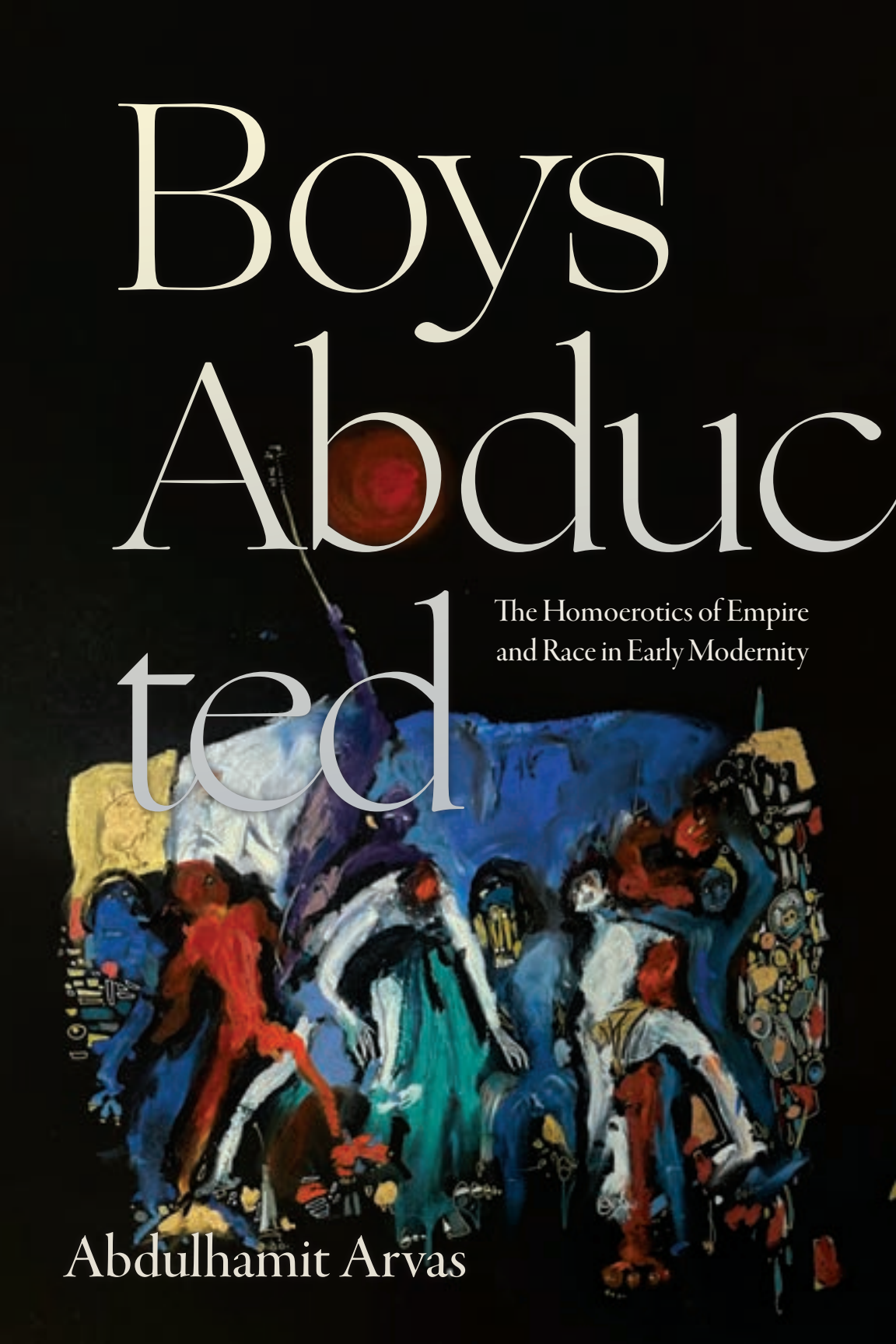
Boys Abducted

The Homoerotics of Empire and Race in Early Modernity



Abdulhamit Arvas

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A series edited by
Lee Edelman, Benjamin Kahan,
and Christina Sharpe

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ABDULHAMIT ARVAS

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A Note on Transcriptions and Translations

Transcriptions of Ottoman Turkish (in the Arabic script) into the Latin alphabet in this book follow Modern Turkish orthography, omitting diacritical marks including the hamza, the letter ʿayin, and indication of long vowels. Popular words in English are spelled in their English usages (i.e., pasha, qadi, the Qur'an).

All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine, and originals are included in notes throughout the book. I used translations that have previously been done when possible. Translations by others and any alterations or corrections made to them are clearly marked in the endnotes.

Acknowledgments

Acknowledgments are where the scholarly voice usually gets more personal. This is probably why I always start a book by reading that section first—if you are reading this, we are obviously of the same mind, dear reader. The personal is political, we are told. The personal is pedagogical, too. I start with my brief personal journey in developing this project that spanned over almost a decade, during which I accumulated immense debts of gratitude. The list of generous, supportive, brilliant minds reflects the politics and pedagogy of vital friendships, alliances, coalitions, collaborations, and camaraderie in building bridges for survival and growth.

The seeds of this book go back to my graduate school years with exciting and energetic moments of flourishing studies and conversations around sexuality, race, gender, and globality. As I was trying to find ways to engage with all these critical schools as a graduate student, I quickly realized how compartmentalized our early modern subfields were. I spent year after year running from the queer room to the race room to the global room in order to hear debates in each field. It was exhausting! It was not merely that sexuality/race/empire were fundamental to my critical inquiries, but it was also that my early modern sources were forcing me to gain mastery in all of them, since none of these critical issues were isolated from the others. This process pushed me to consider early modernity beyond a single national literature paradigm. I was ready to take the challenge. My first step was to put together the reading list for my comprehensive exam. While my doctoral program required a list of 125 books on average, I ended up with more than 400 books on race, sex, and globality on my exam list. Again, it was an exhausting yet a most rewarding experience. I was at the Department of English at Michigan State University, a state school with limited funding, so I had to teach a class every semester. As an international student, I had the pressure of

mastering languages, perfecting writing in a second language, and finishing on time while at the same time facing resistance to studying early modern literature. In the meantime, I was told by some respectable scholars that as an international student I had little to no chance of becoming a successful early modernist in the United States.

While I was developing the project surrounded by such difficulties and burdens, a most generous network of advisors, mentors, and friends welcomed, encouraged, and supported me at every stage. They made me feel that I belong and should move on with confidence. On the top of the list are Jyotsna Singh and Valerie Traub, who, as the best advisors one can have, enthusiastically mentored and guided me. Jyotsna, in her inspiring Sufi attitude, gently pushed me to consider early modern sexuality more globally by thinking with the Ottomans. Valerie, in her always brilliant, critical, and rigorous mode, attended to every sentence I wrote and made me think and write better. She has continued her unmatched mentorship; she generously read and commented on the whole book manuscript, which made a huge difference. Other members of my committee—Ellen McCallum, Stephen Deng, and Tamar Boyadjian, as well as my former mentors Serpil Oppermann and Craig Dionne—have never stopped supporting me. Cajetan Iheka has been my most dear fellow traveler since graduate school years; I am grateful for our genuine friendship and intellectual camaraderie.

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Throughout my grad school years, I always dreamed of going back to Turkey and teaching there. By the time I finished my PhD, however, my beautiful country was nearly in ruins in the hands of inept people. I was not able to go back. In the meantime, while I was fighting against an immigration issue to be able to stay in the United States during the Trump era, my friends and colleagues, many of whom are listed above, did not hesitate a second to write letters in my support. I thank every single one of you! Your letters contributed a lot to making it possible for me to be able stay and work in the United States and write this book.

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Introduction

This book pursues beautiful boys. It traces the literary and historical figurations of beautiful boys who were violently abducted in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These boys, both fictional and real, were made exotic, different, other—be it in Mediterranean waters or on trading ships, in the margins of maps, on the horizon of poetic imaginations, on the edges of celebrated paintings, in English households as servants and in Ottoman courts as slaves, or as objects of desire in the streets of London and Istanbul or even in the deep forests of ancient Greece as imagined on the English stage. Using the abducted beautiful boy as a salient point of contact, I explore two distinct textual and visual traditions—English and Ottoman—contrapuntally to reassess the relationships among homoeroticism, race, and empire. In a period of geopolitical crossings, religious conversions, global trade, new imperial visions, and changing socioeconomic structures, the beautiful abducted boy, I argue, is a site for exploring the complex homoerotic subtexts of racial and religious difference and

imperial violence in both the emergent empire of England and the far more vast and powerful Ottoman Empire.

In both of those societies, the early modern boy was a distinct yet incoherent and mobile social, sexual, and gender category. Factors such as age, class, status, geography, race, kinship relations, employment, service, and sexual availability constituted, commenced, and terminated the stage of boyhood.[1] Historically, when moving from childhood to boyhood and entering an ambiguous gender phase, usually around ages seven to ten, boys were, like all other genders, defined within a spectrum in opposition to and subordinated to the adult man in a nonbinary gender system.[2] In this transitional stage, boys were inferior and subservient to men in multiple hierarchical registers: as apprentices in various occupations; as students at school; as pages in households; as minions in courts; as varlets in streets, brothels, taverns, or bathhouses; and as actors or love objects in theaters and literary imaginations. Actual boys were prominent in England's world of the theater, while figural boys were central to the Ottoman poetic tradition, appearing as the most common subject of male desire (sometimes instead of women, sometimes alongside them). In fact, often their juvenile bodies, androgynous appearance, and youth marked them as the more appealing, if not the ideal, form of human beauty and object of desire.[3] At the same time, they were often unremarked upon in historical archives.

The emergence of the boy linguistically—"boy" or "lad" in English and "*oğlan*" or "*gulam*" in Turkish—relates the term to service in a gendered power hierarchy. The earliest definitions of "boy" in English from the 1300s connect the term to status: "a male servant, slave, or assistant"; "non-white slaves, non-white servants, labourers"; "a male person of low birth or status."[4] It was only in the mid-fifteenth century that the boy appears in reference to "a male child or youth."[5] Any reference to boys—youth, lad, child, son, page, groom, servant, wag, apprentice, imp, ganymede, ingle, catamite, varlet, toy, crack, ward, orphan—suggests a hierarchical pattern.[6] Likewise, in Ottoman Turkish, "*gulam*" refers to both servant and boy; and other terms used for boys such as "*mürahik*," "*mümeyyiz*," "*emred*," "*şabb-ı emred*," "*emred*," "*oğlan*," "*uşak*," and "*mücerred*" denote hierarchical orderings in relation to the adult man. While the age of the boys sometimes functioned crucially in their transition to legal majority and manhood (usually between ages fourteen and twenty-one), it was mainly their status and class, financial independence, household mastery (i.e., marriage), and physical, sexual, and mental maturity (i.e., body hair, the ability to discern right from wrong) that morphed the boy into an adult man.[7] The term's temporal flexibility can be observed in early modern sodomy trials involving boys "aged 29 years or thereabouts."[8] The term "boy" was also used in an affective

sense, sometimes to disparage, other times to praise.[9] From a gender category to a term of endearment or insult, the term "boy" marked some men as boys due to their social status and race.[10] While boyhood was an ephemeral status for most, for others, it lingered permanently. This book mainly follows boys in the latter category.

Boys Abducted: The Homoerotics of Empire and Race in Early Modernity concerns racially, religiously, and culturally exoticized boys; boys who were forcibly taken from their lands and made objects of servitude and desire; boys who, in many instances, would always remain boys. Traffic in (and the fate of) these boys has long been rendered invisible in scholarship compared to that of domestic, local boys or women as objects of the male gaze, exchange, possession, and captivity.[11] While boys have been objects of desire for women, this study follows the Sedgwickian formulation of the homosocial competition between men. It therefore focuses on the boy as an object of abduction and conversion in contestations between men as a means to challenge a historiography that has presumed ahistorical, normalized heteronormativity in patriarchal regimes. The abducted boy stands next to, but ultimately apart from, such better-known figures in early modernity as the boy student, the boy actor, the apprentice boy, the favorite boy, the royal boy, the print boy, the lovely boy, and the masterless boy. The abducted boy is a literary figure whose prototype is the beautiful, abducted Ganymede of Greek myth and who was imbricated in early modern imperial and colonial politics as a result of the revival of Greco-Roman models and of increasing cross-cultural interactions and exchanges. The abducted boy, therefore, is as much a historical figure as a classical prototype.

I use abduction to refer to various acts of displacement. Stemming from the classical Latin term "*abdūcere*," "abduct" began to be commonly used in the early seventeenth century with significations of "to lead away, carry off, remove, to withdraw, to entice away, to captivate, charm, to appropriate, take away, to pull away or aside, to turn aside, divert."[12] Throughout the book, the category "abducted boy" therefore capaciously refers to boys who were forcibly dislocated from their native lands through enslavement, captivity, recruitment, or kidnapping and who were often eroticized as sexually available beautiful boys or Ganymedes, be it figuratively or literally. My use of the aesthetic category of "beautiful" in reference to the abducted boy, on the other hand, aims to highlight the mimetic deployments of this embodied figure who mediates the manifold tensions between homoerotic desire, literary eroticism, and the violent history of abductions and enslavements that were often motivated by religious and racial difference. The term "beautiful," of course, signifies differently in different historical and cultural contexts. The boys in this project certainly appear as the epitome of beauty

with their androgynous, vulnerable bodies and their promising and energizing youth. However, it is not within the scope of this project to detail what constitutes beauty in the period I study. My examples thus offer ambiguous, often veiled descriptors for beauty. While paradisical idealizations of the boy as beautiful sometimes expand into the realm of platonic aestheticization, at other times, the celebration of his body (hairless, youthful, slender, white, fair), language (accent, simple, innocent), and habits (naked, Christian clothing, [un]circumcised) signals erotic excitement about (and attraction to) the boy. More than his appearance, however, the orderly hierarchy in which the boy is framed and idealized renders him beautiful and desirable. Beauty in this sense appears as an effect of the boy's orderly disposition and as a situated function that does cultural work. Beauty also appears in some sources as enabling a certain level of agency and benefit, empowering boys to get what they want. When possible, I point to physical descriptions and definable characteristics to show how beauty is gendered and racialized, but overall, I leave beauty as ambiguous as it is to maintain the lack of an existing consensus on what constitutes the beautiful.[13]

Tracing the abducted beautiful boy in a cross-cultural framework, this book makes visible the fraught relations between sexuality and race and between erotic desire and violence, as well as the homoerotics of imperialism in both the English and Ottoman contexts. What distinct yet inextricably intertwined (his)stories of sexuality and race do abducted boys narrate as they cross boundaries between nations and empires both as captives and eroticized beloveds? The abducted boy offers a history of sexuality and race, where the racial and the queer converge and conflict through the figure of the boy as he circulates in aesthetic, erotic, commercial, and imperial economies. Abducted and forced to cross borders, the beautiful boy reveals both desirable and undesirable cross-cultural inflections in the shared yet contested space of the Mediterranean. Subject to violent forms of conversion and assimilation, the boy enables us to apprehend the homoerotics of empire, particularly how sexuality and race, as well as religion, combine in producing the hierarchization of human difference.

Boys in Counterpoint

In my transnational and contrapuntal examination, I investigate the abducted boy who traverses borders beyond national and linguistic boundaries. As will be evident in this introduction and throughout the book, I move across representational and historical archives, in various sites between Istanbul and London, and across scholarly fields, resisting overspecialization and fidelity to a single critical school in search of larger structures of eroticism and empire. In doing

so, I am inspired by queer historiography's frame of "cruising" in the archives for discursive formations rather than outing individuals by thinking with modern terms and identities. As Jeffrey Masten notes in his foundational work of early modern queer literary historiography, "the desire to sleep with the dead" is an "impossibility, even as it figures as an intractable curiosity or desire, of searching the annals of the past for erotic subjects motivated by our desires and living our practices, with the cultural and political meanings we associate with these desires and practices." Hence, rather than outing the Renaissance, it is vital to "account for the abiding differences in the ways this period represented sexuality."[14] Additionally, following José Esteban Muñoz's projection of "cruising" not for sex but for varied, creative potentialities, for imagining and mapping a queer "utopia," my queer historicist method enables me to look back to the past and unpack the complex assemblages and fusions of cultural, gender, racial, and religious differences that operate to produce sexuality in the labyrinth called history.[15]

This book therefore cruises the English Channel as well as the Mediterranean, crosses back and forth between England and Ottoman Turkey to map out imperial structures in which the abducted boy is located. In etymological relation to the concept of crossing, "cruise" appears in the English language in the seventeenth century, corresponding to the Dutch "*kruisen*" (to cross), which means "to sail crossing to and fro, to traverse and cross the seas."[16] The emergence of "cruise" coincides with the usage of "cross"—stemming from medieval "croise" or "croyse" (from the Old French "*cruiser*" and the Latin "*crusiare*")—which began to mean "to pass over a line, boundary, river, channel, etc.; to pass from one side to the other of any space," as can be exemplified in the words of Valentine in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: "How young Leander crossed the Hellespont."[17] (I examine Leander's crossing in chapter 1.) With the rise of England's engagement in a maritime economy, cruising and crossing became a part of the English language. The original early modern connotation ("to sail to and fro over some part of the sea without making for a particular port or landing-place, on the look out for ships, for the protection of commerce in time of war, for plunder") did not gain a queer signification ("to walk or drive about [the streets] in search of a casual sexual [esp. homosexual] partner" for pleasure) until the twentieth century.[18] Nonetheless, the term's relation to crossing makes it possible for my project to queer its early modern signification. As Ian Smith reminds us, early modern "queer," which derived from the German "*quer*," which meant "to pass or extend across from side to side of, to traverse, cross; also to cross direction of, to run at an angle to," is related to crossing, traveling, and turning.[19] And Daniel Vitkus's study of "turning Turk" has shown that "to turn" signifies not only religious conversion but also crossings, changes, transformations, and perversions

that connect religious conversion to sexual transgression.[20] Interestingly, in Turkish, "*dönme*" (convert/turned) also signifies change not only in religion but also in gender and sex.

