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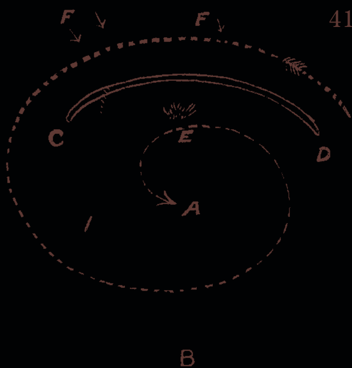

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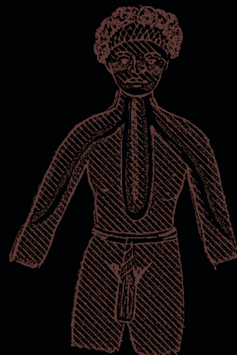

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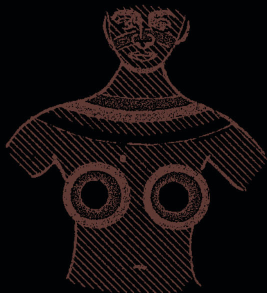

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SEXUALITY, COLONIALISM, AND ARCHIVAL KNOWLEDGE

ETHNOPORNOGRAPHY

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ETHNO—PORNOGRAPHY

Sexuality, Colonialism, and Archival Knowledge

EDITED BY PETE SIGAL, ZEB TORTORICI,
AND NEIL L. WHITEHEAD

DUKE

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WE DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO NEIL L. WHITEHEAD,

a radical thinker and wonderful friend with whom

we began this project so many years ago.

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INTRODUCTION | PETE SIGAL, ZEB TORTORICI, AND NEIL L. WHITEHEAD

Ethnopornography as Methodology and Critique

Merging the Ethno-, the Porno-, and the -Graphos

We began this intellectual journey over a decade ago with a deceptively simple question proposed by Neil: are ethnography and pornography really different forms of knowledge production? When he brought this question to the table, Pete thought the answer obvious: yes, they are different. While some similarities exist in method (both seek to understand embodied "truths" and delve into desire), differences abound in goals: one seeks to inform while the other seeks to titillate, one seeks knowledge, while the other seeks a good performance. But could prurient interests be at the core of ethnography—responsible ethnography—the type used by professional anthropologists?

Neil quickly convinced Pete and, later, Zeb (and most of the other participants in the "Ethnopornography" conference at Duke University in 2006 and at the "Sexuality, Violence, & Cultural Imagination" conference at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2007) of the productivity of relating pornography to ethnography as a particularly pointed critique of the formation of objective knowledge in the "modern West."[1] Further, perhaps

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the differences that Pete had presumed to exist were not so pertinent at all. In his comments, Neil argued for the importance of understanding ethnography as a *form* of pornography invested with institutional power:

> The positionality and cultural gaze of Western academics may not be unique but it is historically privileged and heavily inflected with a form of epistemological rectitude, an intellectual BDSM, through which the pleasures of classification and analysis become akin to the corporeal binding of the ethnological subject. As a result, this philosophical trajectory displaces "desire" into the space of the "unclassified" or ethnologically pristine. The sensual intellectual thrill of penetrating the unknown to encounter the virgin and pristine native still often drives the self-imagining of the ethnographer, a pleasure which in turn has been culturally generalized through the ethnopornography of such representational media as *National Geographic Magazine* or the *Discovery Channel*.[2]

Particularly with the types of popular ethnography Neil describes, individuals go into the field to uncover the truth of the "untouched" and thus uncategorized people. They are exotic beings, destined for penetration through categorization awaiting them upon the dissemination of the ethnographer's work. The reader of the ethnography experiences great pleasure in uncovering Napoleon Chagnon's Yanomamö, William and Jean Crocker's Canela, and Gilbert Herdt's Sambia, envisioning them as great examples of primitivity and perversion.[3] In this very act of categorization, we, the readers, formulate desires similar to those we experience when we watch or read pornography. We become excited as we readily discover new, exotic beings in the pages or on the screen. In ethnography, we find individuals who unselfconsciously go about their daily routines without much provocation from the outside observer, and we get to peer into the seemingly most intimate moments of their lives. In pornography, we find individuals who, in theory, unselfconsciously engage in sexual activity with others without much provocation from the outside observer, and we get to peer into (visual constructions of) the most intimate moments of their sex lives. In both cases, we witness arcane setups, magical spells, and deep desires.[4] In both cases, the setup either hides the position of the observer or alternatively places great emphasis on the ritual of self-reflection.

The domination that Neil describes, what he elsewhere discusses as a "will to know," presents us with the disturbing theory that all ethnography relates to a deep-seated desire to penetrate the other.[5] This is what we call ethnopornography. We have formulated this volume around the term

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because we believe that ethnopornography is an important method of hiding the eroticized power of the ethnographer, anthropologist, historian, colonizer, and cleric: that is, the power of any observer of the "other." Similarly, an analysis of ethnopornography can bring these power dynamics to the surface and provide a method for proceeding with ethnographic studies that does not destroy ethnopornography but instead frames the concept as both *method* and *object* of analysis.

Ethnopornography: A Genealogy

> With regard to the chapter on Ethno-pornography, I am well aware that it is far from suitable for the general lay reader; the subject matter, however, being essential to a scientific account of these aboriginals, I have decided upon its publication, at the same time placing it at the very last, in the hope that those who do not wish to peruse its pages need not unwittingly find themselves doing so.
> —WALTER E. ROTH, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, v

With the twentieth century about to dawn, the term "ethnopornography" came into existence as a neologism coined by Walter Roth, an English anthropologist and physician appointed the first Northern Protector of Aborigines in Queensland, Australia, in 1898. The term has distinctly colonial and anthropological origins, linked to Roth's efforts to record and document the cultural and religious practices of Queensland's aboriginal peoples for audiences back home and in the British overseas colonies. His "Ethno-Pornography" chapter treats a variety of subjects and initiation rites and "first ceremonials" among aboriginal men and women, penile introcision and vaginal laceration, puberty, marriage, betrothal, love-charms, consanguinity, venery (i.e., sexual pleasure or indulgence), pregnancy, labor, abortion, infancy, menstruation, "micturition and defæcation," and foul words.[6] Practically assuring that most readers will turn straightaway to this chapter, Roth begins with the caveat: "AUTHOR'S NOTE—*The following chapter is not suitable for perusal by the general lay reader*" (figure I.1). The slippages and contradictions inherent in this first iteration of ethnopornography are instructive: the production of explicit knowledge about the bodies, desires, and sexual rites of the aborigines, even when geared in theory toward scientific and intellectual pursuits, harbored the potential to be misread, misused, and misappropriated by the "general lay reader."

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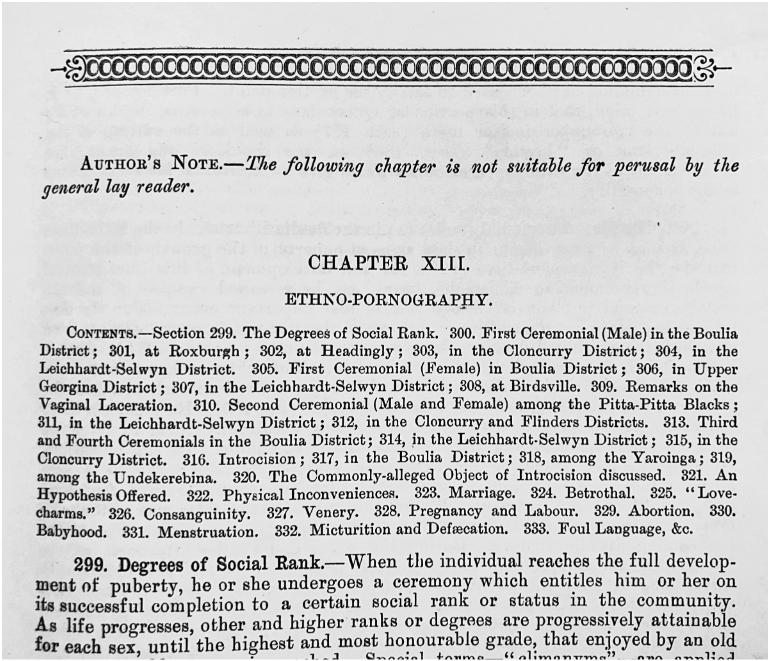
AUTHOR'S NOTE.—*The following chapter is not suitable for perusal by the general lay reader.*

CHAPTER XIII.

ETHNO-PORNOGRAPHY.

CONTENTS.—Section 299. The Degrees of Social Rank. 300. First Ceremonial (Male) in the Boulia District; 301, at Roxburgh; 302, at Headingly; 303, in the Cloncurry District; 304, in the Leichhardt-Selwyn District. 305. First Ceremonial (Female) in Boulia District; 306, in Upper Georgina District; 307, in the Leichhardt-Selwyn District; 308, at Birdsville. 309. Remarks on the Vaginal Laceration. 310. Second Ceremonial (Male and Female) among the Pitta-Pitta Blacks; 311, in the Leichhardt-Selwyn District; 312, in the Cloncurry and Flinders Districts. 313. Third and Fourth Ceremonials in the Boulia District; 314, in the Leichhardt-Selwyn District; 315, in the Cloncurry District. 316. Introcision; 317, in the Boulia District; 318, among the Yaroinga; 319, among the Undekerebina. 320. The Commonly-alleged Object of Introcision discussed. 321. An Hypothesis Offered. 322. Physical Inconveniences. 323. Marriage. 324. Betrothal. 325. "Love-charms." 326. Consanguinity. 327. Venery. 328. Pregnancy and Labour. 329. Abortion. 330. Babyhood. 331. Menstruation. 332. Micturition and Defæcation. 333. Foul Language, &c.

299. Degrees of Social Rank.—When the individual reaches the full development of puberty, he or she undergoes a ceremony which entitles him or her on its successful completion to a certain social rank or status in the community. As life progresses, other and higher ranks or degrees are progressively attainable for each sex, until the highest and most honourable grade, that enjoyed by an old

FIGURE I.1 Title page to chapter 13 of Walter Roth's *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, Aus.: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer, 1897), 169. Zeb Tortorici's personal copy.

