montagu but Toland, as well, argued exclusively in favour of procreative sexual activity and sexual pleasure accompanying it. It was crucial for the moral validity of their arguments, and in its essence was not far from what authors such as Martin Luther had argued two centuries earlier in the early years of the era of religious reform.[138] Radical Protestant authors did not, and could not have afforded to, deal with the issue of non-procreative sexuality. These texts were radical in their pro-Islamic position, and the fact that most if not all of them were published anonymously shows that these views were not widely accepted. However, their very pro-Islamic position pushed the authors to distance themselves from arguments surrounding sodomy. Instead of going hand in hand, tolerance of sodomy and a positive perception of Islam started to become mutually exclusive.

The difficulty of straightforward chronology

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[135] [Wortley Montagu], *The Genuine Copy Of A Letter* , p.5; see also Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, p.70, for a discussion of this argument.

[136] Ibid., p.67

[137] Ibid., p.66-7; p.70

[138] On Luther and marriage see, for example, Thomas A. Fudge, 'Incest and Lust in Luther's Marriage: Theology and Morality in Reformation Polemics', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003): 319–5.

It is challenging to make straightforward chronological arguments regarding Islam and sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourses, due to continuing translation and dissemination of earlier texts right up until the end of the period under discussion. The last section of this chapter discusses two case studies which demonstrate this. Two texts – John Ray's *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, published in 1693, and *Mahometism Fully Explained*, translated and edited by Joseph Morgan from the Arabic original written in 1603 by Iberian poet Mohamed Rabadan – show the endurance of multiple discourses on the connection between Islam and sodomy in Anglophone texts even at the end of the early modern period.[139] These texts demonstrate why it is so challenging to make chronological arguments about Anglophone texts on Islam. Various texts were often translated from other languages and published in English, for the first time, decades or centuries after they were written. Moreover, texts could be edited and included in compilations with other texts, written over the course of centuries. They also reflected the personal opinions, views, and prejudices of the individuals who edited and translated them. John Ray (1627-1705), a famous naturalist and natural theologian, strove to create an account of nature compatible with orthodox interpretations of scripture.[140] He composed devotional literature and stated that 'Divinity is my Profession'.[141] Although he travelled abroad, he never left the borders of Christian Europe. Joseph Morgan, on the other hand, lived in North Africa for 20 years and could read Arabic.[142] Unsurprisingly, their texts reveal strikingly different views on the connection between

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[139] Joseph Morgan (ed.), *Mahometism Fully Explained: Containing Many Surprising Passages, Not To Be Found In Any Other Author. ...* (London: E. Curll, W. Mears, and T. Payne, 1723); [John Ray], *A Collection Of Curious Travels & Voyages ...*, (London: Printed for S. Smith and B. Walford, printers to the Royal Society, at the Princes Arms in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1693); see also Nabil Matar, 'Jos.[eph] Morgan And Mohamed Rabadan: The First Muslim Biography Of The Prophet Muhammad In English', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30:2 (2019):151-75.

[140] S. Mandelbrote, ' Ray [formerly Wray], John (1627–1705), naturalist and theologian', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 16 Sep. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-23203.

[141] Further correspondence of John Ray, ed. R. W. T. Gunther, *Ray Society* 114 (1928), p.163.

[142] Goodwin, G., & Mercer, M. (2004, September 23). Morgan, Joseph (fl. 1707–1739), historian. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Retrieved 16 Sep. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19225.

Islam and sodomy: John Ray's collection perpetuates stereotypes about the supposed condonement of sodomy by the Qur'an, whereas Joseph Morgan's text vehemently refutes that argument. Both of these positions were based on translated texts rather than on original writings by Ray and Morgan.

John Ray's text is a collection of travels, the original versions of which were written over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It includes a travel account by Leonhard Rauwolf (1535-1596), first published in German in 1582. Rauwolf argued that Muhammad promised 'great Priviledges, Salaries, and Permission of Sodomitish Sins' to his followers.[143] Rather than stating that these transgressions were permitted or encouraged by Islam, he argued that all sins were easily forgivable in Islam, as 'according to their Prophets promise, if they Pray but often, and Wash themselves often [...] they become to be cleaner than we Christians from our Sins, in the Bath of Regeneration'.[144] Joseph Morgan's text is an interpretation of a text written by an Iberian Muslim at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The original text does not mention sodomy. However, Morgan made an extensive comment on the subject, based on a translation of *Bibliothèque Orientale ou Dictionnaire Universel* by a famed French Orientalist Barthelemy d'Herbelot (1625-1695), first published in French in 1697.[145] Morgan emphatically argued that sodomy is 'expresebly forbidden and exclaimed against in the Alcoran', even though he acknowledged that it was practiced in many Islamic societies.[146] He emphasised that 'the Sin of Sodom is not looked upon to be no crime, as many believe', acknowledging both the endurance of that opinion and his desire to refute it.[147] Morgan emphasised the learning and authority of d'Herbelot, his main source, stating that 'he was perfectly versed in the Oriental tongues [and] for many Years made it his

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[143] Leonhart Rauwolff, The First containing Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's Itinerary into the Eastern Countries, as Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Chaldea, &c. Translated from the High Dutch by Nicholas Staphorst' in [Ray], *A Collection Of Curious Travels*, p.335.

[144] Ibid., p.335.

[145] The original quote is in Barthélemy d' Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale ou Dictionnaire Universel Contenant Generalement Tout ce qui Regarde la Connoissance des Peuples de l'Orient... par Monsieur d'Herbelot*, (Paris, 1697), pp.14-5.

[146] Morgan, *Mahometanism Fully Explained*, p.45.

[147] Ibid., p.226.

whole Business to peruse their Books, and to study their Maxims'.[148] Citing d'Herbelot 'Verbatim', Morgan stated that 'Loth or Louth [...] Nephew to Abraham the Patriarch [who was acknowledged by Muslims as a prophet] was [...] sent from God to preach the Faith and the worship of the True Deity to the People of Sodom, and to dissuade them from the detestable Sin, whereof they were the first inventors'.[149] As in the Biblical story, the Sodomites did not listen to Lot, and God sent Gabriel to destroy the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. As a result, 'the word Louth, or Laouth, signifies in the Arabick, the sin of those People, and they generally call those who are guilty of it Caoum Louth, or Lot's People, and also Lothi or Louthi'.[150] Morgan stressed that the story 'is delivered by the Mahometans much after the same Manner as we have it'.[151] He argued that some additional details were added to the story in the Qur'an 'to give the Mahometans a Horror of that detestable sin' and that 'the Alcoran threatens those that shall be found guilty thereof with the same Punishment'.[152]

These texts show the nuance and complexity of early modern Anglophone views on the connections between Islam and sodomy. Far from representing a united condemnatory discourse, early modern Anglophone texts reveal a multitude of ways in which Islam was connected to sexual transgressions. On the one hand, it is tempting to make a straightforward argument equating the wider availability of scholarship on Islam with a more accurate representation of Islamic theology in Europe. However, John Ray's compilation shows that knowledge of Islam was not always reflected in the works of even the most educated members of society. On the other hand, the realisation that Islam did not condone sodomy did not originate in the later part of the period. As the evidence above shows, Morgan was far from the first Anglophone author to acknowledge that Islam condemns sodomy. However, his detailed account was based on the scholarship of Barthélemy d'Herbelot, which simply had not been available in print before the 1690s. Early modern Anglophone texts on sodomy and Islam were the result of an amalgamation of multiple

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[148]Ibid., p 226.

[149] Ibid., pp.226-7.

[150] Ibid., p.227.

[151] Ibid., p.227.

[152] Ibid., p.228.

different discourses, priorities, prejudices, and viewpoints. The publication of the Qur'an in 1649 allowed anti-Islamic authors such as Lancelot Addison and Humphrey Prideaux to actively use the trope of boys in the Islamic paradise. Religion and doctrinal differences continued to be important throughout the period, and there was no 'secularising' impulse towards greater acceptance of sexual transgressions through the prism of Islam. Finding common ground with Islam in radical Protestant circles did not lead to the acceptance of practices of male to male sexual acts, as finding that common ground in the first place was dependent on interpreting Islamic sexuality in strictly heteronormative terms.

Another interesting episode concerning European encounter with Muslims and sodomy was not available in early modern Anglophone discourses. However, it shows that supposed Muslim sodomy was not a European stereotype designed to demonise Muslims. Ahmad bin Qasim, a Spanish Muslim who fled Spain in 1599 and later served as a Moroccan ambassador in France and the Netherlands in the 1610s, recalled an episode in which he came across a claim that Islam condones sodomy in a 'Frankish' translation of the Qur'an. Bin Qasim told the European man that the claim was untrue and asked him to erase the claim from the book. The European man refused, and they went to a library, in which the European man showed bin Qasim the original Arabic text he based his claim on. The statement the European is reported to have interpreted as a condonement of sodomy was about anal sex with women: 'women are your fields: go, then, into your fields whence you please' (Cow: 223). Bin Qasim refuted the claim, arguing that the line was about procreative sex with women and that the Qur'an encouraged procreation. Interestingly, the specific theological argument – the line about having sex with women – never came up as a justification for the perceived Islamic condonement of sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourses, as this chapter shows. The European accepted the explanation and erased the claim that Islam condones sodomy from his translation. Bin Qasim lamented the widespread sodomy among Muslims which encouraged these stereotypes.[153]

This story demonstrates that in this interaction, the European scholar was attentive to a Muslim's response to the Christian's own work on Islam. The mention of sodomy became the basis for a

[153] See the primary source in Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, pp.193-4.

debate, during which the Muslim persuaded the European man of his position and explained an Islamic text to him. Bin Qasim also explained that 'sodomy is worse than adultery' and is strictly punished among Muslims. He lamented that the European had made the claim without proper knowledge of Arabic grammar and Islamic theology. However, the story ended with bin Qasim educating the European man. This shows interest and a striving for accuracy on the European's part, rather than a deliberate construction of an untrue, mistrustful claim. Finally, bin Qasim himself acknowledged the widespread sodomy among various Islamic societies and blamed it for the formation of this stereotype as much, if not more, than he blamed the European lack of deep engagement with Muslim theology and the Arabic language. This episode highlights the complexities of the European response to Muslim sodomy and shows that it was often far from a malicious Orientalist fantasy.

Concluding remarks

Anglophone conceptualisations of the supposed connections between Islam and sodomy help to shed light on the extent to which religion acted as a category of essentialising difference in early modern Anglophone discourses on encounter with the Islamic world. This chapter started with the premise that a comparative analysis of the reception of several Islamic societies in early modern Anglophone discourses, exemplified by a comparison between the Anglophone views of the Ottoman Empire and Persia, can be interpreted to indicate that Islam was seen as an essentialising force – a fixed and unchanging marker of prejudice and differentiation. However, a closer analysis of the reception of Islam in relation to one specific stereotype – that of the supposed sodomy of Islamic societies – shows that Islamic doctrine itself was seldom seen as the driving force behind the sodomy of various Muslim societies. Instead, Anglophone authors debated the extent of Islamic condemnation or encouragement of sodomy, often with references to the Qur'an or specific anecdotes from the life of Muhammad. Overall, there was a stronger emphasis on the practice of Islam, rather than on its dogmatic postulates, in relation to the permissibility of sodomy. That emphasis on practice shows that sodomy was more directly attributed to religious customs than unchanging doctrine and, as a result, that religious difference could not serve as a marker of

essentialising difference.

Examining the close, but not straightforward, connections between the reception of Islam and ideas about transgressive sexualities poses further questions. The first and most important of these questions is whether the close connection between perception, doctrine, and transgressive sexuality was unique to the reception of Islam in early modern Anglophone discourse. The short answer to this question is that the connection was not unique: accusations of sodomy and stereotypes of certain religious doctrines and communities as 'sodomitical' were widespread in post-Reformation Europe. Moreover, several non-European religions, such as Buddhism and the religions of the Inca empire, were also seen as connected to sexual transgressions. The second question is whether there are any patterns among perceptions of other religions and whether any other religion could have served as a marker of essential difference, or whether there was a focus on the practice of those religions, especially on the abundance of homosocial spaces as an integral part of that religious practice, rather than on the doctrine itself. Protestant Anglophone observers were by and large critical of monasteries, whether they encountered them in histories of Catholicism or in descriptions of the court of the emperor of Japan. The longer and more nuanced answers to these questions remain open to further investigation.

Determining the extent to which the conclusions of this chapter are specific to the early modern Anglophone reception of Islam would be helpful in answering the broader question posed at the beginning of this chapter: whether 'Orientalism' is a useful analytical framework for the study of encounter in this period. The case study of Islam is a first step in reshaping our discussions of 'Orientalism' as necessarily reliant on imperial power dynamics and the role of essentialising and naturalising human difference in 'Orientalist' stereotypes. A comparative study of Islam and other religions – Buddhism, Catholicism, or pre-Columbian American religions – would rely on the primacy of cultural tropes over imperial power dynamics as defining features of potential 'Orientalism' in this period. Such a comparison would also allow us to determine whether 'Orientalism' is a blanket term for any type of essentialising difference, or whether there is enough specificity behind the types of difference it essentialises to warrant a culturally and geographically specific framework for the study of early modern encounter.

Chapter 5. Constructions of male sexual assault victimhood

This chapter has a very particular place in this thesis. It reconsiders the two familiar tropes of the 'homoerotics of orientalism' - the beautiful boy and the powerful Muslim ruler - in the context of vernacular English ideas of consent and sexual violence. It engages with issues of European perceptions of Ottoman power and authority. 'Oriental despotism' has a long genealogy in both European intellectual history more generally, and in European concepts of Ottoman sexuality specifically.[1] For example, Joseph Alleen Boone singles the 'cruel and effete pasha', 'the ruler whose unlimited power and sadistic cruelty coexist with a tendency to voluptuous violence', as one of the key tropes of the 'homoerotics of orientalism'.[2] The sexual desire of a Muslim ruler for an uncorrupted Christian youth was a medieval European trope especially associated with the story of St Pelagius.[3] Scholarly analysis of this trope tends to focus on the power of the Muslim rulers, rather than on the boys and young men in question.[4] This chapter provides a different angle on this familiar topic. It situates vernacular English mentions of the power dynamic between a Muslim ruler and men at his disposal in the context of English ideas about sexual violence, consent, and victimhood. Male sexual assault victimhood is a helpful prism for analysing English concepts of Ottoman sodomy. The findings of this chapter, namely, the extent to which early modern English authors emphasised the agency of men to resist sexual advances, resonate with the wider themes of this thesis, and reinforce one of its central arguments - that English vernacular texts by and large

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[1] For an overview of 'Oriental Despotism' in early modern European thought, see Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Oriental Despotism and European Orientalism: Botero to Montesquieu', *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, no. 1 (2005):109-80; Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp.96-98.

[2] Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, p.96.

[3] John Victor Tolan, *Saracens: Islam In The Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) p.108.

[4] Lisa Weston, 'The saracen and the martyr: Hrotsvit's Pelagius' in Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages* (New York, London: Routledge, 2002), p.4; Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, p.8.

represented male same-sex activity as a free choice of all participants, unconstrained by predetermination. In this case, the power of a Muslim ruler to command their subjects and slaves to engage in sexual relationships with him was not considered to absolve the said subjects and slaves from the sin of sodomy. However, this topic caused unease and anxiety among the authors of English vernacular texts. The stories recounted in histories and captivity narratives tended to represent men as potential victims who either escaped sexual violence or became complicit in the sin of sodomy. At the point of sexual contact, the powerful ruler ceased to be a sexual predator and became a seducer.

Male victims of sexual violence and the concept of male victimhood in early modern England have not been extensively researched.[5] Scholarship on early modern sexual violence has focused exclusively on female victims, whereas instances of male to male sexual violence have been analysed by historians of sexuality in the context of attitudes to same-sex sexual activities. This chapter proposes to reframe discussions of sexual violence against men as first and foremost violence, and only thereafter as a part of the constructions of sexuality. This chapter proposes two main arguments: that there was a model of expected behaviour in the context of potential sexual assault committed against men of all ages, and that that model is most clearly present in transcultural sources, including travel accounts, cosmographies, atlases, and histories, especially in the context of Anglo-Muslim encounter. The focus of this chapter on the models of victimhood is shaped by the availability of sources and by a conscious choice to emphasise the victims, rather than perpetrators, as much as possible. As there are very few sources from before the eighteenth century which can be read as uncovering the voice of the victims themselves or providing them with a platform, such as court statements or diaries, this article will focus on attitudes to victims and constructions of male *victimhood* in seventeenth-century England. Furthermore, this article aims to show that Anglophone conceptualisations of sexual diversity in relation to Ottoman Turks

[5] There is not a single scholarly article or monograph on male victimhood before the eighteenth century. Garthine Walker is currently working on the eighteenth-century cases and Sarah Toulalan is currently working on sexual violence against boys. I would like to thank Professor Walker for her help with researching the historiography of the topic.

provided a framework for constructing male victimhood in the early modern period which was less readily available in sources focused on England itself. Using that framework, we can draw out some of the crucial themes related to sexual violence against men, such as age, the status of the victim as property, sexual violence as a part of warfare, and the sexual threat presented to young men by urban spaces. This chapter will argue that using sources on encounter allows us to establish a model of expectations of male victims, who were supposed to resist the attacker at the expense of their own life if needed. Submitting to the attacker transformed their victimhood to consensual 'sodomy', centring victimhood around attempted sexual assault, not a completed one. Real, rather than constructed, victimhood was influenced by these notions but was considerably more reliant on the signs of bodily harm, rather than struggle, and real-life cases displayed more sympathy towards the victims of committed assaults than the discursive model would allow.

All these themes speak to the major concerns of scholars of sexual violence against women in early modern England: the importance of the age of the victim, the role of sexual violence in warfare, and the significance of the status of women as property of their husbands have all been extensively studied.[6] Analysing attitudes to male rather than female victims allows us to subvert some of these intrinsic assumptions – men could never be seen as 'property' of their wives, for example – and to question the extent to which victimhood was gendered in the period. The female gender of the victims is the focus of most research into early modern sexual assault. The focus on women has been partly shaped by the sources used by most scholars: court trial records and literary sources, both of which focus primarily on female victims. How would writing male victims, real or

[6] Barbara J. Baines, 'Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation', *ELH* 65 (1998), 69–98; Garthine Walker, 'Rape, Acquittal and Culpability in Popular Crime Reports in England, c.1670–c.1750*', *Past and Present* 220 (April 2013), 115–42; Jocelyn Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women in Early Modern England : Unbridled Speech* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Miranda Chaytor, 'Husband(ry): Narratives of Rape in the Seventeenth Century', *Gender&History* 7 (November 1995), 378–407; Shani D'Cruze, 'Approaching the History of Rape and Sexual Violence: Notes Towards Research', *Womens Historical Review* 1 (September 1992):377–97; Sarah Toulalan, 'Child victims of rape and sexual assault: compromised chastity, marginalised lives?', in J. Stevens Crawshaw, A. Spicer (eds.), *The Place of the Social Margins, 1350-1750* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); Garthine Walker, 'Everyman or a Monster? The Rapist in Early Modern England, c.1600–1750', *Historical Workshop Journal* 76 (August 2013), 5–31; Garthine Walker, 'Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England', *Gender&History* 10 (April 1998), 1–25; Sarah Toulalan, '"Is He a Licentious Lewd Sort of a Person?": Constructing the Child Rapist in Early Modern England', *Journal of History of Sexuality* 23 (2014),21–52.

constructed, back into the history of early modern sexual violence, affect this narrative? On the one hand, the most widespread sources scholars have been using to uncover the history of sexual violence – court cases – are largely unavailable for writing histories of male victims. The age of girls has been identified by scholars as a point of interest in constructing victimhood and blame.[7] In the case of boys, age is of even greater significance: consensual sexual activity between men had been criminalised in Henry VIII's 1533 *An Acte for the punishment of the vice of Buggerie* (25 Hen. 8 c. 6) and was upheld in English and British legislation until the twentieth century. The question of the age of a boy could make all the difference in distinguishing a victim from a sodomite. However, according to a range of sources we can use to uncover ideas about male victimhood, age of consent might not have been as much of a cut-off point as had previously been assumed.[8] Issues of power and coercion, as much as age, were central to concepts of male victimhood; at least one of the victims in the few court cases we have was identified as a boy of seventeen years old.[9]

In the most fundamental legal sense, sexual assault by men of other men, and not just boys, was conceivable in early modern England. The vocabulary associated with sexual assault – and the word rape itself – was used to refer to some classical male figures, most prominently Ganymede. Moreover, sexual violence against men – boys, young teenagers, and sometimes adult men – was a staple of Anglophone discourses on foreign, especially Muslim, sexual practices. The lack of extensive archival sources on this issue prevents us from approaching it in the way we study sexual violence against women; most notably, any research on the subject would need to be qualitative rather than quantitative. The very diversity of the sources – travel accounts, poems, letters, reports of a court case, captivity narratives, histories, and many others – necessitates an interdisciplinary approach to the matter. The sources we do have allow us to uncover representations and

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[7] Sarah Toulalan, 'Child victims of rape and sexual assault: compromised chastity, marginalised lives?', pp.181-182.

[8] Sarah Toulalan, '"Is He a Licentious Lewd Sort of a Person?', p.26, for the argument in favour of focusing on female victims as cases involving boys 'would raise a range of different issues to do with the prosecution of and attitudes toward sodomy'.

[9] Kenneth Borris, ed., *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance: A Sourcebook Of Texts, 1470-1650* (New York, London: Routledge 2004), p.95.

conceptualisations of male victimhood, but not the experiences of male victims themselves. The disparity of the various source bases, specifically between the amount of sources on male and female victims, and the considerable body of work on sexual violence against women in the early modern period allow us to anchor constrictions of male victimhood in relation to female victimhood, which in turn allows us to examine the role of gender, rather than womanhood, in shaping ideas about victims of sexual violence.

