

GUEST EDITORS

KIM TALLBEAR

ANGELA WILLEY

CONTRIBUTORS

REBECCA ANWEILER

EMILY COON

NICOLE LAND

SOPHIE DUNCAN

MARÍA REGINA FIRMINO-CASTILLO

DANIEL FERNANDO GUARCAX GONZÁLEZ

GRUPO SOTZ'IL

TOHIL FIDEL BRITO BERNAL

ALEXANDRA HALKIAS

JENNIFER A. HAMILTON

ERIN MCELROY

NAVEEN MINAI

LINDSAY NIXON

CLEO WOELFLE-ERSKINE

KIMBERLEY GREESON

JAY FIELDS

RICK W. A. SMITH

IRENE WOLFSTONE

IMAGINATIONS

REVUE D'ÉTUDES INTERCULTURELLES DE L'IMAGE • JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL IMAGE STUDIES

**CRITICAL RELATIONALITY: INDIGENOUS AND QUEER
BELONGING BEYOND SETTLER SEX & NATURE**

ISSUE 10-1, 2019

GUEST EDITORS

KIM TALLBEAR

ANGELA WILLEY

CONTRIBUTORS

REBECCA ANWEILER

EMILY COON

NICOLE LAND

SOPHIE DUNCAN

MARÍA REGINA FIRMINO-CASTILLO

DANIEL FERNANDO GUARCAX GONZÁLEZ

GRUPO SOTZ'IL

TOHIL FIDEL BRITO BERNAL

ALEXANDRA HALKIAS

JENNIFER A. HAMILTON

ERIN MCELROY

NAVEEN MINAI

LINDSAY NIXON

CLEO WOELFLE-ERSKINE

KIMBERLEY GREESON

JAY FIELDS

RICK W. A. SMITH

IRENE WOLFSTONE

IMAGINATIONS

REVUE D'ÉTUDES INTERCULTURELLES DE L'IMAGE ■ JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL IMAGE STUDIES

***CRITICAL RELATIONALITY: INDIGENOUS
AND QUEER BELONGING BEYOND SETTLER
SEX & NATURE***

ISSUE 10-1, 2019

CRITICAL RELATIONALITY: INDIGENOUS AND QUEER BELONGING BEYOND SETTLER SEX & NATURE

ISSUE 10-1, 2019

Guest Editors - Kim TallBear and Angela Willey

Editor in Chief | Rédacteur en chef
Markus Reisenleitner

Managing Editor | Rédacteur
Brent Ryan Bellamy

Editorial Team | Comité de rédaction
Brent Ryan Bellamy, Dominique Laurent, Andriko Lozowy,
Tara Milbrandt, Carrie Smith-Prei, and Sheena Wilson

Elicitations Reviews Editor | Comptes rendus critiques - Élicitations
Tara Milbrandt

Web Editor | Mise en forme web
Brent Ryan Bellamy

French Translator & Copy Editor | Traductions françaises
Dominique Laurent

English Substantive & Copy Editor | Rédacteur
Shama Rangwala

Copy Editor | Révisions
Shama Rangwala

Founding Editors | Fondateurs
William Anselmi, Daniel Laforest, Carrie Smith-Prei, Sheena Wilson

Previous Team Members | Anciens membres de l'équipe
Marine Gheno, Dennis Kilfoy, Daniel Laforest, Lars Richter,
Katherine Rollans, Angela Sacher, Dalbir Sehmbly, Justin Sully

Editorial Advisory Board | Comité scientifique
Hester Baer, University of Maryland College Park, United States
Mieke Bal, University of Amsterdam & Royal Netherlands Academy
of Arts and Sciences, Netherlands
Andrew Burke, University of Winnipeg, Canada
Ollivier Dyens, Concordia University, Canada
Michèle Garneau, Université de Montréal, Canada
Wlad Godzich, University of California Santa Cruz, United States
Kosta Gouliamos, European University, Cyprus
Faye Hammill, University of Strathclyde, United Kingdom
Anton Kaes, University of California Berkeley, United States
Dominic McIver Lopes, University of British Columbia, Canada
Sarah McGaughey, Dickinson College, United States
Peter McIsaac, University of Michigan, United States
Marie-Dominique Popelard, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris, France
Christine Ramsay, University of Regina, Canada
Laurence A. Rickels, Academy of Fine Arts, Karlsruhe, Germany
Will Straw, McGill University, Canada
Imre Szeman, University of Alberta, Canada