Looking at Roth's chapter today, few readers would find it pornographic. At the time of its publication, though, Roth, concerned about his professional reputation, did not want his book associated with Victorian era pornography. Despite his hesitation Roth published the chapter because he believed it "essential to a scientific account of these aboriginals."[7] Roth provided this material for those whose ends were scientific (and anthropological), not for vulgar readers without training or credentials. The ethnopornographic appeal here lies in the very promise or potential of ethnography's distortion or misuse—a slippage from "science" to "pornography." This slippage, or the failure of the gaze to signify a scientific pursuit, is endemic to ethnopornography.

Being simultaneously inspired by and critical of Roth, we define "ethnopornography" as the production of eroticized material regarding people deemed different from the people expected to digest (read/watch/listen to) any particular piece of research. The contributors to this anthology frame

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the concept, and methodology, of ethnopornography through the following: historical and ethnographic accounts of human exhibitions and ethnographic displays of "exotic" peoples; freak shows; scientific displays and medical reports; museum exhibits; personal letters and other intimate archival records; religious accounts of colonial encounter and spiritual conversion; travel narratives and Orientalist discourse; colonial art; (interracial) pornography; photographic and film archives; and rumors that circulate often uncontrollably around specific ethnographic events. The idea of ethnopornography indicates a cluster of concerns about the meanings of pornographic representation, the plurality of sexualities, the legacies of colonial representation, and so forth rather than a neatly formulated definition of an already analytically distinct phenomenon. According to Andrew P. Lyons, in a recent essay on the historiography and circulated imagery of Sara Baartman, ethnopornography "implies the description and construction in the folk and scientific discourses of dominant cultures—by travel writers, colonial officials, anthropologists, human biologists, and ethnohistorians—of dehumanising representations and images concerning the sexuality/sexual practices and discourses of 'others.'"[8] Ethnopornography, though not always necessarily coupled with dehumanization, shifts radically and along several axes with the particular speaker and depicted actors, the historical context, and the medium of transmission. All of our contributors criticize ethnopornography to an extent, but some also envision it as a methodology to be productively retheorized and critically embraced.

The etymological root of both "ethnography" and "ethnology" lies in *ethnos*, the Greek word used to refer to a group, people, or nation. By the 1840s "ethnology" had emerged as a historical and scientific discipline in Europe that used cultural, physical, social, and linguistic traits to examine and better understand the relationship between different human groups.[9] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the discipline of anthropology and its very methodology, "ethnography," studied humans in a broader sense, discovering populations described as "'natural' groupings of people with similar features (physical, mental, cultural, etc.) rooted in a common past; a collection of such groups could be considered to be of the same race."[10] Thus "ethnography" came to refer to the very science of describing and classifying the particular "races" of mankind, while "ethnology" came to mean the comparative science of the characteristics, customs, and history of those races.

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“Pornography,” too, has its etymological roots in Greek—the term *pornographos* originally referred to written material about prostitutes. Yet, as Lynn Hunt has found, “pornography did not constitute a wholly separate and distinct category of written or visual representation before the early nineteenth century,” after which the term came to refer to sexually explicit depictions.[11] Hence, the term “ethnopornography” is a neologism that merges the *–ethno*, the *–porno*, and the *–graphos*, describing the depiction of sexually explicit classifications of groups of people based on some conception of difference, typically broached through some type of colonial encounter or exchange, and often conceived through categories of “race” and racial difference. Of course, we need to historically situate such a definition, which means that we must work to understand the cultural and intellectual traditions—the ethnopornographic rationale—of the individuals engaged in the study of another group.

In their article, “Skin Flicks: Pornography, Ethnography, and the Discourses of Power” (1989), Christian Hansen, Catherine Needham, and Bill Nichols call upon scholars to radically critique both pornography and ethnography.[12] They analyze both, calling into question the distinctions between the two—and in particular arguing that we need to develop alternatives to each. They criticize “the pornographic imagination (control, dominance, objectification, voyeurism . . .) and, more radically, the ethnographic imagination (empathy, participant-observation, a liberal ethic of tolerance, good will, and understanding).”[13] In developing a critique of the creation of liberal subjectivity, Hansen, Needham, and Nichols argue for an alternative form of knowledge production through erotics and dialogue. While we do not advocate the same type of alternative epistemology, we build on the arguments that these scholars developed in 1989 and ask why their article received such scant attention among cultural studies theorists, anthropologists, and ethnohistorians.[14]

If “ethnography is a kind of legitimate pornography, and pornography a kind of strange, ‘unnatural’ form of ethnography,” then the researcher, writer, producer, reader, and viewer become complicit in constituting a form of ethnopornography (or something that has ethnopornographic potential) in each case.[15] Both ethnography and pornography are constituted by a particular individual or group’s desire to authenticate and render legible and knowable the “true” bodies and desires of the Other. In each case, we, as consumers, privilege our own minds and desires over those of the others, whom we witness only at a distance. Giving the examples of Nuer chants and Debbie doing Dallas, Hansen, Needham, and Nichols note that

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"we experience concepts and images of knowledge and possession instead of direct face-to-face encounters that might place us at risk rather than securely hold us within an Imaginary opposition of Them/Us."[16]

In the typical ethnopornographic encounter, the reader/viewer can imagine direct contact with the Other but in fact maintains a safe distance. Roth largely erases his role by pretending that the reader has direct access to the erotics of the Other, as defined by colonial encounters and unequal relations of power and the technologies of documentation and observation. In this sense, we can say that Roth hides the potential voyeurism behind the veil of the "researcher" and seeker of "authenticity" and "truth"—connections explored at length in Pringle's contribution to this collection.

This is what we have termed the problem of (the lack of) researcher positioning. The researcher has left his position entirely out of the textual description. We imagine Roth's gaze—with the help of his own illustrations—as he peers upon a native man's lacerated penis, by itself, and when it enters the vagina. In one excerpt Roth tells his readers that "the female lies on her back on the ground, while the male with open thighs sits on his heels close in front: he now pulls her towards him, and raising her buttocks drags them into the inner aspects of his own thighs, her legs clutching him round the flanks (Fig. 433), while he arranges with his hands the toilette of her perineum and the insertion of his penis" (figure I.2).[17] The researcher's gaze continues long enough to witness the semen discharged into "its proper quarter" (or not). We cannot know enough about the researcher's position; instead Roth wants us—the scientific and the lay readers—to imagine and fantasize about aboriginal sex as if it takes place in front of *us*, without the presence of the researcher. And of course, in Roth's discourse, our—now the anthropologist's—sexual fantasies are qualitatively different from the pornographic fantasies of the lay readership because our fantasies are in the name of science. Pringle offers us the incisive observation that a scientific ethnopornography "is not merely a procedure for the collection of certain materials about the 'natives'; it is also a practice of representation through which to make a spectacle of them."

Art historian Kelly Dennis questions the extent to which "'pure ethnography' exists independent of erotic motivation and colonial determination," pointing to the dialectics of imperial rule and pornographic representation.[18] We thus use the concept of ethnopornography as a theoretical, disciplinary, and methodological provocation to consider the role and power of observation in the construction of an observed sexual subject and the subsequent commodification of the resultant study. We also focus a critical

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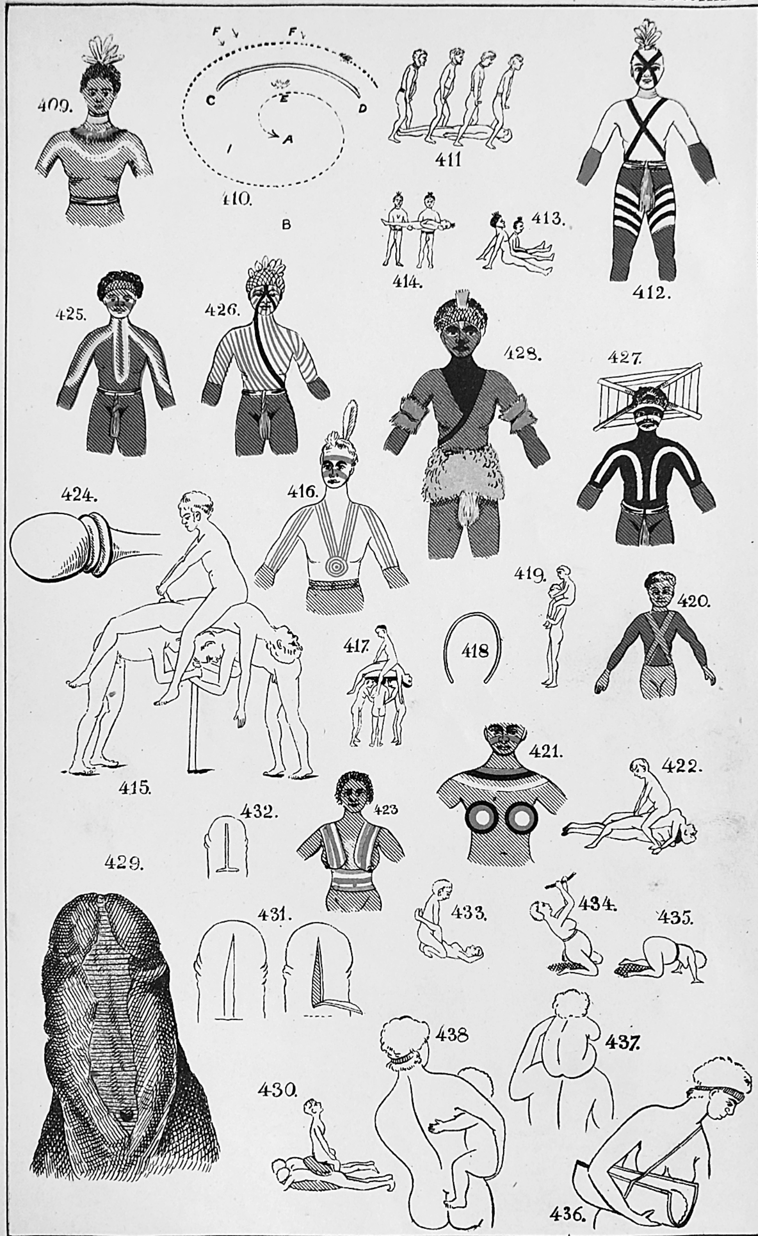

FIGURE I.2 Plate 24 in Walter Roth's *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, Aus.: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer, 1897). Zeb Tortorici's personal copy.