It is important to establish the frameworks which defined ideas about female sexual assault and victimhood in order to compare them to ideas about men and determine the extent to which victimhood was gendered. The key cultural figures associated with female victimhood of rape and ravishment were Lucrece and Helen.[10] Thomas Edgar, the author of one of the most influential legal discussions of early modern rape, centred his analysis around those two figures, using them as exemplary of what he defined as the two types of rape. He argued that there are two kinds of rape: 'Rauishment [...] a hatefull kinde of whoredome in him which committeth it, when a woman is enforced violently to sustaine the furie of brutish concupiscence [...] as Lucrece was'.[11] However, 'the second and right rauishment' was defined as '*Cum quis leonestae famae soeminam, siue virgo, siue vidua, siue sanctimonialis sit inuitis illis in quorum est potestate, abducit. Neque refert, an quis (volente vel nolente rapta) id faciat, nam vis quae Parentibus vel Curatoribus fit, moxime spectat*' and exemplified by the figures of Helen and the Sabine women.[12] The latter definition quite clearly identified the victim as necessarily female and the violence centred not around the

[10] Julia Rudolph, 'Rape and Resistance: Women and Consent in Seventeenth-Century English Legal and Political Thought', *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000), 157–184; on Lucretia see Ian Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia : A Myth And Its Transformations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); see also Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women*, pp.14-8.

[11] Thomas Edgar, *The Lavves Resolutions of Womens Rights: Or, The Lavves Prouision For Woemen A Methodicall Collection Of Such Statutes And Customes…* (London: Printed by [Miles Flesher for] the assignes of Iohn More Esq. and are to be sold by Iohn Groue, at his shop neere the Rowles in Chancery-Lane, over against the Sixe-Clerkes-Office, 1632), pp. 377-8.

[12] Ibid., p.378; translated roughly as 'When someone kidnaps a woman from an honest family, be she a virgin / lass (the word does not necessarily mean that she never had sex), a widow or a nun, it is an unwanted act toward those under whose authority she is. And it does not matter if someone (no matter if she were taken with or without her consent) does that, but the violence that occurs to the female's parents or guardians'. I would like to express my gratitude to Vedran Sulovsky for the translation.

victim's consent or lack thereof, but an assault on her parents' property rights. Despite such a focus on Lucrece among contemporary scholars, following Edgar and other early modern writers, we can see that Helen and the second, 'right' definition of ravishment was arguably more central to the construction of both rape itself and models of victimhood. However, this definition and the narrative on which it was based is universal and not, as Edgar claims, exclusive to female victims.[13]

Cultural genealogies of male sexual assault victimhood

This chapter argues that there are two genealogies of male sexual assault victimhood tropes in early modern European discourses. On the one hand, Ganymede – a Trojan boy abducted by Zeus and granted eternal youth and the position of the cupbearer of Olympus – was conceptualised as a victim of rape. Always a victim of abduction, he was also often represented as a sexualised figure, violated or seduced by Zeus. On the other hand, there was a medieval genealogy of connecting sexual assault against young men and the tyrannical power of Muslim rulers, most clearly represented in the story of Saint Pelagius, one of the Cordoba martyrs. The story of Ganymede resonated more closely with other classical models of sexual assault victimhood, especially the stories of Helen and Lucretia. The story of Pelagius, on the other hand, was more directly connected to anxieties about Christian captivity, slavery, and sexual harassment in Muslim lands. Both tropes influenced early modern Anglophone models of male sexual assault victimhood. The cultural tropes around Ganymede and Pelagius sometimes overlapped, but the main narrative of the stories emphasised different aspects of the subsequent Anglophone model. The story of Pelagius focused on resistance till death as the appropriate model of behaviour in the face of sexual advances, whereas the story of Ganymede stressed the transformation from a victim into a collaborator after a completed sexual act itself. While it is not possible to categorically trace one or the other as the main influence on early modern Anglophone tropes, it is important to outline

[13] On medieval legislation on rape, abduction, and ravishment, which solidified *raptus* as a property crime, see Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction and Adultery, 1100-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.41-3.

both in order to show the ways in which they related to and influenced early modern Anglophone discourses.

There was a longstanding connection between Muslim rulers and sexual assault on young men in European discourses. This model of male victimhood was deeply rooted in Christianity and Christian responses to the Muslim other and the threat of conversion. It also established some of the key features of early modern Anglophone ideas about sexual assault, victimhood, and encounter: namely, the attempt of the Muslim ruler to win the Christian innocent boy over through worldly goods, and the idea of the appropriateness of resisting sexual advances even at the cost of one's own life. Arguably the first explicit mention of this connection in the medieval period can be found in the writings of Hrotsvitha, a German secular canoness, dramatist, and poet (c. 935-973). She told the story of Pelagius, a boy of ten, who was sent to the court of 'Abd al-Rahman III (889/91-961), Emir and the first Caliph of Cordoba, by his father as a hostage in return for the release of the boy's uncle, Bishop Hermogius of Tuy. The boy remained imprisoned for three and a half years until, according to the author of the *passio*, the caliph summoned him, offering him a comfortable life and riches in exchange for his conversion to Islam and submission to the caliph's sexual advances. Pelagius refused and was tortured and killed on June 26, 925.[14]

Hrostvitha's lyrical work about Pelagius, *Passio Sancti Pelagii*, was key to establishing him as a victim of illicit lust.[15] According to John V. Tolan, Hrostvitha used the image of Pelagius as a soldier of Christ to 'justify resistance against Saracen rule'.[16] Lisa Weston has argued that the physical beauty of Pelagius was emblematic of the boy's spiritual beauty and served as a marker of cultural difference.[17] 'Abd al-Rahman heard of the beauty of the youth and at first glance at him

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[14] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.34; for general context, see also Jessica Coope, *Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); on the sodomy charge specifically, see Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), pp.10–28.

[15] M. Gonsalva Wiegand, 'The Nondramatic Works of Hroswitha' Unpublished Thesis, St. Louis University, (1936), pp.128-53.

[16] Tolan, *Saracens*, p.108.

[17] Weston, 'The saracen and the martyr', p.4.

'burns with desire'.[18] He was described as a 'proud ruler of the rich city [...] corrupted by sodomitical vices' who 'loves ardently beautiful youths [...] and wishes to unite himself with them in friendship'.[19] Pelagius was freed and seated on the throne next to the caliph, who tried to taste his lips, famous for honied speeches. The caliph's sexual advances were not welcomed by Pelagius, who dismissed them as a joke. As the caliph persists, Pelagius struck him and soaked his beard with blood. Enraged, 'Abd al-Rahman catapulted him over the city walls to destroy the beauty he could not possess, but the body was miraculously not disfigured by the fall. Pelagius was eventually beheaded and welcomed in heaven at the side of Christ's throne, surrounded by other martyrs and virgins (his own virginal status is clarified here for the first time in the poem).[20]

The story of Pelagius had a lasting influence on medieval and early modern ideas about Muslim rulers as sources of sodomitical danger. The themes discussed above echoed in several early modern tropes of male sexual assault victimhood, such as the innocence of the victim, the attempted rather than completed assault, the presumption of the victim's ability to consent, and the victim's physical self-defence. The story of Pelagius was transmitted from Hrosvitha's poem into several early modern texts.[21] There are at least five different texts printed in the early modern period throughout Europe which refer to Hrosvitha's interpretation of the story of Pelagius. One of these texts, *Antiguedad de la Ciudad y Iglesia Cathedral de Tuy* by Prudencio de Sandoval, printed in Braga in 1610, shows both the continuing influence of the middle ages in general and Hrosvitha specifically in constructions of male victimhood in early modern Europe. It is also a clear demonstration of the ways in which models of male victimhood were deeply rooted in religious experiences. De Sandoval claimed that he found the story of Pelagius in a text 'written

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[18] Ibid., p.5.

[19] Ibid., p.10. *Ipsum felicis certe summum caput urbis / Corruptum vitiis cognoscebunt Sodomitis / Formosos facie iuvenes ardenter amare / Hos et amicitiae propriae coniungere velle,* Homeyer 138.204-207 p.5; Weston argues that the confusion between strongly negative 'vitiis Sodomitis' and the more positive 'amicita' and 'amare' reveals anxieties about 'the limits of licit affection in amicita' and homosocial spaces, which might reveal concerns about Hrostvitha's own community of Gandersheim., p.5..

[20] Weston, 'The saracen and the martyr: Hrotsvit's Pelagius', p.6.

[21] See Edwin H. Zeydel, 'A Chronological Hrotsvitha Bibliography through 1700 with Annotations', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 46:3 (Jul., 1947). 290-4 for the dissemination of Hrotsvitha's writings.

at the same time' as the events.[22] The prayer for Saint Pelagius presented by de Sandoval refers to 'seductions of the world' and 'pompous delights' which the Saint 'resisted', along with 'vice'.[23] Apart from these allusions, the prayer does not comment on what led to Pelagius' martyrdom. However, the description of his life provided by de Sandoval sheds more light on this question. The 'king' wanted to 'touch' the youth but was rebuffed by Pelagius, who asked the ruler if he 'thought him [Pelagius] similarly effeminate to you'.[24] Pelagius refused to be won over by various riches offered to him and exclaimed that he would 'prefer to die for Christ than to live sinfully with the devil and be stained by vice'.[25] Interestingly, in this version of the text, Pelagius not only refused the king but also shamed him through making his desire public.[26] Overall, this text shows that the memory of Pelagius as a victim of attempted assault, along with a number of other tropes, from the importance of worldly luxuries in the process of seduction to choosing death over living in carnal sin, were firmly present in early modern Latin discourse. This text shows that these tropes were not unique to Anglophone writings, that they originated in a universal Christian model established in the tenth century and remembered as such, and that they were read and understood in early modern Catholic discourses in a profoundly and deeply religious way.

Anglophone models of male sexual assault victimhood were influenced by Catholic hagiography, ultimately stripped of its Catholicism and redefined in its religious significance. The Pelagius story was present in the early modern Anglophone discourse on Spanish history. The 1612 publication of Louis Turquet de Mayerne's *The Generall Historie of Spaine* in English discussed the story,

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[22] Prudencio de Sandoval, *Antiguedad de la Ciudad, y Iglesia Catedral de Tuy, y de los Obispos que se Save Aya Auido en Ella: Sacada de los Concilios y Cartas Reales y Otros Papeles*, (Braga: Fructuoso Lourenço de Basto, 1610), p.62, 'manos un libro tiu mesmos tiempos'.

[23] Ibid., p.63v, 'seculi blandites'; p.64, 'pomposasq delitias and resistat vitio'.

[24] Ibid., p.71v, 'me similem tuis effeminatum existimus'.

[25] Ibid., p.71, 'insuper addam tibi numerosam auri, vel argenisi, copiam vestes optimas, ornamenta praeciosa; p 71v eligens digne pro Christo mori, quam turpiter cum diablo vivere et vitys inquinari'. I would like to thank Gabrielle Passabi for his aid with these translations.

[26] Ibid., p.71v, 'cuius ferventissimum Rex spiritum contra se persistere vides, atque insuis se desiderys spretum esse intelligens.' For more information on the Spanish context of this publication and the early modern reception of Spanish medieval past, see Katrina Beth Olds, *Forging the past: invented histories in counter-reformation Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), pp.163-201.

albeit in far less detail than Hrosvitha's poem. In this version of the story, Pelagius was still offered as a hostage in exchange for his uncle the bishop of Tuy. After his fall into the Muslim ruler's hands, Pelagius became a victim of 'king Almansor's' 'detestable desire'.[27] The king 'would haue abused him at his pleasure, and haue persuaded him to follow Mahumets sect'.[28] In response, 'this holy youth did vertuously resist', 'wherefore the king being inraged, he caused him to be murthered with many torments, and to be cast into the riuer of Guadalquibir'.[29] In this interpretation of the story, available to the seventeenth-century Anglophone reader, most of the patterns evident in other stories of attempted sexual assault by Muslim rulers popular in wider Anglophone discourses are obscured. The youth was 'resisting', but the actual extent of the violence he commited in order to preserve his 'vertue' is not stated. Although it is acknowledged that the youth was murdered by the king, it is not made clear that Pelagius chose certain death over the assault. The king was offering religious conversion rather than worldly riches. Most significantly, it is not clear whether the king assaulted the boy, whereas the original story stressed his ultimate virginity. Still, the key tropes are present. The victim is innocent prior to the attempted assault, he is presumed to have enough autonomy to either consent or resist, and he chooses to resist. The assault is inseparable from religious conversion, presented in the form of temptation. This interpretation of the story, made available to Anglophone readers in 1612, follows some of the patterns of the model of a male victim. However, the same tropes were available both in English and in other European languages prior to 1612. It is possible that the story of Pelagius affected Anglophone discourses on male victimhood, but if that was the case, the wider influence of the Latin and Spanish language sources is more likely than the direct effect caused by the availability of Louis Turquet de Mayerne's text in English.

Joseph Allen Boone has argued that the story of Pelagius served as a model for the main character of a 1676 anonymous pamphlet published in London under the title *The True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident, Which Occur'd Upon The Execution of a Christian Slave at Aleppo in*

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[27] Louis Turquet de Mayerne, *The Generall Historie of Spaine...* (London: Printed by A. Islip, and G. Eld, 1612), p.194; note the wrong name of the ruler.

[28] Ibid., p.194.

[29] Ibid., p.194.

Turky.[30] The story follows a handsome French slave who is pursued by a Turk 'much addicted to sodomy'.[31] The Turk, the steward of the slave's master, makes a sexual proposition to the slave, but fails to persuade the young man to 'consent to his (more than Brutish) Devilish desires'.[32] The Turk attacks the slave, who kills the Turk in self-defence. The slave tries to escape but runs into the master returning home. The slave is accused of sodomy in court, but the magistrate believes him. However, other Turks persuade the magistrate to reverse his decision, as freeing a slave would send the wrong message and encourage further slave rebellions. Boone argues that 'the immediate template' for the story is the legend of Saint Pelagius. There is a clear narrative connection between the two stories, and as the above example shows, the story of Pelagius circulated in early modern Anglophone discourses. On the other hand, sources such as *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* show that stories focusing on attempted assault on men by other men or discussions of the extent to which Ottoman polity prosecuted sodomy were a widespread part of early modern Anglophone conceptualisations of Ottoman sexual transgressions. Boone did not focus on the rape aspect of the story, accepting it as granted.[33] I would argue that sexual assault, rather than sodomy itself, is the key framework for understanding this story and its impact. Far from being the only source reflecting the story of Saint Pelagius in early modern Anglophone discourses, *The True Narrative* followed established patterns of the behaviour of male victims – refusal of worldly goods and violence as self-defence – widespread in Anglophone discourses by 1676.

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[30] Anonymous, *A True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident Which Occur'd upon the Execution of a Christian Slave at Aleppo in Turky Being a Remarkable Instance of Divine Providence, Attesting the Acceptableness of the Christian Religion, and the Virtue of Chastity to Almighty God : Written At First For The Satisfaction Of A Friend Only, And Since Made Publick For The Strengthning Of Virtue* (London: Printed for Dorman Newman, at the Kings Arms in the Poultrey, 1676); see also Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, pp.6-10.

[31] Anon., *A True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident*, p.2.

[32] Ibid., p.2.

[33] Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, p.8.

The story of Ganymede, a boy abducted and sexually assaulted by Jupiter who ends up becoming the cupbearer of the gods, is a staple of scholarship on early modern homoeroticism.[34] Abdulhamit Arvas saw it as the ultimate archetype of a corrupted male youth, the cupbearer whose profession was understood on both sides of the transcultural Anglo-Ottoman encounter.[35] Dimitris Savvidis also stressed the importance of sexual corruption and material wealth in the story, reading Ganymede as the ultimate male prostitute of early modern English culture.[36] I would like to refocus our reading of the story on the double rape of Ganymede – his abduction and sexual abuse committed against him – and to interpret him as a model of victimhood.

One of the chief interpretations of the story of Ganymede in early modern culture and early modern Anglophone discourse was rape, in the sense of both sexual violation and abduction. Richard Brathwaite's *The English Gentlewoman* (1631) listed the 'story of the rape of *Ganimedes*' among classical works unfit for female readership due to its 'wantonnesse'.[37] Edward Sherburn's 1696 translation of Francois Blondel's *The Comparison of Pindar and Horace* also talked of '*Iupiter* his Rape of *Ganymede* for his Beauty'.[38] These examples show that on a most basic level, the word 'rape' was used to refer to Ganymede in early modern English discourse and that, as *The English Gentlewoman* indicated, rape was clearly understood to be of a sexual nature rather than simply an abduction. Moreover, the Rape of Ganymede was a popular subject in early modern art and culture; most artists, including Rembrandt and especially Rubens, represented the scene as a rape – first of all, in the sense of abduction – and often included direct sexual connotations as

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[34] See, for example, Richard Norton, 'Pastoral Homoeroticism and Richard Barnfield, the Affectionate Shepherd' in Richard Barnfield, Kenneth Borris and George Klawitter (eds.), *The Affectionate Shepherd: Celebrating Richard Barnfield* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2001).

[35] Abdulhamit Arvas,'Travelling Sexualities, Circulating Bodies, and Early Modern Anglo-Ottoman Encounters', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Michigan State University, (2016), pp.103-5.

[36] Dimitris Savvidis, 'Male prostitution and the homoerotic sex-market in Early Modern England', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sussex (2011), p.32, p.59.

[37] Richard Brathwaite, Richard, *The English Gentlevvoman, Drawne Out to the Full Body Expressing, What Habilliments Doe Best Attire Her, What Ornaments Doe Best Adorne Her, What Complements Doe Best Accomplish Her* (London: Printed by B. Alsop and T. Favvcet, for Michaell Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor, 1631), p.139.

[38] François Blondel, *The Comparison of Pindar and Horace Written in French by Monsieur Blondel* (London: Printed for Tho. Bennet at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1696), p.70.

well.[39] Jocelyn Catty has argued that 'Ovid's Metamorphoses, made popular by Golding's translations of 1565 and 1567, takes rape as its prototypical metamorphosis and provides a model of rape as foundation myth, as well as one in which it is readily glossed as 'love'.[40] Although Catty's analysis referred to female characters, it can be applied to Ganymede as well.

The focus on love helped to define and mould a very specific framework of victimhood: one in which if the assault is committed, rather than intended and not consummated, the victim is seen as a collaborator. Transgressive love not only obscured sexual assault as a lens for viewing the story of Ganymede both in early modern England and in modern scholarship on the subject; it was integral to this specific model of victimhood. Reading the sexual violation of Ganymede in early modern Anglophone discourse clearly shows the centrality of love to narratives of rape and its role in delegitimising the validity of sexual violation in the story. In this regard, early modern Ganymede fits the model of Helen, rather than Lucrece, as a victim of rape. Ganymede's story was interpreted as a narrative of love and abuse of power, and that abuse often focused on what Jupiter would do for the sake of Ganymede, rather than on the abduction of the boy in the first place. Ganymede was a popular vehicle for exploring courtly favouritism and male to male sexual encounters associated with it. *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (1677) unfavourably referred to Piers Gaveston as Edward II's 'Ganimed'.[41] Ganymede was also associated with the Duke of Buckingham. *The Warres of the Gods*, a 1623 poem, told the story of Jupiter falling under the influence of Ganymede and being removed from the throne of Olympus. As Christiane Hille argues, 'characterised as a 'white fac't boy' whose 'upstart Love' has made Jupiter 'drunke with Nectar', Ganymede was intended to resemble Buckingham, whose presence affected the cosmic reign of 'Jupiter'.[42] Love thus played a central part in reading power imbalances in the story of

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[39] James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp,1, 187, 194.

[40] Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women*, p.9.

[41] Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain, &c. from the Conquest, Anno 1066 to the Year, 1677…* (London: Printed by Tho. Newcomb for the author, 1677), p.145.

[42] Christiane Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage Of George Villiers, First Duke Of Buckingham, And The Triumph Of Painting At The Stuart Court* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012), p.215.

Ganymede, but early modern authors predominantly focused on the love of the 'Jupiter' for 'Ganymede' and the transgressions it inspired. It erased Ganymede as a victim, and that erasure formed a model of victimhood in which a continuing sexual relationship implied consent.

This overview shows two distinct frameworks available to early modern Anglophone authors for conceptualising male sexual assault victimhood. Both frameworks responded to contemporary legal understandings of rape in both its meanings, as both Ganymede and Pelagius were captive and sexually violated. Despite sharing a common premise, the different contexts of the stories emphasised different responses from the victims. If the story of Pelagius emphasised defiant and uncorrupted purity, the tale of Ganymede was a tale of sharing culpability, of partaking and of giving into temptation. The stories established the background of the framework for understanding male sexual assault victimhood in wider discourses of Anglo-Ottoman encounter; namely, the ways in which the victims were supposed to resist their captors' advances and the potential for them to be seduced by their masters and overlords, transforming them from victims of assault into perpetrators of sodomy. The emphasis on seduction gave the victims a presumed agency over their sexual choices, demonstrating that in any circumstances they ultimately had a choice to commit or not commit sodomy. This model, while present in many descriptive sources dealing with captivity in early modern Anglophone discourses, such as cosmographies, histories, and some captivity narratives, was not accepted as universal, as other captivity narratives and sources focused on the plight of the captives and stressed exclusively the cruelty of the abusers, not the presumed agency of the victims.

Sexual violence and Anglo-Ottoman encounter

A close reading of a multitude of sources, including cosmographies, travel accounts, journals, and pamphlets, shows that Anglophone anxieties about sexual violence against boys and sometimes adult men in the Ottoman Empire can be divided into at least three broad categories: the sexual threat that Ottomans presented to their servants and especially slaves, sexual violence as a part of Ottoman warfare, and the sexual threat of Ottoman urban environments. The narratives concerning

slavery are the most useful context in which both models of behaviour were discussed by Anglophone commentators, although the other two provide useful contexts for identifying the degree of presumed agency in victims. Captivity narratives are inherently focused on a power imbalance, they almost always involve rape in the sense of abduction as the core of the story, and they were the most numerous in early modern Anglophone discourse.