[HTTP://DX.DOI.ORG/10.17742/IMAGE.CR.10.1](http://dx.doi.org/10.17742/image.cr.10.1)



Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Sommaire/Contents

Introduction: Critical Relationality: Queer, Indigenous, and Multispecies Belonging Beyond Settler Sex & Nature • 5

Kim TallBear and Angela Willey

Sexual/Nature • 17

Rebecca Anweiler

iMessaging Flesh, Friendship, and Futurities • 29

Emily Coon and Nicole Land

The (Un)Natural Archive • 61

Sophie Duncan

Ruximik Qak'u'x: Relacionalidades Ineludibles en el Arte Escenico De Grupo Sotz'il / Inescapable Relationalities in Grupo Sotz'il's Performance Practice • 101

María Regina Firmino-Castillo, Daniel Fernando Guarca González, on behalf of Grupo Sotz'il, and Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal

Tracking Love in the Wild: from San Diego to Athens, Greece and Beyond • 147

Alexandra Halkias

From Bits to Bodies: Perfect Humans, Bioinformatic Visualizations, and Critical Relationality • 181

Jennifer A. Hamilton

Digital Nomads and Settler Desires: Racial Fantasies of Silicon Valley Imperialism • 215

Erin McElroy

"Who Gave Your Body Back to You?" Literary and Visual Cartographies of Erotic Sovereignty in the Poetry of Qwo-Li Driskill • 251

Naveen Minai

Distorted Love: Mapplethorpe, the Neo/Classical Sculptural Black Nude, and Visual Cultures of Transatlantic Enslavement • 295

Lindsay Nixon

Fishy Pleasures: Unsettling Fish Hatching and Fish Catching on Pacific Frontiers • 325

Cleo Woelfle-Erskine

Pili'Oha/Kinship: (Re)Imagining Perceptions of Nature and More-Than-Human Relationality • 352

Kimberley Greeson

Consume • 383

Jay Fields

Monogamy Undone: Review of A. Willey's Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology • 385

Rick W. A. Smith

Review of Donna Haraway, Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene • 389

Irene Wolfstone

Contributor Bios • 393

Front Cover Image: Alexandra Halkias, Nun, with boxing gloves.

CRITICAL RELATIONALITY: QUEER, INDIGENOUS, AND
MULTISPECIES BELONGING BEYOND SETTLER SEX & NATURE

KIM TALLBEAR AND ANGELA WILLEY

This special issue of *Imaginations* was conceived to document, provoke, theorize, and imagine relations between humans, and between humans and other-than-humans, that go beyond and trouble normative categories of nature, sex, and love. Such categories manifest, for example, in settler-colonial forms of kin, kind, and relating that are hierarchical, anthropocentric, capitalocentric, and hetero- and homonormative. Activists, artists, and scholars have rigorously critiqued family forms legitimated by state-sanctioned marriage and naturalized by neo-Darwinian narratives of belonging centered around biological reproduction and which treat land, women, and children as property, yet such forms remain as relational ideals. The so-called natural is always paramount in settler ideas of appropriate ways to relate, control, and allocate rights and resources that reproduce structural inequities.

If we are to move beyond the reproduction of the dyadic family's scripting and privileged status, we need to understand nature differently. We need to rethink sex as the central organizing principle of human sociality, the human as the only important unit of relational ethics, and the white supremacist settler and other colonial cultural scripts as ethical measures of belonging through which the naturalized ideal of the family emerged historically (McClintock 1995, Carter 2008, Carter 2007, Cott 2002, Denial 2013, Morgensen 2011, Franke 2015, TallBear 2018). Our ability to imagine nature and relationality differently are deeply enmeshed, and this imaginative work is vital to the re-worlding before us.