With its complex links with crossing, traveling, and turning, cruising in conceptual terms orients me throughout the book to intentionally search for representations of boys in multiple, often-neglected archives and repertoires, while it also requires me to heed the complexity of multiple intersections, including the different registers in which they appear. Methodologically, then, cruising enables crossings from one context to another, and within them, the discovery of unexpected affinities as well as deliberate connections in the pursuit of the subject. It offers the potential to better explore startling historical interrelations that ultimately provide a critique of the present. Cruising involves being volitionally open to risks and vulnerabilities, being led or oriented by different sites and persons without knowing what awaits at the end. It requires missing out on something, since every road taken is a turn not taken. It is the excitement of the process rather than the final product that orients the cruiser.

At the same time that cruising describes the sense of floating and crossing that constitutes both the method and the object of my study, it also necessitates addressing the unequal power dynamics in which the abducted boy exists as both subject and figure. My analysis follows boys not merely as objects of pleasure but also as objects of plunder, taking cruising done for "plunder," as in its early modern sense, rather than cruising done just for "pleasure," as in its modern usage. As Muñoz would be the first to admit, cruising is implicated in hierarchies of race, class, and (even in male homoerotic spaces) gender. Cruising in historical archives in search of queer affinities may result in what might be troublesome in our contemporary codes of sexual desire and ethics, as Carolyn Dinshaw writes: "The community across time formed of such vibrations, such touches, is not necessarily a feel-good collectivity of happy homos."[21] In particular, a queer-historical pursuit of boys unearths what Kadji Amin terms "disturbing attachments" in a "deidealized" queer historiography.[22] In the representations of abducted boys in the following pages, boys are situated in eroticized hierarchical structures that encompass coercive facets of the cultural and social world of homoeroticism before modernity.

Such accounts, which might be difficult to face and follow for contemporary readers in the context of modern discussions of sexual abuse and child trafficking, show what Rachel Hope Cleves calls "the historical ordinariness of pederasty."[23] Throughout the book I deliberately distinguish this historically ordinary pederasty from modern pedophilia, which are often conflated.[24] Pederasty as a conventional erotic mode includes various asymmetries regarding

not only age but also social status, gender, and generational and racial difference, while pedophilia, a modern Western category of crime, refers to adult desire for prepubescent boys in particular (a topic I explore further in chapter 6). In contrast to today's almost-normative age-egalitarian ideals for same-sex relations in the West, in the premodern world, most erotic relations between men and boys, as well as between men and women, were structured in asymmetries and inequalities. Lines between sex and abuse and between pleasure and violence were quite blurry and different from our contemporary demarcations of them. Early modern erotics often demanded hierarchy, not mutuality. Hence, sex was, as David Halperin aptly puts it, "something done to someone by someone else, not a common search for shared pleasure or a purely personal, private experience in which larger social identities based on age or social status are submerged or lost."[25] Pederasty, then, was "a relation of structured inequality between males" not only in terms of different ages ("men" and "boys") but also in terms of different social statuses (freeborn men and slaves, citizens and noncitizens) that determined nonreciprocal sexual patterns, positions, desire, and pleasure—older man chases and enjoys the younger boy, who is not expected to enjoy sex.[26]

Indeed, rather than the negative and visceral feelings attributed to pederasty under the spectacle of pedophilia today, early moderns often framed pederasty and socioeconomic dependencies in positive terms for generating social ties and healthy maturation for boys through homosocial friendship, pedagogy, companionship, social acculturation, and promotion. Such celebrations of unequal and sometimes exploitative relations in strict patriarchal structures ultimately served to privilege adult men at the expense of boys, women, and socially and racially marginalized others. In Western modernity, however, as Amin has uncovered, pederasty was made a racialized sexuality of imperialism in the long durée and was "made retrograde" in the West and associated with Arab-Islamic cultures in the twentieth century.[27] Amin's observation complements other postcolonial queer explorations of the brown boy/white man dyad in colonial and racial contexts that reveal the projection of pederasty onto non-European spaces and cultures in which white men must save brown or black boys. While pederastic modernity locates a white man/brown boy dyad outside Europe, the following chapters show instances not only where pederastic desire was the historical ordinary in the West but also where brown men saved white boys from white men.

To what extent was the traditional and normative pederastic erotic dynamic, intricately and intimately blended with violence and exploitation, utilized in imperial and colonial projections in early modernity? Throughout the book I investigate the man/boy dyad by focusing not mainly on the age of boys (the boys I analyze are not prepubescents but are often what we would call

adolescents aged around fourteen or above who were considered to be capable of consent) but on their social status in order to show how race, religion, and class mark the boy as the subject of adult male desire in a pederastic matrix. It is worth noting that in early modernity, puberty was the threshold for consent to sex or marriage and that rather than a strictly chronological age, factors including gender, physical development, class, geography, and race functioned crucially in determining sexual maturity. By particularly tracing boys placed in a multilayered pederastic matrix in Ottoman and English cultural productions from the early modern period, this study unveils the entanglements of asymmetrical power relations in the eroticization of boys in imperial imaginings. Beautiful boys were often put in celebrated homoerotic imaginaries and relations, yet religious and racial difference, coercion, and violence framed their eroticization and ultimately their abduction. They were objects of plunder taken for pleasure.

Accordingly, a historical queer exploration of sexuality must contend with violence, and such violence was often racially inflected, inasmuch as many boys were enslaved due to their racial and religious difference. *Boys Abducted* explores boys in a particular scenario in which they share object status with other boys in aesthetic and erotic deployments yet differ from them as historically vulnerable youths—as traveling boys crossing borders—in an imperial economy of abduction, enslavement, captivity, conversion, and racialization.[28] The abducted, converted, assimilated boys evoke the transformation of boys from one identity into another. They are the objects of desire, service, and slavery. Religiously and ethnically different, they appear as cupbearers, racialized servants, and eroticized beloveds. Hence, their representations reveal homoerotic undercurrents of empire and race.

My use of "homoerotics of empire" or "homoerotics of race" throughout the book draws from Joseph Boone's *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, which maps out in a transregional and transhistorical framework how male homoeroticism operates inside and outside the dominant structures of Orientalism in contradictory ways that challenge a binary separation of East and West, Islam and Christianity. Tracing a large archive of Western representations of the East, Boone mainly considers Anglo-European and American fantasies and perception (both homoerotic fascination and homophobic aspersion) of homoerotic heritage in the Middle East. Instead of a standpoint located in the Anglo-European and American context, I pursue a synchronic approach with a specific focus on both early modern English and Ottoman contexts, not simply showing similarities between the two but offering the Ottomans' own epistemological basis for producing sexuality in order to open up new ways to approach English texts and discourses. In doing so, my particular attention to early modernity unearths templates that

complement the genealogies of homoerotic subtexts of Orientalist imaginations that would fully emerge in the following centuries that Boone has mainly focused on. This also reveals the homoerotics of Orientalism as a changing phenomenon. That is, the pervasive homoeroticism attributed to the Ottomans in an age when traveling English boys and men were under the threat of captivity shifted in Orientalist modernity of the nineteenth century, which attributed not only sodomy but an aggressive and uncontrollable heterosexuality to "lustful Turks" in their harems. With a focus on early modern texts and contexts, the following chapters highlight imperial and racial desires and anxieties that were projected in and through homoerotic dynamics before modernity.

My mapping of abducted boys in English and Ottoman cultural and literary archives enacts a mode of contrapuntal reading instead of staying in one national context. My approach and analytics stem from my training in English literary studies as well as from my critical lens on the cultural history of a society I grew up in as a nomadic queer Muslim subject, moving as a boy from an eastern, Kurdish-majority town to a western, Turkish-majority city in Turkey, then moving to the United States for graduate studies in English. Cognizant of this background and training, I attend to Ottoman and English texts and contexts in their own cultural, philological, and geotemporal specificities while paying attention to interconnections. In my multidirectional exploration, I follow Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı's comparative study of love in Ottoman, Italian, and English contexts, as well as Sahar Amer's intercultural examination of medieval French and Arab lesbianism. I analyze texts and contexts in an intercultural and interrelational mode rather than in an explicitly comparative way. As Ania Loomba has cautioned, "comparison has historically served to shore up Eurocentric and discriminatory ideologies," and "the irreversibility of comparative terms is itself shaped by a Eurocentric view of history, and of what we regard as universal and what as particular. To push the comparison . . . is to challenge such a view and make available more complete intersections than have hitherto been visible."[29]

In order to unveil such intersections without creating hierarchical genealogies and patterns between the Ottoman and English contexts, I deploy and expand the contrapuntal method as developed by Fernando Ortiz and Edward Said. Ortiz explores the intertwined histories of sugar and tobacco in Cuba, suggesting that these are "counterpoints" that illuminate what he calls "transculturation," or the complex transformation of different cultures that have been brought together by colonialism.[30] In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said uses a related but different term, "contrapuntal," to trace transculturation by reading together cultural and literary texts from both colonizing and colonized

contexts. Said suggests that we need to "reread" the cultural archive "not univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts."[31] In other words, literary texts encompass the cultures of the colonizer and the colonized, both of which are necessary to fully understand the dynamics of the colonial encounter. A contrapuntal method sees these two cultures not as binary opposites but as intersecting. Thus, Said offers "a global analysis, in which texts and worldly institutions are seen working together, by avoiding a partial analysis offered by the various national or systematically theoretical schools."[32] Building on Raymond Williams's concept of a "structure of feeling," Said's contrapuntal approach seeks to reveal "structures of attitude and reference" in which "structures of location and geographical reference appear in the cultural languages of literature, history, ethnography, sometimes allusively and sometimes carefully plotted, across several individual works that are not otherwise connected to one another or to an official ideology of 'empire.'"[33]

While both Ortiz and Said use contrapuntal analysis in the frame of imperial and colonial encounters (and Boone uses it in the frame of Orientalism), I extend the method to put into counterpoint not the colonizer and the colonized but two empires on different levels of colonialism in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: English and Ottoman, and hence Christian and Islamicate, texts and contexts in a time frame when the two had intensifying mercantile and diplomatic encounters and exchanges. At the same time that the Ottoman Empire was an already established power whose territorial domination included almost one-third of Europe in the period I cover, England was emerging as an international player with imperial aspirations and began trafficking in the Ottoman Mediterranean shortly after its exclusion from the European Catholic League. Putting into contact these two contexts that have so far been considered unrelated reveals recurring structures of feelings, attitudes, and references in the context of the construction of sexual and racial imageries.

Rather than centering a diachronic argument regarding historical change or direct lines of borrowing and influence, I deploy the contrapuntal method as a way of connecting texts from both contexts by situating them in the same geohistorical plane in order to uncover the imaginaries of homoeroticism as related to imperial ideas and practices in early modernity. My focus inevitably reveals the shared aesthetic and moral repertoires and common ideological ground of these two realms. Hence, when possible, I point to both similarities and differences as well as transmissions between these two cultures. In certain

cases, when such infiltrations are evident, I will argue that we can discern the co-construction, rather than a simple national construction, of sexuality, race, and the homoerotics of empire.

In my contrapuntal framing, each chapter explores the abducted boy in various discursive formations by means of cross-readings of multiple texts beside and against one another, wherein the historical, literary, and aesthetic slide into one another across artificially created borders. I am aided in this by the fact that early modern literatures are predominantly literatures of comparison, reworking, intertextual allusion, adaptation, translation, and misreading—not only in the Ottoman context of harmonizing Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Italian, and Byzantine cultures (as is evident in the Ottoman language itself) but also in the English context, where we can see the influences of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Arabic, and Persian languages and contexts and borrowings from those languages. At their very formation, then, early modern literatures typically resist an insular, national-literary boundary, and thus they are open to tracings of queer affinities contrapuntally among multiple contexts.

Starting with perhaps the most famous, certainly iconic, abducted boy, Ganymede, this book investigates many such affinities. Ganymede has long been a favorite subject in the history of sexuality as the homoerotic companion, the seductive lover, the corrupter, the beautiful youth, the sex toy, the friend, the student, or the servant. I emphasize, instead, the violence of his abduction. The myth itself originates from a violent encounter, the war between the Greeks and the Trojans, the eastern and western sides of the Mediterranean. As a result of this encounter, Ganymede is seized as plunder by Jove and put in an interspecies and intergenerational pederastic relation. In order to foreground Ganymede's effect and function in historical and literary abductions and to lay out the larger historical and critical frameworks of this project, in the following three sections and in a cruisy mode with fluctuations and sudden turns in various archives, I first discuss how a focus on Ganymede's abduction makes visible not only the erotic titillation embedded in his forceful ravishment as the object of adult male desire but also his instrumentalization in the service of the imperial male fantasy of owning youthful servants from other lands in early modernity. Subsequently, I discuss why the Ottomans matter for exploring the history of sexuality in a transcultural context. My framing of the Ottoman Empire in the same geotemporal coordinates as England serves not to idealize the Ottomans in the global Renaissance but to offer a critical global approach to investigate thorny relationships between sexuality and race, pleasure and violence, and homoerotic and imperial desire.

Whenever a boy appears in an early modern abduction plot, the alluring Ganymede is in the air. Take, for example, Robert Greene's romance narrative *Menaphon*, in which the Thessalian pirate Eurilochus, "driving before him a large booty of beasts to his ships," sees the beautiful boy Pleusidippus on the shore of the Mediterranean Arcadia and gazes on his face "as wanton Jove gazed on Phrygian Ganymede in the fields of Ida." And "hee exhaled into his eyes such deepe impression of his perfection, as that his thought never thirsted so much after any prey, as this pretty Pleusidippus' possession."[34] The boy's beauty delights the pirate's eyes and enchants his heart, and he kidnaps the boy as a form of booty, later presenting him as a gift to the king of Thessaly. Ganymede, in the story, is evoked to instigate the abduction of the beautiful boy who becomes an object of admiration, and henceforth, abduction and circulation between men. But why does Ganymede appear in such plots that are often set in the Mediterranean, and what work does his appearance do?

Ganymede was a Phrygian boy abducted by Jove (Zeus) who, lured by the boy's beauty, took the form of an eagle and carried him away to Olympus, where Ganymede was transformed into an immortal cupbearer to the Gods. Beginning with ancient Greek and Roman narratives by Homer, Plato, Virgil, and Ovid, the story of Ganymede has generated two overarching yet conflicting interpretations: a platonic view that neglects the carnal elements of the myth, taking it as signifying a spiritual union with God (*amor spiritualis*), and an erotic view that relates the myth to homosexual love and pederasty (*amor carnalis*).[35] While Homer's *Iliad* stresses the beauty of Ganymede as the "comeliest of mortal men,"[36] Socrates of Xenophon's alternative *Symposium* downplays the boy's comeliness and the pederastic associations of the myth by declaring that it is Ganymede's "spiritual character that influenced Zeus," as signified by his name, which means "to rejoice in wise councils."[37] Plato's *Laws* claims that the Cretans were "the inventor of the tale" because the practice of pederasty (which Plato defined as sexual mentorship between an adult male and a young boy) was institutionalized there; however, his *Symposium* idealizes Ganymede as a companion and lover who, in misogynist fashion, is superior to women.[38] These two competing interpretations, fluctuating between Ganymede as a figure of ideal love and an object of pederasty, shaped medieval and early modern explications of the myth.[39]

While the story underwent many mutations, visual and literary representations from the late fourteenth century onward coalesced around Ganymede as an icon of homoerotic male desire.[40] In Europe, Ganymede's popularity reached its apogee in the sixteenth century when he was associated with homo-

erotic love, pleasure, desire, favoritism, and beauty. Even when his abduction was evoked in the form of rapture, ravishment, rape, transport, theft, plundering, and conversion, such violent acts were presented in erotic terms.[41] The most famous version of the myth circulating in the early modern period was derived from Ovid's Latin *Metamorphoses*. In Arthur Golding's 1567 translation, Ganymede's story as narrated by Orpheus (a character also associated with homoeroticism) in a "milder" style to "tell of prettie boyes / That were the derlings of the Gods: and of unlawfull ioyes" makes most visible the homoerotic aspect of the abduction for English readers.[42] In Ovid's depiction, Jove, who "did burne erewhyle in loue of *Ganymed*," "thrusts up" the Trojan boy in the form of an eagle and makes the boy his eternal cupbearer.[43] This passionate flaming homoeroticism, presented in "milder" terms in Ovid, is made visually explicit in early modern paintings such as Michelangelo's *Ganymede*, which, as is evident from its copies, depicts in a highly eroticized mode the moment of Ganymede's abduction (fig. I.1).[44] Jupiter, in the shape of an eagle, aggressively holds the boy's body, grasps Ganymede's legs with his talons, and surrounds his body with his wings while Ganymede's legs are parted, suggesting, in Leonard Barkan's words, "an image of anal penetration."[45] So too does Peter Paul Rubens's *The Rape of Ganymede* aggressively eroticize the abduction by emphasizing the grasping talons of the eagle and phallic quiver thrusting into the boy's buttocks (fig. I.2). The god indeed thrusts up "burn[ing] erewhyle in loue."