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gaze on the practices of anthropology, ethnography, ethnohistory, and cultural studies. Most importantly, we use the concept of ethnopornography to analyze the production, circulation, and corresponding consumption of "facts," studies, observations, images, and documentary texts that seek to represent the body, desires, and rituals of another individual (or a particular group, in the vein of ethnology and ethnography) in a way that has the *potential* to be read as "erotic" and "pornographic." We seek to study the circulation of erotic concepts of those deemed "other" to the broader public that Roth terms the "lay reader." The ways in which ethnography forms this lay reader's notion of having penetrated the *true* world of bodies and selves deemed "other" most concerns us here. For, if, as pornography studies scholars have shown, pornographic consumption relates to the fantasy of penetrating not just the bodies but also the "true" desires of the pornographic subjects, then we maintain that ethnographic and ethnohistorical consumption relate to the fantasy of penetrating both the bodies and desires of the human subjects studied by anthropologists, ethnographers, historians, and other observers.[19]

Visualizing Race

> When we see, for example, a pinkish penis and balls slapping up against a dark pubis, or creamy white ejaculate on black female skin, it is no longer just sexual difference that we see, but a racial one.
>
> —LINDA WILLIAMS, "Skin Flicks on the Racial Border," *Porn Studies*, 274

We begin our discussion of the first section of *Ethnopornography*, "Visualizing Race," with a quote from film scholar Linda Williams, analyzing interracial heterosexual pornography. Her groundbreaking declaration that pornography related to the "frenzy of the visible" allowed pornography studies to flourish as a field.[20] Here she relates the visual to race, asking what it means when hard-core pornographic film broaches a topic (interracial desire) rarely discussed in mainstream US cinema. In pornography studies, the recent spate of work on race and pornography has emphasized the ways in which the visual interacts with skin color and ultimately with race.[21]

In Williams's classic article on the topic, "Skin Flicks on the Racial Border: Pornography, Exploitation, and Interracial Lust," she critiques the theoretical exploration of Abdul JanMohamed, who argues that racialized sexuality has been characterized by a peculiar silence, resistant to the de-

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ployment of sexuality proffered by Foucault.[22] Williams shows, in contrast to JanMohamed's argument, that, in golden age pornographic film, racialized sexuality became a key concept to excite viewers. The films discussed, particularly *Mandingo* and *Behind the Green Door*, mobilized interracial lust and racial stereotypes in order to carry forward a narrative that turned fear (of the black phallus) into desire. Building on the works of Jane Gaines and Celine Parreñas Shimizu, Williams shows that this mobilization of racial stereotypes goes beyond the charge of racism but never erases racial violence.[23]

Two recent books on race and heterosexual pornography, Mirielle Miller-Young's *A Taste for Brown Sugar* and Jennifer Nash's *The Black Body in Ecstasy*, build upon Williams's arguments while criticizing her for ignoring the material positions of the pornographic actresses and insufficiently reading for the multitude of ways in which race interacts with the visual in the pornographic archive. Miller-Young notes that black women who are engaged in pornography as actresses and directors have struggled to develop significant power over their work environments. In some cases, they have mitigated the levels of violence and degradation, while in other cases, they had less power over their professional lives. In fact, she notes that the emergence of black women as directors of pornographic film has led to more chances for these women to engage in pleasurable sexual acts and have more control over their labor. These participants in the hardcore pornography industry have consistently faced the double bind of racial fetishism that encompasses "a voyeurism that looks but also does not look, that obsessively enjoys, lingers over, and takes pleasure in the black female body even while it declares that body as strange, Other, and abject."[24] Analyzing the same theme, Jennifer Nash shows that the black feminist archive has emphasized only the second part of this equation, the abject black female body, at the expense of understanding moments of pleasure and ecstasy in the archive. She notes, "It is in this surprising location—the pornographic archive—that I find black pleasures articulated, amplified, and practiced."[25] This focus on the interaction between the visualization of interracial pleasure and the occlusion of violence in studies of racialized pornography has important implications for any analysis of ethnopornography.

Juana María Rodríguez's article on the classic pornography star Vanessa del Rio shows us that Latinidad, like blackness, became used in golden age pornography in a particularly racialized manner. Rodríguez notes that producers used del Rio for her willingness to engage in sexual acts that other (white) actresses would not perform. Yet del Rio herself notes that she

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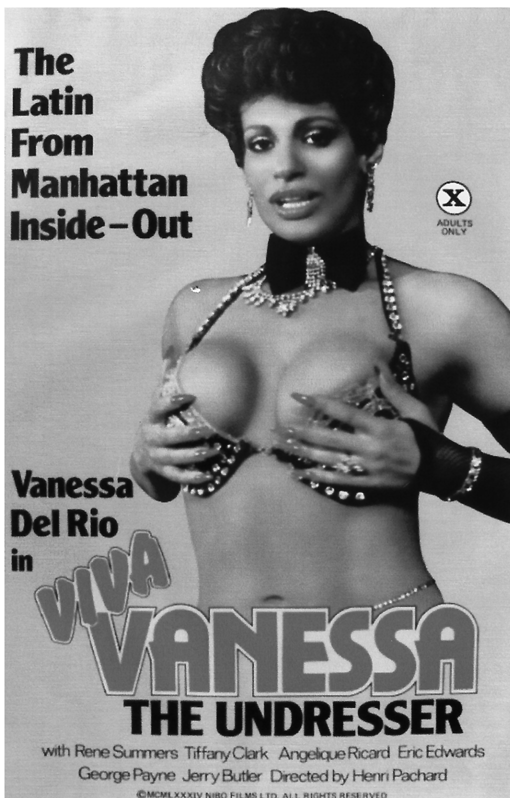

FIGURE I.3 Vanessa Del Rio, "The Latin from Manhattan," 1980s.

would get bored with the standard pornographic scene and wanted more. Instead, she critiques the producers for failing to put her picture on the posters for the films. By the 1980s, even this had changed, and the poster for the film *Vanessa the Undresser* (1984) calls del Rio the "Latin from Manhattan" (figure I.3). After retiring from films, del Rio started her own porn empire, telling her story while selling her movies and memorabilia. In 2010, she cowrote her autobiography, *Fifty Years of Slightly Slutty Behavior.* Del Rio uses the hypersexuality associated with Latinidad to own her narrative and develop her career.[26] For Rodríguez, the story of del Rio becomes an example of resistance to the politics of respectability: "In a world where so many of us are defined as always already irrational and outside of structures of sexual and social legibility, those deeply painful and powerful moments of carnal pleasure, liberated from the constraints of language, image, and reason, might burst open to create possibilities for something akin to freedom."[27]

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Other recent works have discussed this notion of the relationship between interracial pleasure and pornography as reconceptualizations of trauma and the history of abjection in order to create a productive politics of perversion. In particular, Darieck Scott's *Extravagant Abjection* and Nguyen Tan Hoang's *A View from the Bottom* have argued that the abject position of African American and Asian American men, respectively, in pornography and other mediums allows for a reenvisioning of the politics of masculinity.[28] Both argue not for a reparative and heteronormative reinscription of masculinity for African American and Asian American men but rather for the possibly perverse politics of embracing abject masculinities. In a related but perhaps even more controversial vein, Ariane Cruz, in *The Color of Kink*, argues that race play within BDSM and pornography can bring to the surface the position of chattel slavery in our attempts at deriving sexual pleasure from race.[29]

Building on these works and others that discuss the relationship between race and pornography, the chapters in this section ask how race becomes visualized within the ethnopornographic archive. This section on visualizing race focuses primarily on blackness, while the chapters in the following section ("Ethnopornography as Colonial History") speak to similar concerns in locales and time periods as diverse as early colonial Mexico, the Ottoman Empire, colonized West Africa, and British colonial Australia. In this sense, the anthology as a whole analyzes and engages several historical formations of "race" and "ethnicity," though for reasons of clarity and coherence, we gather most of our chapters on blackness in this first section.[30]

Mireille Miller-Young works to tell racial stories through visualization and occlusion. As the camera shows slave men and women, Miller-Young seeks to analyze the ethnopornographic violence incorporated in the scene that we see, the knowledge that we seek, and the silences in the image. The photographic archive of seven nineteenth-century slave men and women from South Carolina provides the impetus for Miller-Young to envision a spectacle of racial othering and violence based on the imagining of slave bodies for the ostensible purpose of promoting science. The early photographs that she examines, Miller-Young points out, represented an empiricist notion that the photograph could present the reality of the African American body. The never-pictured slave owner (present in the studio when the photograph is taken), the photographer, and the scientist consume the body of the other. The black women (and perhaps the men as well), photographed partially naked—the black men are fully nude—

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appear to Miller-Young to hide their emotional states, while the power relationship involved in the creation of this gaze is designed to suggest that the individuals watching are interested only in "science." The ethnopornographic here emanates from the gaze mixed with technology, masquerading as scientific progress at the service of humanity.

Imagining these individuals within the photographer's studio and relating the theories and histories of racial formation to ethnohistory, one needs to ask whether the ethnographic impulse lies at the heart of interracial desire.[31] Interracial relationships form within imaginations and symbolic universes embedded with history. Literary scholar Werner Sollors, exploring interracial literature, shows that such relationships become embedded with anxieties produced in the social realm. Interracial desires interact with such anxieties. At times, these desires disrupt the social, developing particularly violent responses, including rape and murder. More often, they evince the pleasure of engaging in exploration of the individual deemed "Other."[32] Novelist Samuel Delany, in *Mad Man*, iterates the violence of interracialism but also notes that this violence leads to extreme forms of pleasure. In the novel, a white man who grew up as a southern "hillbilly" regularly urinates on (and in) the protagonist of the novel, a black philosophy graduate student. The "hillbilly" also loans out the graduate student to other homeless men for their own oral gratification—leading to a plethora of semen, urine, and feces in the protagonist's home. Through the intermediating figure of a dead Korean American male philosopher, the black protagonist and a series of homeless men from a variety of different racial and ethnic backgrounds develop deeply intimate excremental relationships, showing the possibility of a utopian queer sociality that does not ignore race but rather uses it to enhance the pleasurable experience within the utopia. The effects of racialization lead to extreme violence and deeply intimate, kind, and loving relationships. For Delany, the ethnopornographic (and excremental) imagination forms a key building block for interracial relationships.[33]

While we are unwilling to venture an answer to the question of whether *all* interracial desire stems from the ethnopornographic impulse, we note that all individuals bring historical structures and imaginations into all of their relationships with others. This means that, in effect, when we have sexual relationships, we engage in a necrophilic threesome, with history—and in the case of interracial sexual relationships, historical ethnography—forming the third partner. This structural relationship, in both Delany's view and ours, enacts violence at the same time as it promotes pleasure.