Another set of generative influences that spur this issue of *Imaginations* are the frameworks of ecosexuality and Indigenous Studies relational frameworks, including Indigenous eco-erotics. Performance artists Beth Stephens' and Annie Sprinkles' ecosexual approach—Earth as lover rather than Earth as mother—has a global following (Stephens and Sprinkle 2019, Theobald 2017). Their art and activism—like Audre Lorde's "erotic"—prompt us to deconstruct the concept of "sexuality." Ecosexuality is theoretically generative for an Indigenous Studies analysis of sex and relations, precisely because it is not necessary for Indigenous people who have much longer-standing intimate relational frameworks to guide relations with lands and waters. To that end, Turtle Mountain Chippewa scholar Melissa Nelson writes on Indigenous eco-erotics that do not limit the notion of erotic relations to sex. Nelson foregrounds Indigenous stories and frameworks of relationality between humans and nonhumans (Nelson in Barker, 2017). Finally, the critical analyses of Indigenous Studies scholar and anthropologist, David Delgado Shorter, challenge the objectification by anthropology of both Indigenous sexuality and spirituality. Instead he advocates for Indigenous analytical frameworks and emphasizes the circulation of power in order to disaggregate these objects into sets of relations between bodies, not all of them human and not all of them living (Shorter 2015 and 2016).

The writers and artists featured in this issue explore critical forms of relating that defy the raced, gendered, and genocidal kinship mandates of settler-colonial structures. In their textual and visual analyses and advocacy of critical theories, knowledges, and forms of relating, these thinkers and creators take inspiration from the potentially articulated fields of feminist, queer, and trans theory; Indigenous theory; disability and crip studies; critical race studies; science studies; animal studies; and performance studies. In their play with relations among various analytics, fields, and methodologies, they are often innovating new ways knowing and talking about relationality.

Twelve essays plus two book reviews constitute this special issue. Prominent theorists inform the thinking in these pages, but this issue features especially scholars and artists who are working in new, experimental ways to challenge normative ways of relating. Their

archives and visions push understandings of queer, Indigenous, and multispecies belonging in exciting new directions.

As non-artist writers and scholars who seek to decolonize and disaggregate sexuality from an object out into sets of relations, Rebecca Anweiler's *Sexual/Nature* images compel us in their veering away from objectifying sex as a thing. Yet Anweiler does this by counter-intuitively focusing the artist's eye on bodily entanglements that to many observers signify the thingness of sexuality, for example hands or mouths on breasts, fingers and tongues on/in genitalia. The artist's statement notes and pushes back against a world and its human scientific and media gazes that have privileged heteronormative and biologically reproductive sex between not only humans, but also other-than-human animals as natural. At the same time, same-sex relations have been depicted as unnatural or perverse. We were delighted with how Anweiler's images and artist's statement playfully and seriously challenge what she sees as a perverse solidification of relations into the object of sex. So-called sex can then be ordered, scripted, managed, and controlled by the patriarchal white male human subjects who have traditionally gathered these relations into a narrow purview with their visualizing apparatuses (Haraway 2013). How unsexy! The boring straight sex that is scripted and standardized by the settler-colonial gaze is then used to obscure diverse, pleasurable ways of relating.

Emily Coon and Nicole Land, in "*iMessaging Friendship and Flesh*," deploy a "Millennial feminist academic" writing method and build their paper through and around iMessage exchanges that nearly instantaneously cross 4,595 kilometres of land spanning Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe peoples on one side of the continent and Coast and Straits Salish peoples on the other. The symbiotic relations that form their feminist ecosystem might serve as a metaphor for the centrality of relationality to our work. Jenny Reardon and Kim TallBear engaged in a Generation X feminist academic version of this collaboration one summer, years ago. They wrote "*Your DNA is Our History*": *Genomics, Anthropology, and the Construction of Whiteness as Property* (2012) by exchanging drafts daily via email. Their geographic distance facilitated an efficient writing process with the writing happening 16-20 hours a day. TallBear wrote from Berkeley, Cali-

fornia and sent drafts to Reardon by 10 pm each night. That was 6 am in England where Reardon was writing. Reardon would add her edits and return the draft to TallBear by 5 pm England time, 9am California time. They sent drafts back and forth daily like this for several weeks.

While Reardon and TallBear wrote a more typical academic article less co-constitutively formed with the technology that carried words nearly instantaneously around the globe, their writing and friendship process, like Coon's and Land's process in both content and form, models the sort of relationship work usually imagined to belong to—and often seen as constitutive of—sexual/romantic relationships (Petrella 2007). The naturalization of settler monogamy depends as much upon distinguishing love from friendship and other forms of affinity as it does the pathologization of promiscuity or non-monogamy (Willey 2016, 72). The valuation of friendship as a site of intimacy, meaning-making, resource sharing, and transformation has the potential to unravel stories about the specialness of sex and to fuel our imaginations to rethink forms and structures that exceed the ideal of the settler family, which may sustain and remake us.