This association of the mythic boy with homoerotic desire became such a preeminent trope in the Renaissance that the term Ganymede came to refer to any beautiful boy, including popular mythical youths such as Orpheus, Cupid, Hercules, Adonis, and Hermaphroditus.[46] Moreover, by 1591 the name Ganymede itself became a common noun, "ganymede," in English.[47] Thomas Blount's 1656 dictionary *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 that is loved for carnal abuse, or is hired to be used contrary to nature, to commit the detestable sin of Sodomy is called a Ganymede; an ingle." As a corrupt form of the name Ganymede, "catamite" started to be used in English to signify, in Blount's definition, "a boy hired to be abused contrary to nature, a Ganymede."[48] Ganymede, a classical signifier now in reference to real-life boys, as is evident in Blount's use of "any boy," has a literary erotic history: "say the Poets."

Indeed, Ganymede as the boy-object of male desire appears ubiquitously in literature and on stage, including in Christopher Marlowe's plays, William Shakespeare's comedies, and Richard Barnfield's sonnets.[49] In Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, for instance, Rosalind cross-dresses as the seductive, saucy Ganymede who

FIGURE 1.1. *Ganymede*, copy after Michelangelo, sixteenth century. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum.

instructs Orlando how to love. Ganymede also shows up as a threat to sexual order in anti-sodomy satires such as Henry Peacham's *Minerva Brittana*, which links the boy to buggery, incest, murder, counterfeiting, and witchcraft. Peacham pictures the boy as an active agent not on the back of an eagle but on a cock, where he viciously holds not a wine cup but poison. Following the

FIGURE 1.2. *The Rape of Ganymede*, Peter Paul Rubens, 1536–1538. Museo Del Prado.

premodern discourses that often mark boys as seducers rather than as victims of older male desire, this Ganymede boy is presented not the passive victim of abduction but a seductive youthful threat.[50] Similarly, in John Marston's *Certaine Satyres*, he is "One who for two daies space / Is closely hired . . . an Open Ass."[51] Ganymede also appears in or shapes initial letters in print, and he functions as an inviting emblem, as on the sign for Thomas Walkley's bookstore in London called The Eagle and Child; it is possible that the sign was designed to attract certain types of book buyers.[52]

The early modern revival of Ganymede imagery has been attributed to the prominence of Ovid in the humanist curriculum.[53] Retellings of classical myths were a means for humanist writers to reflect on prevailing styles of eroticism in humanist pedagogy and to explore contemporary social issues. My focus on figurations of Ganymede in abduction plots produced in the historical context of cross-cultural interactions further brings to the fore the real-life traffic in boys, highlighting and attempting to negotiate the complex geopolitical tensions between erotics and violence in literary representations and social practices. That is, when put in the historical context of cross-cultural encounters, forms of homoeroticism ubiquitously enabled with Ganymede also reveal how local homoeroticism is often in dialogue with, if not attached to, pederastic homoeroticism imagined to be elsewhere, especially in the so-called East, where hierarchical relations between masters and servants, kings and minions were eroticized. It is therefore not accidental that multiple figurations of Ganymede appear in accounts of cross-cultural relations, especially in literary and dramatic English representations of Turks. Thomas Goffe's *The Couragious Turke* stages Ganymede as a character in a masque in the Turkish court who lectures the sultan on the superiority of love between men. In John Mason's play *The Turke*, Ganymede stands for a loving companion in a pastoral setting in which Bordello renounces the love of women, inviting his servant Pantofle to be his Ganymede.[54] The Venetian merchant Vitelli of Philip Massinger's *The Renegado* sells in an Ottoman marketplace in Tunis "crystal glasses, such as *Ganymede* / Did fill with Nectar to the Thunderer."[55] Travelers such as Michel Baudier invoke the mythic boy in describing real-life servant boys in the Ottoman lands, where men "speak not but of the perfections of their *Ganimedes*."[56] Servant boys in the Persian court are called "Ganymede boys" in the traveler Thomas Herbert's account.[57] Such depictions, which associate Ganymede with abducted and converted boys in eastern courts, seem to have set the terms for the formation of the later Orientalist and colonial deployments of Ganymede.[58]

How did early modern travel writings that represent abducted European boys as Ganymede influence literary imaginations? How were such travel writings

influenced by literary depictions? What effect did such images of Ganymede have on the real-life abductions of boys? To what extent were actual boys who were abducted as booty expected to perform as Ganymedes to make their masters feel like powerful gods? Is it simply coincidental that "ganymede" emerged as a common noun in English when England commenced its overseas trade relations in the Mediterranean? In order to answer such questions in this book, I locate beautiful abducted boys like Ganymede in the Mediterranean space of the early modern period, from the 1550s to 1620s.

This was a period of rising global encounters: Western Europe was trading and expanding in the Mediterranean and the colonial Americas, while the Ottomans were broadening their empire into the Balkans and North Africa. Both the English and the Ottomans were participating in the economy of captivity—being captured or capturing other boys. As a power in the Mediterranean market, the Ottomans practiced an institutionalized policy of abducting boys as *ganimet* (spoils of war, booty), which recalls the iconic Ganymede, as I analyze in the first chapter. In Aşıkpaşazade's Ottoman history, one of the earliest accounts of this practice, the writer proposes "let's give these boys to Turkish households so that they can learn Turkish; after they learn the Turkish language, we can bring them up as the janissaries."[59] From the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, the Ottomans brought thousands of Euro-Christian boys into Istanbul every year and converted them so they could assimilate into Ottoman culture and society and help rule the empire.[60] These *ganimet* boys were eroticized not only in European travelogues that called them Ganymede but also in Ottoman literary and visual imaginaries as beloveds, beautiful servants, or obedient cupbearers. In England, it was a common practice to seize English boys from their homes or schools and turn them into actors and singers for royal performances. In the sixteenth century, like Ottoman abductions, such abduction methods were expanded to take up "other" boys from other lands. In alignment with Aşıkpaşazade's account of Ottoman abductions, Robert Johnson's *New Life of Virginea* instructs the Englishmen that "for the poore Indians . . . Take their children and traine them up with gentleness, teach them our English tongue, and the principles of religion."[61] Englishmen trafficked in not only Native American but also African and Indian boys at the dawn of the African slave trade and with the rise of the East India Company. The abducted boy then became a rising figure in literary imaginations in the form of beloved servants, companions, or objects of admiration. As the following chapters reveal, representations of these boys in Ottoman and English cultural representations locate the abduction of boys—institutionalized or not—within a homoerotic matrix of imperial power relations by creating an

erotic bond between a hierarchically superior man and a boy abducted from "other" lands.

Drawing on this historical context, *Boys Abducted* terms such deployments and evocations of Ganymede in abduction plots "Ganymede effects." The Ganymede effect refers to allusions to and refigurations and reminiscences of the iconic Ganymede in accounts about abducted boys—imaginary and real—and to an affective mode that emerges through the boy in these abductions and their representations. The myth of Ganymede sometimes effected real-life abductions; other times, abductions inspired reconfigurations of Ganymede in representations. Wherever Ganymede appears in these texts, he carries with him and performs a dual affective function: pleasure and violence, simultaneously. That is, Ganymede's function is not just as a signifier; he calls into play the mixed, hybrid, or concurrent affect that surrounds the materials at the center of this book's investigation.[62] This effect, function, and affective mode is troublingly homoerotic. It travels along with Ganymede-like boys, marking both pleasure and violence at work in their coerced abductions. These boys' lives—and representations of them—hold violence and pleasure (their own, that of others) in constant and oscillating tension.

Part of the project of this book is to maintain a balance between a queer affirmation of cross-generational encounters—resisting, by following queer studies on pederasty, an ahistorical, knee-jerk dismissal of pederasty as universally, morally wrong and recognizing that for some men and some boys, erotic encounters might be mutually desired—with simultaneous recognition of the more widespread experience of sexual coercion and violence visited upon abducted boys. While some scholars have analyzed pederasty as a corrupting force in premodern Europe, others have stressed its potential for social benefits.[63] Alan Sinfield has noted that pederasty can take reversible forms and offer power to the younger party. Following this potentiality and deploying pederasty as a part of queer historiography and analytics, Amin proposes to take pederasty as "less a matter of parsing properly queer from uninterestingly normative or starkly oppressive forms of pederasty than of patiently charting the intertwined perils and potentials of pederasty's marginalized erotics of social power."[64]

Drawing on such insights and examining various figurations of the abducted boy in early modern Ottoman and English historical contexts, this book offers the adult man/abducted adolescent boy dyad as an inevitable component of early modern erotics steeped in violence in the normatively non-egalitarian erotic structures of the past. I argue that native boys who were abducted, exchanged, and circulated were made a part of larger cultural, economic, and political practices that contributed to and sustained the homoerotics of im-

perialism. The exotic, foreign, racialized boy, both as a literary trope and as a historical subject, is not simply a curiosity or an esoteric figure of desire, but is rather a site of ideological negotiations of imperial, racial, religious, and colonial trajectories in the gendered power hierarchies of early modernity.

Analyzing the Ganymede effect thereby reveals queer affinities and overlapping structures of feelings, attitudes, and references in cultural imperial imaginings in seemingly unconnected languages, literatures, and histories. The term emphasizes the complex connection between the figurative and historical accounts of abducted boys wherein Ganymede, both as a signifier and a generatively performative figure, exposes underlying myths, archetypes, and discursive crossings as he emerges in the historical boys who were abducted as booty while also eroticized as beloveds, and sometimes as seductive and corrupting lovers, in literary and visual representations.

Queering the Renaissance with the Ottomans

Ganymede-like abducted boys in palimpsestic Mediterranean settings—a multilayered space of both the classical past and contemporary encounters—provide a prolific point of entry for considering sexuality in global contacts. This book views cross-cultural encounters as playing a prominent role in producing sexuality because they mediate and complicate sociopolitical and cultural concerns and their attendant negotiations. As Ann Laura Stoler persuasively argues, the history of sexuality simply cannot be charted in Europe alone.[65] In early modern England and in Europe in general, religious and cultural differences were often mapped onto sexual differences, as Alan Bray observes in Edward Coke's seventeenth-century formulation of the "infernal trio of sorcerers, sodomites, and heretics."[66] Sodomy was often elsewhere, foreign. (Likewise, "buggery," from "bugger," signified not only anal sex but Bulgarians and heretics, etymologically related to the Latin "*bulgarus*" and the French "*bougre*."[67]) Sodomy was used as a means of generating and marking religious and racial difference, and as an unnatural, alien, heretical transgression, it was ubiquitously attributed to the Ottoman lands and persons. The compendium of the travels of the Shirley brothers, for instance, claimed that "for their vices, they [Turks] are all *Pagans*, and *Infidels*, *Sodomites*, and Liars."[68] William Lithgow noted Turks were "extreamely inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury; and generally adicted, besides all their sensuall and incestuous lusts, unto *Sodomy*."[69] Women too, as George Sandys reported on Constantinople, engaged in "unnatural" same-sex activities in Ottoman lands: "Much unnaturall and filthie lust is said to be committed daily in the remote closets of these darkesome *Bannias* [bathhouses]: yea women with

women; a thing uncredible, if former times had not given thereunto both detection, and punishment."[70] Sodomy became a predominant trope in English representations of the Turks; and such sodomitical attributions have often been analyzed as stereotypical othering tools.[71]

The projection of stigmatized deviance upon the Ottomans, however, is only one side of the story in exploring sexuality in the Anglo-Ottoman context. Vilified forms of sexuality—sodomy, and its ofttimes corollary, same-sex male eroticism—were commonplace tropes in Ottoman literature. One of the aims of this book is to explore how Ottoman sexual discourses expand our understanding of the expression of sexuality in early modern England and thus alter our general picturing of them. Is the "global Renaissance" that includes the Ottomans *queerer* than what we have thought so far in the project of queering the Renaissance, and if so, given the framework of violence I have been discussing, what do we make of its queerness?[72]

But first, a brief note on the Ottomans *in* and *of* Europe is necessary to foreground cultural crossings that will appear in following chapters. This book reframes some of major early modern English literary texts in the much-ignored Ottoman context. My transnational approach to early modern literature and the history of sexuality and race challenges the distorted image of the early modern past as governed by fixed geopolitical, ethnic, and religious boundaries by paying attention to discursive and material contacts and exchanges between nations and religions, especially in the historical Mediterranean context.[73] Comparative charts of similarities, intricate networks, processes of circulations, and possible connections present an early modern world that was far more complex and dynamic than that offered by nationalistic ethnographic perspectives that emphasize differences in the framework of strictly divided cultural borders of the modern nation-states.

There are striking parallels and crossings between the cultural imaginaries of early modern societies, or what Sanjay Subrahmanyam calls "connected histories." Besides the flow of things, people, and technologies in the early modern world, "ideas and mental constructs, too, flowed across political boundaries in that world, and—even if they found specific local expression—enable us to see what we are dealing with are not separate and comparable, but connected histories."[74] In pursuit of such connected histories, and challenging the New World–centric new historicist scholarship that has framed Europe simplistically against its colonial others, the global turn in early modern English literary studies has focused on cross-cultural encounters, which, as Jyotsna Singh asserts, "generated not only material exchanges within varying and uneven power relations, but also a rich and complex cross-pollination of art, culture, belief systems, and technolo-

gies between England and its 'others,' both within and outside Europe."[75] This global turn has historicized England's engagements and investments in the so-called East with a particular focus on extensive exchanges and interactions in the Mediterranean following the Ottoman capitulations (certain rights and privileges accorded to foreign nationals by the Ottoman sultan) that were granted first to the Turkey Company (1581), which in 1592 became the Levant Company, for trade privileges in the eastern Mediterranean (the Levant) and along the Barbary coast of North Africa. The purpose of England's engagement in this space was that, as noted in the letter of Queen Elizabeth I to the Ottoman sultan, through "mutuall trafique, the East may be joyned and knit to the West."[76]

Indeed, from religious conversions to communal cohabitations and personal interactions, extensive political, social, military, commercial, cultural, and personal crossings between the English and the Ottomans knit the two together. Rich and complex cross-pollinations became evident in the cultural appropriation of Ottoman goods, styles, and images in England. These included royal and aristocratic interest in Turkish fashion and products, the personal exchanges of letters and gifts between Elizabeth I and Safiye Sultan, and the circulation of the portraits of the Ottoman sultans and other Ottoman objects in the marketplace, to name a few.[77] Numerous English writers chronicled Ottoman history and society in detail, and English travelers and ambassadors to the Ottoman court left varied accounts of their encounters—Richard Knolles's *The Generalle Historie of the Turkes*, Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey*, Samuel Purchas's *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of Ottoman Empire*, and William Harborne's and Thomas Roe's records of their ambassadorships, among others. These accounts assembled a rich archive that engendered popular images of the Ottomans in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature and theater. In the forty-year period from 1580 to 1620, more than sixty English plays appeared with Islamic themes, characters, or settings, whose Turkish costumes, acting styles, and gestures on the English stage were often drawn from more than 3,000 printed texts about Islam, Turks, Moors, and the Ottomans.[78]

In this period of increasing cross-cultural exchanges and encounters, reading English and Ottoman cultures together challenges the presumption of the two as incommensurable.[79] The traditional Eurocentric literary view of a fixed universal Europe has long imprisoned early modern cultural imaginations and their artistic products in the spheres of strictly divided, ostensibly unconnected Eastern and Western literatures. These demarcations, as I discuss elsewhere, have a recent history going back to the nineteenth-century Orientalist project of creating the West in opposition to the Orient.[80] The great Orientalist E. J. W. Gibb's

first and influential English collection of Ottoman poetry in six volumes, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (1900–1909), for example, renders impossible a comparison of cultural productions from the Ottoman and English contexts—temporal, intellectual, and moral—in the Renaissance even though he recognizes correspondences between them in the Middle Ages: "The genius of the Middle Ages and the genius of the Renaissance are so opposite that mutual comprehension seems impossible. In the West the latter killed the former; but into the East it could not pass."[81] Gibb recasts the fiction of a secular Renaissance as a new, morally and intellectually higher code. His use of "the genius" of the age alongside of "the guidance of the new-found Hellenism" refers to the nineteenth-century signification of "the Renaissance" not only as a descriptive historical phrase but also as a spirit of Western civilization and modernity, going back to the Eurocentric conceptualization articulated by Jules Michelet's *La Renaissance* (1855), Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), and Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* (1873), among others.[82] While "West" and "East" once shared cultural similarities, even identical imaginings in spite of linguistic and religious differences in the Middle Ages, an ideologically constructed imperialist notion of the Renaissance and Europe began to separate the two cultures in hierarchal terms: namely, a modern, advanced civilization versus a premodern stasis. Gibb's *History* is symptomatic in revealing a shift in marking Ottoman literature as incompatible with European cultural productions.