Analysing constructions of male sexual assault victimhood in early modern Anglophone discourses through the prism of encounter shows that two competing models of male sexual assault victimhood existed in early modern encounter discourses. One of them emphasised the significance of resisting sexual advances to the point of death (of the perpetrator or the victim) and as a result, presumed the victim had a degree of agency over his sexual choices. This type of narrative was more present in cosmographies and histories, although some captivity narratives, such as Adam Elliot's account, also used it as for interpreting sexual assault. These narratives created an expectation that male victims would be following in the footsteps of Lucrece and would rather die than submit to the shame of bodily violation; the key difference being, of course, that Lucrece committed suicide out of shame after the sexual act, whereas men were represented as expected to *avoid* the act at all costs. The less prevalent narrative expressed in some captivity narratives emphasised the cruelty of the Turks and absolved the victims of any guilt or agency in explicit sexual abuses which they survived. Although less prevalent in Anglophone discourses on male victimhood, this narrative was arguably more influential in real-life situations, as the sources which form it refer to their contemporaries, whose identities can sometimes be deduced. Even more importantly, the lack of presumption of agency and the very possibility of rape of men above marriageable age was instrumental in seventeenth-century court cases dealing with male victims of rape. \

One important context for understanding the pattern of presumption of bodily autonomy is Anglophone views regarding the possibility of sexual consent by slaves in general. Slavery was key to stories of Christian captivity in Muslim lands and it often had sexual connotations. For example, 'a Scot in the slave market at Cairo in 1656 remarked that a beautiful boy was worth as

much as a girl because of the preference for men there for "hansom boyes wanting a beard"'.[43] Paul Rycaut, an English Consul and long-term resident in the Ottoman Empire, connected the slave trade inseparably to high social status and sexual abuse against boys. He argued that few of the '*Alemdar*', descendants of Mahomet and 'second officers' in the empire, 'exercise any Trade, unless that which [...] deals in Slaves'.[44] They were driven, among other things, by religious sentiment, as it was 'a holy profession to captivate and enslave Christians'.[45] These traders were 'the most abominable Sodomites and abusers of Masculine youth in the world, in which sin against nature they exceed the foulness and detestable lust of a *Tatar*'.[46]

Slavery had the potential to subvert the conceptualisation of rape and sexual assault as a property crime against the 'owner' – husband or father – of the female victim. However, as slavery itself was not legally codified in English common law in the early modern period, neither were ideas about sexual rights of slave owners. The Atlantic context of Anglophone engagement with the wider world provides a possible anchor for these ideas. 'Slavery' in the Atlantic context was a contested concept in early modern Anglophone discourses – black African slaves were often referred to as 'negroes' or 'servants', and the word 'slavery' itself was more firmly associated with Mediterranean captivity, although this changed over the course of this period.[47] Nevertheless, ownership of people was legally codified in the colonies – for example, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641, based on Magna Carta, proclaimed that slavery 'was forbidden except for such capacious and ill-defined categories as war captives and legal sales', both of which were

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[43]Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans In An Age Of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.59

[44] Paul Rycaut, Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, The Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents And Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline*, (London: (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, at the Mitre between the Middle-Temple-Gate and Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, and the Star in Little-Britain, 1668), p.111.

[45] Ibid., p.111.

[46] Ibid., p.111.

[47] Margaret Ellen Newell, '"They shalbe slaves for their lives": Indian slavery in colonial Virginia' in Alan Gallay (ed.), *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p.34; Wendy Warren, *New England Bound : Slavery And Colonisation In Early America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016), p.32.

firmly present in Anglo-Muslim encounter.[48] Sexual assault was a part of everyday experiences of Atlantic slaves; for example, Samuel Maverick, a slave owner, forced one of his male slaves to rape a female slave, who then, in great distress, spoke of her experience to John Josselyn, a traveller.[49] Similar to cases of sodomy, in most colonial cases it was the sexual act itself, rather than sexual assault, that was prohibited by laws aiming to limit interracial procreation. For example, Christopher Mason and a slave woman called Bess were both prosecuted for fornication when she fell pregnant in 1672.[50] Hagar, an enslaved woman living in Massachusetts, also fell pregnant in 1669, but instead of arguing that she was a victim of sexual assault, she tried to argue that she was wrongfully enslaved and taken away from her lawful husband and children in Africa.[51] These examples show that despite the presence of slavery in Anglophone discourses and legal contexts, sexual assault against slaves was not conceptualised as a breach of the owner's property rights. Moreover, in theory, slave owners did not automatically gain sexual rights to their slaves' bodies, as both parties could be prosecuted for fornication. This helps to form an Atlantic context within which a legally presumed bodily autonomy for slaves could exist, which in turn could contribute to creating a similar expectation of bodily autonomy among Mediterranean captives from the Three Kingdoms.

The expectation of active resistance to sexual advances was also engrained in early modern Anglophone understanding of the Ottoman legal system, albeit not in the context of slavery. At least one Anglophone author commented extensively on the legal provisions allowing for self-defence in cases of attempted sexual assault by men on other men irrespective of their age. As discussed in the previous chapter, *The Policy of the Turkish Empire* provides the most detailed description of Islamic religious opinion, and legislation based on it, in relation to same-sex activity in early modern England. The story discusses the Prophet's reaction to the young man who killed an older man who had been pursuing him. The older man's intention to commit sodomy was

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[48] Warren, *New England Bound*, p.35

[49] John Josselyn, Paul J. Lindholdt (ed.), *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition Of Two Voyages To New-England* (Hanover [NH]: University Press of New England, 1988), p.24.

[50] Records of the Suffolk County Court, CSMP, 29:185, 232.

[51] Wendy, *New England Bound*, pp.153-4.

enough to absolve the younger man from the crime of murder in self-defence. [52] This story establishes the acceptance of the permissibility of killing in self-defence within the confines of Islamic law in general and Ottoman legal systems. According to the anonymous author, it not only serves as one of the many examples of the expected model of behaviour in itself, but also comments on the failure of both Muhammad and contemporary Ottoman authorities to implement their own laws to punish sodomy, leaving individuals responsible for defending their own bodies. More broadly, this story establishes not just the possibility of conceptualising men as victims, but a direct equation between *any* same-sex activity and abuse. Changing the focus from stressing that any consensual sexual activity between men is prohibited to emphasising that any non-consensual activity is sexual violence helps us to write male victims back into the historical record and to recognise early modern concern about male victims and male victimhood; although the victims have been largely invisible in modern scholarship, their contemporaries saw victims and victimhood as intrinsic to any same-sex activity.[53]

The story of an older man pursuing a younger boy and trying to win him over through gifts is far from unique in early modern Anglophone discourses. For instance, the story of an unnamed sultan recounted by John Barclay in his *Mirror of Minds* is exemplary of narratives of Ottoman power and corruption.[54] The story focuses on a sultan who, whilst riding through Constantinople, saw a 'youth wantonly glancing his effeminate eyes'.[55] Even though the youth belonged to a soldier, the sultan commanded him to be taken to the palace.[56] However, 'souldier that abused the boy, loue ouercomming his allegiance, ventured himself to rescue his Catamite, & with a drawn sword

[52] Anonymous, *The Policy of The Turkish Empire. The First Booke* (London: Printed by Iohn Windet for W[illiam] S[tansby] and are to be soulde at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes, 1597), p.46.

[53] There are a number of ways this story can be read in relation to Anglophone reception of Islamic theology and law which, though important, will not be touched upon in this article.

[54] John Barclay, *The Mirrour of Mindes, or, Barclay's Icon Animorum, Englished by T.M.* (London: Printed by Iohn Norton for Thomas Walkley, and are to bee sold at his shop, at the signe of the Eagle and Child in Britaines-Burse, 1631), pp.301-4.

[55] Ibid., p.301.

[56] Ibid., p.301.

resisted the Princes ministers'.[57] The soldier lost the battle, but, surprisingly, the sultan forgave him for this act of 'disobedience' and 'censured not so ill this souldiers violence of loue'.[58] The sultan gave the soldier some land far away from Constantinople and 'commanded his stipend to be increased'.[59] Meanwhile, 'the Prince burned in lust with this Catamite, and kept him not onely for his pleasure, but ranked him highly in his friendship'.[60] As time went by, the soldier wanted to see his former lover and bribed some palace officials to get inside. As he got into the palace he saw the boy richly dressed, 'proud with too great rewards of his vnchastity'.[61] The boy noticed the hiding soldier and 'remembring his old seruice, ranne speedily to him, and kist his hand'.[62] The sultan killed the boy in a fit of jealous rage but, realising what he had done, 'hee fell vpon him to the Earth, and with his brest couering the wound, hee bewailed his death'.[63] The sultan ordered the soldier to be killed, but the soldier escaped the palace.

Barclay used the story to make a very clear argument about the nature of tyranny: 'no tyes of friendship can bee safe from such fell tyrants, who valew their pleasures, aboue the liues of their subiects'.[64] However, the story is ripe for teasing out Barclay's attitudes to the rape of the boy. Both definitions of 'rape' – abduction and sexual violation – could be applied to this case, although the focus is, undoubtedly, the abduction of the boy by the sultan. The story invokes ideas of abduction as an act committed against the proprietor of the victim, not the victim themselves, enabled here by the presumed status of the boy as the slave of the soldier. Presuming consent by the boy, or not focusing on it at all, allowed Barclay to cast this act of rape (as in abduction) in very traditional form, as an act of violation of property rights of the soldier. Although the exact legal status of the boy is not made clear, it is not definitive for the act of abduction. It was the

[57] Ibid., p.301.

[58] Ibid., p.301.

[59] Ibid., p.302.

[60] Ibid., p.302.

[61] Ibid., p.302.

[62] Ibid., p.303.

[63] Ibid., p.303.

[64] Ibid., p.304.

soldier's affection for the boy that made the boy his, not necessarily his legal status. His love was so strong that it drove him to disobey his monarch and to commit a 'violence of love', which he was forgiven for. The soldier was then compensated for the loss of his property. Barclay openly described the boy as 'abused' by the soldier, which might mean either non-consensual sexual violation or the very fact of male to male intercourse, 'abuse of nature'. Either way, the boy himself is given little autonomy at the beginning of the story – he does little more than 'glancing his effeminate eyes'. After the abduction, however, he is given much more autonomy: he is ranked highly by the sultan as a person, not just a sexual object, and he is 'proud' of the benefits brought by his 'unchastity'. Consent is key to this story: the boy is not seen as a helpless victim, but as a consensual participant won over by the worldly goods offered by the sultan.

An even more telling example of the construction of appropriate victimhood is the story of Vlad Tepes, better known as Vlad the Impaler or Dracula, as told by Richard Knolles in his seminal *Historie of the Turks*.[65] During his captivity at the court of Mehmet II, the 'comely features' of the young Dracula 'most passionately affected' the sultan: 'he sought first by fair words and great Gifts to corrupt the Youth'.[66] Seduction as an alternative form of sexual corruption, where the woman is a willing participant, was a firm part of Anglophone discourses on sexual advances.[67] Dracula's behaviour follows the pattern expected of a woman rebuking unwanted sexual advances, as the sultan 'not so prevailing' in attracting Dracula with gifts, 'attempted at last to have forced him'.[68] Dracula's subsequent actions conform to the active resistance expected of both a woman under the threat of sexual assault and a man protecting his honour: 'the Noble Youth being enraged, drew his Rapier, and striking at him to have slain him, grievously wounded him in the Thigh, and

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[65] See Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England / Anders Ingram.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp.57-85, on the wider context of this work.

[66] Richard Knolles, Paul Rycaut, *The Turkish History From The Original Of That Nation, To The Growth Of The Ottoman Empire With The Lives And Conquests Of Their Princes And Emperours / By Richard Knolles ... ; With A Continuation To This Present Year MDCLXXXVII ; Whereunto Is Added, The Present State Of The Ottoman Empire, By Sir Paul Rycaut* (London: Printed for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lyon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1687), p.247.

[67] Catty, *Writing Rape, Writing Women*, pp.19-20.

[68] Richard Knolles, *The Turkish History*, p.247.

thereupon fled'.[69] Despite being clearly shown as a victim of attempted assault, and reacting accordingly, Dracula is not conceptualised as an actual victim of an assault at any point in this narrative. His sexual relationship with the sultan is shown as completely consensual, as 'being drawn back again to the Court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the King, and so became his *Ganimede*'.[70] This narrative fitted the familiar pattern of a relationship between a powerful Jupiter and his subordinate favourite. Knolles did not pass moral judgement or indicate the reader's expected reaction by calling this relationship 'detestable', 'unnatural', or any of the other condemnatory terms available in early modern Anglophone discourses on the subject. This narrative complicates the early modern definition of rape, showing a situation where both of Edgar's definitions are applicable: Dracula was abducted first, and an attempt at sexual violation occurred later. This narrative shows that even a captive was presumed to have a degree of bodily autonomy and was seen as capable of giving or denying sexual consent. This example shows that in cases of attempted sexual violation of a male there was a set of actions which the male could have been expected to perform: denying gifts and employing physical force for self-protection.

European anxieties of the sexual threat presented by the Ottomans were not confined to histories and Anglophone imaginations of social practices of Ottoman society. These theoretical ideas constructed in narratives of abstract or real history were reflected in practices of captivity. Most captivity narratives published throughout the seventeenth century did not comment directly on the sexual threat presented to the author. In most cases, the captives were considered to have enough bodily autonomy to reject the sexual advances of their masters. That autonomy could be interpreted in several ways. For example, George Fox, in his pleas for the freedom of Quaker captives, argued that the Turks 'beat and abuse your Captives, because they will not lye with men as Women'.[71] He mentioned this notion five times throughout his ten-page long pamphlet. Although he was highly

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[69] Ibid., p.247.

[70] Ibid., p.247.

[71] George Fox, *To the Great Turk and His King at Argiers Together with a Postscript of George Pattison's Taking the Turks and Setting Them on Their Own Shoar* (London: Printed for Ben. Clark, in George-yard, in Lumbard-street, 1680), p.9.

critical of the cruelty of the Turks, he still assumed the freedom of the captives to refute sexual advances, even if that caused cruel treatment by the Turks. Fox accomplished two things through this line of argument: he had enough space to condemn the cruelty of Turkish captors, but he also followed the framework outlined above in presuming a degree of sexual autonomy of slaves and the model of refusing sexual advances even if it caused physical pain, the aforementioned cruel treatment.

The case study of Adam Elliot is in many ways an anomaly, yet it is an anomaly which might reveal much wider held concerns. Adam Elliot was an English captive in the Ottoman Empire and wrote an account of his experiences and escape, published in 1682. Elliot's captivity account was written with a specific purpose: he was in the middle of a defamation lawsuit against Titus Oates, who accused him of being both a Jesuit and a Muslim.[72] Elliot was under considerable pressure to prove himself not a renegade.[73] It is curious that Elliot's account is also the only captivity account to mention a sodomitical attempt against the author in the period. It is possible that Elliot chose to include it in order to show that he was not a convert and was not a sodomite himself. Elliot mentioned the attempt as something that happened on the day of his escape from captivity. He reported that the 'Brute raises himself up a little, and mutters somewhat to me of a not-to-be-mentioned Carnality'.[74] He then stressed his willingness to resort to violence to defend himself from the attempt: the 'abominable proposal did so invigorate my resolution, that immediately I had made him a Sacrifice to my most cruel resentments of the barbarous usage I received from him'.[75] His master then fell asleep, but Elliot stressed that he would have for his 'own life's sake to take away his'.[76] Elliot's account, especially in the context of his lawsuit, was a very deliberate act of self-fashioning; thus, this episode is a very clear indicator of the expected reaction to

[72] Adam Elliot, *A Modest Vindication of Titus Oates, The Salamanca-Doctor from Perjury, Or, An Essay To Demonstrate Him Only Forsworn In Several Instances By Adam Elliot* ... (London: Printed by T. Snowden for the author, 1682), Introduction.

[73] Ibid., pp.37-8.

[74] Ibid., p.38.

[75] Ibid., p.13.

[76] Ibid., p.13.

attempted sexual assault of a man, especially in a foreign and potentially culturally and religiously transgressive context. The self-fashioning aspect of his text becomes even more clear when it is compared to his court testimonies of the defamation case, when first, Elliot clearly labelled the perpetrator as 'Brute', clearly labelling the incident as attempted rape. The word 'Brute' was strongly associated with child rape in early modern England. Garthine Walker has argued that 'the association of child-rape with brutishness, with or without incest, communicated both unmanliness and non-manliness: such a creature lacked reason and sensibility and was course, cruel, and bestial'.[77] Whether Elliot was trying to diminish his own potential culpability by making this association and thus casting himself in the role of the child, a juvenile with diminished responsibility, or whether he aimed to draw parallels between the Muslim perpetrator and an identifiable figure of wider Anglophone discourse to further demonise his former master, the use of the word 'Brute' is remarkable. Elliot also clearly laid out the expected actions of a man under the threat of sexual assault: self-defence, physical violence, and the death of the perpetrator.

As these examples show, Anglophone early modern discourses had an established model of conceptualising male sexual assault victimhood, which focused primarily on attempted sexual assault, not a committed act. Within this paradigm the victim, whether the legal property of the master or a captive in more general terms, was seen as having enough autonomy to resist sexual advances and was expected to defend himself from the prospective violation. Within this framework, the victim was seen as a perpetrator of sodomy *after* the act happened – a victim no more, but someone seduced by the material benefits of succumbing to the sexual advances which he was supposed to refuse and resist. This model was influenced by earlier tropes, especially those of Saint Pelagius, who refused the jewels offered by the Muslim ruler, and Ganymede, who was seen as a victim only at the point of abduction itself. Even though this model was well-established and influential, it was not uncontested. An alternative, enabled by an emphasis on the plight of captives and a stress on the cruelty of the captors — both of which excused forced participation in

[77] Walker, 'Everyman or a Monster?', p.18.

same-sex activity — was available in Anglophone discourses and was arguably more influential on the realities of male victimhood.

An alternative model of victimhood

An alternative model of male victimhood, enabled by a stress on the cruelty of the Turks, existed in early modern Anglophone discourses. It was connected to notions of abduction as a part of Ottoman warfare. Medieval notions of Muslim cruelty and barbarism were reinforced in the early modern period as a response to the rising threat from the Turks.[78] In his *Acts and Monuments* John Foxe 'devoted a whole chapter to the cruelty of the Turks, and throughout his long book he repeatedly equated the cruelty of Catholics with this heathen standard of barbarism'.[79], Diane Hall and Elizabeth Malcolm have argued that during the events of 1641 in Ireland, the violence 'could be understood by reference to the past violent history of the "primitive" Irish and the inherent cruelty of Catholicism, which was comparable to the cruelty of barbarians like the Muslim Ottoman Turks, who had been threatening Europe for over a century'.[80] Although sodomy in general and the potential abuse of boys were a crucial part of early modern Anglophone anti-Catholic sentiments, and the cruelties of Catholics were often compared to those of the Turks and other Muslims, the specific charge of penetrative sexual violence against boys as a part of warfare was exclusive to Anglophone notions of Ottoman violence. This notion was not limited to descriptions of Ottoman warfare against Christians but extended to reports of Ottoman violence against other Muslims. Ottoman-Safavid conflicts were a central part of this narrative. For example, in his description of the 1585 conquest of Tabriz, the English traveller John Cartwright set out to

[78] Daniel Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp.159–60; Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.78–9.

[79] Dianne Hall and Elizabeth Malcolm, '"The Rebels Turkish Tyranny": Understanding Sexual Violence in Ireland during the 1640s', *Gender & History* 22:1 (April 2010), p.58.

[80] Ibid., pp.55–74, pp.57-8.

contrast the 'the crueltie, [...] of these triumphing Turks'.[81] He specified that 'there was nothing but slaughter, pillings, rauishing, spoyling and murdering: virgins defloured, *men children defiled with vnspeakable and horrible Sodomitry*, younglings snatcht out of their mothers armes'.[82] Cartwright was directly quoting Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, whose *The History of the Vvarres betvveene the Turkes and the Persians* was first published in English in 1595. Minadoi also argued that Ottoman soldiers took 'some boy or some wench for his captiue', equating capture of a woman, presumably for sexual purposes, with that of a young man.[83] This example shows the interconnectedness between continental and Anglophone discourses, transmission of knowledge, and the influence translated texts had on books originally written in English.

Although the theme of the cruelty of the Turks was ever-present in captivity narratives, very few of them explicitly absolved the victims of all guilt for the sexual abuse they endured. James Wadsworth was one of the few authors to do so. An English Catholic, he was raised in Spain, captured by Moorish pirates on his way from the Jesuit college in St Omer to Spain, sold into slavery, ransomed, served as the interpreter of James Earl of Carlisle during Charles I's trip to Spain, travelled to England and converted to Anglicanism in 1625, got involved in Anglo-Spanish politics of the 1620s and was thrown into prison as an alleged spy of the Duke of Buckingham in Calais in 1626. He wrote his captivity account in prison in 1628, moved to England, published his book there and spent most of the 1640s as a pursuivant in England – at least 36 Catholic priests and recusants were found guilty and banished, died in prison, or were executed as a result of his activities.[84] The last mention of him, in Sanderson's *Life of James I*, claims that 'Mr. Waddesworth,

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[81] John Cartwright, *The Preachers Trauels Wherein is Set Downe a True Iournall to the Confines of the East Indies, through the Great Countreyes of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Media, Hircania and Parthia. With The Authors Returne By The Way Of Persia, Susiana, Assiria, Chaldaea, And Arabia*, (London: Printed [by William Stansby] for Thomas Thorppe, and are to bee sold by Walter Burre, 1611), p.45.

[82] Ibid., p.45.

[83] Giovanni Tommaso Minadoi, *The History of the Vvarres Betvveene the Turkes and the Persians* (London: By [John Windet for] Iohn Wolfe, 1595), p.337.

[84] A. J. Loomie (2004, September 23). Wadsworth, James [pseud. Diego de Vadesfoote] (b. 1604), writer and government official. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 11 Apr. 2019, from

a renegade, proselyte, Turncote of any religion, and every trade […] is now living, 1655, a common Hackney to the basest Catchpole Bayliffs'.[85]

He was also the only person to claim to have tried to save sexually abused young men from captivity.[86] He had been ransomed with the help of a French merchant, a slave trader himself.[87] Then Wadsworth 'began [...] to enquire after [his] companions'.[88] The 'bodies' of the enslaved men 'especially the fairest and youngest' were 'abused with [...] Sodomy'.[89] He found it difficult to gain access to the young men and once he did, he realised 'that their ransome would amount to a farre greater summe of money then he could well disburse'.[90] Nevertheless, he persisted and 'perswaded his former owner' that the captives were wealthy and would reward him handsomely if he helped them.[91] The merchant was persuaded and bribed the governor, who bought the slaves on his behalf and gave them to the merchant. At this point, the former slave owners were enraged and 'would haue [the slaves] to be gelded and to be sent for Eunuches as a present to the King of

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http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28390.