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In the second chapter of *Ethnopornography*, Bryan Pitts shows that the interaction between pleasure and violence in gay pornography in Brazil allows us to analyze the ways in which publishers work to manipulate racialized desire. This study of gay pornography, and particularly of *G Magazine*, provides a reading of sexualized and racialized imagery. Pitts looks at both the conscious and subconscious decisions made by the editors to focus on particular desires of *G*'s readers. *G* focuses on racialized readings of the male body such that men identified as coming from an Afro-Brazilian background would fall into two recognizable categories: either highly masculine urban "pimps" or sports stars. At the same time, the editorials and other writings in *G* always express support for racial equality. The editors of *G* respond to the racial and sexual issues that dominated the Brazilian public sector during a particular historical moment, and they represent this moment by expressing antiracist views. Addressing the contradiction endemic in the racial discourse promoted by the editors, Pitts provides a historically nuanced reading of race, sexuality, and desire in late twentieth-century Brazil.

In emphasizing the contradictions between the racial visualization of desire and the antiracist politics of discourse, Pitts shows us that we must acknowledge ourselves as desiring subjects. Building on this theme, we call for a newly revitalized ethnographic and ethnohistorical practice that challenges the ethnopornographic relationship by committing to methods that use ethnopornography in a way that does not engage in colonial/imperial exploitation, and instead incorporates our many public audiences through different types of engagement with sexuality and violence. We must work to disrupt ethnopornography by developing an alternative practice of visualization, one that, following Rey Chow, takes seriously the task of reading the materiality of the image.[34] Chow's take, particularly when combined with the arguments put forward by José Muñoz, fundamentally disrupts traditional ethnography and archival engagement.[35] In our call for the study of ethnopornography, we listen to Muñoz as he tells us that both ethnographic and pornographic discourses are "teleologically cognate insofar as they both strive for the achievement of epistemological utopias where the 'Other' and knowledge of the 'Other' can be mastered and contained. Ethnotopia can be characterized as a world of limitless observation where 'we know them,' whereas pornotopia is a world where 'we have them,' 'a world of lust unlimited.'[36]

Of course, past generations of anthropologists, ethnographers, and ethnohistorians have recognized significant problems with knowledge formation, understanding that we can always only have partial knowledge of our subjects of study. Some pornographers similarly have moved beyond the

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traditional portrayal of a world of lust unlimited where only the viewer's fantasy counts for anything. This shift is evidenced in North America, among other things, by the Feminist Porn Archive and Research Project headed by Billy Noble and Lisa Sloniowski at York University, the publication in 2013 of *The Feminist Porn Book*, and the Feminist Porn Conferences of 2013 and 2014—organized by Tristan Taormino and held at the University of Toronto with the support of the Mark S. Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies.[37] Still, Muñoz's critique remains prescient as he calls upon us to challenge "the formal protocols of such genres through the repetition and radical reinterpretation of such stock characters as the 'native informant' and the racialized body in porn."[38]

Muñoz proposes that we disarticulate the search for truth about the native and about pleasure from the ethnographic and the pornographic enterprises, respectively. He also argues that we must engage in a "radical reinterpretation" of the identities developed within, and the connections between, these projects. This combination of disarticulation and reinterpretation coincides with our project here: we wish to disarticulate ethnography from the fantasy of knowing the other, and to reinterpret ethnographic eroticism to both *recognize* traditional ethnopornography and *create* an alternative ethnopornography that approximates the interstices between the ethnographer's (or historian's) desires and the ethnographic (or historical) subject's discourses and performances.

But what happens if, instead of building an alternative ethnopornography, we promote a multicultural agenda through the *silencing* of racial animosity and even of race itself? What happens when pornography's (racialized) frenzy of the visible becomes not just invisible, but also absent? In chapter 3, Beatrix McBride points out that the controversial gay pornography film, *Gaytanamo*, enacts this peculiar silence. Taking the Guantanamo Bay prison complex as its site of enunciation, the reason for the prison's existence—as a place that the US government claims is to hide and imprison the worst Islamic terrorists—is completely absent from the film.

Torture, a common form of investigation at Guantanamo, becomes instigation and titillation at "Gaytanamo." And the use of forced homosexual degradation to torture Islamic men is placed in the film only by a suggestion that arouses the (presumably white) prisoner. Arguing that the lack of presence of Arab and Muslim men signifies an ethnopornographic haunting, McBride focuses attention on the repressed visibility of violence committed toward the other; perhaps these individuals maintain a presence in the repressed fantasy (we, the viewers, know Guantanamo Bay holds

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Arab and Muslim men), but they fail to materialize on the screen. And, even if they were to, would that be any less problematic? McBride notes that the fantasy of the film would not have allowed for the presence of Arab and Muslim men. If they had been present, the real world of Guantanamo, torture, and the war on terror would have disrupted the escapist fantasy. Indeed, the fantasy of Gaytanamo is specifically a multicultural fantasy in which black, white, and Latino men have sex with each other: their presence signifies the multicultural West (in which Muslims are violently erased). McBride's chapter reminds us that the visibility of race in pornography may signify both a phantasm (promoting the myth of the melting pot) and an occlusion (the ghostly presence of Muslim men). This attention to absence and haunting forms a key component of any analysis of ethnopornographic content. The absence of Muslim men in a gay pornographic film based on a key symbol of the war on terror reminds us of the political valence of ethnopornography.

In chapter 4, Sidra Lawrence presents us with the most personalized ethnographic narrative in *Ethnopornography*—thereby taking us full circle in terms of her bold willingness to examine the social meanings of rumors of her own body, desires, and engagements that circulated in and around her anthropological field site. She situates her own ethnographic experience in West Africa in relationship to her sexual encounter with a West African man, discussing both the ethical quandaries of interracial sexual relationships "in the field" and the power relations involved in ethnographic research. By looking at such quandaries, Lawrence presents us with a reconceptualization of the relationship between desire, pleasure, and power. Through an exploration of her own fantasies and those of others—both white and black men—Lawrence provides a deeply personal ethnopornographic account that critiques and undermines the ethical dilemma involved in the making of ethnography and pornography. In this sense, Lawrence pushes the boundaries of ethnopornography in ways not unlike we, the editors of *Ethnopornography*, have sought to do in our own research and writing.

Ethnopornography as Colonial History

As we move on to the next section, "Ethnopornography as Colonial History," we note the ubiquitous presence of colonial violence in the ethnopornographic encounter.[39] Literary scholar Anne McClintock, in *Imperial*

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Leather, proposes that one might deal with such legacies through a distinction between textual and material violence, with the idea that material violence was used to resolve the indecisiveness of colonial texts and representation.[40] However, violence, like, sex, is a way of knowing, and ultimately a social relationship.[41] For this reason, *Ethnopornography* focuses on the synergy of sexuality and violence in colonial (and postcolonial) processes, and on how that history becomes a legacy in the historical and ethnographic gaze as traditionally practiced by cultural commentators of various kinds.

When historians discover sexually explicit texts in the archives, they may reproduce those texts with little commentary, effacing the role of the archivist and researcher, suggesting that the documents provide access to the erotic past of some exotic (or temporally distanced) group, mediated only by social actors *in the past*. Social and cultural historians, in particular, can suggest some sort of knowledge production in which a notarial document reproduces the reality of a past society, as mediated by those in both the past and the present. In presenting the source in such a manner, the reader may think that she or he understands indigenous sexual practices, but those practices often came to the attention of the historian only through a series of violent encounters that progressively effaced the meaning of the (perhaps sexual) encounters to the people involved. A conqueror, a priest, or a bureaucrat engaged in acts of violence to stop a sexual practice that he considered sinful. These violent acts came to the attention of other colonial authorities, who supported or condemned the conqueror/priest/bureaucrat. The record of these encounters then went to an archivist, who appraised and decided how to categorize the events in a particular manner, hiding or describing the sexual act in question—if the archivist could decipher something meaningful about that activity. This categorization then attracts the attention of the historian, often hundreds of years later, who recategorizes the events according to her or his own interests. In each case, colonized bodies become distorted—misinscribed within the historical record. The historian attempts to produce knowledge of the other, but, in doing so, potentially distorts the relationship between sex and power.

Both anthropology and history, since their disciplinary founding, have gone through extensive self-critiques. Yet despite such developments, both disciplines, as presented in the broader popular and political arenas, are laden with ethnopornographic content. One has only to look at the recent controversy of Kim Kardashian on a 2014 cover of *Paper*, photographed by the famed photographer Jean-Paul Goude. Consciously mimicking the image of the so-called Hottentot Venus, Goude lets us know that he plans

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to "break the internet" with his provocation.[42] One can also note that the US military has used ethnographer Raphael Patai's *The Arab Mind*, a salacious account of the deviancy of Islamic men, in its attempt to build more Westernized communities in Afghanistan after 2001.[43] Any such representation, as the chapters in this collection show, have long genealogies that often go unrecognized, or simply ignored, in popular culture and in academia.