Instead of portraying the Ottomans as the solely Islamic, distinctively non-Western other, and thus as peripheral to European culture and history, my effort to chart, when possible, convergences and divergences between the two realms presents an early modern world that confutes Islam/Christian, East/West, Europe/Rest divisions and situates the Ottomans as central to European culture, geography, and politics. European and Christian cultures were intricately adopted and blended in the Ottomans' empire-building politics and in its social and cultural productions as much as traditional Islamic cultures were—whether through cross-cultural encounters, conversions, neighborhood interactions, imperial multiculturalism, or abduction and enslavement of Euro-Christians. Challenging the orientalizing and therefore racialized discourse by Gibb and his followers, Walter Andrews points to an "Ottoman Renaissance" as a period of intense and creative cultural and artistic activity in the Ottoman Empire from approximately 1453 to 1625 "paralleling the broader burgeoning of culture(s) in Europe commonly called 'the Renaissance.'"[83] While the Ottomans figure prominently in the cultural, political, economic, and social life of Europe, Western cultural re-formations and social developments, in turn, traveled to the Ottoman Empire from the mid-fifteenth century onward. This

bilateral transmission, to quote Andrews, "breaks down artificial barriers that separate East from West, Ottomans from Europeans, barriers that are constituted more by the structure of our present scholarly institutions than by actual conditions during the Renaissance."[84] Like Western Europe, Ottoman society witnessed the emergence of new cultural and aesthetic forms that included architectural achievements, monumental historiographies, reworkings of classics, translations, the emergence of a distinctive Ottoman literature that broke away from Persian imitations, the elite patronage of arts and literature, artistic productions of Italian artists and artisans in Istanbul, and the secularization of cultural imaginings. Further interconnections in universalist imperial claims, new economic modes and commerce, cartographic developments, changing gender and sexual dynamics in a shared period and space of ideas, persons, and objects challenge a situating of the Ottomans and Europeans in wholly antithetical and oppositional terms.[85]

In fact, Europe as a continentally and culturally unified formation also stems from the nineteenth-century reimaginings of power dynamics—the West versus the rest—in conceptualizing a more definitive geographical continental divide. The Ottomans were no less European than England was in the early modern period. As Michael Wintle shows, Britain itself was historically sometimes included in and other times excluded from the cartographic theater of Europe. In addition to the Ottomans' self-conscious claim of Roman heritage in their empire-building process, the geographical coordinates of the empire (their capital city and almost one-third of their territory was located in Europe) impede an imagination of the Ottomans outside Europe and solely under Persian and Arabic influences. The Ottoman sultans declared themselves as Caesars (*kaysers*), emperors, or universal monarchs, claiming their imperial dominion over both Asia and Europe and therefore over both Islamic and Christian worlds. Some humanists recognized the Ottoman sultan as the universal emperor in the Roman sense. On the Habsburgs' rivalry with the Ottomans in claiming the universal imperium, for instance, Jean Bodin marked the Ottomans as the victor: "If there is anywhere in the world any majesty of empire and of true monarchy, it must radiate from the sultan. He owns the richest parts of Asia, Africa and Europe, and he rules far and wide over the entire Mediterranean and all but a few of its islands."[86] Other humanists and chroniclers linked the Ottomans with Trojans.[87]

Likewise, some Ottoman intellectuals did not see religion as a demarcating feature between the Ottomans and Western Christendom but located the Ottomans in European geography as a European power.[88] Hajji Ahmed's 1559 map, the earliest known Turkish-language map designed for public sale, for instance, divides the world into four continents (Asia, Europe, Africa, and the

New World), on the top of which is Europe under the hegemony of the Ottomans, carrying the legacy of the Romans and of Alexander the Great:

> Europe: This continent is special in that it is small compared to the others but at the same time more densely populated and intensively cultivated. The arts and sciences flourish there, and the fighting spirit of its people has served as a constant source of illumination, such that it is more beautiful and secure than other renowned and famous provinces. And furthermore it should be known that the greatest rulers of all ages have compared this land to the Sun, and most of them have ruled from here. These include the mighty Alexander the Great . . . and today in the year 967 of the Muslim calendar it is ruled by His Majesty Suleyman of the House of Osman, Sultan of Sultans and Refuge of the Rulers of the World, who is an even greater source for the illumination of humanity.[89]

Noting France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Germany as other parts of Europe, the Ottoman intellectual and cartographer confirms the Ottoman sultans, in Giancarlo Casale's terms, "as the physical embodiment of Europe."[90] Furthermore, Ahmed connects the Ottomans' imperial domination over lands they conquered to European colonialism in the Americas as he describes Spanish colonial activities, especially regarding the native people of Peru: "These people once upon a time were all pagans, but now most of them have become Catholics . . . [They have] learned the Spanish language and customs, just as the people of Anatolia and Karaman have learned the language and customs of the Turks."[91] Alongside a perspective that connected the Ottomans to an Islamic world and lineage, a view often shared by educated, freeborn Muslims of the empire, as Casale observes, a strong intellectual discourse emerged that envisioned the Ottoman Empire as a European state.

Such complex imperial self-projections call for a reconsideration of early modern literary imaginings beyond the narrow confines of single-language national literature within the nation-state paradigm. The Ottoman literary elite amalgamated Arabic, Persian, and Byzantine traditions as the poets of Rum (Roman lands) and identified themselves not as Turk but as Rumi, or Roman.[92] Rumi, or Rumice (in the Roman manner), became a signifier for Ottoman cultural productions that alluded to and combined Persian, Arabic, Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique traditions and figures. Early modern European writers were cognizant of such blending of languages, traditions, and ethnicities in the Ottoman social fabric. The English writer John Foxe claimed that "there are few now remaining, which are Turks indeed by birth and blood."[93] Rycaut observed that, in structuring their empire, the Ottomans followed the Romans, "who well

knew the benefit of receiving strangers into their bosom," and as a result, "no people in the world have ever been more open to receive all sorts of Nations to them, then they, nor have used more arts to increase the number of those that are called *Turks*."[94] Jakab Harsány Nagy, a seventeenth-century Transylvanian humanist, likewise, warned his European readers against assuming an essential Turkish identity: Turkish character, he wrote, "is not one nation [*millet* in the Turkish text; *una gens* in the Latin] but consists of all sorts of people of the world: Germans, Poles, French, English, Dutch, Hungarians, Muscovites, Czechs, Rus, Cossacks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Abkhazians, Georgians, Kurds, Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Tatars, Wallachians, Moldavians, Circassians, Croatians, Italians, Jews, Indians, and many others. Whoever wishes to speak of the Ottoman character [*Osmanlinin tabiati*], he must know the character of all [these] people [nations]."[95] Instead of a religiously unified Europe in opposition to the Islamic Ottomans, these examples, as well as those in following chapters, present a continental belonging and cultural legacy that went beyond religious difference and went back to the Romans as foregrounding Europe that included the Ottomans as its primary imperial player.

In this transnational imperial context, Anglo-Ottoman encounters and interactions proved to be critical in shaping certain English imaginaries at home. Building on Amer's intercultural approach to medieval lesbianism in the Arab Islamicate and in Christian European contexts, I also recognize the difficulty, if not impossibility, of a sole focus on literary sources and influences and direct lines of transmission in premodern forms of transcultural crossings in cultural materials and texts. Instead, I consider what Amer suggests, "not only linguistic and textual context (the intertextual), but also the sociohistorical and cultural codes inscribed within each text (the intercultural)."[96] I too propose that although Ottoman and English writers probably did not read one another, English bodies entered the Ottoman lands, where they interacted with the Ottomans; drank at their taverns and coffeehouses; observed their lives and customs; heard their stories, songs, and poems; saw their performances; attended their festivals; and most likely experienced some Ottoman bodies more intimately. Such overseas interactions and encounters generated the genre of tales or news from Turkey in England.[97] Besides the figurations of the Ottomans in influential European texts that circulated in England, including Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince*, Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, and many humanist writings, English chronicles and travelogues captured not only Ottoman history and imperial structure but also its contemporaneous society, culture, and language. In taverns, Ottoman stories and tales circulated as they were narrated by seaman, merchants, travelers, and writers, including

Richard Hakluyt, the great compiler of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation*.[98] As a result, not only Ottoman goods but also Ottoman voices and ideas infiltrated into England and contributed to English imaginaries via travelogues, poems, and plays on public stages.[99] The accounts of abducted boys (as the following chapters will show), for instance, created mythologies of the janissaries in relation to Ganymede in England, and descriptions of Ottoman eunuchs in travelogues echoed on the English stage.

In locating sexuality in cross-cultural connections and trajectories, this book includes Ottoman sources not simply to expand the geographic reach of Western historiography but to challenge, reconsider, and "provincialize" Eurocentric sexual histories by bringing to the forefront Ottomans' own sexual epistemologies as models in order to reconfigure our approach to English representations.[100] In spite of differences and putative otherness, cultural productions from the two contexts demonstrate complex and curious parallels and connections in representations of sexuality. It is indeed not surprising if we also take into account the shared foundational authorities, discourses, and conceptualizations—theological (similarities between the Bible and the Qur'an), classical (especially the influence of Plato and Aristotle and the popularity of Alexander the Great), and medical (Galen and Avicenna). In both English and Ottoman cultures, there was a Roman influence. Galenic theories of the humoral body and Avicenna's (Abu Ali al-Ḥusayn bin Abdullah ibn al-Ḥasan bin Ali bin Sina) medical propositions on sex and gender difference in his *Al-Qanun fi't-Tibb* (Canon of medicine) were not only essential parts of the medical curriculum but were also operative in natural philosophy, moral philosophy, and physiognomy to the mid-seventeenth century.[101] On such shared grounds, in particular, I shift the angle of vision to ask: What do we see in early modern England when we look at sexuality from a standpoint located in the Ottoman lands, specifically in its capital Istanbul?

One thing in particular stands out: in the Ottoman Empire, domestic and public relations and political power were organized and managed around highly institutionalized orderly homosocial and homoerotic male bonds, especially between adult men and boys. Further, despite theological denunciations of sexual relations outside marriage, same-sex male homoeroticism was central to Ottoman literature in various genres from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.[102] These included the ghazal (lyric poetry) the *mesnevi* (narrative poem), shadow theater, the *şehrengiz* (catalogue of beautiful men), the *tezkire* (biography), the *dellakname* (catalogue of bathhouse boys), and the *bahname* (book of libido).[103] In exploring this literature, I particularly draw on and am in dialogue with Andrews and Kalpaklı's *The Age of Beloveds*, which introduces

and mediates early modern Ottoman sexuality alongside European literary and critical sources mainly for a Euro-American audience and reveals multiple symmetrical discourses on love and the beloved across cultures.[104] Recognizing how poetic genres make possible the expression of homoerotic love, they persuasively show that beautiful boys, whether they appeared in miniatures, poetry, or historical narratives, were not merely a rhetorical device or, as hitherto suggested, an abstract, disembodied metaphor mediating the passage to the divine, but derived from and represented a distinct social class of boys who were objects of desire and devotion in the homosocially structured empire.[105]

Whereas Andrews and Kalpaklı catalogue and conflate all such boys under the term "beloved" in their portrayal of widespread homoeroticism in Ottoman cultural productions and society, I suggest that these boys often differed from one another based on their class, age, ethnicity, race, or religion. They were *şehir oğlanları* (city boys), *levends* (adventurous youths), *emreds* (beardless youths), libertines, *suhtes* (theology students), *evbaş* (lower-type boys), prostituting boys, *hamam* boys (bathhouse boys), Galata boys, Frank boys (European boys), and janissaries. Although cognizant of these categories, Andrews and Kalpaklı's project mainly traces the nature of love in Ottoman culture wherein the boy stands as a beloved erotic object of male desire. Even their suggestive discussion of the parallels between the cupbearer boy in this poetic tradition and the iconic Ganymede serves to display erotic symmetries regarding the prevalence of boy love in both the Ottoman and European contexts, although they do not explore what the boy's religious and cultural difference conveys in such figurations.[106] In contrast, I argue in this book that not all boys accrue the same meaning. What necessitates the deployment of not a Muslim boy but a Christian boy in this literary culture? And, to extend this line of thought into the English context, what does Shakespeare's racially othered Indian boy in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* signify that the white youth of his sonnets do not or cannot? Can Ottoman accounts of various categories of boys guide us to highlight differences among boys in English representations?

The Darker Side of the Global Renaissance

As I have begun to intimate, if the sexual arrangements and representations in the early modern Ottoman world appear queer to us moderns, this queerness was not always something we might want to idealize. In pursuing representations of boys at thorny intersections, my study crucially presents sexuality not as an isolated category of analysis but as one that is inseparably intertwined with race and empire because it is marked by the asymmetries and violence

generated by racial and imperial histories on the darker side of the "global renaissance."[107] I use "the darker side," evoking Walter Mignolo's *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* about Spanish colonialism, in reference to the exchanges of imperial, colonial, and racial technologies, violent practices, and discourses on a global level. Specifically, in this section, I call for a critical approach to the Ottoman past and imperial ideology as it appears in comparative or global early modern studies. I map out some aspects of Ottoman slavery and racialization, empire building, and race making in order to provide an essential background for understanding the hierarchization and eroticization of abducted, enslaved boys in the following chapters.

Remarkably, foundational studies of the "global renaissance" that emphasize cross-cultural encounters and exchanges have often ignored the exchanges of not-such-fun things, or the darker side of the global Renaissance. In its important task of questioning and historically probing what constitutes the West and its Eastern other by stressing the Ottomans' relevance to and power in Europe, such work initiated a global turn as they marked the Renaissance as an era "before Orientalism."[108] In part intent on challenging Said's initial conceptualization of Orientalism as knowledge-production about the East, critics have stressed an early modern Europe that had not colonized Turkey but had equal or pragmatic relationships of exchange with the Ottomans. They suggest that all of Said's understanding of East-West relationships applies only to the nineteenth century and after, when Europe became a global imperial power.

However, by suggesting that early modern Europe was not in a position to engender Orientalist discourses and attitudes, such critiques engage in two fallacies: they simplify and thereby misread Said and they orientalize the Ottomans in a way that Said did not. Said does not present an ahistorical, universal Orientalism but instead makes an explicit distinction between a modern Orientalism in post-Enlightenment discourse and its other "latent" forms.[109] His examples from antiquity and the premodern period reflect his Foucauldian genealogical investigation that offers not a point of origin but a messy genealogy of orientalisms (in plural) in multiple sites and their transhistorical operations, in which texts offer palimpsestic tropes that then circulated and contributed to form nineteenth-century Orientalism.[110] Critiques of (and deliberate distancing from) Said on the part of early modern critics have served to mark, if not cement, the Ottomans as essentially different from Europeans and render them almost invisible in discussions of imperialism, colonialism, and race-making processes in early modern English studies.[111] Nowhere in his *Orientalism* does Said present the Ottoman Empire as orientalized; rather, his analysis centers on places in North Africa and what is now called the Middle East that were

once *conquered* by the Ottomans. In fact, one can even claim, by noting Said's probably deliberate neglect of the Ottomans in his book, that the Ottoman Empire might be one of those imperial powers that actively contributed to the formation of modern Orientalist thought and imagination. By taking into account Ottoman culture and imperialism in relation to Western empires—thus following Said's *Orientalism* and his even more complex investigation of *Culture and Imperialism*—this book will unearth complex genealogies of orientalisms in early modern cross-cultural encounters and exchanges.