[85] William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of, Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her Son and Successor, James the Sixth, King of Scotland, and (After Queen Elizabeth) King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the First ... Reconciling Several Opinions in Testimony of Her, and Confuting Others, in Vindication of Him, Against Two Scandalous Authors, 1. The Court and Character of King James, 2. The History of Great Britain* (London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, Richard Tomlins, and George Sawbridge, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard, at Py-Corner, and on Lud-Gate-Hill, 1656), p.401.

[86] A. J. Loomie (2004, September 23). Wadsworth, James [pseud. Diego de Vadesfoote] (b. 1604), writer and government official. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Retrieved 11 Apr. 2019, from http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28390.

[87] James Wadsworth, *The English Spanish Pilgrime. Or, A Nevv Discouerie of Spanish Popery…* (London: By T[homas]. C[otes]. for Michael Sparke, dwelling at the blue Bible in Greene-Arbor, 1629), pp.41-2.

[88] Ibid., p.42.

[89] Ibid., p.42.

[90] Ibid., p.42.

[91] Ibid., p.43.

Marruecos'.[92] The governor was less inclined to defend those intended as a royal gift, but the slaves were eventually freed.[93]

Wadsworth's narrative serves a double purpose: it is both a captivity narrative and a conversion story, as at the time of publishing Wadsworth claimed to have been 'newly conuerted into his true mothers bosome, the Church of England'.[94] He presented himself as being as English as possible in the descriptions of his captivity, even though he had been captured whilst travelling from a Jesuit college to Spain. All the victims were presented as Englishmen, whose English fathers would ransom them; however, they were also all Catholics, as they were Wadsworth's classmates from St Omer, many of whom would have presumably been identifiable from the narrative. The victims were shown to have experienced both sexual assault – their bodies were 'abused with [...] Sodomy' – and a threat of further bodily violation presented here as a point of no return, 'gelding'. Wadsworth never mentioned his own experiences of sexual assault which, judging by the rest of his text which stresses the beatings he endured, could have happened. This account is quite unusual, as it both identifies individuals whose identities could have been deduced as victims of assault and completely absolves them of any responsibility for the abuse they had suffered. Most early modern Anglophone narratives of slavery and attempted sodomitical assault focused on the attempt, not the act itself, and presented an expectation of resistance. Lack of resistance was seen as consent, often justified and reviled by the slaves' desire for social elevation. This model of master-slave interactions in relation to sexual assault was much more widespread in Anglophone discourses in the early modern period, as is shown above. However, Wadsworth's absolution of guilt, reminiscent of accounts of Ottoman warfare rather than the experiences of slavery, was very rare.

Male victimhood: expectations vs reality

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[92] Ibid., p.44.

[93] Ibid., p,44.

[94] Ibid., preface.

Anxieties about the threat of sexual violence presented by the Turks and other Muslims were not confined to discourses on travel. Using the ideas and themes outlined above – presumption of the possibility of bodily autonomy among slaves, expectations of violent struggle to protect a man's honour from sexual violence, ideas about the allure provided by the power and wealth for which sexual favours could be exchanged, and victim blaming in cases of perpetrated sexual violence – we can turn to the analysis of two court cases of sexual violence against boys in early modern England. The first case is that of Anthony Bassa, a Dutch boy abused by 'Mustapha Pochowachett a Turk' in 1694, and the second is that of Richard Robinson and Nicholas Crosse, briefly discussed above.

The first case study focuses on Humphrey Stafford and his two victims. Allegedly, he assaulted both of them on the 3rd of May 1606 and was convicted of buggery and executed in 1607. There are two sources dealing with this case. The first one is *The Arraignement, Iudgement, Confession, and Execution of Humfrey Stafford,* a pamphlet published in 1607, and Sir Edward Coke's *A Book of Entries: Containing Perfect and Approved Precedents,* published in 1614. The pamphlet is deliberately unclear on the details of his crimes, as they with 'modestie cannot be well expressed here'. However, it can be pieced together that Stafford was not executed just for sodomy, but also for sexual assault specifically. The pamphlet quite clearly states the age of the boys: 'the one about the age of xvii. yeares, the other of xiii. or xiiii. yeres'.[95] The older boy was clearly older than fourteen, the legal age for marriage and thus consent, and the younger was around that age. Regardless of their age, the victims are consistently called 'boys' throughout the text of the pamphlet. The boys themselves testified but, because of the omission of detail 'for modestye sake,' it is unclear to what extent force was emphasised in their account. Their statements were supported by those of their parents, who 'testified onelye some matters ensuing vpon the fact, for confirmation of the truth of the Boies allegations, shewing that the boyes had receiued hurt therby'

[95] Anonymous, *The Arraignement, Iudgement, Confession, and Execution of Humfrey Stafford Gentleman Who on the Tenth of This Present Month of Iune, 1607…* (London: Printed by E. A[llde] for A. J[ohnson] and F. B[urton] & are to be solde at the signe of the Flower-de-Luce and Crowne in Paules Church-yarde, 1607), Sig.B1r.

and that they needed medical help.[96] Stafford's guilt was reported to have been pronounced by the jury immediately thereafter. The pamphlet gives no sense that the boys were not believed or that they were in any way responsible for what had happened to them. It is crucial to stress again that the details of whether they were resisting were not recorded in the pamphlet, even though that element of cases was crucial for female rape trials.[97] The presence of the doctor, stressed by Kenneth Borris in his analysis of the case, is significant; but both the doctor and the parents were there to testify '*onelye*' upon the matters following the sexual act, '*for confirmation* of the truth' of the allegations.[98] Even though additional testimonies stressing the hurt done to the boys were very significant, there was an underlying sense of the boys telling the truth. Neither of the boys was tried for sodomy and the case included testimony about the hurt their bodies experienced. Thus, even though the pamphlet does not contain the words 'ravishment' or 'rape', the forced sexual act, rather than the same-sex act in itself, was what Stafford was tried and executed for, and his male victims, around or over the age of consent, were clearly treated as victims.

The second case study is that of Anthony Bassa, a Dutch boy raped by a Turk in 1694. On the 24th of May 1694 'Mustapha Pochowachett a Turk, was Tried for committing the most Unnatural and Horrid Sin of Buggery, [...] which he did on the 11th of this Instant May, upon the Body of one Anthony Bassa, Dutch Boy, of the age of 14 years, and upwards'.[99] The very beginning of this case indicates that Mustapha was tried for buggery rather than rape and that Anthony was above the legal age of consent, but was not tried as an accomplice of the crime of buggery. 'Bassa swore, that they lay together in the Room, and in the Night-time the Prisoner assaulted him, and forced his Yard into his Body; upon which the Boy cried out, to prevent which he stopt his Mouth with

[96] Ibid., Sig.B1v.

[97] Garthine Walker, 'Rape, Acquittal and Culpability in Popular Crime Reports in England, c.1670–c.1750*', p.135.

[98] Anon., *The Arraignement, Iudgement, Confession*, Sig.B1v.

[99] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 29 September 2020), May 1694, trial of Mustapha Pochowachett (t16940524-20).

the Pillow, and used him in a very unnatural manner'.[100] Here both the forceful assault and the boy's attempt at crying out for help are stressed. Moreover, 'the Surgeon swore that he had given the said Bassa the Venereal Distemper, and that the Boy was very ill with it'.[101] The surgeon replied to Mustafa's professions of innocence by claiming that he 'found two great Ulcers on both sides his Fundament, and that [the boy] was in a dangerous condition' and 'that the Turk's Members were shanker'd, and much bloody, and a great hole upon the fleshly part of his Yard'.[102] Yet it seems that the surgeon claimed that this is what Mustafa's penis would have looked like, as 'the Turk said by the Interpreter, that he [...] would stand the Search, but that was not done'.[103] Ultimately, 'the Jury believ'd the Boy's', and as 'the thing appeared very very foul and detestable before the Face of Christians', Mustafa was found guilty of buggery and was executed. Like the case of Stafford, the involvement of the doctor and the physical results of the assault were key to both the accusation and to not considering the boy to be an accomplice of the crime of sodomy.

These cases show that it was possible for boys of any age to be blameless of sodomy if their cases were clearly treated as those of sexual violation. This analysis is supported by Kenneth Borris' brief remark regarding Sir Edward Coke's account of the event: 'though Coke does not mention rape, this case seems to have been treated as such, for the youth he names was over the age of discretion and yet apparently not charged with sodomy in Coke's account'.[104] The question of age – above the age of consent – makes this case very similar to cases of rapes of teenage girls, discussed by Garthine Walker. There are similarities about the potential concerns of legal admissibility of evidence presented by children, and hence the stress on the older age of the boys.[105] Moreover, Walker argued that, contrary to what earlier scholarship had presumed, 'before 1750,

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid

[104] Borris, *Same-Sex Desire in the English Renaissance,* p.379.

[105] Walker, 'Rape, Acquittal and Culpability in Popular Crime Reports in England, c.1670–c.1750*', p.131.

at least, there is little sense that girls were routinely disadvantaged as victims in rape trials because they were treated like adults in the courtroom'.[106] This sentiment is doubly important for cases of male victims, as treating them as adults could have potentially criminalised their own involvement in the act and reinforced the burden of proof of forced sexual activity on them. What we see in the reporting of the Stafford case is something close to a presumption of victimhood.

Conclusion: how gendered was sexual assault victimhood in early modern Anglophone discourses?

Ideas of victim-blaming and the specific challenges they present to male victims of sexual violence are widespread in contemporary Western Anglophone cultures. Contemporary sociologists identify at least two patterns of victim-blaming: 'fears about homophobic reactions' and shifting responsibility for the assault to the male victim 'deemed responsible for the assault because they were not "man enough" to defend themselves from their aggressor'.[107] Michelle Davies, Paul Rogers, and Jo-Anne Bates have argued that 'male rape victims portrayed as being gay are blamed more for their own assault than victims portrayed as being heterosexual'.[108] Looking at the history of constructing male victimhood in the early modern period helps us to trace historical genealogies of these notions. Both these notions were present in the early modern period, but both were expressed in different patterns. What is now read as a shortfall of masculinity – being unable to defend oneself – transforms into a notion of complacency upon the consummation of an attempt of sexual assault in the early modern period. This expectation is still intimately connected to manhood; normative masculinity dictated that victim should feel 'enraged' at the potential assault

[106] Ibid., p.134.

[107] Michelle Davies, Paul Rogers, and Jo-Anne Bates, 'Blame Toward Male Rape Victims in a Hypothetical Sexual Assault as a Function of Victim Sexuality and Degree of Resistance', *Journal of Homosexuality* 55 (2008), 533–44.

[108] Ibid., p.535; see also Torrey M. Ford, Michelle G. Liwag-McLamb, and Linda Foley, 'Perception of rape based on sex and sexual orientation of victim', *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 13:2 (June 1998), 253–62.

and encouraged him to either defend himself or die trying. Similarly, the idea of the fear of homophobic reactions was very potent for early modern male victims of assault, as they would have been legally liable if the act had not been forced. An evolution of more sympathetic attitudes in cases of bodily harm to young victims, shown by the scarce evidence we have, can be traced through the phenomenon of the so-called 'homosexual panic defence' or, in the United Kingdom specifically, 'Portsmouth defence', to the notions identified by Davies, Rogers, and Bates.[109] The exact process of the transformation of early modern notions of male victimhood and the importance of defence against sexual advances into the framework of gay panic defence is a topic for further investigation, in which the eighteenth century has the potential to play a crucial role, as the number of court cases of attempted sodomitical assault rose considerably in that period.[110]

The seemingly more sympathetic culture of practical dealings with male victims of sexual assault, as opposed to normative patterns established in encounter literature, conforms to the patterns established in recent scholarship on early modern women and sexual assault. On the one hand, reading literatures of encounter through the lens of male victimhood allows us to unveil a developed normative construction of victimhood, in which the victim is given the agency to and is expected to resist sexual advances; in most cases, he loses his status as a victim and becomes an accomplice if the sexual act is successfully committed. On the other hand, even within literatures of encounter, it is evident that the model was not always followed in practice. There was a plurality of discourses, and the ideals of Lucrece and Helen did not always neatly match to the realities of court cases of rape. Writing men back into the story of early modern sexual assault shows that constructions of victimhood were less clearly gendered than scholarship exclusively focused on women would imply. Although the constructed representations of men and women as victims differed – men were expected to prevent the act even at the expense of great violence, whereas women such as Lucrece were expected to commit violence after the act, if needed – there were significant overlaps. Moreover, discourses about allegedly real attempts included similar overlaps, be it Adam Elliot's deliberate use of the word 'Brute' or the sympathetic treatment of Richard

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[109] Bruce Galloway, *Prejudice and Pride: Discrimination Against Gay People in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), p.67.

[110] Old Bailey Online provides a selection of such cases.

Robinson during his rapist's trial, closely connected to the presence of the doctor who testified to the youth's trauma. Another line of development of future investigation would be to focus on uncovering the precise overlaps, connections, and gendering of male victims of sexual violence in early modern England.

Chapter 6. Authority, regulation of sodomy and the global erotic normality

The final chapter of this thesis will step away from a focus on Anglo-Ottoman encounter and put the previous chapters into the wider context of Anglophone concepts of foreign sodomy. One of the main aims of this thesis has been to move away from reading early modern encounter as geographically specific and to develop a holistic approach to early modern Anglophone texts on travel. This chapter will continue the work done in Chapters 1 and 3, which also focused on the larger context of travel, sodomy, and human difference. This chapter will contextualise the more specific materials of Chapters 2, 4, and 5, which focused solely on Anglo-Ottoman and Anglo-Muslim encounter. Finally, this chapter will bring together the key theoretical questions and themes of this dissertation: essentialisation and naturalisation of difference, fixity and unfixity in early modern discourses on human difference. and the place of the global in approaching early modern sexuality.

This chapter will explore the relationship between authority and sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourses. It will argue that foreign vice in general and sodomy specifically were not seen as an invitation or license for colonial domination in Anglophone discourses. Rather, read holistically, Anglophone texts on a variety of sexual practices, past and present, developed a global framework of heteronormativity through a stress on the capacity and need for regulation of sexual behaviour in Christian and non-Christian societies alike. Rather than simply reinforcing (proto-)colonial discourse that favoured political dominion by Christian, especially Protestant, powers, this framework privileged heteronormativity as not solely associated with either Christianity or a 'European' 'civilising mission', but as a model of sexual behaviour in its own right. In other words, heteronormativity. Moreover, Anglophone texts emphasised the inherent processual and changeable nature of human social customs by focusing on regulation of sodomy. As a result, Anglophone texts represented foreign societies as necessarily fluid and flexible. However, this inherent flexibility in discourses on foreign customs in general and sodomy in particular produced and reinforced a wider framework which fixed heteronormativity as the prevalent aspirational standard other societies were compared and held accountable to.

Historiographical overview

Scholarship on European imperial expansion in the Americas emphasises the interconnected and transnational nature of European colonialism. In the words of Gesa Mackenthun, '*translation* of empire and imperial discourses' was at the heart of early modern justifications for conquest.[1] Dedicated studies of English imperial thought, such as works by David Shields, David Armitage and Andrew Firtzmaurice, demonstrated the plethora of ways in which English authors responded to Iberian imperialisms in order to promote Protestant English imperial expansion as superior.[2] In short, sixteenth-century Iberian authors employed various Thomist arguments in favour and against conquest, focusing on the civility of Native Americans, whereas seventeenth-century English authors emphasised arguments around the use and misuse of land by indigenous populations - these arguments will be discussed and fully referenced below. Other scholars, such as Jonathan Hart and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, showed that English and Spanish colonial discourses had as many similarities as they had differences. For example, Cañizares-Esguerra argued that 'stress on Lockean theories leaves out Biblical justifications for conquest' and that 'in the eyes of European settlers', both Iberian and English alike, 'colonisation was an act of forcefully expelling demons from the land'.[3] John Hart argued that 'the example of Spain was central in

[1] Gesa Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492-1637* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), p.9.

[2] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 97; Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: an Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500-1625* (Cambridge: UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.143-144; David S. Shields, *Oracles of Empire Poetry, Politics, and Commerce in British America, 1690-1750* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 19. See also a historiographical overview in María Fernanda Valencia Suárez, 'The Aztecs Through the Lens of English Imperial Aspiration, 1519-1713', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge (2011), pp.19-22. See a breakdown of English arguments on conquest in 'The Aztecs Through the Lens', pp.107-153.

[3] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), p.14.

determining English attitudes to the New World and its inhabitants'.[4] Hart demonstrated that specific political conflicts and contexts could overrun religious divides in European concepts of empire - for example, 'anti-Spanish sentiment could run high in [French] Catholic circles'.[5] Most of these scholars either do not discuss sexuality, or mention it in passing.[6] One of the aims of this chapter is to start a dialogue between this established historiography of history of ideas and political thought on the one hand, and histories of sexuality on the other.

Sexuality in general and sodomy in particular do not occupy a large space in the broader historiography of early modern justifications of imperial conquest. However, colonialism and justification of conquest are at the forefront of either studies of early modern sexuality, or of dedicated works on the intersections of sexuality and colonialism. This is the immediate historiographical context of this chapter. Four works in particular influenced the development of my argument. Goldberg demonstrated the abundance of references to sodomy in Iberian discussions of conquest and dispossession of indigenous American populations.[7] He argued that for Iberian authors, 'the natives are Moors […] they must be extirpated, as the Moors were'. Goldberg argued that 'accusations of sodomy, responsible for deaths of thousands in Spain, [were] transported to the New World'.[8] Matar developed Goldberg's ideas into a broad argument connecting European encounters in the Americas and European connections with the Islamic world. He argued that sodomy was 'used both rhetorically and colonially [...] sodomy legitimated [...] conquest of Indian land and [...] theft of Indian gold'.[9] Matar claimed that the same arguments

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[4] Jonathan Locke Hart, *Representing the New World: The English and French Uses of the Example of Spain* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), p. 103.

[5] Ibid., p. 104.

[6] For example, Hart, *Representing the New World*, pp.184, 222.

[7] Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp.179-223.

[8] Ibid., p. 195, see also pp.195-205 more generally.

[9] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 110, see more broadly pp.109-112.

were used both by Iberian and by English colonists - he stated that 'the stereotype of the Indian sodomite helped colonists in New England [...] to justify the dispossession and destruction of the Indians'.[10] Neither Goldberg nor Matar demonstrate deep engagement with diverse and often contradictory ideas of justification of conquest and dispossession, discussed by Pagden, Hart, Mackenthun, Fitzmaurice, Armitage and others, mentioned above. This chapter aims to reassess the arguments of Goldberg and Matar in the context of the historiographies of the development of colonial thought. It revisits some of the specific evidence used both by Goldberg and Matar, including texts by Peter Martyr and John Cotton, to show that these texts are not always susceptible to straightforward readings claiming that they demonstrate a direct link between sodomy and justification of conquest.

This chapter also engages with some more nuanced arguments, first put forward by, among others, Richard Trexler. Trexler's argument differed from both Goldberg's and Matar's readings of sodomy in early modern European encounter with the Americas. It was a given for Trexler that 'the Iberians claimed the right to conquer native American males once they demonstrated that the latter practiced "sodomy"'.[11] However, Trexler's broader argument was that many early modern Iberian observers and commentators associated sodomy with 'powerless' nations, rather than only with foreign, non-Christian or 'barbaric' ones.[12] As a result, 'great empires of the American world were marvellously free of' sodomy, which formed the context of Iberian assumption of 'the mantle of Aztec and Inca legitimacy'.[13] This chapter will demonstrate that early modern English vernacular discourses had a variety of frameworks for conceptualising Native American sexuality and its role in justifications of conquest. It will build on Trexler's reading of early modern texts to argue that not only Amerindian empires, but all societies in the world, whether Muslim, Christian

[10] Ibid., p. 111.

[11] Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 1.

[12] Ibid., p. 148.

[13] Ibid., p. 148.

or Pagan, were conceptualised by vernacular English texts as changing over time. This processual nature of Anglophone assessments of human customs brings us to the role of race in this story.

Discussions of sexuality, colonialism, and race, especially in the early modern context, form the context for the second part of my argument. Carmen Nocentelli's work is significant in this field, as she was one of the first scholars to 'study how eros and ethnos intersected during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries'.[14] Nocentelli argued that in the early modern period, 'sodomy became a racial trait - a habit assumed to be so pervasive among some Southeast Asian populations as to require no exception, proof or explanation'.[15] Sodomy became a 'category of identity, an innate trait that could be made to reveal itself even in the absence of illicit behaviour'.[16] Nocentelli's argument is based on her analysis of *Itinerario,* a text this chapter will discuss at a later stage. Nocentelli acknowledged that her argument was based on her interpretation of an illustration from the *Itinerario*, and that it contradicts the actual text of it, which directly states that sodomy in Pegu (Burma) was a thing of the past.[17] This chapter analyses the same text to come to the opposite conclusion. Reading the text, not interpreting the illustration, is key, as the stress on indigenous regulation of sexuality and the inherent processualism of that narrative - a society was sodomitical until it was not anymore - formed a consistent pattern of the way in which vernacular English texts viewed foreign sodomy.

This chapter will make two specific interventions into existing historiographies of sexuality and encounter. First, it is argued that although some European commentators used sodomy to justify conquest, this was by no means the only discourse on sodomy and conquest in early modern Europe. Anglophone authors employed a range of often contradictory arguments in favour of

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[14] Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 5.

[15] Ibid., p. 37

[16] Ibid., p. 39.