Zine Magubane's treatment of modern social science's memory of the Hottentot Venus is instructive in this regard. Magubane notes, for example, that early nineteenth-century understandings of Sara Baartman, the first woman named the "Hottentot Venus," did not mark her racially in the way that Sander Gilman did in his article in 1985. More recently, African American feminists have used the Hottentot Venus as the original representation of the ways in which Europeans treat black female sexuality. By analyzing the genealogy of the Hottentot Venus, we begin to understand the role of professional anthropology: early nineteenth-century cultural commentators see her as a sexual curiosity with a strange body that becomes all the rage in London and Paris but has little to do with a dividing line between iconic European and Black races; late twentieth-century anthropologists and feminist scholars instantiate race.[44]

Two elements are key to ethnopornography: circulation and consent. First, the manner of circulation of such materials, the contemporary ideas of "intention" and "reception," and how usage and commodification, interrelated in their circulation, determine the relationship between ethnopornography and the public. Second, the relation between observer and observed, and the degree of consent present in such a relationship, define the ethical dimension of ethnopornography. The implication here is that all codes of bodily presentation are distorted in the process of external representation to produce sexualized meanings that make such bodies desirable to colonial consumers. The key point is not the distortion of the sexualized bodies per se, but rather the ways in which ethnopornography, as historically constituted, hides power. When Jacobus X argues that both African men and women have large genitalia, he does so not simply to make an argument about the nature of African bodies, but more importantly to make a statement about his own expertise in relation to observation and domination, and the radical difference of Africans when compared with Europeans.[45] Whether the bodies of the colonized were desirable as objects of sexual contempt (as in the case of the Hottentot Venus) or sexual longing (in a variety of ethnographic and archival contexts), the lack of consent

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on the part of those observed is what signifies such materials as parts of a project of domination and control.[46]

Stabilized structures of colonial power and hierarchy become the means through which this potential excess of native and colonial lust and violent desire is domesticated.[47] In these ways the functional identity of epistemic and corporeal violence is masked through the presentation of the "sexual native" (as in the case of Roth's copulating Australian "aborigines") as pliant, obedient, and desirable. The failure of the indigenes to "live up" to this imagining is thus always met with a colonial response that is not just instrumentally violent in terms of economic and political repression but also sexually inflected and patterned by the categories of ethnographic representation.

Such legacies therefore reveal important histories to the contemporary erotics of cultural difference. The sexual and violent legacy of the colonial moment is reproduced in the globalized circulation of pornographic images whose erotics are firmly linked to the idea of cultural difference that emerged in part from the ethnographies of colonialism.[48] Is there, then, a redemptive analytical position from which Western intellectuals might contribute to the rehabilitation of intercultural knowledge? How can we account for the fact that ethnographers, anthropologists, and historians are people, in a particular cultural context, who arrive at their "field sites" and archives as fully equipped sexual—perhaps even violent—beings?

The chapters that make up this second section of *Ethnopornography* focus on the interaction between sex, violence, and pornography on the part of both colonizers and colonized. Pete Sigal's chapter discusses sixteenth-century Mexico, where Franciscan friars engaged in an extensive colonial project in which they delved into the language and culture of the indigenous populations under their purview. In order to Christianize these populations, the friars believed that they needed to engage in extensive studies of native peoples, with a particular focus on activities that would be deemed "idolatrous" and "sinful." Some Franciscans created extensive ethnographies of the people, and Sigal focuses on two of them: Diego de Landa's *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* and Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España.* In both cases, the ethnographies pay particular attention to ceremonies and daily activity that the friars determined particularly problematic, and they develop extensive ethnopornographic accounts of these activities, particularly focusing on phallic portrayals of the male body. Sigal argues that the ethnopornographic approach was central to the goals of the two Franciscans, albeit for different reasons. Landa wanted to defend himself against charges that he had punished the Maya

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population too harshly. Thus, he portrayed the Maya as exceptionally violent. Sahagún wanted to promote his ethnographic and pedagogical enterprise. To this end, he showed both the violent and sexual nature of the Nahua population, and ways in which one could link evangelism to the development of a proper colonized individual. In both cases, Sigal shows that a particularly violent strain of ethnopornography led to a misreading of indigenous rites and the creation of a new sexual subject.

Joseph Allen Boone brings us to the Ottoman Empire as he analyzes the historical linking of notions of excess sex—in particular, sodomy and "pederasty"—to Islamic culture. By studying European travelogues over three centuries, and pairing these with Turkish sources, Boone analyzes the interactions between ethnopornographers and the complex interchanges regarding "homosexual" acts that took place within the Ottoman Empire. Engaging in such work allows Boone, a literary scholar, to focus on intricate textual analysis to show us the specific ways in which different discourses come together to undermine binary differentiation between east and west, homo and hetero. Further, he complicates the views of gay ethnopornographic consumers, many of whom seem to believe in an Ottoman sexual freedom that did not exist except in the minds of the pornographers. As Boone shows, representations of (homoerotic and homophobic) Orientalist ethnopornography both rely on and subvert the sexual scripts of both Europe and the Ottoman world.

Pernille Ipsen's chapter shows us that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European men traveled to West Africa expecting easy sexual access to African women. Using Dutch, British, German, and French travel narratives, Ipsen relates this history to modern interracial pornography. She argues that the narratives of European sexual power over West African women circulated in Europe to become examples of classical eighteenth-century pornography. Using Linda Williams's observation that interracial pornography is based on a history of racial subjugation and power relations, Ipsen argues that modern interracial pornography, while based on the earlier sexual relationships, differs in key ways from its eighteenth-century counterpart because of the development, in the nineteenth century, of scientific racism. Thus, by the nineteenth century, the development of a racial taxonomy promoted an essentialized race in which color could not disappear through erotic encounters. Linking early modern pornography to European male anxiety and danger related to the unknown African world, Ipsen shows that fantastical conceptions of African women became central to the development of ethnopornography.

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We close this section with the very origin of the term "ethnopornography." Helen Pringle's chapter on Walter Roth shows that his invention of "ethnopornography" relates to his conception of (anthropological) science, which incorporates a voyeuristic interest in "exotic" sexual practices and bodies in the colonial Australian context. The scientific gaze, to Roth, is a form of knowing that shadows the shattering sexual violence of British colonialism. Roth's "Ethno-pornography" chapter was, in his own words, meant to circulate only among "men like us"—those who had a professional and scientific interest in such explicit depictions of aboriginal initiation rites and sexual customs. Pringle demonstrates that anthropological reports (and their circulation) are complicit in the impact of colonialism in the Australian context. By looking at Roth as well as contemporary white settlers in Queensland, Pringle demonstrates that scientific ethnopornography is not merely a procedure for the collection of certain materials about the "savages." It is also a practice of representation that makes a spectacle of the people studied. Staged displays of the "massacre of a bushman" and similar performances acted out at the Brisbane Theater Royal in 1892, for example, accompanied anthropological lectures by Roth's contemporaries. Similarly, in what Pringle terms the "entertainment-ethnological complex," professional anthropologists assisted showmen such as P. T. Barnum in collecting human "specimens" from North Queensland in the 1880s to display in Barnum's "Greatest Show on Earth." The circulated reports of what the anthropological gaze saw are an exertion of mastery through which the naked (and stripped) "native" is subordinated, and it is on and through such reports that the character and solidarity of "men like us" is constituted. Overall, Pringle places the invention and genealogy of "ethnopornography" within its proper Australian historical context, where "Aborigines were known as (authentic) Aborigines in and by their nakedness."

As we analyze the links between colonial violence and ethnopornography, the differences among the many examples of Mesoamerica, the Ottoman Empire, colonized West Africa, and nineteenth-century Europe show us that we must avoid the tendency to assume any transhistorical, transcultural unity in pornographic formulations. While in a wide variety of times and places, colonizers, explorers, and ethnographers have sought to eroticize the populations with which they came into contact, each group did so in vitally different ways. Sigal shows us that, when the Mexica of Tenochtitlan portrayed Huastec priests as hypersexual beings, they pictured them threatening to penetrate Tlazolteotl, a goddess of Huastec origin.[49] Such an ethnopornographic representation is significantly different from the ways

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in which Franz Fanon's French colonial officials portrayed hypersexualized African men as threats to white womanhood.[50] Nonetheless, in each case, the portrayal engaged the imaginations of various intended audiences (whether commoners of Tenochtitlan or French intellectuals), who reacted with a combination of desire and fear. In order to combat the essentializing of this project, we must pay close attention to cultural context, never allowing ourselves to overgeneralize the imaginative framework of those who receive the pornographic images.

As so many ethnographers and ethnohistorians eroticize the other in a violent manner, we argue here for the need to distinguish between an ethnopornographic violence implicated in the colonial project and one that engages in an erotic disidentification and imaginative manipulation without subsuming the indigenous or racialized other under the identity politics of the observer. We argue that such an approach allows the ethnography to provide a glimpse of the interstice: the liminal space between ethnographer, ethnographic subject, and consumer of ethnography. In essence then the core research project works to uncover both the erotic production of the liberal subject and the maintenance of indigeneity.[51]

Ethnopornographic Method

> I now seek to retool the stranger's lens of perverse sexuality so that it can be more of a productive optic, acknowledging how Asian/American women are seen by others and allowing them to see themselves anew—especially when desiring sexual perversity and shamelessly owning the pleasure and pain that comes from sexual representations of race.
>
> Speaking in one's own terms as made by one's context of hypersexuality can better explain and celebrate Asian American women who embrace perversity as productive. In their works, a passionate engagement of perverse sexuality ultimately embraces self-acceptance.
>
> —CELINE PARREÑAS SHIMIZU, *Hypersexuality of Race*, 1, 267

These two quotes bookend Celine Parreñas Shimizu's provocative study of the hypersexuality of Asian/American women in film. She begins with a painful episode of misrecognition in which a man on a bus believes she is a Filipina sex worker. After examining significant examples of plays and films, including mainstream Hollywood productions, stag films, pornog-

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raphy, and feminist film, Parreñas Shimizu concludes by suggesting the production and dissemination of particular types of self-affirming perverse sexuality. In her formulation Parreñas Shimizu does not negate the violence present in the forced hypersexuality of Asian and Asian American women but instead advocates confronting that violence with what she terms "politically productive perversity," promoting a forthright sexuality that both acknowledges violence and advocates pleasure.[52] Like Parreñas Shimizu's concept of politically productive perversity, in this volume we grapple with the violence involved in producing further studies.

The volume ends with Neil Whitehead's "Ethnopornography Coda," some thoughts on the origins of this project, and the theoreticial and methodological impulses that form ethnopornography. In these concluding remarks, Whitehead notes that in this volume we have recast ethnography not as a pristine venture into the minds and bodies of some other, but rather as an encounter between desiring beings. As such, Whitehead argues that, when we make violent and erotic engagements explicit and visible, we uncover a way of moving forward with such encounters in a more ethical manner.