Formations of sexuality, race, and empire in England existed not simply in opposition to but alongside and in dialogue with the Ottomans. By considering the darker side of cross-cultural contacts between the English and the Ottomans while also contrapuntally lingering in their queer sites and imaginaries, I do not suggest an equal dialogic partnership; rather, as I will show, there were asymmetric transferences, crossovers, and cultural negotiations between England and the Ottoman Empire. Western powers were not essentially and innately powerful, nor were they culturally isolated from non-Western imperial practices and discourses. Ania Loomba has recently cautioned that "we cannot challenge a crude narrative of an endless clash of cultures by simplifying past histories of contact into a narrative of mutuality and equity. If we do so, we cannot explain why and how modern Western empires were born and shaped during the Renaissance, or indeed understand why so many of the cultural achievements of the Renaissance are overtly marked by imperial ambition (or question such ambition)."[112] Countering the model of connected histories for its inadequacy in fully excavating cultural differences and ideologies among different imperial models, Loomba offers a model of imperial histories in order to better investigate the genesis and dynamics of Western empires. I connect this imperial history model with the connected history model discussed earlier based on the premise that no single imperial culture was immune from the influences of another. In doing so and in relying on studies that have shown how certain practices of enslavement moved from Islamicate societies to Christian ones, I ultimately query the darker side of connected histories with a focus on sexuality at the intersection of race as they were co-produced and made into the grammar of imperial rule.

The Ottoman Empire was hardly disconnected from Western empires, considering their cultural and geographical commonalities and exchanges. In this respect, it is important to dispel the idea of viewing the Ottomans as somehow exceptional in their egalitarianism. There is an unfortunate tendency in comparative histories to single out (and often celebrate) the Ottoman Empire by emphasizing its difference from European imperialism. Jonathan Burton, for example, sets "the multi-ethnic cosmopolitanism and tolerance of the Ottomans against

the racial practices that developed in contemporaneous Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Dutch empires."[113] He suggests that the Ottomans took up the legacy of the Roman empire, and in doing so, "extended the benefits of citizenship to the diverse peoples they conquered. . . . [They] allowed confessional diversity, intermarried at the highest echelon, and most importantly recruited a core of metropolitan elites through the *devşirme*, or child tribute."[114] It is true that Ottoman imperial practices were different in many ways from European colonial practices in the Americas and later in the rest of the world. Nevertheless, in the mid-sixteenth century, the Ottoman intellectual Hajji Ahmed likened Spain's colonization in the Americas to the Ottomans' conquest of Anatolia. Uncritical deployments of the Ottoman Empire as an egalitarian imperial structure characterized by the happy cohabitation of various communities for centuries bury the brutal aspects of Ottoman slavery while risking the erasure of the relationships between religious and racial difference and political subjecthood and sovereignty in this period. Such celebratory assessments of Ottoman slavery and imperialism are usually built on a conventional Turkish nationalist glorification of Pax Ottomanica, a view that idealizes the early modern Ottoman Empire as the cradle of tolerance where the peaceful coexistence of various religions and ethnic groups was uninterrupted.[115] This kind of simple opposition between East and West simply reverses the ideological bias of Orientalism but keeps alive its binary structure. We need to be careful not to romanticize, orientalize, or infantilize the Eastern and Islamicate empires of the past by stoking a nostalgia that might bring unintended political consequences and serve to feed into a nativism that is uncritically obsessed with a presumably glorious past. Empires, after all, are built on various forms of control, hierarchization, oppression, exploitation, violence, and subjugation in order to maintain their global power.

While being an Ottoman subject was beneficial to some Christians and Jews, and while some European Christians willingly converted to obtain some of the benefits that specifically accrued to Muslims, the Ottoman Empire was by no means an egalitarian society. Being conquered meant being subjected to a variety of restrictions and control that included higher taxation and wearing obligatory belts (*zünnar*) that marked religious difference for subject Christian and Jewish populations, even if they were not forced to convert. To become an elite through *devşirme*, the systematic practice of capturing, converting, assimilating Christian boys (the subject of my first chapter), was not something that every non-Muslim willingly agreed to. In fact, this coercive practice was traumatic for families and their children, as is evidenced in native sources from the lands under Ottoman control.[116] While some families, especially Bosnians, might have regarded the

system as beneficial for their sons, others resisted and resented *devşirme*, which transformed the abducted Christian boys into permanent slaves, or *kul*, a term used for "slave" but that can also be translated as "servant to God," signifying that the power dynamics of Ottoman absolutism were similar to those between God and human and between creator and the created.[117] Hence, my focus on abducted boys shall reveal that the Ottomans effectively turned boys not into equal subjects in an egalitarian structure but into objects and, in particular, into vehicles for enacting, maintaining, and representing the legitimacy of the empire itself.

Certainly Ottoman slavery was different from Western slavery, in which a slave was mostly a chattel deprived of civic rights and in which children inherited slave status. Ottoman slavery, in general, was more similar to European servitude and bondage. *Devşirme* boys, for example, were *kuls*, slaves of the sultan, but at the same time, they had privileges that other subjects of the empire did not. They were considered part of the sultan's household and were paid salaries. They were exempt from taxation, and they themselves owned properties and slaves. Others, such as purchased slaves, had the legal right to negotiate their contracts or change their master if they wished. Slavery was not invariably inherited; the sons and daughters of the slaves were sometimes free. Also, slaves could be liberated at their master's will, usually upon their religious conversion. Slaves, therefore, had opportunities and means to rise to positions of power and influence.[118] Despite these differences, the lack of individual consent and will relegated many of these boys to the condition of slavery for the rest of their lives. Within the viciously combative and competitive structure of the Ottoman palace, *devşirme* slaves were always under the threat of a death order from the sultan.[119] Importantly, religious difference was an essential marker of hierarchization that legitimized their enslavement even if they converted to Islam upon their recruitment. Furthermore, they were exposed to consistent attacks as unreliable converts or because of their non-Muslim lineage. As one sixteenth-century intellectual put it: "Either on their father's or their mother's side, the[ir] genealogy is traced to a filthy infidel."[120] In this book, I explore such moments when religious difference was racialized.

The suppositions that Islamic law was supreme in the rule of the empire and that Islamic "tolerance" was universal should also be critically examined in light of the state policies of maintaining control by the demarcation and hierarchization of peoples. Otherwise, such assumptions risk ignoring the historical changes that took place in ideologies, thus imprisoning Islamicate society in a fabricated fable of a unified, never-changing matrix of a singular Islam. As I further discuss in chapter 1, the Ottomans distorted Islamic laws to enslave Christian boys from their own imperial population, boys who were supposed to be under the authority and protection of laws, in order to maintain their

imperial power via the *devşirme* system. Islamic law therefore was not the only source of imperial rule and it was not interpreted in a single way. As Chouki El Hamel rightly remarks, "Relying solely on Islamic ideology as a crucial key to explain social relations, particularly the history of black slavery in the Muslim world, yields an inaccurate historical record of the people, institutions, and social practices of slavery in the Arab world."[121] This assessment is particularly significant for understanding the Ottomans, considering that they embraced Roman heritage and accepted common law (in addition to Islamic Shari'a law) in forming and governing the empire. Although that empire housed multiple different religious groups, they were often strictly segregated into zones that had restricted access to outsiders. Therefore, rather than assuming that religion alone can serve as an accurate lens for analyzing Ottoman imperial politics and social and cultural practices, we need to acknowledge imperial politics, cultural-historical specificities, and contextualized, plural Islams.

In pursuing racially and religiously marked abducted boys, this book assesses emergent racial ideologies and distinctions as critical components of the empire, since racial and religious differences were crucial factors in the abduction of boys. While race has started to be carefully investigated in early modern English studies in the past few decades, only recently have Ottomanists began to pay attention to emerging racial discourses in early modernity. They nevertheless tend to avoid using the term "race" in describing the human difference produced in the period.[122] Yet not to use the term "race" in premodern studies, Geraldine Heng reminds us, "would be to sustain the reproduction of a certain kind of past, while keeping the door shut to tools, analyses, and resources that can name the past differently."[123] Terms of larger generality such as "otherness" or "difference," Heng establishes, do not serve strategic, epistemological, and political commitments to understanding human culture and society. Also, such attempts to distance race/racisms of the past from the present risks blurring the ways that discourses, ideologies, and practices in the past penetrate into the present. My use of "race" and "racism" in both English and Ottoman early modern contexts throughout the book aims to denaturalize human hierarchizations and to highlight a genealogy of race as inextricably interlinked with and articulated through the infrastructures of slavery, colonial and imperial practices, religious difference, and eroticized and gendered power hierarchies. This does not mean neglecting local sociopolitical and cultural specificities; rather, it means attending to "transregional conversations about race [that were] centuries in the making."[124]

On race as an analytic tool for exploring human difference transhistorically and transregionally, Heng's definition is particularly illuminating: "*Race is a structural relationship for the articulation and management of human differences,*

rather than a substantive content."[125] In this book, I consider that early modern race and racisms were ways to make fundamental differentiations and hierarchizations among humans not only in Europe but also in the Ottoman realms. By the seventeenth century, in addition to prior racial discourses of climate theories, physiognomy, humoral theory, and theological renderings of the Hamitic curse, a racialism based on skin color had appeared in Arab-Islamicate regions.[126] El Hamel remarks that "the expansion and racialization of black slavery in Morocco and in the adjacent Atlantic world was taking place at the same time . . . from common roots in a Mediterranean concept of slavery and Abrahamic traditions."[127] Documenting the rise of the new slavery practices that ignored the Islamic prohibition on enslaving Muslims, El Hamel convincingly demonstrates how black Muslim Africans began to be enslaved, indeed, began to be seen as "natural slaves." Influenced by such Arab-Islamicate racial discourses, Ottoman intellectuals generated racialized ideas in parallel with the Ottomans' imperial investments in Africa and with the simultaneous rise of a black population in Istanbul from the second half of the sixteenth century onward.

Antiblackness appears to have functioned as a structural tool for denying legitimacy to black African bodies in the rule of the empire, even though a few had honor and status at court. While white European boys were abducted as slaves to serve in higher status in courtly and military affairs, black African boys were castrated to serve as eunuchs in domestic spaces. Black and white eunuchs were strictly separated; black bodies were seen as inferior in the natural order of things and were thus put closer to women in the harem in the patriarchal structure of the empire. It is worth asking, as I do in chapter 5, why not a single black boy became a grand vizier while some white boys who were made eunuchs, such as the Bosnian Hadım Ali Pasha, the Bulgarian Hadım Mesih Pasha, and the Albanian Hadım Hasan Pasha, did. In fact, biographies of black Ottomans, rare as they are, show that they had particular difficulty advancing their careers compared to their white counterparts.[128] Whether they were black or white, only a very few of these slaves among countless others rose to power. Likewise, none of the black female slaves became the favorite (*haseki*) or mother queen (*valide sultan*) in the harem. The Ottomans very successfully sold a dream of exceptional access to power for a few enslaved men, women, and boys, a dream whose basis in racialized abduction and coercion we are still in the process of uncovering.

In this context, this book treats the homoerotics of abductions, which put enslaved boys in beautified gendered and eroticized power hierarchies, as inseparable from racial formations and dynamics. In doing so, it shows that homoeroticism was a potent force in the creation, maintenance, and imagination of racial hierarchies and empire across both East and West. As the following

chapters will discuss, abducted boys were selected on the basis of their physical appearance and were often depicted in erotic terms. It was the whiteness of the boys that determined their value, their promotions, and their appraisal in literature. Some Ottoman writers celebrated white European beauty and encouraged reproductive unions with the Ottomans of European descent so as to create an ideal population. Intellectual discourses by elite writers not only signaled and established a racial vocabulary infused with sexual desire but also revealed how the white beauty routinely idealized in Ottoman literature functioned to construct somatic hierarchies. Conventional readings of this aesthetic celebration of whiteness and of white and black as merely metaphors ignore the racial dynamics of imperial and sexual power hierarchies. Protesting the privileging of whiteness as the ideal norm by these intellectuals, one rare black Ottoman elite, to whom I return in chapter 5, wrote: "[God] said 'the noblest one among you in the eyes of God is the most pious'; He did not say 'the most good-looking, the most handsome, and the whitest.'"[129] It is important to discern how skin color here is perceived as interlinked with beauty. In contemporary Ottoman accounts and in literary examples, as the following chapters illuminate, the imperial gaze is consistently fused with an erotic gaze on good-looking white boys, a gaze that sometimes idealized whiteness and other times condemned blackness. As Carmen Nocentelli observes for the European context, "Love and empire accompanied each other from the beginning of Europe's expansion overseas."[130] So, too, for the Ottomans.

Asymmetrical Intersections: Queer/Race

Throughout the book, my queer-race hermeneutics carefully attends to the often-contradictory and problematic infusion of homoeroticism into the imperial and racial gaze by bridging sexuality and queer studies of the early modern period with studies in early modern race and globality.[131] Cultural and literary works with queer imaginaries present social hierarchies of race and sexuality as vulnerable, contradictory, and ambiguous. The literary and cultural history this book offers presents homoeroticism as troubled by hierarchy, race, slavery, and coercion and thus sometimes used as an imperial tool to take control of, dominate, and exploit populations and lands during this time period. My queer analytics considers sexuality to be inseparable from race in its focus on gaps, contradictions, pleasure, and playfulness. Hence, this book aims not only to unearth homoerotic dynamics of the past that seem to us today to be part of queer historiography but also to queer the past in terms of deconstructing the rhetorical historical, literary, and visual strategies that contributed to pro-

ducing the structures of the hierarchization, articulation, and management of human difference that are in fact artificial, unstable, mobile, and malleable.

Exploring race and sexuality with the early moderns requires a capacious focus on conjunctions, crossroads, and overlapping discourses. Sexuality is constituted vis-à-vis the projected other via the attribution of transgressive acts onto foreign sites and people. Likewise, race is always construed in terms of othered populations in complex interrelations with various overlapping discourses and forms of knowledge production and is therefore permeable and adaptable, or, as Peter Erickson and Kim F. Hall characterize it, "always protean and sticky, attaching to a range of ideologies, narratives, and vocabularies in ways both familiar and strange."[132] As Ian Smith signals, "Race is constitutionally queer insofar as it is never a unified, fixed category but posits a social identity produced from a number of intersecting, overlapping conceptual conjunctions—including color, religion, geography, and sexuality."[133] In an age of intensifying global traffic, it is thereby vital to investigate, as the following chapters do, the porous and mobile categories of sexuality and race interrelationally in a comparative context in order to denaturalize, unsettle, upset, and subvert hierarchies of human desire and human difference, both of which are categorized in relation to "the other" in order to create the natural order of things in the past (and in the present).

A historical exploration of the homoerotics of asymmetrical differences faces the difficulty of demarcating objectification from attraction, violence from pleasure, identification from disidentification, and coercion from desired hierarchical attachments. A queer analytics that scrutinizes sexuality and race together, as black feminism and the queer of color turn in queer studies have persuasively shown, can offer productive vectors for questions around sexuality and various asymmetrical differences, including those related to race, nationality, religion, age, class, or gender.[134] As Jennifer C. Nash aptly put it, "The persistence of race as a social, cultural, and economic project is fundamentally related to its hold on all of our erotic imaginations. . . . Race is an erotic project, not simply because it pleasures majoritarian subjects, but because it shapes minoritarian desires and pleasures as well, constituting how minoritarian subjects imagine their bodies, longings, and desires."[135] In the early modern context, Valerie Traub likewise probes the self/other relationality in sexual desire and acts: "Subject to both incitement and prohibition, sexuality is often a site of simultaneous allure and danger, inviting identifications with and disavowals of 'others' in complex and ambivalent ways. Sex can involve genuine appreciation, curiosity, and vulnerability, the acceptance of someone who appears different from the self. It can also involve individual and structural forms of coercion, exploitation, and domination, including projecting onto others one's own disavowed desires."[136] Traub

builds on the "survivance strategies" first articulated by Gerald Vizenor that Bernadette Andrea centrally deploys in her examination of Muslim women in British literature ("the union of active survival and resistance to cultural dominance"), and her observations on sexuality call for a careful examination of varying dynamics in interracial relations.[137] As Traub writes, "All cross-race liaisons, within and without slavery, took place within a broad framework of asymmetrical power. While most were the result of sexual assault and exploitation, others were born of mutual desire, opportunism, accommodation, and/or creative 'survivance.'"[138]

Indeed, the boy in both English and Ottoman contexts often seems to be a passive subordinate party in same-sex male couplings due to his age, status, race, religious difference, or putative sexual role—be it as a ganymede, a minion, a servant, a favorite, a catamite, or an ingle. A focus on these boys with an awareness of the potential slipperiness of sexual roles and positionalities, however, unveils the boy's sometimes-active subjectivity in empowering himself for survivance in a male homosocial structure that normally places him at the bottom of the hierarchy. The literary examples I analyze reflect a glimpse not only of the historical realities that create a context for the burgeoning trope of the abducted boy but also of moments of creative subversions of normative hierarchies in interracial, intergenerational same-sex relations. The abducted boy in survivance sometimes finds alternate routes with his alluring beauty and desiring self. Some boys in the cultural texts I analyze are represented as active agents who orient, direct, participate, plot, seduce, or facilitate, defying the ahistorical perception of boys as universally sexless and innocent.[139] The abducted boy in representation, I suggest, had the potential to upset gender, sexual, and racial categories with his desirable body, youth, sexual activity, and religious, racial, and cultural difference. Although in real life many such boys remained enslaved throughout their lives, some others made a transition from servitude to a position in the ruling elite, from being solely an object of another's erotic gaze to the subject who converts the gazing adult, and, in some cases, from being the eroticized abducted boy to a poet who eroticized boys who were abducted.