[17] Ibid., p. 39.

conquest, and sodomy hardly ever featured in those justifications. Sodomy and conquest have long been connected by scholars of early modern encounter. Jonathan Goldberg, Richard Trexler, and Nabil Matar in particular have argued that in the cases of the Spanish conquest of the Americas and English involvement in North America, sodomy was used as a rhetorical device to justify conquest.[18] This chapter will argue that these readings of sodomy and conquest are necessarily selective, as many early modern Spanish and English authors either did not justify conquest with references to sodomy or openly argued the opposite. Moreover, the very competition between the English and the Spanish for colonial possessions in the Americas encouraged English authors, editors, and translators to represent Spain as a cruel imperial power with no legitimate rights of possession in the Americas. Many texts initially written in Spanish (such as the works of Bartholomé de las Casas and Garcilaso de la Vega), which represented a much more complex connection between sodomy and conquest, were translated and published in English either as a direct result of this imperial struggle or within the context of that intellectual climate.[19] Although the 'civilising mission' was undoubtedly present in Anglophone justifications of conquest, as Andrew Fitzmaurice has demonstrated, justifications of conquest were often confused and contradictory even within the works of the same author.[20] The first part of this chapter demonstrates some of these complexities around sodomy and conquest in early modern Anglophone discourses, infused by Spanish debates, and argue that more often than not, sodomy was not used as a justification for English or Scottish colonisation in the Americas.

The second part of this chapter develops this idea further by analysing Anglophone discourses about the regulation of sodomitical behaviours around the world. It builds on the work of historians of race and racial theorists such as Ann Stoler, Gerd Baumann, and Denise Buell, who emphasised the dual roles that fixity and flexibility play in the construction of racial thinking.[21] Baumann

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[18] Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen* pp.110-1; Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries* p.194; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, p.149.

[19] On Spanish influence on English colonialism, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 3.

[20] Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p.137 and Chapter 5 more generally.

[21] Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2016), Chapter 7; Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic, and Religious*

argued that 'processual theory [the idea that culture develops over time] is implicit in all essentialist rhetoric'.[22] This chapter argues that processual theory was not only inherent but actively emphasised in Anglophone discussions of foreign sexualities past and present through a stress on regulation, law making, and authority in descriptions of sexual cultures. Using a series of disparate case studies, this chapter argues that Anglophone texts stressed the capacity of various societies, Muslim and Catholic, Pagan and Christian, past and present, to regulate sodomy, and the necessity of doing so without an obvious Christian framework for understanding sodomy or the need to regulate it. Anglophone writers identified examples of such regulation and prosecution in the Pagan past and throughout the world. As a result, although English conceptions of sodomy itself stemmed from the Scriptures, sodomy and the need to prosecute sodomy on a global scale were separated from Christianity. Anglophone texts represented prosecution of sodomy as something all societies should aspire to and something all societies had a capacity to regulate without Christian intervention. As a result, many discussions of sodomy represented it as a fluid and unfixed custom, which could be encouraged by certain behaviour of rulers or by a lack of prosecution, or discouraged and even eradicated by proper regulation.

This inherent unfixity resulted in fixing heteronormativity and, potentially, heterosexuality as the aspirational ideal of sexual behaviour. In other words, an emphasis on processual development of heteronormativity essentialised it as the global erotic and sexual norm, which societies with non-heteronormative understandings of gender and sexuality would be compared to. These ideas resonate with Valerie Traub's argument for a move towards a 'global erotic normality' in Anglophone discourses in this period.[23] Using visual evidence present in early modern European maps, Traub argued that the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed 'a specifically

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Identities (New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 1999), pp.91-2; Denise Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp.3-21; see a more extensive discussion in the Introduction to this thesis.

[22] Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle*, p.92.

[23] Valerie Traub, "Mapping the Global Body" in Peter Erickson, Clark Hulse (eds.), *Early Modern Visual Culture. Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp.71, 82.

heterosexual idiom' which 'reflects and enforces an emerging discourse of 'domestic heterosexuality', and that 'through the repetition of erotic sameness, the naturalness of heterosexual monogamy is enforced'.[24] This chapter will argue that a similar process can be observed in textual evidence, which emphasised regulation of sodomy within the legal and social frameworks of foreign societies.

This chapter will examine a series of emblematic case studies to make these arguments. The first part of the chapter focuses on Anglophone reception of Spanish texts about Native American sodomy, especially the work of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616). It also discusses some arguments for the dispossession of Native Americans in a variety of early Anglophone American pro-colonial texts. The second half of the chapter focuses on several case studies, including Anglophone perceptions of Italy as a sodomitical nation, Anglophone views of Ancient Greek sodomy, and Anglophone concepts of sodomy in Persia and Pegu. These case studies do not represent a unified discourse but a plurality of different discourses and contexts. However, read in conjunction with each other, they produce a framework for understanding Anglophone attitudes to sodomy and human difference in a global but unifying context of the perceived need for regulation of sodomitical behaviours.

Sodomy and conquest

Some early modern Anglophone authors actively pursued a justification of military conquest based on the ideas of 'civilising the Barbarian'. In the 1580s, Richard Hakluyt, often hailed as one of the ideological founding fathers of English imperialism, argued that 'to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the Pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason'.[25] Robert Gray, the author of a 1609 sermon

[24] Ibid., p.82.

[25] Richard Hakluyt, Richard Hakluyt, and E.G.R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyt. Volumes 1 & 2* (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1935), Vol.2, p.368; quotes in Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p.140.

promoting colonisation in Virginia, argued that 'that a Christian King may lawfullie make warre vppon barbarous and Sauage people [...] to reclaime and reduce those Sauages from their barbarous kinde of life [...] brutish and ferine manners'.[26] However, as Andrew Fitzmaurice argued, Anglophone justifications of conquest were incoherent between authors, at different points in time, and often within the writings of the same author. Fitzmaurice further argued that many promoters of colonisation often denied any intention of possession even once they had made arguments justifying possession.[27] The story of Anglophone conceptions of imperialism and colonialism and their connection to the vices of the local population is complex, nuanced, nonlinear, and far from a simple equation of foreign sodomy with the right to conquer sodomitical societies.

Very few early modern Anglophone texts referred to sodomy in the context of colonialism directly. However, at least one text, published in English in 1699, argued that foreign sodomy did not give Christians a right to conquer non-Christians. The text was published as a retelling of arguments of Bartholome de las Casas, whose *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* was originally published in 1552 and first translated into English in 1583.[28] The quote on sodomy is worth quoting in full, as it demonstrates the multitude of contexts in which foreign sodomy and conquest were seen at the end of the seventeenth century in Anglophone discourses:

> 'He [de las Casas] says, If God severely punish'd the Crimes of the Sodomites, *it does not therefore follow that we may take upon us to punish all Infidels for their unnatural Pollutions*: That we are to admire the Judgments of God, but not always to imitate every thing he does. He says, we may punish Infidels if they blaspheme the Holy Name of God, or dishonour the Saints and the Church; if they openly hinder the publication of the Faith, and if they massacre those that preach it: but that *it is not lawful to declare War against*

[26] Robert Gray, *A Good Speed to Virginia* (London, 1609), Sig.C4r; Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p.146; as Chapter 5 of this thesis shows, *brutish* was often used to refer to sodomy.

[27] Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, p.137-8.

[28] Roberto A. Valdeón, 'Tears of the Indies and the Power of Translation: John Phillips' Version of Brevísima Relación De La Destrucción De Las Indias', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89:6 (2012), 839-58, p.841.

> *'em merely on the account of their Idolatry, their unnatural Sins, or any other Crimes they commit among themselves.*[29] (my italics)

This quote demonstrates the enduring significance of God's punishment of Sodomites as a major framework for conceptualising and regulating sexual behaviours in early modern England, and its potential for justification of conquest. The text itself aims to attract the attention of the reader to the 'unparallel'd cruelties on the Indians' of the Spaniards, which led to 'the destruction of above forty millions of people' through the authority of de las Casas, 'who was an eye-witness of their cruelties'. This immediately puts it in the context of the discourses opposing the Spanish colonisation of the Americas.

Sodomy and other unnatural practices were at the heart of sixteenth-century Spanish debates on *dominium* – 'a faculty and a right which one has over anything to use it for his own benefit by any means which is permitted by law' – in the Americas.[30] For some early modern Spanish authors, sodomy justified conquest and *dominium* of the Spanish crown over the Indies. Juan Gines de Sepulveda, the emperor's chaplain and official historian, argued in 1550 that Native Americans were not civil beings capable of *dominium* because they constantly violated the laws of nature through cannibalism, sodomy, and other unnatural practices.[31] For Sepulveda, crucially, 'a man may perform certain unnatural acts as an individual', as people from all nations did, and 'retain his

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[29] Bartolomé de las Casas, *An Account Of The First Voyages And Discoveries Made By The Spaniards In America Containing The Most Exact Relation Hitherto Publish'd, Of Their Unparallel'd Cruelties On The Indians, In The Destruction Of Above Forty Millions Of People : With The Propositions Offer'd To The King Of Spain To Prevent The Further Ruin Of The West-Indies / By Don Bartholomew De Las Casas, Bishop Of Chiapa, Who Was An Eye-Witness Of Their Cruelties ; Illustrated With Cuts ; To Which Is Added, The Art Of Travelling, Shewing How A Man May Dispose His Travels To The Best Advantage* (London: Printed by J. Darby for D. Brown, 1699), p.156.

[30] Anthony Pagden, 'Dispossessing the barbarian: The language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians', in Anthony Pagden (ed.), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.81. The quote is by the Spanish scholastic theologian Domingo de Soto from the 1556 *De iustitia et iure*, quoted in Pagden.

[31] Ibid., p.90.

humanity', but he 'may not set up "*laws and institutions*" contrary to nature'.[32] Thus, a society which promoted or did not adequately regulate sodomy constituted grounds for just war.[33]

This position was debated by several prominent sixteenth-century Spanish thinkers. As Anthony Pagden has demonstrated, for the School of Salamanca scholars such as Francisco de Vitoria and Melchor Cano, a ruler had no right to conquer the territory of another prince in order to punish cases of 'simple fornication', as 'no nation on earth is free' of fornication.[34] Moreover, for Thomists, 'crimes against nature do not admit of degrees', so fornication was treated in the same way sodomy or cannibalism would be. Thus, even if Native Americans were guilty of cannibalism, sodomy, and human sacrifice – things Vitoria was doubtful about – that would not deprive them of *dominium*, and neither would their paganism.[35] Juan de la Peña, a close friend of Las Casas, argued that 'manifest errors' of societies are simply a culmination of the errors of various individuals of that society.[36] This context shows that the 'de las Casas' quote from the 1699 English text of his writings reflected not only his specific views on the unacceptability of justifying conquest through native sodomy, but also the wider intellectual milieu within which that view was developed. De las Casas was not a sole voice or representative of a marginal and minority opinion, and the endurance of his arguments in English more than a century after his death shows his continuing influence on Anglophone thinking about conquest and human difference.

These discussions, and the texts of Vitoria and de las Casas in particular, were significant in the formation of English justifications of colonial projects from the 1580s onwards. The historic context outlined above demonstrates that the quote on sodomy in the 1699 text reflected the real debates of a century and a half earlier. Spanish imperialism in the Americas, and these debates specifically, shaped the ideas behind English and (to an extent) Scottish colonisation of both Ireland and the Americas. Most English authors pursued a version of Vittoria's arguments.

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[32] Ibid., p.91.

[33] Ibid., p.91.

[34] Ibid., p.87.

[35] Ibid., p.84.

[36] Ibid., p.94.

Sodomy and other customs were not emphasised in Anglophone justifications of colonisation.[37] According to David Armitage, although Purchas argued that hypocrites and heathens have only natural, not public and private civil rights, to their property, 'this distinction did not empower dispossession', as Native Americans were 'villains not to us but to our and their Lorde'.[38] Moreover, various arguments against dispossession of Native Americans were advanced by a variety of Anglophone writers.[39] For example, it was argued in *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, possibly written by John Locke and published in 1672, that 'idolatry, ignorance or mistake gives us noe right to expel or use them ill'.[40] These discourses demonstrate that sodomy, as well as any other behaviour, was not universally seen as a justification for conquest in Anglophone discourses.

Some of the most popular arguments for dispossessing Native Americans in seventeenth-century Anglophone discourses were the concepts of *res nullius* and *vacuum domicilium* – in short, the idea that Native Americans were not cultivating their land and thus had no civil right to it.[41] This is the context in which we should read the writings of John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay Colony, on dwelling 'among the Sodomites' in his 1629 dialogue about dispossession. Nabil Matar has argued that the text shows that the sodomy of the natives gives the colonisers a 'warrant' to establish a colony.[42] In fact, the text is much more reflective of discourses of dispossession on the grounds of land usage. Winthrop argued that Christians 'have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as

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[37] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, pp.88-9.

[38] Ibid., p.92.

[39] Ibid., p.96.

[40] *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina* (1672,), p.18.

[41] Armitage, *The Ideological Origins*, p.97. See debates on this in Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America*, pp.143-4. See also James Tully, 'Rediscovering America: The Two Treatises and Aboriginal Rights' in J. Tully and Q. Skinner, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) for more context.

[42] Matar, *Turks, Moors and Englishmen*, p.111.

they have manured for their corne) as lawfully as *Abraham did among the Sodomites*'.[43] There is no indication in the text that Native Americans are sodomites. Moreover, the argument before and after this quote focuses on the rights of nomadic people to the land they do not cultivate, not on their customs or property rights based on customs. Winthrop's argument regarding natural right to land, which all humans possess, and civil right to enclosed land was representative of *res nullius* and *vacuum domicilium* discourses. He confirmed that they, like any humans, have a natural right to land. In this context, the quote about 'dwelling among the Sodomites' is not about the property rights of sinners, but about the right of Christians to dwell among the unbelievers, leaving them the land they have rightfully enclosed for cultivation. This argument was in line with the wider 'invention of improvement', in the words of Paul Slack, in early modern England: a rise in the importance of improvement and cultivation as a justification for colonisation and as a defining feature of English customs.[44]

The 'civilising mission' was interconnected with evangelisation and sometimes used to justify violent conquest.[45] However, the connection between conversion and conquest was complex. Although civilisation did not equal salvation for Calvinists, Native Americans were seen as in need of being civilised before they could be evangelised.[46] As Catherine Ballériaux has recently

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[43] Thomas Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers (1769)*, pp.27–31, from the papers of Francis Higginson and ascribed to him; Hutchinson Papers (Prince Society, 1865), vol.I, pp.29–34, http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php/view/PWF02d073#PWF02d073n1, accessed 03/12/2020.

[44] Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.67-68, 97-99.

[45] See for example William Strachey, L. B. Wright and Virginia Freund (eds.), *The Historie of Traveil into Virginia Brittania* [1612] (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), pp.23-5. Betty Wood, 'Strachey, William (1572–1621), historian of Virginia', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 4 Nov. 2020, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26623

[46] Richard Hakluyt, David B. Quinn, Alison M.Quinn (eds.), *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge The Greate Necessitie And Manifolde Commodyties That Are Like To Growe To This Realme Of Englande By The Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted (...)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1993), p.8; see also Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 30:4 (1973), 575-98, p.586. See also William Perkins, *The Whole Treatise Of The Cases Of Conscience Distinguished Into Three Bookes: The First Whereof Is Revised And Corrected In Sundrie Places, And The Other Two Annexed. Taught And Deliuered by M. W. Perkins in His Holy-Day Lectures, Carefully Examined By His Owne Briefes, And Now Published Together For The Common Good, By T.*

reminded us in her comparative account of Protestant and Catholic mission, 'Covenant Theology required the establishment of a form of civility based on scriptural injunctions', and the 'implementation' of the Covenant of Law 'would trigger the humiliation necessary for regeneration among the elect' and at the same time 'control the unregenerate'.[47] Civility was a precondition to conversion, but it did not have to be developed through conquest or direct rule. John Eliot, one of the leading English missionaries to the Native Americans, stated that Native Americans should build their own towns so they 'might larne experience by practice & my end being to civilize the wild people'.[48] Finally, the Covenant of Grace required consent. In the words of Thomas Hooker, one of the founders of the Colony of Connecticut, 'God will not save a man against his will'.[49] This shows that for Calvinists, the 'civilising mission' was a precursor for conversion, but not really a justification for conquest, dispossession, or political domination.

European 'civilisation' and evangelisation by corrupt Christians could also be seen as harmful to the native populations, in the worst cases introducing new vices to their societies. The writings of de las Casas were used in Anglophone discourses to make this argument against Spanish Catholic colonisation of the New World. De Las Casas passionately argued that Amerindian societies were not sodomitical. First published in English as *The Spanish Colonie* in 1583, his *Brevísima Relación* argued that the accusations of 'the abhominable sinne against nature [...] is a wretched and false

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Pickering Bachelour of Diuinitie. Whereunto Is Adioyned a Twofold Table: One Of The Heads And Number Of The Questions Propounded And Resolued; Another Of The Principall Texts Of Scripture Vvhich Are Either Explaned, Or Vindicated From Corrupt Interpretation (Cambridge: Iohn Legat, Printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, 1606), p.470.

[47] Catherine Ballériaux, *Missionary Strategies in the New World, 1610-1690: An Intellectual History* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.61.

[48] John Eliot, 'to the worshipfull Mr Steele president, with the rest of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in America, 8th of the 10th 1652', *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Boston*, 1882, vol. XXXVI, p. 296, quoted in Ballériaux, *Missionary Strategies*, p.71.

[49] T.H [Thomas Hooker], *The Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ* (London: Printed by Tho Cotes for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the Blacke Beare in Saint Pauls Churchyard, 1638), p.27. On Hooker and this text see Sargent Bush, 'Four New Works by Thomas Hooker: Identity and Significance', *Resources for American Literary Study* 4:1 (1974): 3–26.

slaunder'.[50] Goldberg used de las Casas as the first of many Western European and sometimes Native American 'defenders' of the native populations who denied and obscured pre-conquest sexual diversity.[51] Anglophone editions of his writings took this argument further by claiming that he said that Catholicism spoiled the innocence of Amerindians. The 1656 English edition of his writings omitted any mention of sodomy or vice on the part of the natives; instead, it argued that the Spanish priests who 'should instruct [natives] in the Catholick Faith' instead 'defiled with all manner of vices.'[52] Although in this case the idea that Christians could be corrupt was used to serve a specifically anti-Catholic argument, the idea that the natives were closer to Eden than the Europeans was developed in some Protestant discourses.[53] Roger Williams argued that

> When Indians heare the horrid filths,
>
> Of Irish, English Men,
>
> The horrid Oaths and Murthers late,
>
> Thus say these Indians then.
>
> We weare no Cloaths, have many Gods,
>
> And yet our finnes are lesse:
>
> You are Barbarians, Pagans wild,

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[50] Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie, Or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and Gestes of the Spaniardes in The West Indies, Called the Newe World, For the Space Of Xl. Yeeres: Written in The Castilian Tongue by The Reuerend Bishop Bartholomew De Las Cases or Casaus, A Friar of The Order of S. Dominicke. And Nowe First Translated into English, by M.M.S.* (London: [By Thomas Dawson] for William Brome, 1583), Sig.Q3v.

[51] Goldberg, *Sodometries*, p.194.

[52] Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Tears of the Indians Being an Historical and True Account of the Cruel Massacres and Slaughters of above Twenty Millions of Innocent People, Committed by the Spaniards in the Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, &c.: As Also In The Continent Of Mexico, Peru, & Other Places Of The West-Indies, To The Total Destruction Of Those Countries / Written In Spanish By Casaus, An Eye-Witness Of Those Things ; And Made English by J.P.* (London: Printed by J.C. for Nath. Brook, at the Angel in Cornhil, 1656), p.18.

[53] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Christianity and Civilization in Sixteenth-Century Ethnological Discourse' in Henriette Bugge and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds.), *Shifting Cultures: Interaction and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe* (Saarbrücken: LIT Verlag, 1995), p.52.

Your Land's the Wildernesse.[54]

The discourse of improvement and civilising mission were, as the classical humanist context shows, not limited to a Christian/Pagan dichotomy. Instead, they and the processualism inherent in them were crucial for the creation of the language and framework of global erotic normality. There was a renewed emphasis on the ancient world and using Roman and Greek precedents to discuss the ideas of civility built on Thomist ideas of cultural diversity inherent in the concepts of divine human and natural law.[55] According to Joan-Pau Rubiés, humanist historiography attempted to 're-create an indigenous history (and thus rationality) outside any obvious European frame of reference'. [56] This attempt was developed by historians of mixed ancestry, 'indigenous intellectuals', in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[57] As a result, non-European peoples were seen as having had 'legitimate pre-Christian historical identities as civilized peoples', capable of rational customs and laws, as the Thomist arguments on dispossession discussed above show.[58] Rubiés argued that the language of nature created a framework in which Christian and non-Christian societies alike could be compared and contrasted in naturalistic terms, irrespective of Revelation, through a 'language of the rational moral understanding common to humankind'.[59]

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[54] Roger Williams, *A Key into the Language of America, or, An Help to the Language of the Natives in That Part of America Called New-England Together with Briefe Observations of the Customes, Manners and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death : On All Which Are Added Spirituall Observations, Generall And Particular, By The Authour ...* (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643), p.137; this is a common Protestant trope used here by a prominent separatist. See more in Teresa M. Bejan, *Mere Civility: Disagreement and the Limits of Toleration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp.50-82.

[55] For more on this, see Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.10-24, 27-57.

[56] Rubiés, 'Christianity and Civilization', p.41.

[57] See Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis (eds.), *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), for more context on indigenous intellectual cultures in the Spanish colonies.

[58] Rubiés, 'Christianity and Civilization', p.42.

[59] Ibid., pp.41, 49.

These ideas formed the basis for what amounted to proclaiming heteronormative behaviours as a feature of civilised societies irrespective of their Christianity.