Examples of ethnopornography in the development of anthropology as a discipline abound. Bronislaw Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages* (1929) serves as an example of some early anthropologists' desires to scandalize and exoticize. In a section titled "orgiastic festivals," we find not so much an "orgy," but rather what we may perhaps call a sadomasochistic seduction ritual. Malinowski states, "When a boy and girl are strongly attracted to each other, and especially before the passion is satisfied, the girl is allowed to inflict considerable bodily pain on her lover by scratching, beating, thrashing, or even wounding with a sharp instrument."[53] Such an attack, Malinowski is told, would result in the two engaging, if the boy wanted, in sexual intercourse (Malinowski, in typically ethnopornographic fashion, describes one case by saying that a boy he treated for wounds from such an attack "*reaped his reward* that same night").[54] Malinowski's ethnographic observations are most intriguing for a study of ethnopornography because he states that he never actually observed one of these ceremonies. Still, he does not hesitate to tell us that "sexual acts would be carried out in public on the central place; married people would participate in the orgy, man or wife behaving without restraint, even though within hail of each other."[55] Malinowski intends his description to suggest the openness of the Trobriand people to sexual experimentation that will have positive results: the selection of a more mature mate, or even marriage that extends beyond the usual choices embedded in courtship rituals.[56] The point here is not for

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us to question the accuracy of Malinowski's report of this ritual but rather to suggest the ubiquitous nature of the connections between sex and violence asserted in such ritual practices, and the ways that such accounts may have circulated among his intended audience as well as, to use Roth's term, "the general lay reader." Further, we can note that Malinowski uses such descriptions to influence the course of debates regarding sexuality in Western societies.[57] Here Malinowski uses the "sexual life of the savages" as ethnopornography, in an attempt to allow readers to visualize a sexual life different from and more satisfying than their own.

Malinowski's text also functions as pornography: Malinowski himself stated that *The Sexual Life of Savages* was being sold on the boulevards of Paris alongside a series of pornographic books.[58] The trade paperback of Margaret Mead's *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* in 1950 featured an alluring cover illustration by Robert Jonas, a well-known pulp illustrator (figure I.4).[59] While the literary scholar Paula Rabinowitz, in a recent study on American pulp, has stated that Jonas's "cubist-inspired covers pared down the lurid expressionism of most paperbacks [between the late 1930s and the early 1960s] into clean lines and bold primary colors," this particular cover, with its eroticized and exoticized illustration of a presumably "primitive" woman and man from Papua New Guinea, was meant to popularize anthropology and attract lay readers to the book.[60]

All such representations are, of course, always up for contestation and appropriation, as we witness in figure I.4, a reproduction of an advertisement from the 2016 "London Fetish Map."[61] The owners of the Worlds End Bookshop ask viewers of the map if they have a "fetish for books." The two book covers displayed in the advertisement are Mead's *Sex and Temperament*, along with the cover of a pulp novel, Wade Miller's *Kitten with a Whip* (1959). In 2016, Mead's classic work and Jonas's pulp imagery are ethnopornographic reflections of ethnography, used to promote *and fetishize* reading (and consuming) "beautiful, historic, collectors [*sic*] books" and other forms of "kink" within the BDSM/fetish community.

The links between anthropology and pornography are made more explicit the further we dig. In 1983, for example, in a book titled *Freie Liebe*, which was published in a German *Playboy* paperback series, author Roger Baker depicts the Trobrianders as promiscuous exhibitionists who regularly exchanged sex partners between married couples. His fantasies were built on Malinowski's *The Sexual Life of Savages*, which he declared "the bible" of the free love movement.[62] In a recent documentary, appropriately titled, *Savage*

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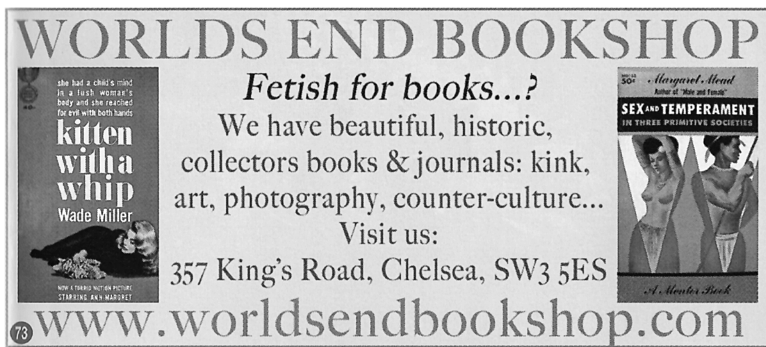

FIGURE I.4 Advertisement from "London Fetish Map," distributed in London, 2016. Pete Sigal personal collection.

Memory, we find that some Trobriand Islanders object to the sexual nature of Malinowski's book, while others embrace it.[63] The filmmakers even find some pictures of simulated sexual intercourse between two men, rhetorically asking how Malinowski convinced them to perform such acts.[64] Malinowski, a key figure in the genealogy of ethnopornography, is, of course, not alone in his discourse, and, while most modern ethnographers reject some of his more exploitative relationships with native populations, much of his ethnographic method remains a model for modern observers—particularly those engaged in more "popular" ethnographies.[65]

Malinowski, Mead, and the others aside, many anthropologists and ethnographers since the 1980s have engaged in research and writing practices that have altered the ethnographic gaze in such a way as to help us begin to develop a method for ethnopornographic critique. For example, Diane Nelson's work on the ways in which the Guatemalan state at the end of the twentieth century uses bodily metaphors to produce Maya individuals as coherent subjects with sexual desires points us toward a critical ethnopornography.[66] Elizabeth Povinelli's *Empire of Love* serves as a particularly strong model for an alternative ethnopornography. Povinelli, informed by queer theory, juxtaposes the radical faeries—a conscious critique of Western sexuality from within the West—and indigenous Australian groups. She uses ethnography to theorize about governance, intimacy, and sexuality. By doing so, Povinelli calls into question the concepts of authenticity, indigeneity, and liberal personhood. She shows the ways in which the related categories of

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love and emotion are used to effectively colonize indigenous peoples. In her theoretical reflection, she then critiques Western forms of knowledge and instead foregrounds a method for relating indigenous intimacy to alternative epistemologies.[67] This allows Povinelli to venture into alternative sexualities in an example of the critical ethnopornography we promote here.

We advocate the *creation* of ethnopornography in a critical mode. One way to do so is by participating in the groups we study, presenting particular kinds of public performances that suggest ways forward for scholarly activity. This does not mean that we engage only in "navel gazing" ethnographic and ethnohistorical approaches to scholarship. Rather, it means that we move into public discourse and performance as theoretically engaged and rigorous scholars, seeking to develop a different kind of knowledge-producing project. Thus, our ethnopornography becomes a productive form of disciplinary inquiry and methodological practice.

To this end, Neil pushed the very boundaries of his own subjectivity and his ethnographic forms of engagement. Best known for his work on cannibalism, shamanism, and the anthropology of violence in the Caribbean and South America, Neil was fascinated by an Amerindian "vision of a cosmos filled with predatory gods and spirits whose violent hungers are sated by humans."[68] This was a cosmos that Neil not only studied, but one that he incorporated himself into, whether he was conducting ethnographic fieldwork abroad, hunting in Wisconsin, or participating in posthumanist "performative ethnography." Most recently, prior to Neil's death, this took the form of participating in what he termed an "audio-visual project" through the goth-fetish band Blood Jewel that enabled him to explore the sexualized nature of violence, to challenge the boundaries of the "human," and to broach new possible domains for anthropological thinking.

In his earlier work, Neil had unwittingly become part of the ethnographic story that he wrote on the *kanaimà* in Guyana and Brazil. The gripping first chapter of his extraordinary ethnography *Dark Shamans* presents the background of a particular shaman's attacks on Neil's own body. This experience led Neil to reflect on the nature of ethnographic violence and on the scholar's will to know as a will to devour his or her subject. By the time he finished writing *Dark Shamans*, Neil had produced an ethnographic account heavily focused on the intimate details of bodily enactments of violence (so much so that one participant in the ethnopornography conference organized by Neil and Pete said that she could never teach *Dark Shamans* because it was "*too* pornographic"—this despite the fact that the

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book has no explicit sexual content).[69] Neil's analysis focused on the historical and social meanings of kanaimà—a form of dark shamanism practiced by certain Amerindian groups in the highlands of Guyana, Venezuela, and Brazil that, in Neil's words, "refers to the killing of an individual by violent mutilation of, in particular, the mouth and anus, into which are inserted various objects. The killers are then enjoined to return to the dead body of the victim in order to drink the juices of putrefaction."[70] For Neil, the pornographic did not necessarily have to do with sex, and his recounting of his own intimately personal interactions with kanaimà became a form of ethnopornographic engagement.

In his next project, Neil practiced a research method that he termed "performative engagement," instead of the method of "participant observation" proposed by many other ethnographers.[71] By participating in Blood Jewel, a production with Jeff Fields, Neil began to perform as a desiring subject. Neil produced music videos and promoted the band, which emphasized "structural violence and fetish sexuality." He argued that "artistically fetishized sexuality is represented as a medium for self-empowerment and an erotic response to the threatening and potentially toxic nature of off-line sexual encounter."[72] By becoming both subject and object of a sexualized and violent ethnography, Neil promoted what he terms a "post-human anthropology," becoming a theoretically engaged desiring machine. Reflecting on the imagery and music of Blood Jewel, much of which is still archived online, one cannot suggest that it is without problems.[73] It is an ethnopornography that promotes a vision of a violent, erotically charged world. As the images and music assault the senses, the purpose of the erotic violence is not always clear. Yet, one can certainly imagine that Neil promoted particular fantasies intended to evoke a world that brings colonial and postcolonial violence to the surface through a fetishized eroticism, both online and off.

Like Neil, Pete promotes a fetishistic erotic imaginary and practice in ways that both influence and inform (just as they are influenced and informed by) his scholarship. He participates in an extensive community of fetishists and sadomasochists and puts on events designed to envision a world that explores bodies beyond the limits of genital sexuality. In this world, Pete experiments with the boundaries of the human through a performative notion of pleasure in which the sadomasochistic scene moves beyond the narrative of sexual subjectivity, and in which skin itself becomes exoticized and eroticized through leather and latex. Unlike some of the writers in the 1980s who discussed the transcendental nature of sadomasochism, Pete

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does not argue for the politics of a "radical sexuality" based on a psychic or spiritual movement beyond sex.[74] Rather, he maintains that fetish and sadomasochism provide for a greater ability to reflect upon the historical contingencies of modern sexuality, particularly as the modern sexual regime focuses on genital sex and the movement toward respectability in the formation of sexual identity. Instead, fetish and sadomasochism *may* offer us an alternative history of queer debasement in which the mixture of pleasure and pain, along with the fetishized and embodied object, rather than the gender of the object choice, become key.[75] Of course fetish and sadomasochism do not signify utopia, and the community is replete with conspicuous consumption and various sexual phobias.