Coon and Land are also pulled along their path as they walk with curiosity and a sense of ethical adventure a lush citation-lined path through a forest populated by towering old-growth intellectuals, including Donna Haraway, Sandra Harding, Banu Subramaniam, and Mishuana Goeman. We hope that our mentors and colleagues will not mind us calling them “old growth.” It is only a testament to their intellectual stature! Coon and Land also walk among brightly colored, resilient, and determined new growth springing up in light through the old growth canopy. The newer growth includes @apihtawikosisan, @kwetoday, @EricaVioletLee, @thesarahhunt, @RedIndianGirl and others. All are essential to this feminist intellectual ecosystem that also feeds their resurgent decolonial solidarity—their “Indigenous-settler friendship” filled with exchanges and mutual supports built through the technology of iMessage that arises from settler-colonial extractions and simultaneously works to circumvent and challenge them. This is, in short, the fundamental predicament of doing anti-colonial work within the colonial academy. We predict that this article will incite more (serious) playfulness

in the writing of other re/insurgent Millennials who, rather than simply coming after us, are, like their co-constitutive technologies, coming *for* us.

Also working from within a colonial scientific field she challenges, plant scientist and artist Sophie Duncan constructs an “(Un)Natural Archive,” an anti-colonial narrative that traces scientific explorations, discoveries, and the imposition of Latin names onto plants across time and space. Duncan demonstrates botany’s co-constitution as a discipline with imperialism and colonialism spanning Rome to European invasions of the Americas. “(Un)Natural Archive” is punctuated with Duncan’s original artworks that combine representations of plant and human bodies, sometimes with text. The series of images represent the imposition of human categories of race, gender, and otherness onto the plant world in ways that rescripted relations—both between humans and plants, and between plants and different lands—to coincide with colonial narratives of Eurocentric male exploration, discovery, and appropriation. The images are often built on top of old faded newspaper in which plants were pressed by collectors or onto magazine text in which romanticized tales of exploration are etched. Paradoxically, the images are richly splashed with primary and other colors, thus freshly analyzing the faded, but still dominant colonial archive of the “fathers of botany.” Rarely is the taking-down of the “false god” of Objectivity such a delight to gaze upon.

“Ruximik Qak’u’x: Inescapable Relationalities in Grupo Sotz’il’s Performance Practice” is a deeply collaborative multimedia essay. Maria Regina Firmino-Castillo, with Daniel Fernando Guarca González (on behalf of Grupo Sotz’il), and Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal combine their use of video, still images, and text to offer a set of analytics for thinking relationality beyond settler sex and nature. The engagement of audio and visual sensorium supports the translational and analytic explication of rich understandings of knowing and being in intimate relation with nonhuman and human others. Beginning with the Iq’—life force—they map Kaqchikel epistemologies that unsettle human exceptionalism, the individual as knower, and the practice of knowing as one of domination. The methodology they enact suggests ways of knowing with and about our inextricable entanglements with

one another. Relationality here is always already more-than-human and often dangerous.

Similarly, more-than-human relations ground Alexandra Halkias's "Tracking Love in the Wild." This piece offers a gentle, urgent narrative analysis accompanied by photographs of water, stone, bone, and a bit of plant matter. Halkias presents in the photographs "fluidity of form," thus conveying the related materiality of all entities, even those not considered to be living according to the definition of organismically-defined life foreground in Eurocentric disciplinary thought. The photographs of mostly lifeless objects punctuate the author's discussion of relevant multispecies, new materialist, queer, and Indigenous approaches to the relationality between human and non-human animals and also with geological matter. The bone adjacent to rock in one photograph also recalls relationality with ancestors, be they human or other-than-human relations now fossilized perhaps in both kinds of matter. In defense of her rejection of the stable boundary between human and animal, Halkias acknowledges that while human rights are powerful weapons for social justice, destabilizing that human/animal line may loop back to "erode the very ground that feeds these violations," violations that include mass incarceration and police violence against certain racialized human subjects. The essay then tracks across geographies from San Diego, New York, and Boston to Athens to depict dense emotional and intellectual ties between humans and nonhuman animals in several long-term relationships. Two of the most insightful tales of human-animal love are two articulated stories—the author's relationship with the cat Myrra (eventually euthanized after a very long life) and the three-way love between her friends, Eleni and Athena, and their dog baby, Bonnie. Bonnie also became ill and was euthanized just as Eleni and Athena's human babies (conceived with Danish sperm donors) were born. The essay drives home convincingly the idea that the relationality between humans and nonhumans is life-sustaining and in focusing on this cross-species sustenance we might diminish the importance of "natural difference" and disappear entirely "all social and political uses of 'the animal'" that ultimately do violence to so many beings, and to the planet.