Garcilasco de la Vega's *The Royal Commentaries of Peru* is an exemplary case study of this process. Richard Trexler has argued that de la Vega was the first author under whose pen 'a pan-imperial suppression of sodomitic behaviour became part of a conscious Incaic process of civilisation'.[60] Garcilaso de la Vega, an illegitimate son of a Spanish *conquistador* and an Inca noblewoman, was born in the early years after the conquest (1539), travelled to Spain aged 21, was educated there, and wrote one of the first histories of Peru available on the European market.[61] The first part of his history of the Incas, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, was published in Lisbon in 1609, and the whole work was published the year after his death, in 1617. The work was first translated into English in 1688 by Paul Rycaut, best known for his own works on the Ottoman Empire, discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. Rycaut's translation indexed *Sodomy* under a qualifier of 'how punished', indicating both the perceived importance of the subject to the reader on the publisher's part and the angle the reader was encouraged to approach the subject from: not as something exotic, but specifically as something requiring punishment.[62] The word 'sodomy' itself appears in the text 13 times, but is indexed only to two separate mentions, both discussing punishment. The prevalence of the practice in local religion on page 10 of the book is not indexed, for instance. Thus the text, the translation, and the editorial choices formulated the framework for the understanding of sodomy in pre-Inca and Inca society. De la Vega's influence in English and other European languages continued well into the eighteenth century. For example, the entry for

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[60] Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, p.149.

[61] http://www.librosperuanos.com/autores/autor/1067/Garcilaso-de-la-Vega-Inca

[62] Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries Of Peru, In Two Parts The First Part, Treating Of The Original Of Their Incas Or Kings, Of Their Idolatry, Of Their Laws And Government Both In Peace And War, Of The Reigns And Conquests Of The Incas, With Many Other Particulars Relating To Their Empire And Policies Before Such Time As The Spaniards Invaded Their Countries : The Second Part, Describing The Manner By Which That New World Was Conquered By The Spaniards : Also The Civil Wars Between The Piçarrists And The Almagrians, Occasioned By Quarrels Arising About The Division Of That Land, Of The Rise And Fall Of Rebels, And Other Particulars Contained In That History : Illustrated With Sculptures / Written Originally In Spanish By The Inca Garcilasso De La Vega ; And Rendered Into English By Sir Paul Rycaut* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson at the Judge's-Head in Chancery-Lane near Fleetstreet, 1688), p.10.

'Aqui Titu', the general allegedly responsible for the execution of the Inca anti-sodomy law, in *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time*, arguably the most ambitious Anglophone attempt at writing universal history in the eighteenth century, was based on de la Vega's account and highly probably influenced by Rycaut's translation.[63]

De la Vega both represented the Incas as a 'civilising' force and stressed the universality of the need to prosecute sodomy in his account. He outlined the practice of sodomy among the 'Ancient Indian' population of the land before the Inca conquest. Building on the work of Pedro Cieza de León and directly referencing Chapter 24 of Cieza's *Chronicle of Peru*, not available to the early modern Anglophone reader, de la Vega argued that 'Sodomy was used' among the pre-Inca population of Peru 'in secret, and as a crime'.[64] So, even in reference to the pre-Inca peoples, de la Vega was at pains to stress the transgressive nature of sodomy and the universal expectation to criminalise and prosecute it. He interpreted publicly acceptable sodomy as a pagan religious rite. He stated that 'the Devil persuaded them to it in their Temples, as a pleasure which their Gods delighted in, that so under the guise of Religion he might take off that veil of Modesty, which covered humane nature'.[65] Sodomy was represented as socially acceptable in this society only in a religious context.

Although sodomy outside of the temples was a 'crime' even in pre-Inca society, de la Vega very clearly designated the Incas as more intolerant of sodomy than their predecessors. After the bloodless conquest of 'the Vale of Hacari', the Inca 'Capac Yupanqui' made 'strict inquisition concerning those who were esteemed guilty of that sin of Sodomy'. De la Vega stressed that not only those 'evidently convicted', but also those 'suspected' of the crime were punished: 'burn those alive in a publick place'. The law was not just against the deed or the suspicion of the deed, but also the mention of it. The crime and the punishment applied not only to the person who committed sodomy, but their family as well. Their 'Houses, their Trees and Inheritance' were destroyed. The latter was to be as much a preventative as a punitive measure, as 'the Inca

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[63] George Sale, George Psalmanazar, Archibald Bower, George Shelvocke, John Campbell, et al., *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time*, Vol.44 (London: T. Osborne, 1766), pp.35-6.

[64] De la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, p.10.

[65] Ibid., p.10.

commanded that they should proclaim and publish this his Edict against Sodomy for the future to be'. However, it was important to de la Vega to stress that the law not only existed but was actively used and welcomed by the pre-Conquest population. He argued that 'this new Law was with great admiration and astonishment of the Natives put into execution on the Offendours'.[66] Legislated by the Inca, it was actually executed in this territory by the general in charge of the conquest of the Valley. Although other similar texts were not widely available in English, de la Vega was not alone in representing an indigenous empire as an anti-sodomitical force. Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a Mexican author of indigenous origins and the governor of Texcoco, wrote in 1606 that the Chichimecs severely punished all 'unnatural' sexual activity.[67]

All these discussions show that early modern Anglophone texts, written in English or translated, saw civilisation as a precursor to Christianity but did not necessarily see Christianity as integral to civilisation. Non-Christian societies could be civilised in their own right. They were not only capable but required to punish sodomy in their lands. However, even if they did not, for most Anglophone authors their sodomitical behaviours did not justify conquest. An amalgamation of Spanish Thomist ideas, Calvinist discourses on conversion, and discussions of vacant land, among others, created an intellectual environment in which prosecution of sodomy, still a Christian concept at its core, could be imagined as integral and necessary in a society untouched by Revelation. Heteronormativity was reinforced as a global erotic norm all societies should aspire to as a rational and natural model of sexual behaviour.

Global erotic normality

Connecting sodomy and authority in early modern Anglophone discourses resulted in the establishment of a processual framework of a 'global erotic normality'. Disparate Anglophone

[66] All quotes ibid., p.75.

[67] Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality & Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap of Harvard University Press, 2003), p.317.

discourses on places as different as Italy and Pegu or Persia and Ancient Greece emphasised regulation of sodomy as a desirable and necessary feature of a society, be it Catholic, Pagan, or Muslim. Anglophone texts often emphasised the processual aspect of regulation, connecting it to change in a society which had been sodomitical in the past but was no longer. The processual nature of conceptions of regulation of sodomy limited the extent to which sodomy was used as a lens to essentialise sexual difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. Early modern Anglophone texts were as likely to emphasise sexual sameness as they were to stress sexual difference, as it reinforced and elevated the status of a particular form of sexuality – heteronormativity – to a global norm, part of the natural order of things.

Italy was strongly associated with sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourse. On the one hand, the association between sodomy and Italy in Anglophone discourses was connected to anti-Catholic and anti-Papal discourses.[68] On the other hand, other Catholic countries such as Spain were not associated with sodomy. Moreover, in the case of Italy, the association was with various locations in Italy, not just Rome and the Papacy. The Scottish traveller William Lithgow described Padua as 'the most melancholy City in Europe', saying that 'for beastly Sodomy, it is as rife heere as in Rome, Naples, Florence'.[69] The stereotype of the Italian sodomite is the clearest example of a 'national' trait being reflected in the wider Anglophone discourse. Innocent Gentille, a French Hugenot whose writings were published in English in 1602, used accusations of sodomy as a part of his wider anti-Machiavellian argument. He listed sodomy, alongside 'atheisme, trecherie,

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[68] Anonymous, *Sodom Fair: Or, The Market Of The Man Of Sin Containing, A True Account Of The Prices Of The Pope's Pardons And Dispensations; Being A Treatise Very Useful And Necessary For All Young English Papists Who Intend To Take Holy Orders, Or Travel Through Italy; And All Such As Intend To Be Cheated Both Out Of Their Souls And Money. To Which Is Added, The History of Adultery, As It Is Now at Rome by Law Established; With the Life of Clement the Sixth, And Blasphamous Bull Which He Published for The Year Of Jubele, 1350*. (London, 1688), pp.3, 5, 9-10.

[69] William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, Of The Rare Adventures, And Painefull Peregrinations Of Long Nineteene Yeares Travailes From Scotland, To The Most Famous Kingdomes In Europe, Asia, And Affrica Perfited By Three Deare Bought Voyages, In Surveying Of Forty Eight Kingdomes Ancient And Modern; Twenty One Rei-Publicks, Ten Absolute Principalities, With Two Hundred Islands. ... Divided Into Three Bookes: Being Newly Corrected, And Augmented In Many Severall Places, With The Addition Of A Table Thereunto Annexed Of All The Chiefe Heads. Wherein Is Contayed An Exact Relation Of The Lawes, Religions, Policies And Governments Of All Their Princes, Potentates And People. Together With the Grievous Tortures He Suffered by The Inquisition of Malaga In Spaine ... And Of His Last and Late Returne from The Northern Isles, And Other Places Adjacent* (London: By I. Okes, 1640), p.43.

crueltie, usurie' as a part of the 'most detestable corruption' of Frenchmen, caused by the influence of Machiavelli and Italians in general.[70] Another Italian, Aretino, as Ian Frederick Moulton has argued, 'was emblematic of erotic corruption just as Machiavelli was of political corruption […] in England many of Aretino's texts were known only by reputation, but his cultural importance extended far beyond the small group of men and women who had actually read his works'.[71]

Although Italian (rather than Ancient Roman) sodomy was most often conceptualised as a current occurrence, at least one source situated it in the past and used it to comment on good governance. William Thomas' 1549 *The Historie of Italy* defined itself as 'a boke excedyng profitable to be redde: because it intreateth of the astate of many and diuers common weales, how thei haue ben, [and] now be gouerned'.[72] Thus, its discussion of sodomy and sexual transgression was by definition made in the context of discourses around good governance. The Welshman Thomas had a colourful career; he spent most of the 1540s in Bologna, wrote a very public defence of the character of Henry VIII after his death, became a clerk of the privy council to Edward VI, translated Josapat Barbaro's account of voyages to the east, wrote several political discourses for the king, took part in the Wyatt conspiracy, and was executed for treason in 1554.[73]

Thomas conceptualised Italian sodomy as a thing of the past. In his description of Florence, he argued that 'they haue been muche burdeined with Sodomie in tyme past. I can not perceiue there is any suche thyng now'.[74] He commended Duke Cosimo Medici as an example of an efficient and

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[70] Innocent Gentillet, *A Discourse Vpon the Meanes of Vvel Governing and Maintaining in Good Peace, a Kingdome, or Other Principalitie. Divided Into Three Parts, Namely, The Counsell, The Religion, and the Policie, Vvhich A Prince Ought To Hold And Follow. Against Nicholas Machiavell the Florentine. Translated into English by Simon Patericke* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1602), p.116.

[71] Ian Frederick Moulton, *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.31.

[72] William Thomas, *The Historie of Italie a Boke Excedyng Profitable to Be Redde: Because It Intreateth of The Astate of Many and Diuers Common Weales, How Thei Haue Ben, [And] Now Be Gouerned* (London: T[homas] B[erthelet], 1549), title of the book.

[73] D. Hamilton, 'Thomas, William (d. 1554), scholar, administrator, and alleged traitor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Retrieved 29 Oct. 2019, from https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27242.

[74] Thomas, *The Historie of Italie*, p.139.

just ruler. Cosimo was 'learned and wyse', his 'administracion of iustice' was 'so sincere', and his low tax taxation policy was benevolent. In short, 'in hym [...] Florence hath founde hir longe desired liberte'.[75] A key part of this perfect prince was that he 'hath restreigned the Uice of Sodomie (which heretofore reigned more in Florence than elswhere in Italy) with paine of death'.[76] By contrast, Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, 'oppressed his subiectes' and 'he became hated of all men: insomuche that the Conte Giouanni Aguzzolo, and the Conte Augustino di Pallauicini [...] conspired against hym' and assassinated him. He was 'a man knowen full of abhominacion in all kinde of vices, and specially in the vnnaturall'.[77] Thomas' choice to include him in a discussion of history and governance and to focus on his political shortcomings and eventual assassination is a deliberate comment on sodomy and good governance. Thomas' discourse was universalising: although Pier was an illegitimate son of a Pope and thus fitted the archetype of a corrupted member of the Papal court, Cosimo was also a Catholic. Persecution of sodomy was shown by Thomas to be a universal sign of good governance, crossing confessional boundaries in one of the most divisive religious and political contexts of the sixteenth century in the British Isles.

Universalising heterosexuality and casting it as a staple of good governance was not limited to the boundaries of Christianity. In different contexts, pagan societies could also be co-opted into a global heteronormativity, expressed through a connection between good governance and persecution of sodomy. In some contexts, eventual Christianisation of societies, either in the form of future conversion or the knowledge of historical triumph of Christianity, was expected; in others it was not. Amongst those pagan societies were Ancient Greece and Rome. Todd W. Reeser has demonstrated the ways in which Renaissance humanists interpreted Plato heteronormatively and the lasting consequences of that interpretation.[78] Although this framework was influential in interpreting Plato specifically, 'setting him straight', there were considerable anxieties about Greek

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[75] Ibid., p.159.

[76] Ibid., p.159.

[77] Ibid., p.213.

[78] Todd W. Reeser, *Setting Plato Straight: Translating Ancient Sexuality in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), pp.21-62.

and, to a lesser extent, Roman sexuality in early modern Europe. These anxieties were reflected in Anglophone discourses. Ancient Greece in particular was associated with sodomy, as were individual Roman emperors.

Ancient Greece and Rome were connected to sodomy in early modern Anglophone texts. However, early modern Anglophone authors were as likely to stress the harsh punishments for sodomy in those societies as they were to report the existence of such practices. Either way, sodomy was closely connected to good governance in early modern Anglophone texts on the ancient world. Similarly to his comments on contemporary Italy, William Thomas connected bad governance, illicit sexuality, and a warning of a possible assassination with specific Roman rulers. For example, he argued that Domitianus 'delited in vnnatural vices, and in cruel death of men [...] persecuted lerned men and Christians, had ill successe in his warres', and, not surprisingly, 'finallly through conspiracie was slaine'.[79] Such responses could be interpreted as a form of erasure of Greek and Roman same-sex practices, 'setting them straight', but could simultaneously be seen as a form of proactive engagement and recasting of those ideas. The Puritan minister of Massachusetts, Samuel Danforth, stressed the harshness of punishment of sodomy in both ancient Greece and Rome in his sermon upon the execution of Benjamin Goad for bestiality in 1674.[80] He stated that 'The *Athenians* put such to death *Theodosius* and *Arcadius* adjudged such to be Burnt. Amongst the *Romans,* it was lawful for a man to kill him that made such an assault upon him'.[81] These sources show examples of co-opting the problematic societies of the Ancient world into the 'global erotic normality'. Both arguments, relying on a legalistic lens through which to view male to male sexuality, were situated in the wider framework of understanding Ancient Greek and, to a lesser extent, Roman sexual behaviours as specific to a time and place.

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[79] Thomas, *The Historie of Italie*, p.11.

[80] Richard Godbeer, '"The Cry of Sodom": Discourse, Intercourse, and Desire in Colonial New England', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 52:2 (1995):259-86, p.264.

[81] Samuel Danforth, *The Cry of Sodom Enquired Into; upon Occasion of the Arraignment and Condemnation of Benjamin Goad, for his Prodigious Villany. Together With A Solemn Exhortation to Tremble At Gods Judgements, And To Abandon Youthful Lusts. S.D.*, (Cambridge [Mass.]: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1674), p.4.

There was potential tension between highlighting the importance of prosecution of male to male sexuality in Ancient Greece and editing that sexuality out of classical heritage altogether. For example, Dimitris Savvidis has argued that a process of explicit omission and editing-out of mentions of male prostitution in Ancient Greece took place in early modern Anglophone discourses on the Greeks.[82] He argues that the first detailed discussion of Ancient Greek male prostitution in Anglophone discourses happened in 1697, in John Potter's *Archaeologiae Graecae, or, The antiquities of Greece*. John Potter, a classics scholar in his youth who went on to become the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1737, interpreted the love of boys as a non-sexual affection between boys and men.[83] He argued that it was encouraged in Greek societies, and that sexual relationships between men and boys or men and men were strictly prosecuted.

Potter's discussion throughout the two volumes of his study of Ancient Greek society displayed engagement with the same themes as the rest of the texts in this chapter: processualism and regulation. In his chapter on the love of boys, Potter stated that it was 'uncertain' as to 'who it was that first introduc'd the Custom of loving Boys into *Greece*', highlighting that 'loving boys' was a 'custom', a learned behaviour, something Greeks themselves might have not engaged in at a certain unspecified period in the past.[84] He stressed that it was 'generally practis'd by the ancient *Grecians* [...] by the publick Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws'. He emphasised that there was 'nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Virtue' in these relationships. The love of boys was a feature of 'free Common-wealths, and all those States, that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour', which 'unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it'. By contrast, 'the Invaders of their Liberties so often experienc'd', whom he called 'Tyrants,' used 'all their Endeavours to extirpate it out of their Dominions'. Crucially, the love of boys

[82] Savvidis, 'Male prostitution', p.15.

[83] Rebecca Louise Warner, 'Potter, John (1673/4–1747), archbishop of Canterbury', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 8 Dec. 2020. https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22612

[84] John Potter, *Archæologiæ Græcæ: Or, The Antiquities Of Greece* (Oxford: Printed at the Theatre, for Timothy Child at the White-Hart, and London: John Jones at the Dolphin and Crown, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1699), p.262.

> ‘was not tainted with so much as a Suspicion of Immodesty [...] and if a Person attempted any Thing upon a Youth beside what consisted with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Laws (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemn'd him to Disgrace, whereby he was depriv'd of almost all the Privileges of free Denizons’.

In Crete specifically, older male lovers took their boys ‘by force’, which Potter interpreted as a social custom in which the families of the boys willingly gave them up if the pursuer’s ‘Quality and Virtues were answerable’. The relatives would show ‘slight Opposition to satisfy the Law’ but ultimately give ‘their consent’. The pursuer would ‘entertain’ the boy ‘some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions’ and then return ‘him home’. After the return, ‘'twas order'd by Law’, the boy would receive generous gifts from his lover. Crucially, the boy ‘gave an account of the Usage he had from his Lover, for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allow'd him Satisfaction’.[85] The love of boys was, for Potter, a desexualised admiration and emotional bond which was highly regulated in Greek society to prevent it from degenerating into a sexual relationship.

By contrast, Potter was very specific on Greek punishment for sexual relationships between men. He argued that in Athens,

> ‘he, that hath prostituted himself for a *Catamite*, shall not be elected an *Archon*, Priest, or *Syndic*, shall execute no Office, either within, or out of *Attica*'s boundaries, conferr'd by Lot, or Suffrage; he shall not be sent on an Embassie, pass Verdict, set footing within the publick Temples, be crown'd on solemnary Days, or enter the *Forum*'s purified Precincts,’

and that a death penalty would await anyone who disobeyed this law.[86] Savvidis argued that Potter was talking of prostitution, and Potter’s stress on material goods supports this view. It is far more likely that Potter used this discussion to reaffirm the strict regulation and prohibition of male to male sexual relationships in Ancient Greece. Potter referred to a variety of Ancient Greek authors to demonstrate that ‘however some Authors are inclin'd to have hard Thoughts of this Custom, yet

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[85] All these quotes ibid., pp.262-5.

[86] John Potter, *Archæologiæ Græcæ, Or, The Antiquities Of Greece* ... (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, for Abel Swall, at the Vnicorn; London: St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1697), p.162.

the Testimonies of many others, with the high Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approv'd, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations'.[87]

Greek sexuality provided a framework for a nuanced discussion of spatiality, sexuality, and processualism. Quoting Eusebius, Samuel Purchas directly connected the physical location of the city of Sodom and subsequent sexual licentiousness of later pagan cultures which ruled over the Holy Land. Following Eusebius, *Hakluyt Posthumus* argued that in Roman times a temple of Venus was 'built in the most secret retreit of *Libanus,* where Sodome (burned with fire from aboue, and drowned in a dead sea)' and that the temple 'seemed to reuiue' the 'practice of impure lusts' of the Biblical sodomites. In that temple of Venus people were 'intemperately vsing the Naturall sex, & vnnaturally abusing their owne: worse in this then the Sodomites, that these intended sensuality; they pretended Religion'.[88] Direct connections between the word 'Sodom' itself (rather than sodomy, the act) and illicit sexual activity can also be traced. A comparison between 1595 and 1653 English language editions of Christiaan van Adrichem's travelogues of Jerusalem demonstrates this. Both editions described the school of gentiles, 'wherein the people were taught the laws and fashions of the *Gentiles,* and the youth instructed in the studies and disputations of the *Greek* Philosophers'.[89] In that school, students 'being naked and annoynted with oile, exercised

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[87] Potter, *Archæologiæ Græcæ* (1699), p.263.

[88] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of The Vworld and The Religions Obserued in All Ages and Places Discouered, from the Creation Vnto This Present In Foure Partes. This First Containeth a Theologicall and Geographicall Historie of Asia, Africa, And America, With the Ilands Adiacent. Declaring The Ancient Religions Before the Floud ... With Briefe Descriptions of The Countries, Nations, States, Discoueries, Priuate and Publike Customes, And the Most Remarkable Rarities of Nature, Or Humane Industrie, In the Same. By Samuel Purchas, Minister at Estwood in Essex* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shoppe in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose, 1613), p.78.

[89] Christiaan van Adrichem, *A Briefe Description Of Hierusalem And Of The Suburbs Therof, As It Florished In The Time Of Christ Whereto Is Annexed A Short Commentarie Concerning Those Places Which Were Made Famous By The Passion Of Christ, And By The Actes Of Holye Men, Confirmed By Certeine Principall Histories Of Antiquity. Verie Profitable for Christians To Read, For The Understanding Of The Sacred Scriptures And Iosephus His Historie. Hereunto Also Is Appertaining A Liuely And Beawtifull Mappe Of Hierusalem, With Arithmeticall Directions, Correspondent To The Numbers Of This Booke. Translated Out of Latin into English by Thomas Tymme Minister* (London: Printed by Peter Short for Thomas Wright, 1595), p.24; Christiaan van Adrichem, *A Description and Explanation of 268. Places In Jerusalem and in the Suburbs Thereof, As It Flourished in the Time Of Jesus Christ Answerable to Each of the 268. Figures That Are In Its Large, And Most Exact Description in the Map; Shewing the Several Places of The Acts and Sufferings of Jesus Christ, And His Holy Apostles. As Also of The Kings, Prophets,*

themselues in feates of actiuity, in martiall actions, and in enterludes'.[90] Moreover, 'in the same place, the sayde *Apostatas* set vp EBHEBIAM, that is to say a *Stewes* of faire young boyes, wherein they committed most filthie thinges against nature, By reason thereof many fell from the lawe of God, to the manners and abhominations of the Gentiles, being as it were sould to commit monstrous wickednes'.[91] In this passage, the author describe Jewish religious leaders and argued that assuming the gentile culture, especially the study of Greek philosophers and following ancient Greek style of physical exercise, led the Jewish people away from God and towards unnatural sins. Although the word sodomy was not mentioned in the text itself, this passage (48 in the book) was indexed under 'Sodom' in the 1653 English edition, revised by the preacher Henry Jessey. In this example, sinful behaviour was layered in different time periods at a specific location. Moreover, in both cases, sodomitical practices were closely linked to religious rites and the failure of the proper execution of the laws of God. Pagan religion was identified as 'pretend', but it is made quite clear in the text that it was religious duty specifically, rather than sensuality, that pushed people towards such behaviour. The second passage comments on failing to follow proper laws, rather than on following improper ones.