Of course, cultural texts and literature both reflect and shape fantasies and histories and sometimes cover, legitimize, and aestheticize certain forms of violence as displaying some elements of pleasure. Genres such as the romance, the ghazal, and the epyllion might blur the line between coercion and consent in ways that can illuminate the historical complexities of these categories, which are different from our modern understanding.[140] Literary representations attribute a certain level of erotic subjectivity and power of resistance to boys, who are repeatedly positioned as not merely passive but also as active agents.[141] The

early modern period, as Masten puts it, regularly returns to the question of "boy-desire," which is a question of not only the almost universal desire for boys but also "the desires of such young men *themselves* (toward a variety of objects)."[142] Exploring historically this literature that eroticizes boys while complicating the status of the boy merely as victim, the following chapters ask: Why did Marlowe not allow a coercive homosexual intercourse in the Mediterranean world of *Hero and Leander*, which emerges in stark contrast with travelogues that depict this space as a zone of exploitative boy-lovers (chapter 1)? What does the apparent sign language that abducted boys developed among themselves for arranging their erotic pursuits tell us about their sexual agency in developing same-sex sexual relations (chapter 1)? Why does the conqueror of Constantinople, Ottoman sultan Mehmed II, praise a beautiful Christian boy in his poetry, wherein the boy's beauty eventually engenders the conversion of the Muslim sultan (chapter 2)? How do beautiful boys in early modern cartographic representations actively shape, direct, and orient the viewer's perspective and body (chapter 2)? Why does Shakespeare deploy classical pederastic homoeroticism in Oberon's abduction of the Indian boy in Mediterranean Athens, an act that generates the happy ending of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (chapter 3)? What are we to make of the stories about English boys who escaped their English party to become a part of Turkish households with boy-lovers (chapter 4)? How should we understand the boy who castrates himself in order to be in closer proximity to the sultan's body in the sultan's private chambers (chapter 5)? To what extent can sex and pleasure become forms of resistance for abducted boys (chapter 6)?

Disclosing the subjectivity and resistance that the abducted boys sometimes register makes explicit the performative and subversive elements of the racial, gender, and erotic categories produced by and within power relations. A recognition of such boys as both desiring and resistant to desire does not reflect exactly the experiences and actions of all historical boys, nor should it prevent us from recognizing historical real-life abuses. Nonetheless, these representations defy the simplistic and ahistorical picturing of adolescent boys as invariably lacking in sexual desire, power, or agency to fight and overcome oppression—assumptions that are mostly rooted in modern policing or pathologizing of nonconforming desires in terms of various modes of present egalitarianisms.[143] As mentioned above, premodern ideals and norms of sexual desire were different from ours; in pederastic relations, boys were often seen as seductive, corrupting, desiring agents rather than as corrupted innocent victims of assault.[144] Literary scenarios and imaginative possibilities often provide transformative imaginaries and alternatives that go against the historical context by offering discrepancies, gaps, ambiguities, and contradictions. Boys in each chapter will offer moments when the

racially or religiously othered and hierarchically less powerful boy is not always a silent or powerless subject but one who uses various means and queer possibilities to survive, resist, or fulfill his desire in the hegemonic imperial structure.

Crossings with Boys

In addition to moving between English and Ottoman contexts and beyond single national-language paradigms, my contrapuntal readings in the chapters that follow inscribe a cross-genre pattern that addresses a wide array of texts: on the one hand, Ottoman poems, historical chronicles, prose works, festival accounts, and miniatures; on the other hand, English plays, poems, travelogues, chronicles, and maps and paintings produced in Western Europe. Often, generic conventions and tropes—be it the beloved boy in the ghazal tradition, Ovidian homoeroticism in the epyllion, or erotic Mediterranean encounters in the romance—make it possible for writers to express homoerotic scenarios. Yet as I will show, they are inseparable from historical conditions and geopolitics and contribute to discourses around homoeroticism, race, and empire. The wide range of genres and texts in this study thus aims to uncover discursive formations and cultural imaginings in which the figure of the beautiful abducted boy traverses literal geographic boundaries by means of his abduction as an object and sometimes as the subject of same-sex male desire. Identifying boy abductions as an important component of imperial imaginings in both cultures, my study unearths the homoerotic cultural landscape of the so-called West and East by evincing a shared visual and textual repertoire.

The three chapters in Part I, "Boys Encountered," analyze the abduction and conversion of beautiful boys in the sites of cross-cultural encounters. The early modern sexual and gender economy Ottoman and English domains shared surpasses a binary matrix of male versus female. Instead, it operates across a wider spectrum, one that includes the boy. The figure of the abducted beautiful boy in poetic, cartographic, and dramatic representations in Part I demonstrates not only the gendering but also the eroticization of spaces and imperial visions. Chapter 1 revisits Marlowe's invention of Leander's homoerotic abduction in the Hellespont in his retelling of the otherwise classical heteroerotic story in his much-celebrated poem *Hero and Leander*. Marlowe's poem belongs to the short-lived genre of epyllion, which has often been analyzed as a literary reflection of the humanist training English male poets underwent in their youth. This chapter, however, situates the poem and its Mediterranean setting in the geohistorical context of the sixteenth century and connects the Ganymede imagery Marlowe creates in this geographic space to beautiful Christian boys

abducted by the Ottomans as *ganimet* (booty). I analyze the representation of Leander through the icon of Ganymede together with the Ottoman elite's cataloguing of beautiful servant boys, including Mustafa Ali's *Kava'idu'l-mecalis* (The rules of social gatherings), which racially hierarchizes boy slaves from various ethnic and religious backgrounds based on their youthful beauty, which functions to regulate racial and imperial hierarchies. By putting the servant boy as an object of desire in Ottoman accounts into dialogue with Leander, I highlight how the Mediterranean space makes possible Marlowe's imagining of exciting homoerotic alternatives in which the boy can also resist sexual coercion. This contrasts with contemporary travelers' sodomitical, anti-sex narratives in which boys are often permanently imprisoned in a coercive master/slave matrix in the Mediterranean.

Chapter 2 begins with the Ottoman poet Aşık Çelebi's imperial desire to save beautiful white boys from white Christian Europeans. This chapter merges the poetic and cartographic gaze on boys by zooming in on the cross-cultural encounter zones to show how those boys' bodies signify the spaces from which they were abducted. I bring into conversation the spatial representations of boys such as Aşık Çelebi's "Ode to the Danube" and the Ottoman poet Avni's (Mehmed II) verses on the town of Galata (the Christian neighborhood of Istanbul), in which the beautiful Christian boy embodies Western Christendom, with representations of Ganymede-like boys on the margins of Western European maps of the Danube River (the fluid border space of contact between the Ottomans and Europeans, especially the Habsburgs). This chapter proposes that early modern representations of territory conceptualized such cross-cultural spaces as embodied by the beautiful boy who evokes a competition for land between men that is loaded with cross-religious desire. In doing so, it also calls into question the traditional trope of the land as female in colonial discourse. Attentive to the various work that different genders do, this chapter argues that figurations of the boy as a gendered and eroticized embodiment of territory in relation to liminal borders points not only to imperial and military contestations between men but also to masculine tensions between homoerotic, cross-religious pleasure and sodomitical anxiety. Further questioning what the boy's body does and how his beauty functions in spatial imaginings, this chapter unveils the boy's potential for engendering religious conversion, probing simplistic dichotomies of subject/object and active/passive.

While English accounts were highly critical of the Ottoman practice of abducting European Christian boys, chapter 3 turns its focus exclusively to English abductions in the Mediterranean context, tracing the fate of boys the English abducted from foreign lands. The early modern English practice of abducting

and converting boys extends the argument from the previous chapters to blur an English/Ottoman, West/East binary about coercive abductions and conversions. Often the boys the English abducted and converted from Africa, India, and the Americas were relegated to lifelong servitude and were vulnerable as domestic servants to their masters' sexual advances. In this hierarchical paradigm, I turn to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a Mediterranean play to closely analyze the abductions of the Indian boy of exceptional beauty. Focusing on Oberon's abduction of the boy in the Mediterranean zone around Athens, I scrutinize the homoerotic dynamics of territorial domination created via the racialized boy. I further put the Indian boy into dialogue with black African boys of English portraiture in the ensuing decades, wherein the trope of white master/black servant emerges simultaneously with the rise of "other" boys in England who were abducted and transported from their native lands. The repertoire of exotic boys in visual imagery and in the streets of London shows that as England was establishing itself as an imperial state, abducted boys became a medium for colonial agents to display their imperial claims. Preceding these boys, the Indian boy of Shakespeare's imagining anticipates and queers the appearance of exotic boys in an established racial hierarchy.

Part II, "Boys Transformed," examines material transformations, especially bodily conversions of the abducted boy via circumcision and castration. Tracing white English boys who were circumcised and black African boys who were castrated upon their abduction in the Mediterranean economy of captivity and slavery, the two chapters in this part show how abducted boys were embodied fusions of racial and gender ideologies in producing subjects. Chapter 4 analyzes the traveler Thomas Sanders's account of two English boys who were captured and forcefully circumcised in the Mediterranean, which was imagined as a dangerously sodomitical space for English youths. Circumcision was a hotly debated and frequently referenced practice in English writing. Mapping circumcision discourses in a broad spectrum of texts including chronicles, travelogues, medical tracts, ethnographic treatises, and plays such as Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turned Turk* and Shakespeare's *Othello*, the chapter asks: If circumcision narratives reveal religious, economic, and sexual anxieties, to what extent do these anxieties intersect with trepidation about traveling boys who were abducted, enslaved, and converted in the Mediterranean? Ottoman bodies and their everyday practices were perceived as a great threat to male bodies in Europe, and Christian boys who were imagined as abducted, castrated, and sodomized by Turks evoked a nightmare that manifested itself particularly in circumcision narratives. In contrast, circumcision was celebrated in entirely positive terms in Ottoman accounts, as is demonstrated in Ottoman festiv-

ity books such as *Surname-i Humayun* (The book of the imperial festival). Such grand festivities, I show, functioned constitutively in the formation of European discourses not only about circumcision but also about Ottoman magnificence. Exploring circumcision as performing political as well as gender and sexual work, this chapter emphasizes that the religious conversion of boys upon their abduction necessitated conversions of their bodies, which became sites of cultural, religious, political, and erotic negotiations.

Chapter 5 transitions from circumcised boys to castrated boys in the Ottoman court and their travels to the English world. While previous chapters trace white European boys who were abducted and transformed by the Ottomans, this chapter turns to black youths in the Ottoman capital. With the Ottoman expansion into Africa in the second half of the sixteenth century, there emerged a rising number of once-boy-now-eunuch black slaves in Ottoman lands. The bodies of these black boys were refigured, reinscribed, resignified, and re-formed and were put in a more explicit racial hierarchy when the Ottomans began to strictly separate black and white eunuchs. Focusing on this racial separation, this chapter examines an emerging antiblack racial discourse in treatises produced by Ottoman elites. As a reaction to racist attacks, and in parallel to the strict separation of black eunuchs from white eunuchs at court, some black writers praised blackness in their writings. This chapter concludes by suggesting that the figurations of such racially marked boys, eunuchs, and men traveled throughout Europe via chronicles, travelogues, stories, and other narratives. They eventually appeared on the English stage in Shakespeare's Mediterranean plays *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Twelfth Night* and in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, among others.

These two parts of my argument are synchronic and contrapuntal, not a diachronic narrative of historical change. In Part III, "Boys in Modernity, East and West," however, I bring forward the temporal dimension of the literary history I have narrated so far by tracing the eroticized boy via a transhistorical exploration, gesturing toward a historical shift in both England and the Ottoman Empire. Chapter 6 reconsiders *A Midsummer Night's Dream* only to take a transhistorical turn to modernity with an eye on the Anglo-American staging history of the Indian boy in the historical context of (in)visible abducted boys that were made legible in previous chapters. While the Indian boy has mostly been rendered invisible since his first probable appearance on stage in 1692, he has at other times appeared on stage as a little boy, a girl, an adult man, an orientalized teen, an African American youth, and even a puppet. What story does the absent presence of the Indian boy on the Shakespearean stage narrate? What shifts in sexual and racial histories does the Indian boy's (in)visibility perform? How can an early modern text illuminate our modern-day sexual concerns? This chapter

explores these questions through the 1991 Shakespeare Santa Cruz production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by putting into dialogue postcolonial, critical race, and queer analytics to exemplify a transhistorical intersectional lens. This approach demonstrates that the (in)visibility of the Indian boy on stage speaks of a sexual and racial history, of interracial and intergenerational desire, while marking erotic continuities and ruptures from the early modern period.

The book's concluding chapter moves from the early modern period to the nineteenth century to finish the project with a dialogue with contemporary queer explorations of the boy in our (post)modern global context. While in the early modern period, the boy is prominent in Ottoman and English cultural representations, the orientalizing modernity of the nineteenth century rendered perverse the expression of boy love in both cultures. Hence, we witness the fading of beautiful boys and boy-lovers in both contexts. Instead, in the context of a pederastic modernity, boy love began to be attributed to an imagined orient by the Western colonial ideology; the brown boy became an object to be saved by the white master from the oriental pederast. Predating this, the abducted boy of the early modern period offers a history wherein boys are violently made amorous and glamorous components of the grammar of empire.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Since Philippe Ariès's study of childhood as a historically constructed category, studies on childhood and boys have formed a rich subfield in historical, literary, anthropological, and gender studies that reveal boyhood to be an ephemeral status shaped by moral, astrological, medicinal, pedagogical, religious, anatomical, philosophical, and political discourses and factors. Among these, on European boys, are Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*; Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*; Miller and Yavneh, *Gender and Early Modern Constructions of Childhood*; Higginbotham, *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Sisters*; and Karras, *From Boys to Men*. On the Ottoman context, see Araz, *16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Başlarına*.

2. On Galenic foundations of the premodern gender/sex spectrum and the humoral body, see Laqueur, *Making Sex*; and Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*.

3. On the boy as a gender and erotic category in the Ottoman context, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*; Kuru, "Naming the Beloved in Ottoman Turkish Gazel"; Araz, *16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Başlarına*; Peirce, "Seniority, Sexuality, and Social Order"; and Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*. In the English context, see Fisher, *Materializing Gender*; Jardine, *Reading Shakespeare*; Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* and *Theater of a City*; Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing*; Bloom, "'Thy Voice Squeaks'"; Orgel, *Impersonations*; Masten, *Queer Philologies*; Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*; DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* and *Sexual Types*; Bly, *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage*; Goldberg, *Sodometries*; Stallybrass, "Transvestism and the 'Body Beneath'"; and Garber, *Vested Interests*. On boys in the theater and other cultural venues, see McCarthy, *Boy Actors in Early Modern England*; Shapiro, *Children of the Revels*; Lamb, *Performing Childhood in the Early Modern Theatre*; Rutter, *Shakespeare and Child's Play*; Low, *Manhood and the Duel*; Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing*; Kathman, "How Old Were Shakespeare's Boy Actors?"; Knowles, *Shakespeare's Boys*; and Chedgzoy, Greenhalgh, and Shaughnessy, *Shakespeare and Childhood*. On boys in school, see Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*; and Stewart, *Close Readers*.

4. *Oxford English Dictionary* (hereafter *OED*), s.v. "boy," n., 1a, 1b, 2. Similarly, "lad" in Middle English denoted a "serving-man, attendant; man of low birth and position" (*OED*, s.v. "lad," n., *1*).

5. *OED*, s.v. "boy," n., 3.

6. For more on these terms and historical emergence of such categories in English context, see Sasser, "Shakespeare and Boyhood"; Higginbotham, *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Sisters*; and Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*. In the Ottoman context, see Peirce, "Seniority, Sexuality, and Social Order"; and Araz, *16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Başlarına*, 87–99.

7. Munro shows that the word "boy" carried significations of low-class status and sodomitic behavior ("Coriolanus and the Little Eyases," 91). On the beard and body hair in relation to adulthood, see Fisher, *Materializing Gender*; and Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe*. On marriage and the transition to adulthood in the Ottoman context, see Peirce, "Seniority, Sexuality, and Social Order"; and Araz, *16. Yüzyıldan 19. Yüzyıl Başlarına*.