Of course, the animal and notions of lesser evolution have been central to the articulation of race and racial science for centuries, and continue to be albeit in ways that seem more subtle from centuries past. Jennifer Hamilton's "From Bits to Bodies: Perfect Humans, Bioinformatic Visualizations, and Critical Relationality" focuses on "racialsexual formation," which is the idea that sexual dimorphism (the two-sex model) is inextricable from the development of racial categories since the 18th century. And while the biological reality of race is contested in genomic discourse, Hamilton argues that sexual dimorphism remains largely uncontested. Yet dimorphism is central to the de-animation of women and to placing them into a hierarchy below men. Hamilton anchors an analysis of contemporary genomics and its contribution to heteronormative racialsexual formation in the 2014 (not so) sarcastic assertion and bioinformatic visualization by a Berkeley computational biologist of the perfect human. The scientist referred to a legendary sixteenth century Taino (Puerto Rican) woman, Yuiza, who along with her conquistador lover, are considered in some nationalist narratives as the "great-great-grand grandparents of the Puerto Rican nation." Bringing together Indigenous, feminist, and queer theory that is critical of the role of heteronormative kinship in nation-making, Hamilton analyzes nationalist-cum-genomic narratives that are seemingly anti-racist and multicultural. But as is common in nationalist genomics discourse, the narrative and bioinformatic visualization of Yuiza is also grounded in longstanding eugenic thought and heterosexist modes of kinship.

While Hamilton reminds us of how enmeshed logics of heteronormativity and white supremacy are, others take up the limitations and possibilities of queerer notions of belonging. In "Digital Nomadism and Settler Desires: Racial Fantasies of Silicon Valley Imperialism," Erin McElroy tracks the flexibility of settler logics of belonging. McElroy offers a careful examination of discourses of freedom alongside the infrastructures that demand and enable the "digital nomad's" way of life. Despite a celebratory pretense of queering heteronormative values, like homeownership, using powerful images of protest against Airbnb, McElroy reads this figure as enacting settler politics through the displacement of others their reliance on

short-term housing economies requires. The racial fantasy of a gypsy lifestyle occludes the realities of gentrification, white supremacy, and violence upon which this new subjectivity depends. Through this analysis, McElroy powerfully conveys that the queering of relationality must exceed the intimate priorities of the individual. We exist in relation with people we do not know. Critical relationality here might mean centering in our thinking the material conditions of possibility for our own constrained choices and the distribution of harms and benefits in which they are imbricated.

Conversely, Naveen Minai's explores the disruption of settler epistemologies of time and space in "Who Gave Your Body Back to You? Literary and Visual Cartographies of Erotic Sovereignty in the Poetry of Qwo-Li Driskill," which considers the conditions of possibility for decolonizing belonging. The imposition of settler genders and sexualities as a site of colonial violence (Rifkin) is thematized in Driskell's poetry through the concept of erotic sovereignty. Minai's reading highlights the exercise of erotic sovereignty in Driskell's deployment of Cherokee meanings, including the relationship to land as a relation between lovers. The close reading of the spatial and temporal disruptions of settler time and space (which locate settler colonial violence in the past and Indigenous bodies apart from Indigenous lands), offers rich and generative narrative resources for reimagining belonging, beyond settler sex and nature.