Similar ideas survived into the seventeenth century in Anglophone discourses. However, the exact tone of their expression was highly contextual. For T.S., the anonymous author of a captivity narrative published in 1670, Greek sodomy was a cause for pious outrage which could be interpreted as playful satire.[92] *The Adventures* is a tricky text to read. Joseph Allen Boone took it

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&c. Very Useful for The More Clear And Fuller Opening Of Very Many Places In The Prophets (As Also In Josephus, And Other Histories) Especially In The Gospels, And The Acts Of The Apostles. Translated By T.T. Reviewed, and in Many Places Rectified According to The Holy Scriptures, And Some Things Further Cleared: With Additions of Many Scripture Proofs: By H. Jessey. Imprimatur Joseph Caryl (London: Printed for R.I. and P.S. and are to be sold by Tho. Brewster at the Three Bibles in Pauls Church-yard, near the west-end, 1653), p.28; Section 48 in both editions.

[90] van Adrichem, *A Description and Explanation Of 268. Places In Jerusalem and In The Suburbs Thereof*, p.29.

[91] Quoted from the 1595 edition; the quote is the same in the 1653 edition.

[92] Anonymous, *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.) an English Merchant Taken Prisoner By The Turks Of Argiers, And Carried Into The Inland Countries Of Africa : With A Description Of The Kingdom Of Argiers ... / Written First By The Author, And Fitted For The Public View By A. Roberts ; Whereunto Is Annex'd An Observation Of The Tide, And How To Turn A Ship Out Of The Straights Mouth, The Wind Being Westerly, By Richard Norris* (London: Printed and are to be sold by Moses Pitt ... 1670), pp.242-244; for analysis,

at face value, identifying 'Mr T.S.' as an 'English merchant taken prisoner in Algiers' and using the text to argue that 'most European travellers acknowledge the physical beauty' of the young men coveted by older Ottoman men.[93] The example sits well with Boone's wider argument concerning the homoerotic voyeurism of European observers in early modern period.[94] However, Gerald MacLean has argued that 'the book is most likely to be historically based fiction [...] crafted to fit [...] bawdy [...] Restoration literary tastes'.[95] He described this 'tale of a physically irresistible young man's sexual adventures among Maghrebi women' as a picaresque rather than a romance. MacLean's argument is quite persuasive, as he could not find any confirmation of the existence of T.S. or his identity. He also demonstrated both the publisher's anxiety about the authenticity of the text and the narrative pattern 'remarkably suited to nationalist fantasies of its historical moment'.[96] Read through this lens, the author's insistence on the credibility of his story and his attempts to refute doubts about things such as statues being people turned into stone could be understood satirically, as a form of playful engagement with (by then extinct) marvellous narratives of travel. A satirical reading of the text would also explain its voyeurism better.

A face-value reading of T.S.'s text makes the voyeurism, both heterosexual and homoerotic, quite puzzling. Read alongside Boone's other primary example of such voyeurism, Michael Baudier's *History of the Seraglio* (which Boone identified as a travel account), T.S.'s narrative looks even less like a credible captivity narrative. Baudier was not a traveller and never visited the Ottoman Empire. His text was an amalgamation of other sources written for commercial purposes, alongside many other histories he produced. Whereas both texts displayed a degree of voyeurism and sensationalism, it was precisely the status of these texts as *not* travel accounts that allowed the authors a higher degree of autonomy in discussions of same-sex activity and a chance to provide

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see Gerald M. MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp.180-2.

[93] Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p.60.

[94] Ibid., pp.36-8.

[95] MacLean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel*, pp.180-1.

[96] Ibid., pp.180, 182.

more detailed descriptions. Approaching T.S.'s text in the context of the continuous development of the universalising framework of a 'global erotic normality' is fruitful. The amount of detail he provided allows us to read the text paying special attention to processualism and, as a result, ideas of the development of same-sex activity in societies.

T.S. blended ideas of processualism, execution of judgement, and pre-Islamic legacy. In his description of Tripoli in North Africa the author spoke of a town 'in the Mountains about five days Journey from *Tripoly*', where he allegedly saw several skilfully-created, almost lifelike statues of people in different poses, statues that 'no Engraver could do the like'. Some of the statues were of a sexual nature, although T.S. did not provide details as to what exactly was happening. He did comment on local perceptions of the statues, arguing that 'The Report that runs amongst the Moors' was that the town was fruitful and rich, but that 'the Inhabitants gave themselves over to all manner of Vices, to the great scandal of human Nature, God in a moment stopp'd all their Actions, and turn'd their Bodies into firm Stone, that future Ages might see and learn to dread his power'.[97] T.S. connected the statues to the legacy of the Ancient world, comparing them to 'another such like Figure' to be found 'at Athens': 'a stone representing two men buggering one another'.[98] The author claimed to 'know no reason wherefore we should doubt of the possibility of these Relations, if we consider the Almighty power of God that causeth all things to subsist by his Influence, and can easily alter or change them as it seems good to his Divine Wisdom'.[99] The text then stressed the 'necessity that there should be such notable Examples of Gods Justice perpetuated to posterity' only as a second argument, rather than the first. The whole episode was articulated in the by now familiar manner of processualism, spatiality, and execution of justice. The statues were there to 'express his displeasure in future Ages', and they were in both the town near Tripoli and Athens specifically as 'in this Countrey, where the People are addicted to such like Villanies that Nature itself abhors'. The processual dimension of this episode allowed the author to layer several ideas about same-sex activity. The execution of divine justice itself was intentionally evocative of the story of '*Lot's* Wife turned into a Pillar of Salt', the physical result of which was witnessed in the

[97] Anon., *The Adventures of (Mr. T.S.) an English Merchant*, p.242.

[98] Ibid., p.223.

[99] Ibid., p.243.

past, as 'some very ancient Historians do affirm to have seen remaining in their days', and, consequently, of the story of Sodom and Gomorrah.[100] Moreover, by placing the narrative of the fall of the town in pre-Moorish times through connecting the aesthetics of the statues in the town to those in Athens, clearly identified as Greek, the author simultaneously highlighted the 'Moorish' views on 'buggery' as condemning the practice *and* stressed the continuation of the practice itself in the region regardless of the religion or the ethnic origins of preparators. In two sentences, the author incorporated the 'Moors' into the 'global erotic normality' by highlighting the similarities between the local story and the Biblical one, both of which stressed the need for judgement of illicit sexuality, and 'othered' the local population by emphasising their inability to live up to the standards of behaviour of this universal paradigm. Adding the Ancient Greeks as a point of comparison allowed the author to expand the geographic horizon of the argument and his universalising claim, which allowed him to move away from a potential humoral interpretation of the practice and to stress the primacy of individual choice, which needed to be regulated by both divine and secular justice.[101]

Similar ideas of prosecuting sodomy and processualism were present in Anglophone discourses on contemporary pagans around the world.[102] One of the clearest case studies demonstrating the mechanism of co-opting a non-European society into the 'global erotic normality' through commenting on its sexual diversity is the place of Pegu in early modern Anglophone imagination. The inhabitants of Pegu were widely reported to wear penis bells. Those bells were most likely a signifier of social status, and many European observers read them as such. [103]However, they were widely represented in some sources as a measure of prevention of sodomy, and that interpretation was the most influential framework for understanding the practice in Anglophone discourse. One of the first mentions of the bells in English was published in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* in

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[100] Ibid., p.244.

[101] See Chapter 3 on humoral theory.

[102] On pagans, see Peter N. Miller, 'Taking Paganism Seriously: Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-Century Histories of Religion', *Archiv Für Religionsgeschichte* 3:1 (2001), 183-209.

[103] See my M.Phil thesis for more details on this issue: Nailya Shamgunova, 'Anglophone Conceptualisations of Sexual Diversity in Southeast Asia and Japan, C.1590-1670', Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, (2015), pp.35-47.

the account of Ralph Fitch (1550?–1611), the first Englishman who travelled extensively through India and Southeast Asia.[104] The practice was then described in more detail in the account of the Dutch traveller Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, published in English in 1598.[105] The bells became a staple curiosity in Anglophone discourses on Pegu, and appeared in seventeenth-century works by Thomas Herbert and John Bulwer (both of whom have already appeared in the pages of this thesis), among others. Instead of arguing that the inhabitants of Pegu were prone to sodomy, most of these authors situated the sodomy in the past and interpreted the bells as a measure introduced by the local rulers to successfully combat the spread of sodomy. Both Fitch and Linschoten stated that the custom was 'ordained', and Francis Pretty, the author of the account of Thomas Cavendish's journey of the late 1580s published in the *Principal Navigations*, elaborated, saying that 'this custome was granted at the request of the women of the Countrey, who finding their men to be giuen to the fovvle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the Magistrates'.[106] A later account by Thomas Herbert, known for his travels through Persia, explained that 'they haue beene (in foregoing times) wicked *Sodomites;* which filthy sinne was since corrected by a Queene Rectrix', who, 'vpon paine of death', commanded her subjects to wear the bells.[107] Bulwer's synthetic account interpreted the bells as a necessary

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[104] Trevor Dickie, 'Fitch, Ralph (1550?–1611), merchant and traveller', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Accessed 11 Dec. 2020. https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9516/version/0.

[105] Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten. His Discours* (London, 1598), p.29; see Arun Saldanha, 'The Itineraries of Geography: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's Itinerario and Dutch Expeditions to the Indian Ocean, 1594–1602', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101:1 (2011):149-177.

[106] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation*, (London: By George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1599-1600), p.819; Susan M. Maxwell, 'Cavendish, Thomas (bap. 1560, d. 1592), explorer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Accessed 11 Dec. 2020. https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4942.

[107] Thomas Herbert, *A relation of some yeares trauaile, begunne anno 1626. Into Afrique and the greater Asia, especially the territories of the Persian monarchie: and some parts of the orientall Indies, and iles adiacent. Of their religion, language, habit, discent, ceremonies, and other matters concerning them. Together with the proceedings and death of the three late ambassadours: Sir D.C. Sir R.S. and the Persian Nogdi-Beg: as also the two great monarchs, the King of Persia, and the Great Mogol. By T.H. Esquier·* (London: Printed by William Stansby, and Iacob Bloome, 1634), p.195.

measure, the unnaturalness of which was justified exclusively by the ends to which it had been introduced. He argued that the bells 'would appeare most mad and filthy if it had been meerly for Ornament, Musique, or Delight'. However, he accepted the practice once he found out 'that the originall of this contrivance was, because they should not abuse the Male Sex, for, in times past all the Country was so given to that villany, that they were scarce of people; And therefore a Queen Rectrix imposed the wearing of those Balls upon them in way of restraint'.[108] These examples show that European authors, as reflected in early modern Anglophone discourses, interpreted sexual practices in a processual way, stressing the progression towards proper regulation by rulers or magistrates. Through doing so, they imposed what Traub has called 'domestic heterosexuality' as a universal and universalising paradigm, applicable to Christian and non-Christian societies regardless of potential conversion (none of the authors listed were concerned with the conversion of Peguans). Instead, the framework was there in order to co-opt non-European societies into the normative, which in turn would allow a more positive outlook on those societies.

Persia provides another interesting case study for these trends. On the one hand, Persia is a good example of Anglophone authors potentially essentialising difference through comments on sodomy, Eastern-ness, and Islam, as Chapter 4 showed. However, even within these discourses, some authors provided a more complex understanding of Persian sodomy. William Parry's *A New and Large Discourse* offers a more interesting and nuanced perspective.[109] William Parry accompanied Sir Anthony Shirley in his travels through the Ottoman Empire, Persia, and Russia. He wrote an account of their travels. The Shirley brothers, Anthony in particular, were trying to establish themselves as the central contact between England and the Persian court. They were

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[108] J. B. (John Bulwer), *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd, or the Artificial Changeling. Historically Presented, in the Mad and Cruel Gallantry, Foolish Bravery, Ridiculous Beauty, Filthy Fineness, And Loathesome Loveliness of Most Nations, Fashioning & Altering Their Bodies from The Mould Intended by Nature. With A Vindication of The Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature, And an Appendix of The Pedigree of The English Gallant* (London: J. Hardesty, 1650), p.350.

[109] William Parry, *A New and Large Discourse of the Trauels of Sir Anthony Sherley Knight, By Sea, And Ouer Land, To the Persian Empire Wherein Are Related Many Straunge And Wonderfull Accidents: And Also, The Description And Conditions Of Those Countries And People He Passed By: With His Returne Into Christendome. Written By William Parry Gentleman, Who Accompanied Sir Anthony in His Trauells* (London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for Felix Norton, 1601), p.29.

competing with Portuguese and other European interests in Persia.[110] Sir Anthony Shirley was at the head of one of the three parties included in Shah 'Abbas I's embassy to Madrid which set off from Persia in 1599. The other two groups within the embassy were Portuguese missionaries and a contingent of Persian delegates.[111] The Portuguese group, en route back from Goa, consisted of the Augustinian Nicolau de Melo, the Portuguese ambassador to Persia, a Japanese convert from Manila known as the Augustinian lay brother Nicolau de Santo Agostinho, and the Franciscan Afonso Cordeiro. The relationship between the three groups broke down upon reaching Moscow due to an unclear reason: Shirley supposedly made two attempts at de Melo's life and denounced him to the Russian authorities for baptising a girl in the Latin rite in the house of the Italian man whose house the party were staying in whilst in Moscow.[112] Shirley and the Persian delegation ultimately continued their journey to Western Europe, whereas both de Melo and de Santo Agostinho remained imprisoned in Russia; the latter was publicly beheaded in Nizhny Novgorod in 1611 and de Melo was tortured, refused to abandon Catholicism, and was burnt in Astrakhan in 1616.[113] Whereas some of the reasons behind the breakdown of the relationships within the embassy could have been due to confessional differences and competition, Vasco Resende has argued that de Melo had a bad reputation and scandalised Muslims when in Persia.[114] There might have been another reason for the conflict between de Melo and Shirley, which ultimately cost both Nicolaus their lives.

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[110] On the English context, see Jane Grogan, *The Persian Empire in English Renaissance Writing, 1549-1622* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp.150-180 ; see more in John Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602-1747)* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), especially pp.47-53.

[111] Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*, pp.52-3.

[112]James Morris, 'China, Japan and Christian Emissaries to Muslim Lands', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 29:2 (2018), 167-191, p.174; Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*, pp.50-1.

[113] Morris, 'China, Japan and Christian Emissaries to Muslim Lands', p.174; Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians*, p.51.

[114] Vasco Resende, '"Un homme d'inventions et inconstant": Les fidélités politiques d'Anthony Sherley, entre l'ambassade safavide et la diplomatie européenne' in Dejanirah Couto and Rui Manuel Loureiro (eds.), *Revisiting Hormuz: Portuguese Interactions in the Persian Gulf Region in the Early Modern Period* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), p.242; Morris, 'China, Japan and Christian Emissaries to Muslim Lands', p.173.

None of the recent scholars who have written about this episode, including Morris and Flannery, have mentioned William Parry's accusations of sodomy against de Melo. Parry mentioned a specific episode which allegedly happened in Persia. In the episode, the friar was staying at Shirley's house for a prolonged period of time. During 'the first night he lodged in sir Anthonies house, found the meanes to haue a Persian curtezan to lie with him, and so had night by night during his continuannce there'.[115] Although he did not actually hire a male prostitute, Parry stressed that 'if he wanted, hée would hyre a boy zodomitically to vse'. Here Parry stressed the availability of such services in Persia, in line with his earlier statement about dancing boys and courtesans. However, instead of just accusing de Melo, Parry actually provided some evidence that the friar 'was a zodomiticall wretch'. He recounted a story in which Sir Anthony bought 'twoo christian boies in the market, which afterwardes he bestowed on this Frier'. It is significant to note that instead of freeing the Christian captives, Sir Anthony gave them, still as slaves, to a Catholic friar who had already shown himself to be morally and sexually lax. Nicolau soon 'was in hand with them concerning his zodomiticall villany' and 'incessauntly importuned [them] to yéelde to his beastly desire'. In the end, the boys complained of his behaviour and the Shah saved them from being sodomised. The episode is interesting in the context of the embassy (and de Melo's eventual burning, a punishment often associated with sodomy, in Astrakhan) – it could have been one of the catalysts for the subsequent conflict between Shirley and de Melo, or Parry could have used it as an excuse to explain Shirley's behaviour and abandonment of the friar to his fate in Russia.

The episode is interesting in the content of this thesis for several reasons. In it, Parry emphasised the fact that the boys, even if enslaved, could refuse their master's advances, in line with the arguments made in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The boys' subsequent actions in the story stressed their autonomy even further. They 'complained to him that solde them, hée likewise to the Officer, the Officer to the King, by meanes whereof the King espied his villany'. This comment shows the significance of a chain of communication in reporting sodomitical behaviour and, consequently, in regulating it. It also stresses that slaves could have had connections to their former owners, who could ultimately be active in their best interests. Here a potentially Muslim slave trader supported and protected the boys to a greater extent than Sir Anthony Shirley could – they are reported to

[115] Parry, *A New and Large Discourse*, p.29.

have gone to the trader, not their former owner Sir Anthony – or, indeed, more than their current owner would. As a result of this report, 'the king sent for the boyes from him, and sent him worde, that were it not for Sir Anthonies sake, he should loose his head'.[116] Here the king is shown to have dealt with the situation in a nuanced but potentially flawed way: the boys were protected from sexual harassment, and their sexual safety was represented as more significant to the king than the property rights of the Augustinian friar, as the boys are essentially confiscated from him. However, the episode also demonstrates that the regulation of sodomy was not institutionalised in Persian society and was performed through informal contacts. It also shows potential failure of such informal regulation, which left the perpetrator of attempted sodomy unpunished. As that happened ostensibly for the sake of Sir Anthony, the text was implicitly critical of him for many reasons: giving the boys to the friar in the first place, not establishing enough rapport with them as their former owner to enable them to approach him should trouble arise, and ultimately preventing the proper execution of justice, which was indicated to be available in the Persian polity.

This episode shows the richness of the concepts surrounding homoerotic transcultural encounter in early modern Anglophone discourses: Persia was represented as the land of sexual opportunity, where boys can be freely hired. It was also represented as a land where men with sodomitical inclinations had an institutionalised way to express their desires – widespread sale of boy slaves – and an expectation to be able to do so, as the friar started his advances immediately upon the acquisition of the boys. However, Persia was simultaneously represented as a polity which pre-empted such expectations and had informal avenues for dealing with them. At the end of the story, justice – for the inclination, not the act, it must be added, as the boys were not actually sodomised – was still not served, due to a Christian European's passive interference. As this example shows, Persia was not necessarily regarded in an essentialised manner as sodomitical (or not), but was shown, by someone who claimed credibility of witnessing the culture first-hand, as a complex society with flawed but existent systems of regulating sexual behaviour.

These examples show, in different ways, that foreign sodomy was conceptualised as in need of regulation by Anglophone texts. Moreover, it was also conceptualised as a behaviour which non-

[116] All quotes from ibid., p.29.

Christian societies not only should but could and did regulate. It could be a feature of authority gone wrong – tyrannical rulers – as was the case in the William Thomas case study. It could be the case of a legitimate ruler and magistrates cleansing their land of sodomy, as the reports of Pegu show. The Persian case study demonstrates that discourses around regulation and sodomy did not have to boil down to straightforward claims as to whether a society regulated or did not regulate sodomy; the processes and the degree of regulation mattered to Anglophone observers. Read together, these disparate and diverse examples emerge in a framework of thinking about global sodomy as an abnormal behaviour, in Christian and non-Christian societies alike, which all humans had a need to prosecute and regulate.

Concluding remarks

To conclude this chapter, I would like to connect all these themes to Anglophone concepts of Ottoman sodomy and demonstrate that the focus on regulation of sodomy, rather than a rhetoric of conquest, real or imaginary, featured heavily in English-language texts about the Ottoman empire. Anglophone authors and texts paid attention to the punishment, or lack of thereof, of sodomy in the Ottoman Empire. Anglophone discourses on the subject did not present a straightforward picture. For example, in 1680, the diplomat Thomas Baker described an episode in which 'a Tukre received 500 Drubbs upon his Buttocks not for having committed the Act of Sodomie with a Boy, But for that, after having soe done, he threw him over the Towne Wall, whereby hee brake both his legs'.[117] Here, Baker stressed that the punishment was administered due to the injury to the boy, but not the sexual act. The anonymous 1676 pamphlet *A True Narrative of a Wonderful Accident Which Occur'd upon the Execution of a Christian Slave at Aleppo in Turky* is even more revealing: it tells the story of a Christian slave who killed his master in response to a sodomitical attack, and who was then acquitted of punishment as the judge was 'willing to

[117] Thomas Baker, C.R. Pennell (ed.), *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century North Africa: The Journal of Thomas Baker, English Consul in Tripoli, 1677-1685* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1989), entry of 15 October 1680/1.

deter the Turk from that base sin of Sodomy'.[118] But the local Turks were unsatisfied with this outcome, and appealed to the local 'Bashaw' as a group – not out of particular preference for sodomy, but due to 'the unsecure estate it would reduce them all to, in giving encouragement to their Slaves to murther them'.[119] Paul Rycaut's discussion of the jealousies in the school of pages in the Seraglio also shows similar trends. He argued that although 'jealousies and rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers without respect to the severity of their Guardians', subsequent regulation restored 'good orders'.[120] However, the core issues 'have not been again redressed, until some of them have been expelled the Seraglio with the Tippets of their Vests cut off, banished into the Islands, and beaten almost to death'.[121] These examples show that mechanisms for co-opting the Turks into the global erotic normality, as outlined above, existed in early modern Anglophone discourses. Moreover, even a stress on lack of punishment for sodomy itself can be read as an indication of the failure of the Turks to be a part of the global erotic normality, rather than their inherent inability to do so. This latter point is supported by an emphasis on the processual conceptualisation of vice in Turkish societies.