Still, in this scene, Pete imagines and seeks a collective community encounter through rituals that ensure pleasure and pain, a vision related to the type of history he writes: an encounter that is at once sexual and also moves beyond sexuality to bodily pleasures and extraordinary violence that may result in annihilation of the self. The concept of pleasure in sadomasochism becomes not the subsuming of another into the self but a knowledge that, by destroying the other, the self too comes to be destroyed. An amalgam of energy, an intense pleasure witnessed only through intense pain, turns feeling into a differential experience that can no longer be called experience because it no longer presumes a subject; it no longer has a self who *does* the experiencing. Through such a scene, Pete witnesses historical enactments that allow him to reimagine theories, histories, and ethnographies of sexuality. This has brought Pete to his next scholarly project, in which he works to provide a genealogy of the relationship between colonial violence and modern sexual pleasure.

In a similar vein, Zeb's scholarship on the history of sexuality in colonial contexts and the social meanings of (and autoethnographic engagements with) pornography have allowed him to push methodological boundaries in productive, though not necessarily unproblematic, ways. In his historical scholarship, Zeb has focused largely on archival narratives of the "sins against nature" of sodomy, bestiality, and masturbation—all acts that the Catholic Church deemed to be unnatural since they did not lead to procreation—in the context of Latin America between the early sixteenth and the early nineteenth century. His current research on "archiving the obscene" in Latin America analyzes censorship, erotica, and pornography, from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. In dedicating himself to archival research to show how past bodies and desires come to be documented and archived, he gradually came to more explicitly interrogate the

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links between his own (archived) erotic subjectivity and the impulse to put the bodies of historical others on display in scholarship. As his archival research on colonial Latin American sexuality evolved, he found himself wanting to explore, in an increasingly public realm, the possibilities of putting his own body and desires on display alongside those of the historical subjects about whom he wrote academically.

Early in his research, in 2002, Zeb answered an advertisement in the UCLA school newspaper, where he was then working on his PhD in history, to do gay porn modeling, video, and photography work. Since then, he has written academically and autoethnographically about his experiences in mainstream and indie porn industries, webcam shows, and other forms of sex work.[76] His experiences navigating his status as a porn performer for a largely gay male audience when he was a graduate student, subsequently going on the academic job market (with porn in his past), and now teaching colonial history, gender/sexuality studies, queer studies, and archival theory as a university professor attend to the complicated ways that investments in the history of sexuality and in pornography can inform one another politically and methodologically. These auto/ethno/pornographic endeavors have led him to theorize the ways in which bodies (including his own) come to be archived, recorded, documented, and remembered in vastly different cultural and social media contexts, be they historical archives, videos and DVDs, or online repositories of images.[77] Such ethnopornographic engagements lay bare the ways in which Zeb himself can be caught up in the very cycles of historical voyeurism that he, at least initially, sought to engage in only as a spectator (and historian) in the archives.

These particular experiences promote a key change in the way we view knowledge production, a change experienced by some of the authors included in *Ethnopornography*. We no longer are ruled by a will to know, as Neil would never have told all about his experiences in Blood Jewel, Pete will never tell all about the erotic charge he receives in the BDSM community, and Zeb will never give away all of the records of his bodily desires. Rather we enter a world of a will to participate, to become an individual engaged in particular kinds of practices that challenge simplistic recreations of the history and ethnography of sexuality. Of course, such a method presents a set of ethical challenges. What are the limits of the observing participant? And how do the very acts of observing and participating radically shift the terrain of desire, the mode of archiving, and the disciplinary impulses of history and anthropology? As Neil put it: "*in order to understand desire we must become desiring subjects ourselves*. In this way performative

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engagement rather than observing participation changes the basis of ethnographic description from that of inferred and interpreted meanings and motivations to that of auto-ethnographic description and overtly positioned observation."[78] We need to develop some ethical regulations that go beyond the current set of guidelines developed by review boards. But this is not the purpose of our volume. Rather, we wish to show that this sort of productive engagement allows for ethnopornographies that provide different ways of envisioning the world around us and of encountering other groups, ethnographically and historically. Whether this method effectively and adequately analyzes colonial violence or not, it brings ethnopornography to the surface in a self-reflective manner, and it does so in ways that beg us to attend to the ethics and politics of representation.

Notes

Neil L. Whitehead and Pete Sigal cowrote the early drafts of this introduction before Neil's death in March 2012. Pete Sigal and Zeb Tortorici have subsequently revised and rewritten the introduction along the lines of notes and conversations that they shared with Neil between 2009 and 2011. Erika Robb Larkins, one of Neil's last students, has also participated in this project and provided extensive commentary on the introduction. We believe that the final version of the introduction conforms at least broadly to Neil's views of the ethnopornography project.

1 We note that the subtitle for this volume has gone through several iterations. Before Neil's death, the subtitle included the phrase, "Anthropological Knowledge" (and previously, "Anthropological Knowing"). Neil, as the reader will see in the "Ethnopornography Coda" to this volume, was deeply committed to engaging in a critique of the discipline of anthropology. While the volume and this introduction contain some of that critique, Pete and Zeb are both trained primarily in history, and thus do not have the requisite credentials to challenge anthropology as a discipline. In fact, even before Neil's death, the volume had moved significantly toward a critique of knowledge production in the humanities and the qualitative social sciences instead of a specific disciplinary engagement. While Pete and Zeb both believe that Neil and some other contributors to this volume have developed an incisive critique of anthropological methods, the contributors are much more engaged with a deep dive into cultural studies through an analysis of the roles of sexuality, colonialism, and the archive in the development of knowledge.

2 Neil Whitehead, "Comments," Ethnopornography Conference remarks, Durham, NC, 2006.

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3 Napoleon Chagnon, *Yanomamö: The Fierce People* (New York: Holt McDougal, 1984); William H. Crocker and Jean G. Crocker, *The Canela: Kinship, Ritual, and Sex in an Amazonian Tribe*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004); Gilbert Herdt, *Guardians of the Flutes: Idioms of Masculinity* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981). These authors provide three very different genres of ethnography, and we do not mean to equate the three ethically. The first is by an ethnographer rejected by most anthropologists; the second is an example of "mainstream" ethnography that focuses on kinship and sex; and the third is an example of the critical ethnographies produced a generation ago that focused on sexualities that did not follow the standard heterosexual kinship model.

4 Linda Williams, in *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), develops the different genres of golden age film pornography. *Deep Throat* has an arcane setup in which a woman requires medical intervention to understand why she fails to have an orgasm (her clitoris is in her throat, so she needs to give fellatio in order to have the orgasm). *Behind the Green Door* presents a woman in the act of self-discovery in which, through her kidnapping, as she is convinced to have sex with multiple women and men, she discovers her deepest desires. The use of magic is also central to many films. In a more recent example than the golden age films Williams discusses, the gay pornography film *Dig* (All Worlds Video, dir. Rafael, 2000) presents us with an example of archaeologists who go to Mexico and become seduced by the spell of an ancient Aztec warrior.

5 See Neil Whitehead, "Post-Human Anthropology," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 16 (2009): 1–32.

6 Walter E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane, Aus.: Edmund Gregory, Government Printer, 1897), 176.

7 Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, vii.

8 Andrew P. Lyons, "The Two Lives of Sara Baartman: Gender, 'Race,' Politics and the Historiography of Mis/Representation," *Anthropologica* 60 (2018), 328.

9 Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 6.

10 Andrée Tabouret-Keller, "Western Europe," in *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 335.

11 Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993), 9–10.

12 Christian Hansen, Catherine Needham, and Bill Nichols, "Skin Flicks: Pornography, Ethnography, and the Discourses of Power," *Discourse* 11, no. 2 (1989): 64–79.

13 Hansen, Needham, and Nichols, "Skin Flicks," 78.

14 In a different manner of thinking about the relationship between ethnography and sexuality, Don Kulick and Margaret Willson focus on the way in which the ethnographer's own sexual subjectivity enters into his or her fieldwork. See Don Kulick and Margaret Willson, eds., *Taboo: Sex, Identity and Erotic Subjectivity in Anthropological Fieldwork* (New York: Routledge, 1995). See also Fran Markowitz

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and Michael Ashkenazi, eds., *Sex, Sexuality, and the Anthropologist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

15 Hansen, Needham, and Nichols, "Skin Flicks," 67.

16 Hansen, Needham, and Nichols, "Skin Flicks," 68.

17 Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, 179.

18 Dennis, "Ethno-Pornography: Veiling the Dark Continent," *History of Photography* 18, no 1 (1994): 23.

19 For a historically oriented study that allows us to focus more attention on the political uses of pornography, see Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography*.

20 Williams, *Hard Core*.

21 See, for example, Celine Parreñas Shimizu, *The Hypersexuality of Race: Performing Asian/American Women on Screen and Scene* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Darieck Scott, *Extravagant Abjection: Blackness, Power, and Sexuality in the African American Literary Imagination* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Mireille Miller-Young, *A Taste for Brown Sugar: Black Women in Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Jennifer C. Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy: Reading Race, Reading Pornography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Nguyen Tan Hoang, *A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Darieck Scott, "Big Black Beauty: Drawing and Naming the Black Male Figure in Superhero and Gay Porn Comics," in Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires, eds., *Porn Archives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Ramón E. Soto-Crepo, "Porno Ricans at the Borders of Empire," in Dean, Ruszczycky, and Squires, *Porn Archives;* Juana María Rodríguez, "Pornographic Encounters and Interpretive Interventions: Vanessa del Rio: Fifty Years of Slightly Slutty Behavior," *Women and Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory* 25, no. 3 (2015); Ariane Cruz, *The Color of Kink: Black Women, BDSM, and Pornography* (New York: New York University Press, 2017); and many of the articles in Tristan Taormino, Celine Parreñas Shimizu, Constance Penley, and Mireille Miller-Young, eds., *The Feminist Porn Book: The Politics of Producing Pleasure* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2013).