8. Smith shows that boys aged five to sixteen appeared in seventeenth-century sodomy trials. In a 1624 legal case, the "boy" in question was "aged 29 years or thereabouts" (*Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*, 51). Of the word "boy," he writes, "age has little if anything to do with it" since the word "elaborates a distinction in power vis-à-vis a social or moral superior" (194–95).

9. Shakespeare's Anthony, for instance, insults Caesar as a boy, and Caesar compares Anthony to boys who "being mature in knowledge / Pawn their experience to their present pleasure, / And so rebel to judgment" (*Anthony and Cleopatra* 4.1.1, 1.4. 31–33). All Shakespeare references throughout the book are from Greenblatt et al., *The Norton Shakespeare*.

10. "Boy" as subservient category would later lead to the racist use of the term in a dehumanizing, emasculating pejorative sense for Black slaves and for African American men.

11. My formulation of traffic in boys draws on the conceptualization in Rubin's "The Traffic in Women" and Sedgwick's *Between Men*. On women as objects of exchange, exploration, possession, and enslavement in the early modern period, see Hall, *Things of Darkness* and "Object into Object?"; Newman, "Directing Traffic"; Matar, "Wives, Captives, Husbands, and Turks"; Andrea, *The Lives of Girls and Women from the Islamic World*; and Malieckal, "Slavery, Sex, and the Seraglio." On captive women in Ottoman harems, see Peirce, *The Imperial Harem* and "Abduction with (Dis)honor"; and Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*. On the traffic in local boys in England, see Campana, "Shakespeare's Children."

12. *OED*, s.v. "abduct," v., etym., and "abduction," n., etym.

13. On changing norms of beauty, see Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches*.

14. Masten, *Textual Intercourse*, 6–7. On cruising and outing as historical agendas, see Pittenger, "To Serve the Queere." Bromley uses term "cruisy historicism" in reference to not only his exploration of historical representations of cruising but also a queer methodology that is informed by those representations ("Cruisy Historicism," 21–58). Stanivukovic titles his essay on erotic travels in the Mediterranean "Cruising the Mediterranean."

15. Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 18.

16. *OED*, s.v. "cruise," v., etym. According to the *OED*, "cruise" also corresponds to Spanish *cruzar*, Portuguese *cruzar*, and French *croiser*, all signifying "to cross."

17. *OED*, s.v. "cross," v., 8; Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 1.1.22.

18. *OED*, s.v. "cruise," v., 1a and 1d.

19. Smith, "The Queer Moor," 191.

20. Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, 84.

21. Dinshaw, "Got Medieval?" 203.

22. Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*, 4. On the silence in queer studies regarding pederasty, see Sinfield, *On Sexuality and Power*, 113.

23. Cleves, *Unspeakable*, 10. Cleves's book offers a compelling argument on the necessity for the historian of sexuality to explore pederasty in historical context. On exploitation in pederastic relations, see Elliott, *The Corrupter of Boys*.

24. On pedophilia as a modern category, see Fischel, *Sex and Harm in the Age of Consent*.

25. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, 115.

26. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, 139. On sex and various power differentials including gender, age, class, and race, see Sinfield, *On Sexuality and Power*.

27. Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*, 35.

28. The early modern use of the term "economy" connects household management and domestic, state, and global economies, which highlights the intricate interrelation between the domestic and the global across trans-spatial exchanges. I use "economy" to signify not merely domestic and commercial aspects but also various other notions of exchange, including military, political, colonial, and discursive. Thus, economy refers to both material and libidinal practices, which I suggest play out in English and Ottoman cultural scenarios. For more on the interrelations between domestic and global economies, see Deng, "Global Œconomy," 245–63.

29. Loomba, "Race and the Possibilities of Comparative Critique," 501, 518.

30. Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint,* 55–62, 98–103.

31. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51.

32. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 318.

33. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 52.

34. Greene, *Greene's Arcadia*, 91. For more on homoeroticism in romance narratives, see Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*; and Stanivukovic, "Cruising the Mediterranean" and *Knights in Arms*.

35. On these traditions, see Barkan, *Transuming Passion*; and Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*.

36. Homer, *The Iliad*, xx:230.

37. Qtd. in Barkan, *Transuming Passion*, 35.

38. Plato, *Laws*, 636d.

39. During the Christianization of the myth in the Middle Ages, the figure of Ganymede transformed from a character in a transcendental love story into a mundane, worldly person, as is evident in the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé*, in which Jove, as a warrior with an eagle, seizes Ganymede as a war prize. Divine love is embedded in this version, which equates Jove's symbolic eagle with Jesus and Ganymede with St. John the Evangelist. Yet Ganymede continued to figure in many medieval Latin homoerotic poems; see Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, 243–66. For more on Ganymede imagery in the Middle Ages, especially representations evoking the role of pederasty in medieval clerical culture, see Mills, *Seeing Sodomy in the Middle Ages*.

40. Rambuss argues that the myth's association with "spiritual ravishment" continues in early modern English interpretations through the figure of Ganymede in devotional poems by male poets ("Symposium"). On other spiritual associations, such as the poetic desire to be like Ganymede and Jesus as Ganymede, see Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, 11–72.

41. For more in-depth discussions of these associations, see Barkan, *Transuming Passion*, 19–20; Scott, "Queer Rapture," 2–4; and Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*, 25.

42. Golding, *The xv bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*, X.157–67. On the influence of Golding's 1567 translation on Renaissance writers, see Lyne, "Ovid in English Translation," 252–54.

43. Golding, *The xv bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis*, 62, 65.

44. Similar copies after Michelangelo's 1532 drawing are Nicolas Beatrizet's 1542 *The Rape of Ganymede* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Giulio Clovio's 1540 drawing at the Royal Collection Trust.

45. Barkan, *Transuming Passion*, 89.

46. On conflations of boys, see Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*, 97–141.

47. Brown, "The Boyhood of Shakespeare's Heroines," 251.

48. Florio's 1611 Italian/English dictionary translates "*catamito*" as "one hired to sin against nature, an ingle, a ganymede" (*Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 88). See *OED*, "catamite," n., etym. For more on the link between the term catamite and Ganymede, see Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*, 29; and Bredbeck, *Sodomy and Interpretation*, 18.

49. In Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, which begins with "Jupiter dandling Ganymede upon his knee" (1.1), Ganymede is the object of Jupiter's attraction; he is enjoying Jupiter's gifts, which his beauty and allure purchase. In *Edward II*, Marlowe links Ganymede with the royal favorite of the play through Queen Isabella's protestations: "For never doted Jove on Ganymede / So much as he on cursed Gaveston" (1.4.180–81). Richard Barnfield sees Ganymede in his beloved boy in the pastoral world of his sonnets (i.e., *The Complete Poems*, sonnets 4, 10, 15). Ganymede appears as Sir Beauteous Ganymede, a companion to gender-nonconforming Molly in Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's play *The Roaring Girl*. On Ganymede and male homoeroticism in literature, see Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*; DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*; Bredbeck, *Sodomy and Interpretation*; Orgel, "Tobacco and Boys"; and MacDonald, "Marlowe's Ganymede." On Ganymede and female eroticism, see Carter, *Ovidian Myth and Sexual Deviance*.

50. On premodern boys considered to be seducers in pederastic relations, see Elliott, *The Corrupter of Boys*.

51. Marston, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image and Certaine Satyres*, 48, 52.

52. For more on Ganymede in initial letters in print, see Masten, *Queer Philologies*, 131–49. For the bookseller's sign, see Masten, "Ben Jonson's Head," 163.

53. See Barkan, *Transuming Passion*; Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance*; Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*; and DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*.

54. Goffe, *The Couragious Turke, or, Amurath the First*, C3r.

55. Massinger, *The Renegado*, 1.3.115.

56. Baudier, *The history of the imperiall estate of the grand seigneurs*, 162.

57. Herbert, *Travels in Persia*, 155.

58. Adolphus Slade's nineteenth-century account narrates the moment he was entertained by the grand vizier of Adrianople while a boy was attending to their pleasures: "with such an apparatus [smoking pipe], presented by a youth á la Ganymede, you may imagine you are inhaling the spirit of nectar" (*Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece, etc.*, 168). In 1883, the colonial agent Ernst Haeckel in Ceylon described his servant boy as a "beautifully naked, brown figure" who made the learned scientist think of "Ganymede, for the favorite of Jove himself could not have been more finely made, or have had limbs more beautifully proportioned and moulded" (*A Visit to Ceylon*, 265). The servant boys are Ganymede not only because they are beautiful but also because they make men feel like Jove; it is the Orientalist phallic power fantasy of being the god to the servant boy in the Orient. For more on Haeckel's relationship with this boy, see Aldrich, *Colonialism*, 287–90.

59. Aşıkpaşazade, *Manakib u Tevarih-u Al-i Osman*, 282–83.

60. While I use Istanbul and Constantinople interchangeably throughout the book, I usually use Constantinople to refer to the city before its conquest in 1453 and Istanbul for after that date. Istanbul, which was how Greeks referred to Constantinople, did not become the standard name for the city until the 1930s. The Ottomans used Constantinople, Kostantiniyye, Istanbul, or Islambol to refer to the city.

61. Qtd. in Bryan, "In the Company of Boys," 264.

62. Here I follow Marjorie Garber's term "transvestite effect," which, she suggests, is "an underlying psychosocial, and not merely a local or historical, effect. . . . Nobody gets 'Cesario' (or 'Ganymede'), but 'Cesario' (or 'Ganymede') is necessary to falling in love. The transvestite on the Renaissance stage, in fact, is not merely a signifier, but also a function" (*Vested Interests*, 36–37).

63. On the potentiality of pederasty, see Cleves, *Unspeakable*; and Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue*. On pederastic abuses and the long history of exploitation of boys, see Elliott, *The Corrupter of Boys*.

64. Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*, 44.

65. Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 7. Scholars of sexuality in the twenty-first century have stressed the significance of a transnational approach to sexuality studies and the effects of globalization on indigenous sexual cultures, while others, deploying postcolonial perspectives, have pointed at imperialist and neocolonial motivations operative in globalizing sexualities as a new form of cultural imperialism. See, for example, Povinelli and Chauncey, "Thinking Sexuality Transnationally"; Inderpal and Kaplan, "Global Identities"; Eng, Halberstam, and Muñoz, "What's Queer about Queer Studies Now?"; Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*; Povinelli, *The Empire of Love*; Spurlin, *Imperialism within the Margins*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; and Arondekar, "The Voyage Out." For a critique of some transnational approaches, see Massad, *Desiring Arabs*; and for responses to such critiques, see Traub, "The Past Is a Foreign Country?"; Spurlin, "Shifting Geopolitical Borders/Shifting Sexual Borders"; Atshan, *Queer Palestine and the Empire of Critique*; Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*; Arvas, "Queers In-Between"; and Çakırlar and Delice, *Cinsellik Muammasi*.

66. Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 19. On sodomy and marking religious difference in the Middle Ages, see DeVun, *The Shape of Sex*. On sodomy in relation to geographical and climactic theorization of race in the eighteenth century, see LaFleur, *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America*.

67. *OED*, s.v. "bugger," n. 1, etym.

68. Nixon, *The Three English Brothers*, H4.

69. Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures, and Painefull Peregrinations*, 163.

70. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey*, 69.

71. For a list of examples of sodomy as a trope, see Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. Matar adopts a defensive strategy by suggesting that sodomy is simply a stereotyping derogative term and that it was strictly prohibited in the Islamic lands: no sodomites in the East, according to Matar. He argues that sodomitical discourses in the New World were transported to the East. All indicators, however, suggest the opposite: American Indians were called Moors or sodomites probably because of preexisting discourses attributing sodomy to Turks and Muslims. See Goldberg, *Sodometries*, for a more theoretically and historically grounded discussion of sodomy in the New World. Also, scholars of cross-cultural encounters (e.g., Vitkus, Burton, Matar, Degenhardt, and Nocentelli) have emphasized the sexualization of the Ottomans in dramatic representations of heterosexual interracial relations between Christians and Muslims in the larger Mediterranean, which, as Stanivukovic (*Knights in Arms*) has demonstrated, was also a space for homoerotic imaginary in romance tradition.

As Bray asserts, feeling a "reluctance to recognize homosexual behavior, the English were quick to find it among people, like Turks and renegades, whose actions were considered heretical and disruptive of the Christian heterosexual social order" (*Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, 76). Bredbeck reminds us that in the 1631 preface to the trial of Mervin Touchet, the Earl of Castlehaven, sodomy was described as "this sin being now Translated from the Sodomitical Original, or from *the Turkish* and Italian Copies into English" (*Sodomy and Interpretation*, 5–6). Warner likewise explores sodomy as related to geography and exoticism in his work on New England, noting that "the topic of sodomy was linked primarily to the topic of national judgement" ("New English Sodomy," 21). DiGangi also notes that "the sodomite was devil, heretic, New World savage, cannibal, Turk, African, papist, Italian" (*The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama*, 13). Traub has explored how Europeans projected deviant acts upon foreign women, especially Turkish women, in travelogues and medical accounts in order to control female sexuality at home (*The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*).

72. My reference is to Goldberg's field-initiating 1993 collection *Queering the Renaissance*.

73. Considering the Mediterranean not as a fixed geographical place but as a conceptual space to think with performatively, Sharon Kinoshita has demonstrated how the Mediterranean forces us to think with such concepts as contact, interaction, and circulation (instead of a vocabulary of origins, development, and expansion) as a result of its millennia-long history of migration, commerce, warfare, and diplomacy and demands that we privilege routes over roots and the pragmatism of acts over fixity of identities. See Kinoshita's "Locating the Medieval Mediterranean," "Romance in/and Medieval Mediterranean," and "Medieval Mediterranean Literature."

74. Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories," 302. On connected history, see also Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," "A Tale of Three Empires," and *Explorations in Connected History*.

75. Singh, *A Companion to The Global Renaissance*, 6. Some of the exemplary critical works on cross-cultural encounters are Vitkus, *Turning Turk*; Burton, *Traffic and Turn-*

ing; Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*; MacLean, *Looking East* and *The Rise of Oriental Travel*; McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*; Andrea and McJannet, *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds*; and Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar* and *Trading Territories*.

76. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 200.

77. On the circulation of Ottoman portraiture, carpets, objects, and fashion, see MacLean, *Looking East*; Jardine and Brotton, *Global Interests*; and MacLean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World*. On letter exchanges between Elizabeth I and Safiye Sultan, see Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*. On captivities, conversions, and crossings, see Vitkus, *Turning Turk*; Burton, *Traffic and Turning*; Degenhardt, *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage*; Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*; and Clines, *A Jewish Jesuit in the Eastern Mediterranean*.

78. On Turks on stage, see Vitkus, *Three Turk Plays from Early Modern England*; Robinson, "Harry and Amurath"; McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*; and Dimmock, *New Turkes*. For a list of these plays, see Burton, *Traffic and Turning*, 257–58; and Hutchings, *Turks, Repertories, and the Early Modern English Stage*, 203–18.

79. As Goffman reminds us, "the early modern Ottoman Empire constituted an integral component of Europe," and neither the Ottoman polity nor Europe makes sense without the other (*The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 7). Brotton suggests that early modern studies should "orient an understanding of early modern Europe and its boundaries [by placing] the Ottomans as central, rather than peripheral, to the political and intellectual preoccupations of the period" (*Trading Territories*, 91). Similarly, in *Early Modern England and Islamic Worlds*, Andrea and McJannet note the long-held lack of interest in the Ottomans and call for centering the Ottomans in any exploration of early modern European literature and culture.

80. Arvas, "The Ottomans in and of Europe."

81. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 1:447.

82. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 1:446.

83. Andrews, "Suppressed Renaissance," 17.

84. Andrews, "Suppressed Renaissance," 31.

85. On parallel shifts in bureaucratic establishments, diplomatic relations, military and mercantile patterns and technologies, and education, see Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe." For more on changes and Euro-Ottoman exchanges in military technologies in the emerging state-building process, see Aksan, "Locating the Ottomans among Early Modern Empires." On shared imperial structures, see Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It*; Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*; and Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman*. On multiethnic cooperation and commercial settlements, see Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*; and Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State*. On the circulation of cartographic technologies, see Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*; and Emiralioğlu, *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. On the common religious discourses, see Bulliet, *The Case for Islamo-Christian Civilization*; Fleischer, "The Lawgiver as Messiah"; and Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*. On shifting gender dynamics, see Dursteler, *Renegade Women*; Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*; Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*; and Ortega, "'Pleading for Help.'"

On shared sexual discourses, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*; and Artan and Schick, "Ottomanizing Pornotopia."