A sense of chronological progression was not limited to defining cultures as either sodomitical or not; the degree of vice present in a society was also significant. Henry Blount argued that 'the Turkish Nation cannot yet be generally abandoned to vice, having two such great enemies, the Christians on this side, the Persians on that; were they once removed, it would soon corrupt, like

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[118] Anonymous, *A True Narrative Of A Wonderful Accident Which Occur'd Upon The Execution Of A Christian Slave At Aleppo In Turky Being A Remarkable Instance Of Divine Providence, Attesting The Acceptableness Of The Christian Religion, And The Virtue Of Chastity To Almighty God : Written At First For The Satisfaction Of A Friend Only, And Since Made Publick For The Strengthning Of Virtue* (London: Printed for Dorman Newman, at the Kings Arms in the Poultrey, 1676), p.4.

[119] Ibid., p.4.

[120] Paul Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire Containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, The Most Material Points of the Mahometan Religion, Their Sects and Heresies, Their Convents And Religious Votaries, Their Military Discipline…* (London: Printed for John Starkey and Henry Brome, at the Mitre between the Middle-Temple-Gate and Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, and the Star in Little-Britain, 1668), p.33.

[121] Ibid., p.33.

Rome after the fall of Carthage'.[122] Here corruption and vice follow imperial expansion, in a direct comparison with Rome. Paul Rycaut stressed the depopulation of the empire as a consequence of sodomy and analysed it in a processual context. He argued that 'we have heard how in former times there have been particular men amongst the Turks, that have severally been Fathers to a hundred Sons; but now through that abominable vice of Sodomie, which the Turks pretend to have learned from the Italians, and is now the common and profesled shame of that people, few fecundious Families are found amongst them'.[123] These examples demonstrate that Turkish sodomy could be conceptualised as a learned behaviour and as an influence on the development of society and empire as a whole.

All of this demonstrates a much more complex picture than Anglophone conceptualisation of sodomy as a rhetorical justification for the conquest of a racialised Muslim 'Other'. The language of conquest had a complex connection to sodomy in early modern Anglophone texts, and sodomy was rarely used to justify conquest outright. Moreover, Anglophone authors saw non-Christian societies as capable of regulating themselves on their own terms when it came to sodomy, with no need to frame it as Christianisation or conquest. Through this stress on regulation, heteronormativity became a feature of a civilised, but not necessarily Christian, society.

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[122] Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant. A Breife Relation of A Iourney, Lately Performed By Master H. B. Gentleman, From England By The Way Of Venice, Into Dal[Matia,] Sclavonia, Bosnah, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes And Egypt, Unto Gran Cairo: / [W]Ith Particular Observations Concerning The Moderne Condition Of The Turkes, And Other People Under That Empire* (London: Printed by I. L for Andrew Crooke, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare in Pauls Church-yard, 1636);, p.108.

[123] Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, p.81.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the reasons why early modern Anglophone texts discussed Ottoman sodomy. On the surface, the explanation is very simple: because Anglophone writers saw sodomy. However, a deeper enquiry has yielded a more complex, multi-faceted vision of early modern encounter and sexuality.

Sodomy was an integral part of Anglophone printed discourses from the beginning of printing in England and was discussed in connection with a variety of contexts, which included the tyranny of past rulers and confessional differences between Protestants and Catholics. It became associated with the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the sixteenth century, largely due to the influence of European travel accounts translated from other languages rather than first-person observation by Anglophone travellers. Anglophone eyewitness accounts of what was referred to as Ottoman 'sodomy' started to appear in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The *ars apodemica* literature, analysed in Chapter 1, influenced writers to include descriptions of foreign vices, including sodomy, in Anglophone (and wider European) travel accounts and cosmographies. Mentions of sodomy were an integral part of the structure of travel accounts: they followed a specific schema where travellers discussed foreign vices. Mentioning sodomy was meant to warn travellers and make them reconsider their reasons for travel.

Anglophone mentions of sodomy in the Ottoman Empire were not blanket fabrications and fantasies. Many corresponded to the realities of Ottoman homoeroticism and overlapped with the concerns of Ottoman commentators, including those who participated in the homoerotic culture of Beloveds.[1] However, Ottoman homoeroticism was supposed to be limited to a sophisticated culture of affection for younger men by older men: it was not a boundless sexual utopia. As the place of sex in the culture of Beloveds was ambiguous, it was a source of anxiety for Ottoman observers. Sexual encounters between men and boys, though discouraged, were also satirised and depicted as a part of everyday life by a wide variety of early modern Ottoman sources. More

[1] See Chapter 2 for more details.

broadly, Anglophone discourses had a framework for understanding male love and affection in the form of friendship. Nevertheless, they interpreted the culture of Beloveds in an unambiguously sexual way. Both Ottoman and Anglophone writers associated sodomy with specific sites and social groups, including bathhouses, coffeehouses, and certain Sufi orders. Bringing forward this reality of Ottoman sexual and gender models is therefore crucial to understand Anglophone conceptualisations of Ottoman 'sodomy' precisely.

The exclusion of women from this study has been motivated by some evidence that has shown that Anglophone views of female 'sodomy' in the early modern Ottoman Empire would have yielded different results.[2] Mentions of sodomy among women were more sensationalised, and there is less evidence of an overlap between Anglophone discourses and Ottoman realities of female same-sex affection, largely due to a predominant focus on men and boys in the literature on Ottoman and Arab queer pasts.[3] Moreover, many queer histories of the other regions of Asia, especially South and Southeast Asia, focus on diverse non-binary gender models, such as *hijra* and *bissu*, rather than same sex activity alone.[4] Focusing on 'sexual diversity' more broadly would offer an accommodation of these concepts and identities and would build on my quest for the role of sodomy in early modern Anglophone thought about human difference.

One factor was associated with sodomy in Anglophone accounts that was not found in similar Ottoman sources: Islam. By the early eighteenth century, Anglophone writers expected their audience to associate the Ottomans and Islam with sodomy.[5] In reality, that association was more

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[2] Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.197-202.

[3] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic world, 1500-1800* (Chicago [Il.]: Chicago University Press, 2005); Walter G Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love And The Beloved In Early-Modern Ottoman And European Culture And Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); and Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) focus exclusively or predominantly on men and boys.

[4] Leonard Y Andaya, 'The Bissu: Study of a Third Gender in Indonesia' in Barbara Watson Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mânoa, 2000); Anuja Agrawal, 'Gendered Bodies: The Case of the 'Third Gender' in India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 31:2 (1997), 273–97.

[5] Joseph Morgan (ed.), *Mahometism Fully Explained: Containing Many Surprizing Passages, Not to Be Found In Any Other Author*. ... (London: E. Curll, W. Mears, and T. Payne, 1723), p.45.

complex. Although Ottoman sodomy was sometimes explained through the lens of Islam, which was professed as a false religion that encouraged sodomitical behaviours, this view was by no means universal. Seventeenth-century Anglophone writers were as likely to argue that Islam condemned, not condoned, sodomy.[6] The extent to which each argued one way or the other about Islam depended on their religious and political beliefs, their knowledge of Islamic doctrine, and the genre of text they were writing. Overall, there was a correlation between a greater knowledge of Islamic doctrine among English and Scottish intellectuals and the reduction of associations between Islam and sodomy. This argument is complicated by continuing reprints and fresh translations of older European texts into English up until the end of the period and by some specific contexts of individual authors, such as Lancelot Addison, who had knowledge of Islam but chose to perpetuate the association between Islam and sodomy anyway.

In addition to providing new insights into the study of early modern encounter, this thesis has demonstrated ways in which including sources on transcultural contact enriches the existing national historiographies. One example is the productive effect of the inclusion of travel accounts in researching sexual violence in early modern England. Current historiography of sexual violence focuses primarily on female victims, as the evidence in relation to male victims is limited. Anglophone travel accounts of North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, however, often discuss abduction of and sexual violence against men and boys. The examination of ideas about male sexual assault victimhood in Anglophone discourses has shown that abduction and sexual violence was an intrinsic part of Anglophone discourses on Ottoman sodomy, and that victims were expected to resist their captors and presumed to have agency to refuse sexual advances.

Mentions of sodomy in texts about Anglo-Ottoman encounter can only be fully understood in the context of wider models of thought about sexuality and human difference in early modern Anglophone discourses. Anglophone concepts of Ottoman sodomy must therefore be situated in a holistic context of Anglophone encounter with the wider world, rather than exclusively in the context of Anglo-Ottoman relations. This yields promising results: the thesis has demonstrated that ideas of human difference were influenced by wider European medieval and early modern

[6] See Chapter 4 for more details.

ideas about humours, climate, and the body. Although early modern Anglophone thinkers had a variety of ways to conceptualise same-sex activity in bodily terms, either as a result of climate or repeated action in the form of addiction or pathology, they emphasised the importance of choice, agency, and moral responsibility of people for their sodomitical actions. Although some Europeans used sodomy alongside other customs and behaviours (such as cannibalism or human sacrifice) to justify their imperial ambitions and projects, this position was not shared by all early modern European commentators on colonial projects. Instead, many Anglophone texts argued that non-Christian societies had both the capacity and duty to regulate sexual behaviours and enforce heteronormativity on their own terms, and not only as a result of Christianisation or European colonisation. Anglophone writers conceptualised heteronormativity as a global erotic norm of behaviour and an active choice of human beings, all of whom were equally capable of commiting sodomy or living moral lives.

One purpose of this thesis was to rethink the relationship between Orientalism and early modernity. Scholars who argue against the application of Orientalism, a postcolonial theory, to the early modern encounter between Europe and the 'Middle East' often base their position on the absence of colonial power dynamics between Europe and the Ottoman and Safavid empires. However, a thematic rather than exclusively geographic approach to such encounters helps us to reconsider the pre-colonial/postcolonial dichotomy in early modern studies. There was no such thing as the early modern period without colonialism in Europe. Iberian conquests in the Americas shaped colonial thinking elsewhere in Europe. Renaissance humanism historicised Roman and Greek imperialism and colonialism, which in turn shaped other colonial projects, including those in the Americas and in Ireland.[7] As the English presence in North Africa shows, colonial projects were driven by political and economic opportunities, and the English were directly involved in a colonial project within the Muslim world.[8] Discourses on colonial projects and discussions of non-colonial encounters were not separated from each other or compartmentalised. The same individuals were often involved in networks of writing, editing, publishing, and translating texts about encounters

[7] See Chapter 6 for more details.

[8] Gabriel Glickman, 'Empire, "Popery," and the Fall of English Tangier, 1662-1684', *The Journal of Modern History* 87 (2015), 247-80.

with different peoples around the world. Authors, translators, and editors were very rarely limited to discussing just one geographic area of the world. Arguing that Orientalism as a framework does not apply to the early modern period because the nature of the relationship between 'Europe' and 'the Orient' was not driven by a colonial power dynamic does not account for the extent to which colonial and imperial thinking was embedded into early modern European cosmographies, travel accounts, and atlases which conceptualised the world as a whole cosmos and not as a series of disconnected encounters.

The theoretical and methodological issue with 'early modern Orientalism' is not necessarily what counts as 'early modern' but 'the Orient': the assumption that there was something unique in the processes through which Anglophone discourses developed a series of specific tropes concerning 'the Orient'. If Orientalism was to be defined by colonial power dynamics alone, the 'Orient' would include the Americas and other locations where early modern Europeans engaged in colonial projects. If Orientalism was to be defined by the existence of a colonial mindset among Europeans, the 'Orient' would then include the rest of the world. Scholars who use Orientalism as a framework focus on tropes which often transcend the specific chronologies of imperial power dynamics, or colonial thinking.[9] In other words, Orientalism becomes defined by the existence of Orientalist tropes.

This thesis proposes to shift the focus from the tropes themselves to the processes behind their formation, and the role the observed societies themselves played in stereotype formation. An approach to stereotypes that focuses only on the beholders risks representing stereotypes as disconnected from reality, consequently disregarding the stereotyped subjects and their agency. It is therefore crucial to reintroduce the voices of the stereotyped peoples back into this conversation. The tropes and stereotypes produced in early modern Anglophone discourses on different lands might have been different, and often driven by the realities of the societies those accounts described, but the processes of stereotype formation depended on the ideas of naturalising and essentialising difference on the one hand, and a processual approach to customs on the other. These concepts

[9] Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Ivan Davidson Kalmar, *Early Orientalism: Imagined Islam and The Notion of Sublime Power* (New York, London: Routledge, 2013).

often worked in tandem. Early modern Anglophone frameworks for understanding human difference had ample tools to naturalise and essentialise difference through humoral theory, climate, environmental determinism, religious difference, and various combinations of these factors. However, early modern Anglophone authors conceptualised sexual behaviours as customs and learned behaviours, emphasising their processual nature and their potential for change. They were reluctant to ascribe sexual behaviours to factors which might diminish the responsibility of an individual for their sexual activity, as this would provide a precedent for excusing sinful behaviour.

Further inquiry into the engagement with different types of 'Orients' can offer a more global understanding of early modern Anglophone concepts of encounter and sexuality. Although the Ottoman Empire is the most richly documented case study of the stereotype of a 'sodomitical' nation, a number of other societies located in China, Japan, what is now known as Southeast Asia, Russia, and, to a lesser extent, India were associated with sodomy and with illicit sexuality more broadly. Comparing conceptions of Ottoman sodomy to Anglophone views of sexuality in these societies can extend our understanding of the role of religion in the formation of 'sodomitical' stereotypes. Looking into the context of Anglophone engagement with Russia could provide an avenue into the assessment of Anglophone concepts of 'sodomitical' Christian nations and would be able to offer a case study for a comparison with Catholicism, associated with sodomy in early modern Anglophone discourses.[10]

This thesis, therefore, represents a first step towards answering these wider questions about the connection between sodomy and human difference in early modern Anglophone discourses.

Concluding remarks: the politics of early modernity today

The main contributions of this thesis are the empirical case study at its heart and the argument in favour of shifting the focus of studying the early modern Anglophone encounter from a

[10] See Chapter 1 for more details.

geographical basis – Anglo-Ottoman, Anglo-Chinese, Anglo-Spain, and the like – to a more holistic approach of ideas about transcultural encounter and human difference. This thesis focuses on a specific theme as seen in discourses on multiple geographical locations. As a framework, a focus on ideas of human difference accounts for the richness, fluidity, and multiplicity of the different contexts Anglophone travellers, editors, compilers, translators, and eventually readers found themselves in. Moreover, this thesis looks at one specific case study – just one supposed 'stereotype' in one geographical context – and compares it to wider discourses on the same 'stereotype' in other geographical contexts. In that sense, it is more of a suggestion of how to reframe the field than a firm argument on whether essentialisation of difference determined early modern Anglophone discourses on human difference. That argument cannot be made without more comparative individual case studies. This project is the first step.

As part of the conclusion to this thesis, I would like to stress the political relevance of many of the topics at its heart: 'Western' contact with the Islamic world, Muslim queerness, and racialised stereotypes. The politics of these topics often drive both the research questions and the methodologies scholars use to study these topics. The study of global early modernity was dominated by 'connected' approaches which stressed shared cultures throughout the 2000s and early 2010s.[11] However, there has been a pushback against this approach and a call for a reassessment of early modern racialised and colonial violence, such as the 1619 Project.[12] At the same time, global and postcolonial approaches to history are being rejected by some societies at the highest political level: for instance, the President of the United States called for a 'patriotic' historical education and for a rejection of postcolonial thinking in 2020.[13] As much as postcolonialism, queer studies is essentially a political subject, underpinned by contemporary

[11] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, 31 (1997):najma735–62.

[12] The 1619 Project, "The 1619 Project" *The New York Times*, (August 14, 2019), Retrieved September 7, 2020.

[13] Ishaan Tharoor, 'Trump joins dictators and demagogues in touting 'patriotic education', *The Washington Post* (21 September 2020).

relevant political and social arguments.[14] It is felt even more acutely in the context of queerness in majority Muslim societies.[15]

The dominance of the identities vs. acts debate, as well as the essentialist thesis, developed alongside the struggle for LGBT+ rights in several Western countries. Both sides of the debate, the supposedly unique 'modern homosexual' and the idea that one's sexuality or even 'gayness' is timeless, can be read in the context of the arguments advanced by LGBT+ campaigners. The essentialist position echoes the ideas of 'born this way', a person's sexual identity being something natural and outside of the individual's control. The essentialist reading of history has obvious consequences for the here and now: in political terms, it is an argument against criminalisation of sexuality or seeing homosexuality as a mental disorder to be treated by 'gay cure' therapies. The political and social developments of both LGBT+ rights campaigns and identity politics within LGBT+ communities frame the continuation of this debate; from the beginning of the twenty-first century and especially in the last five years or so, queer activism and communities have focused on inclusivity, fluidity, and expansion of possible queer identities, such as non-binary gender queerness, asexuality, demi-sexuality, heteroflexibility, aromanticism, and sexual fluidity. Although some of these categories and identities are still defined as intrinsic to people's bodies and minds, the emphasis on fluidity and validity of choice as a legitimate factor in forming one's identity is clear. Those developments are reflected in scholarly debates around queer studies, past and present.

Similar developments – a flourishing scholarly body of literature and an enduring social and political significance – define the field of history of Muslim sexualities. Muslim queer past is often rejected by conservative Islamic political and social cultures, whereas global LGBTQ+ activism is rejected by some scholars and activists such as Joseph Massad as a new form of cultural

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[14] See Jan Plamper and Keith Tribe, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.277-93, for the connection between political history, social movements and emotions and a discussion of historians as emotional beings.

[15] Serkan Delice, 'Friendship, sociability, and masculinity in the Ottoman Empire: An essay confronting the ghosts of historicism', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42 (2010), 103-25, pp.104-6.

imperialism.[16] By definition, in almost all cases studying queer Muslim pasts is a political act and a political statement. For example, Janet Afary in her *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* argued that today 'even speaking about the pervasive homoeroticism of the region's pre-modern culture [has] been labelled 'Orientalism'.[17] Afsaneh Najmabadi stated that 'crossing from eros to sex [in discussions of homoeroticism in Iranian scholarship] seems to make everyone screech to a halt'.[18] In this context, scholars who choose to work on LGBT+ communities in contemporary Muslim countries provide a form of legitimation for calls for LGBT+ rights by invoking a historicist argument.[19] This context can affect the very definition of queering. For example, for Jarrod Hayes, working on queering the Maghreb, 'time has come to queer the nation'; for him, 'queering' is first and foremost making the invisible visible again and reclaiming the past.[20]

Reclaiming queer pasts in order to promote the rights of the LGBTQ+ community in the present has its own limitations. Non-heteronormative sexuality is at the heart of many discussions of race and colonialism today. Many of these discussions focus on the narrative of suppression of non-European sexualities by white Christian colonial European powers. However, in most cases, pre-colonial non-European sexualities did not represent a queer heaven of sexual freedom. Various forms of sexual activity and gender expressions were regulated by law, religious practice, or convention. Ritualised expressions of gender identities beyond the binary, whilst significant both in their own right and as an affirmation of non-binary gender models, do not translate well into contemporary Western ideas of non-binary genders.[21] Similarly, the Age of the Beloveds, whilst

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[16] Joseph A. Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (Chicago [Il.]: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.174.

[17] Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.2.

[18] Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Moustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), p.19.

[19] Delice, 'Friendship, sociability and masculinity', pp.105-6.

[20] Jarrod Hayes, *Queer Nations: Marginal Sexualities in the Maghreb* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp.15-17.

[21] For more examples, see Pete Sigal, 'Queer Nahuatl: Sahagun's Faggots and Sodomites, Lesbians and Hermaphrodites', *Ethnohistory* 54 (USA, 2007), 9-34; Mary Beard, 'The Cult of the 'Great Mother' in Imperial Rome: The Roman and the 'Foreign'' in J. Rasmus Brandt and Jon W. Iddeng (eds.), *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

undeniably homoerotic culture, does not demonstrate a 'queer-friendly' or 'LGBTQ+-friendly' Ottoman early modernity. The vast majority of sources we have were written from the position of power by elite older men, whereas their Beloveds could be servants, pages, and enslaved boys. This is not an easy past to reclaim. Queer history and queer studies as a discipline went through a similar moment in relation to Greek sexuality in the 1980s, when at least some writers interpreted Greek sexuality as both a positive affirmation of and a license to practice pederasty.[22] There are contemporary sexual cultures reminiscent of what both early modern travellers and local sources describe in relation to Persia, such as dancing boys. For instance, today's *bacha bazi*, the dancing boys of Afghanistan, are widely reported as sexually abused young boys and the European Parliament acknowledges the practice as a breach of human rights.[23] Sexual abuse of minors is not a queer past worth reclaiming or a queer present worth celebrating. However, describing all queer Muslim pasts as abuse is harmful to LGBTQ+ rights in Islamic societies, as it gives conservative lawmakers and social commentators additional tools to persecute vulnerable minorities. 'Protecting children' has long been used as a rhetorical device to limit LGBTQ+ rights, as is seen in the so-called 'gay propaganda' law in Russia or the discourses around child and teenage trans issues in the UK and the USA. This research is timely, it is relevant to many political and social issues of today, and, as it is an extended case study, it is the first step to shift a paradigm of thinking about early modern encounter.

[22] Parker Rossman, *Sexual Experience between Men and Boys* (London: Temple Smith, 1979) is an example of such a book written in the 1970s.

[23] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0107_EN.html, Retrieved 27/09/2020.

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