22 See Abdul JanMohamed, "Sexuality on/of the Racial Border: Foucault, Wright, and the Articulation of Racialized Sexuality," in *Discourses of Sexuality*, ed. Donna Stanton (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

23 See Celine Parreñas Shimizu, "Master-Slave Sex Acts: *Mandingo* and the Race/Sex Paradox," *Wide Angle* 21, no. 4 (1999): 42–61; Jane Gaines, *Fire and Desire: Mixed Race Movies in the Silent Era* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

24 Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar*, 9.

25 Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy*, 147.

26 Vanessa del Rio and Dian Hanson, *Fifty Years of Slightly Slutty Behavior* (Cologne, Germany: Taschen, 2010)

27 Rodríguez, "Pornographic Encounters," 331.

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28 Scott, *Extravagant Abjection*; Hoang, *View from the Bottom*.

29 Cruz, *Color of Kink*.

30 Of course this sense of clarity and coherence stems from a particular history that relates visual signs of blackness to race. See Nicole R. Fleetwood, *Troubling Vision: Performance, Visuality, and Blackness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

31 We wish to acknowledge one of our anonymous reviewers for bringing up this question.

32 See Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Werner Sollors, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations of Interracial Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

33 Samuel R. Delany, *Mad Man* (New York: Masquerade Books, 1994).

34 Rey Chow, "Where Have All the Natives Gone?," in *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993), 52–54. While we disagree with Chow's conclusion that the ethnopornographic image should not be reproduced, we believe that a responsible ethnography will necessarily read the image to understand its genealogy, material position, and cultural work.

35 We are not arguing that ethnographic practices must end. Nor are we saying, following James Clifford (*The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988]), that ethnography must become more self-reflexive. This simply is not the debate with which we wish to engage. Rather, we argue here that both acknowledging the erotic relationship between the ethnographer and the subject *and* also taking the next step to promote an alternative erotic relationship are necessary for the movement of ethnography into a more adequately theorized encounter.

36 José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 80.

37 The Feminist Porn Conference: http://fpcon.org/ (accessed May 10, 2019); York University Feminist Porn Archive: http://www.yorku.ca/bnoble/feminist_porn/ (accessed May 10, 2019); Taormino, Shimizu, Penley, and Miller-Young, eds., *Feminist Porn Book*.

38 Muñoz, *Disidentifications*, 80.

39 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 10–13.

40 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 16.

41 See Neil Whitehead and Sverker Finnstrom, eds., *Virtual War and Magical Death: Technologies and Imaginaries for Terror and Killing* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Bruce Kapferer, *Legends of People, Myths of State Violence, Intolerance, and Political Culture in Sri Lanka and Australia* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988).

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42 "Break the Internet: Kim Kardashian," PaperMag, accessed August 26, 2019, papermag.com/break-the-internet-kim-kardashian-cover-1427450475.html

43 Raphael Patai, *The Arab Mind* (New York: Scribner, 1976).

44 Zine Magubane, "Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the 'Hottentot Venus,'" *Gender and Society* 15, no. 6 (2001): 816–34. See also Sander Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," in *Race, Writing, and Difference*, edited by Henry L. Gates, Jr. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985), and Lyons, "The Two Lives of Sara Baartman." More recent African American feminist studies have moved beyond the analysis that Magubane so effectively critiques. See Jennifer C. Nash, "Strange Bedfellows: Black Feminism and Antipornography Feminism," *Social Text* 26, no. 4 (2008): 51–76.

45 Jacobus X, *Untrodden Fields of Anthropology* (New York: Falstaff, 1937).

46 See Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Ara Wilson, *The Intimate Economies of Bangkok: Tomboys, Tycoons, and Avon Ladies in the Global City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Margaret Mead, *From the South Seas: Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies* (New York: Morrow, 1939). Also note that even the idea of "consent" here signifies a violence for the way in which it demands the production of the "consenting individual"; something akin to the way in which Native North Americans were repeatedly induced to "sign" treaties that took possession of their territories. See Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

47 Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 9–13.

48 See Chow, "All the Natives," 28–30.

49 Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

50 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 63–82.

51 Here we point to the example of Povinelli's *Empire of Love*, discussed below.

52 Mirelle Miller-Young and Jennifer Nash make similar theoretical moves in their recent books on pornography and African American women. See Miller-Young, *Taste for Brown Sugar*; Nash, *The Black Body in Ecstasy*.

53 Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia: An Ethnographic Account of Courtship, Marriage and Family Life Among the Natives of the Trobriand Islands, British New Guinea* (New York: Eugenics Publishing Company, 1929), 256–57.

54 Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, 257; emphasis added.

55 Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, 258.

56 Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, 261.

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57 Malinowski arranged to have the famous sexologist Havelock Ellis write a preface to the book. Ellis writes that the book shows us that "the savage man is very like the civilized man, with the like vices and virtues under different forms, but we may even find that in some respects the savage has here reached a finer degree of civilization than the civilized man. The comparisons we can thus make furnish suggestions even for the critical study of our own social life." Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, xiii. Lyons and Lyons term Malinowski a "reluctant sexologist." Andrew P. Lyons and Harriet D. Lyons, *Irregular Connections: A History of Anthropology and Sexuality* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 155–84.

58 Helena Wayne, *The Story of A Marriage: The Letters of Bronislaw Malinowski and Elsie Mason* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

59 We wish to thank Erika Robb Larkins for bringing this book cover to our attention, and for pointing out the illustration's similarities with Harlequin Romance novels of the same period.

60 Paula Rabinowitz, *American Pulp: How Paperbacks Brought Modernism to Main Street* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 25.

61 In a somewhat ironic example of the ethnopornographic methods that we seek to promote, we found this map when Pete traveled to London to do some research on a new project that links modern sexual pleasure to colonial voyeurism. On the same trip, he planned to attend some fetish events, so he went shopping at a store for latex clothing and picked up "The London Fetish Map," where he found this advertisement.

62 Gunter Senft, "'Noble Savages' and the 'Islands of Love': Trobriand Islanders in 'Popular Publications,'" in *Pacific Answers to Western Hegemony: Cultural Practices of Identity Construction*, ed. Jürd Wassmann (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1998), 388–89.

63 Savage Memory, home page, accessed August 21, 2019, http://www.savagememory.com/.

64 This vision of himself through the Trobriands' eyes seems contradicted in a certain manner by his diary, which expressed immense hatred toward his subjects. See Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1967).

65 Key in this respect is the place of Napoleon Chagnon, author of *Yanomamö: The Fierce People*, an extraordinarily popular ethnographic text—though from an author rejected by much of the establishment in professional anthropology. Chagnon tells us that the men were "hideous" and "filthy." They constantly competed to have sexual intercourse with women. And they scared him immensely. Chagnon, in telling us that the men were "hideous" and focusing our attention on their violence (they had drawn arrows, aimed, of course, at Chagnon), filth, and drug use, wants us to witness his fear, though from the safe distance of the living room couches upon which we sit to read his book. He wants us to experience the excitement and exhilaration of first contact—he wants to thrill us. And indeed, he is

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better at it than most ethnographers, which is one reason his book has sold over a million copies. One must further remember that this excitement is an only slightly veiled sexual excitement, as we find that the entire book focuses on the competition between men over women and sexual activity. And the near constant focus on the naked bodies of the Yanomami places the reader in close proximity with the ethnographer. In other words, the reader becomes seduced as he imagines himself seeing, touching, and smelling everything taking place while he becomes part of this sexual competition over women, part of a sexual scene (we masculinize the reader here because we suggest Chagnon's primary audience as that of the Western man). Chagnon, *Yanomamö*. See also Patrick Tierney, *Darkness in El Dorado: How Scientists and Journalists Devastated the Amazon* (New York: Norton, 2000). We cannot, of course, characterize Chagnon as an average anthropologist. In fact, a recent article in the *Nation* somewhat oversimplistically suggests that cultural anthropologists have rejected Chagnon all along, and that he belongs more properly to sociobiology. It is true that, almost since the publication of the ethnography in 1968, many anthropologists have condemned Chagnon's work. And, more recently, anthropologist Marshall Sahlins resigned his membership in the National Academy of Sciences to protest the fact that Chagnon was voted a member. See Peter C. Baker, "Fight Clubs: On Napoleon Chagnon," *Nation*, accessed August 26, 2019, http://www.thenation.com/article/fight-clubs-napoleon-chagnon/. See also Chagnon's recent book *Noble Savages: My Life among Two Dangerous Tribes—The Yanomamo and the Anthropologists* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013).

66 Diane M. Nelson, *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
67 Povinelli, *Empire of Love.*
68 Neil Whitehead, *Dark Shamans: Kanaimà and the Poetics of Violent Death* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 1.
69 See Whitehead, *Dark Shamans.*
70 Whitehead, *Dark Shamans*, 14.
71 Whitehead, "Post-Human Anthropology," 4.
72 Whitehead, "Post-Human Anthropology," 11.
73 See the music videos on Blood Jewel's Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/Blood-Jewel-171140362935107/, accessed May 10, 2019.
74 On the earlier understandings of sadomasochism, see Geoff Mains, *Urban Aboriginals: A Celebration of Leathersexuality* (Boston, MA: Alyson Publications, 1984); Mark Thompson, ed., *Leatherfolk: Radical Sex, People, Politics, and Practice* (Boston, MA: Alyson Publications, 1991).
75 See Kathryn Bond Stockton, *Beautiful Bottom, Beautiful Shame: Where "Black" Meets "Queer"* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Amber Jamille Musser, *Sensational Flesh: Race, Power, and Masochism* (New York: New York University Press, 2014). See also Margot Weiss, *Techniques of Pleasure: BDSM and the Circuits of Sexuality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

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76 Zeb Tortorici, “Queering Pornography: Desiring Youth, Race, and Fantasy in Gay Porn” in Susan Driver, ed., *Queer Youth Cultures* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 199–220.

77 Zeb Tortorici, “Auto/Ethno/Pornography,” *Porn Studies* 2, no. 2–3 (2015): 265–68.

78 Whitehead, “Post-Human Anthropology,” 4.

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