86. Qtd. in Malcolm, "Positive Views of Islam and Ottoman Rule in the Sixteenth Century," 212.

87. While on the one hand, the Ottomans were represented as non-Christian others, on the other hand, they were linked with Trojans in contemporary European chronicles from the fifteenth century onward. Some chronicles report that Mehmed II called himself a Trojan when he visited Troy as Caesar, as Kafadar notes in his account of this moment: "He seems to have been aware of the explanation of Ottoman successes by the theory, upheld by some in Europe, that Turks were, like the Romans before them, vengeful Trojans paying back the Greeks" (*Between Two Worlds,* 11). On the notion of Turks as Trojans in Europe, see Spencer, "Turks and Trojans in the Renaissance"; MacMaster, "The Origin of the Origins"; and Harper, "Turks as Trojans, Trojans as Turks." For a humanist reworking of the Turkish identity through classical terms and through the East/West division, see Bisaha, *Creating East and West*.

88. For more on the cartographic construction of Europe, see Wintle, *The Image of Europe*. On the Ottomans in European cartography, see Brummett, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*.

89. Casale, "Seeing the Past," 83.

90. Casale, "Seeing the Past," 85.

91. Casale, "Seeing the Past," 85.

92. Terms like "Turk," "Turkey," and "Turkish" were less Ottoman terms than highly ethnicized European references. The Ottomans did not use these terms to identify themselves or their subject populations, but used "Rumi" or "the Romans" in the early modern period (Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own"). Kunt also notes that "though in Europe the [Ottoman] empire was often referred to as 'Turkey,' such a term itself—either as a political or geographical entity—was totally unknown in the Ottoman Turkish language or in any of the many languages spoken by its subjects within its order" ("State Sultan up to the Age of Suleyman," 4). In fact, the term "Turk" itself referred to "peasant-like, barbarous, warlock, savage, wild" in the early modern Ottoman culture (Sılay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, 19).

93. Foxe, *Second Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Containing the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, 964.

94. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, 79, Rycaut's italics.

95. Qtd. in Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own," 14.

96. Amer, *Crossing Borders*, xi.

97. On tales from Islamic lands, see Schleck, *Telling True Tales of Islamic Lands*. On Turkish history in early modern England, see Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans*.

98. Hendricks reminds us that knowledge from other lands "would have come orally, from seamen who served on the merchant and fighting ships traversing the Atlantic and Indian oceans" ("'Obscured by dreams,'" 45). On Hakluyt's public lectures, see Hendricks, 45 fn.16.

99. Dimmock notes that "by the late sixteenth century English readers and audiences could encounter an Ottoman voice in a number of different places. . . . English men and women read speeches in chronicle histories; they copied the letters of the 'Grand Signor'

into their commonplace books; some were even able to hear a 'Turk' publicly express his desire to be baptized into the English Church. . . . The voice of the 'Turk' was commonly heard in late Elizabethan London" ("Tudor Turks," 335). On Ottoman voices in England, see also McJannet, *The Sultan Speaks*; and Arvas, "The Ottomans in and of Europe."

100. I borrow "provincialize" from Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe*, which challenges the concept of Europe as the original site of modernity and seeks to "find out how and in what sense European ideas that were also, at one and the same time, drawn from very particular intellectual and historical traditions that could not claim any universal validity" (xiii).

101. From eleventh century onward, Aristotle and Galen emerged in England via Arabic translations, as did Ibn Sina's synthesis and reconceptualization of sex and gender difference as suggested by them. On Ibn Sina's (Avicenna) influence in the Ottoman Empire, see Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*. For his influence in England and Europe, see Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*; and DeVun, *The Shape of Sex*.

102. It is only in the last two decades that literary scholars and historians such as Ze'evi, Kuru, and Andrews and Kalpaklı have begun to explore diverse sexualities and sexual discourses in the Ottoman Empire, in contrast to earlier criticism, which read homoerotic representations in Ottoman poetry as either a form of Ottoman perversion or a purely metaphoric and transcendental convention. Two names exemplify those views on metaphorical readings: Zeki Eyüboğlu (*Divan Şiirinde Sapık Sevgi*) declares that the Ottomans were perverts, while Atilla Şentürk ("Osmanlı Şiirinde Aşka Dair") ignores the gender of the beloved to point out that it is love not the beloved that matters. According to him, all such representations seek a unity with God by divorcing love strictly from sex. English Orientalist Gibb (*A History of Ottoman Poetry*) sees these figurations of boys in poetry as a part of Persian tradition while he silently changes the personal pronoun "he" to "she" in reference to the object of love in poems in his translations, which would become a model for later translators including Andrews and Kalpaklı's earlier translations which, as they regretfully expressed, "translate the gender of the beloved as *she* when every indication is that the beloved of this poetry was most often a *he*" (*The Age of Beloveds*, 19).

103. *Şehrengiz*, which is mostly an erotic genre of obscene catalogues of beautiful men of the cities, is borrowed from Persian models. It evolved to include different countries as the empire expanded its boundaries. For more on the genre, see Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehrengizler ve Şehrengizlerde İstanbul*; Stewart-Robinson, "A Neglected Ottoman Poem"; Öztekin, "Şehrengizler ve Bursa: Edebiyat ve Eşcinsel Eğilim"; and Tuğcu, "Şehrengizler ve Ayine-i Huban-I Bursa." On how European modernist artists transformed this genre into a visual catalogue, see Boone, "Modernist Re-Orientations." *Bahnames* (books of libido), or medico-erotic treatises, were famous examples of erotic literature from thirteenth century onward. See Bardakçı, *Osmanlı'da Seks*, for representative passages from *bahnames*. Some other genres that observe such representations are the highly obscene shadow theater (*karagöz*), jokes (*nasreddin hoca*), songs (*mani, şarkı*), texts about bathhouses (*hamamiye*), and biographies of poets. For an overview of sexuality and gender in Ottoman-Turkish literature from medieval to contemporary, see Schick, "Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman and Turkish Erotic Literature."

104. It took more than a decade for the Turkish translation of this work to appear. In their preface to this edition, Andrews and Kalpaklı ask readers to keep in mind that the

book was mainly written for readers in the West and Western scholars in Euro-American academia in order to introduce Ottoman literature and culture as a part of ongoing debates around early modern sexualities (*Sevgililer Çağı*, 9). My project is in conversation with theirs in terms of a change in positionality; that is, I am looking at English texts from the Ottoman lands.

105. Indeed, the beloved boy's name was often explicitly stated in this literature. Certain poetic catalogues—*şehrengiz* (city thrillers)—describe the disposition and physical beauty of certain popular boys. For more on real-life boys, see Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 38–43, 95–106. On naming the beloved in poetry, see Kuru, "Scholar and Author in the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." On boys as objects of love in the Ottoman Empire, see also Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*; and El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arabic-Islamic World*.

106. Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 158–60.

107. As the flourishing field of premodern critical race studies (following earlier work by Eldred Jones, Elliot H. Tokson, and Anthony Barthelemy) has demonstrated, early modern English racialization, which was based on somatic, geo-humoral, climactic, astrological, theological, and class differences, was always related to gender, sexuality, religion, class, empire, and colonialism. For exemplary intersectional feminist explorations of the ways gender difference shapes and was shaped by the emerging racial formations in early modern England, see Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, Colonialism* and *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama*; Hall, *Things of Darkness*; Hendricks and Parker, *Women, Race, and Writing in Early Modern England*; Hendricks, "'Obscured by dreams'"; Callaghan, "What Is an Audience?"; MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts*; Andrea, *Women and Islam in Early Modern English Literature*; and Loomba and Sanchez, *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies*. On sexuality and race, see Little, *Shakespeare Jungle Fever*; Nocentelli, *Empires of Love*; Smith, "The Queer Moor"; Goldberg, *Sodometries*; Burton, "Western Encounters with Sex and Bodies in Non-European Cultures"; Traub, "Sexuality"; and Loomba, "Identities and Bodies in Early Modern Studies." On race, empire, and colonialism, see Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race, Colonialism*; and Singh, *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues*. On race and class, see Chakravarty, *Fictions of Consent*; Akhimie, *Shakespeare and the Cultivation of Difference*; and Feerick, *Strangers in Blood*. On race and religion, see Britton, *Becoming Christian*; and Andrea, *The Lives of Girls and Women from the Islamic World*. On staging race, see Grier, *Inkface*; Ndiaye, *Scripts of Blackness*; and Weissbourd, *Bad Blood*.

108. See, for instance, Barbour, *Before Orientalism*; Cirakman, *From the "Terror of the World" to the "Sick Man of Europe"*; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; Burton, *Traffic and Turning*; Dimmock, *New Turkes*; Vitkus, *Turning Turk*; and Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*.

109. On various forms of Orientalism, see Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism*.

110. On genealogy as method, see Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." As Halperin explicates, genealogy traces "separate histories [of the historical accumulation of discontinuous notions] as well as the process of the interrelations, their crossings, and, eventually, their unstable convergence in the present day" (*How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, 107).

111. "Orientalism" has become a free-floating term in contexts like contemporary Turkey, where conservatives deploy the term to debase anyone who is critical of the

Ottoman or Islamic past. Said's *Orientalism*, which surely does not apply any critique of non-Western contexts, clearly defines who or what is Orientalist.

112. Loomba, "Introduction," 26.

113. Burton, "Race," 213.

114. Burton, "Race," 208–209.

115. See, for example, Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Barışı*; and Çiçek, *Pax Ottomana*. Reading conquest and domination as "extending the benefit of citizenship" might unintentionally serve imperial-nationalist discourses of the Pax Ottomanica, which has become "a myth the way it is understood, especially by conservative masses, and utilized by populist and neo-Ottomanist demagogues" in their nostalgia regarding conquering the world (Karateke, Çıpa, and Anetshofer, *Disliking Others*, xi–xii). Other scholars have questioned such glorifications; see Barkey, *Empire of Difference*; and Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*.

116. See Yermolenko, "Tartar-Turkish Captivity and Conversion in Early Modern Ukrainian Songs," and Kursar, "Ambiguous Subjects and Uneasy Neighbors," on such traumas and resentments.

117. Bosnia was an exception. Muslim boys were also recruited from there due to a special license granted by Mehmed II.

118. For more on peculiarities of Ottoman slavery, see Toledano, "The Concept of Slavery in Ottoman and Other Muslim Societies"; Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants* and "Kulların Kulları"; Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise*; and Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without Shackles*. For more on the emergence of the practice of *devşirme*, see Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, 116–30. On women slaves and their rights, see Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*.

119. Ibrahim Pasha's well-known biography mirrors the paradigm of desire/anxiety as a part of the lives of abducted boys. Enslaved at a young age, Ibrahim become the intimate friend, chief chamberlain, and grand vizier to the sultan. He was killed one night by the sultan's order and is now posthumously known as The Favorite and the Slain (Makbul ve Maktul). On slavery and death, see Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.

120. Qtd. in Çıpa, "Changing Perceptions about Christian-Born Ottomans," 9.

121. El Hamel, *Black Morocco*, 9.

122. Historians Karateke, Çıpa, and Anetshofer, for example, separate the "rhetoric of dislike and actions of hate as two separate analytical categories" in their edited volume *Disliking Others: Loathing, Hostility, and Distrust in Pre-Modern Ottoman Culture*, which initiated long-due conversations about race in the early modern Ottoman Empire (xiii). Instead, the editors as well as all the authors of thirteen essays on various "others" such as converts, black Africans, Jews, and the Romani use terms such as "phobia," "prejudice," "social antipathy," and "disliking." Only Tezcan raises the issue of race explicitly in his cogent analysis of antiblack and pro-black treatises, in which he calls the former something that "could have called blatantly racist had it been written today," and the latter "the Bible of the 'black is beautiful' movement if it had been published in the 1960s" ("*Dispelling the Darkness* of the *Halberdier's Treatise*," 44).

123. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, 4.

124. Gomez, *African Dominion*, 56.

125. Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*, 3, Heng's italics. Tracing multiple sites and forms of race-making, Heng demonstrates that racial significations—

including gens, nation, blood, stock, and kind—have no singular or stable referent. She convincingly conceptualizes race as a cultural production, and hence seeks not the origin but perpetual inventions and reinventions of race: moments and instances of how race is made, how it operates in the premodern world, and how it extends into the sociopolitical and biopolitical aspects of modern race. Erickson and Hall note that contemporary race formations are also not "stable, deliberate, and without contradictions" ("A New Scholarly Song," 10). After all, as Hall asserts, race "was then (as it is now) a social construct that is fundamentally more about power and culture than about biological difference" (*Things of Darkness*, 6).

126. See Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*; Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* and *Race and Color in Islam*; Walz and Cuno, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East*; El Hamel, *Black Morocco*; Gratien, "Race, Slavery, and Islamic Law in the Early Modern Atlantic"; and Gomez, *African Dominion*. While Lewis and Goldenberg's works have instances of essentializing Islam and Islamic discourses, they provide valuable primary materials for a sustained analysis of race.

127. El Hamel, *Black Morocco*, 58.

128. On biographies of black Ottomans, see Tezcan, "*Dispelling the Darkness* of the *Halberdier's Treatise* " and "*Dispelling the Darkness*: The Politics of 'Race' in the Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Empire."

129. Qtd. in Tezcan, "*Dispelling the Darkness*: The Politics of 'Race' in the Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Empire," 93.

130. Nocentelli, *Empires of Love*, 116.

131. Race as an inevitable component of queer embodiment has yet to be fully attended to in early modern studies. An exception from the early 2000s is Little's *Shakespeare Jungle Fever*, which analyzes Shakespeare's queer representations from a critical race perspective. Goldberg's *Sodometries* brought to the fore colonial encounters in shaping sodomitical discourses in early modern England. More recent edited collections and individual articles have successfully and deliberately connected gender, sexual, and racial difference. See Chakravarty, "More than Kin, Less than Kind." Loomba and Sanchez's *Rethinking Feminism in Early Modern Studies* and Traub's *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment* skillfully weave together work on race, gender, and sexuality among many intersections. Such collaborations offer a model pushing against scholarly compartmentalization while generating creative and political alliances in exploring the past more fully to question and deliberate on our present-day issues.

132. Erickson and Hall, "A New Scholarly Song," 12.

133. Smith, "The Queer Moor," 200.

134. For the queer of color turn, see, among others, Muñoz, *Disidentifications*; Manalansan, *Global Divas*; Musser, *Sensational Flesh*; Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*; Holland, *The Erotic Life of Racism*; Snorton, *Black on Both Sides*; Rodriguez, *Queer Latinidad*; and Eng, *Racial Castration*.

135. Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy*, 150. See Holland, *The Erotic Life of Racism*, on how erotic desire is deeply embedded in quotidian racism and its operations.

136. Traub, "Sexuality," 148.

137. Andrea, *The Lives of Girls and Women from the Islamic World*, 4.

138. Traub, "Sexuality," 174.

139. As Bernstein reminds us via her historicization of "racial innocence" in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a new view of children emerged as innocent, "sinless, absent of sexual feelings, and oblivious to serious concerns" (*Racial Innocence*, 4). And even this innocence, she persuasively shows, was racialized and attributed to white children. On the emergence of the sexless, innocent child with modernity, see Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*; Kincaid, *Child-Loving*; and Stockton, *The Queer Child*.

140. On such differences, Cleves argues that "contemporary definitions of consent do little to help historians differentiate the sexual landscape of the past, which was defined by inequalities, and at the same time capacitated a wide range of interactions from violent assault through enthusiastic mutuality" (*Unspeakable*, 151).

141. Bryan traces various figurations of Cupid as an active boy from Ovid to Marlowe and suggests that in different subject positions, from the master to the boy, or occasionally in between, the boy Cupid appears as commanding, authoritative, weak, dominated, alluring, and seductive ("In the Company of Boys," 93–158). One can add Rosalind, who does not want to be a man but the boy Ganymede and as Ganymede actively arranges relations and shapes desires in *As You Like It*. See also the exchange between Rackin and Shapiro ("Boy Heroines") about how to approach boy actors that is careful not to sentimentalize but instead historicizes and recognizes their dependency and sometimes agency in power hierarchies.

142. Masten, *Queer Philologies*, 166, Masten's italics.

143. Scholars have reassessed the relation between sexuality and power by noting how the modern detachment of sexual desire from youth and age egalitarianism have been used to manage adult sexuality. See Stockton, *The Queer Child*; Edelman, *No Future*; Kincaid, *Child-Loving*; Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*; Steedman, *Strange Dislocations*; Jackson, *Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England*; and Cleves, *Unspeakable*.

144. Not until the twentieth century were boys under sixteen considered victims of abuse in legal terms rather than complicit in sexual encounters with men as traditionally conceived. In his study of medieval pederasty in clerical settings, Elliott shows that children were thought of as corrupt individuals with undisciplined minds and a tendency to sin: "it was generally the victimized child who was singled out for blame as opposed to the older predator" (*The Corrupter of Boys*, 37). Even when we see some defenders of children, they are never motivated by "the welfare of children" but are invested in condemning same-sex relations (5).

CHAPTER 1. TRAVELING BOYS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

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1. All references to *Hero and Leander* are from Cheney and Striar, *The Collected Poems of Christopher Marlowe*. Subsequent references appear parenthetically in the text, citing line numbers.

2. For more on abducted boys as a classical trope, see Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*, 117–59.