Lindsay Nixon's critique of the disjuncture between Robert Mapplethorpe's treatment of white and Black subjects extends this analysis of the racial conditions of possibility for the intelligibility of queer white settler subjectivities. In "Distorted Love: Mapplethorpe, the Neo/Classical Sculptural Black Nude, and Visual Cultures of Transatlantic Enslavement," they offer a careful analysis of Mapplethorpe's evocation of iconographies of the transatlantic slave trade and critiques of these themes in his work, showing how such images and symbols enact a queer necropolitics that depends upon the devaluation of some lives for the revaluation of others. Through a meditation on varied meanings of queerness in relation to Mapplethorpe's celebrated photographic representations of queer bodies, Nixon conjures a fragile kinship among queers to call for the accountability of our communities (unmarked) toward "Black queer kin."

Cleo Woelfle-Erskine takes up disparate imaginaries of kinship in his analysis of settler-fish relations as a site for the production of gender, sexualities, and family. “Fishy Pleasures: Unsettling Fish Hatching and Fish Catching on Pacific frontiers” treats fish-relations as a naturecultural process, enabling Woelfle-Erskine’s deep exploration of the coproduction of “human nature” among more-than-human actors. A careful reading of the visual production of settler relationality through fishing cultures unsettles¹¹ its neo-Darwinian claims on nature. The significance of the production of land and fish as resource to the formation of heteronormative familial life centers the non-human in our imaginaries of relational possibility. Woelfle-Erskine stunningly renders the juxtaposition of settler and Indigenous epistemologies of relation here in ways that make it clear that the project of queering human-human love relations is inadequate to the task of reimagining belonging in truly transformative ways.

Extending and further exploring this insight, in “Pili’oha/Kinship: (Re)Imagining Perceptions of Nature and More-than-human Relationality” Kimberley Greeson offers a multispecies, autoethnographic exploration of Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli) perspectives on kinship. The centrality of multispecies entanglements to Pili’oha—kinship—is at the heart of this methodological meditation. Drawing on naturecultural approaches, diffractive reading practices, and an autoethnographic thematization of experience, Greeson explores what it means to do decolonial feminist research. Learning to see and understand reciprocity among humans and the land, between humans and their more than human kin, and among non-human actors is key here not only to biodiversity, but to reimagining what it means to relate, to be related, to be in relationship.

Shifting our focus back to the ubiquity of reductionist notions of relationality, Jay Fields’ digital art piece *Consumption* explores the ideal of sexual-romantic coupledness and the values that shape and are perpetuated by compulsory monogamy, the dyadic family structure at the center of settler sexuality. A meditation on the mundane interpersonal violence this system perpetuates, *Consumption* raises questions about power, desire, and the conditions of possibility for the inscription of monogamy in stories about human nature. What humans? In what contexts? Fields’ visualization of monogamy offers a

sharp juxtaposition to the romanticized naturalization of pairing off as the apex of human evolutionary and psychosocial development.

This special issue of *Imaginations* also includes reviews by Rick W.A. Smith of Angela Willey's *Undoing Monogamy* (2016) and by Irene Wolfstone of Donna Haraway's *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene* (2016). Both books—and their reviewers—tend to relations between how we imagine nature and how we imagine belonging.

We hope the works collected here will inspire and incite imagination about what it means to be in relationship: with friends, real and imagined communities, humans we don't know, non-human-others, and the planet. We hope that *Critical Relationalities* supports the work of materializing anti-colonial forms of relating and that these forms in turn lend themselves to the project of reimagination of a planetary belonging that redefines relationship ethics. If we extend the values of care and support within privatized settler-family relations and those of transparency and consent at the heart of ethical non-monogamy (that unfortunately often privileges sex and romance) to these more expansive notions of relationality, what commitments might marry us to one another? We would have to rethink the centrality of settler notions of home, family, and kinship as central organizing metaphors for relatedness. We would have to become otherwise.

WORKS CITED

- Carter, Julian B. *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal sexuality and race in America, 1880–1940*. Duke University Press, 2007.
- Carter, Sarah. *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915*. University of Alberta Press, 2008.
- Cott, Nancy. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*. Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Denial, Catherine J. *Making Marriage: Husbands, Wives & the American State in Dakota & Ojibwe Country*. Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013.
- Franke, Katherine. *Wedlocked. The Perils of Marriage Equality*. NYU Press, 2015.

- Haraway, Donna J. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*. Routledge, 2013.
- Lorde, Audre. "The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power." *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, edited by David M. Halperin, Henry Abelove, and Michele Aina Barale. Routledge, 1993, pp. 339-343.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. Routledge, 1995.
- Morgensen, Scott Lauria. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Nelson, Melissa. "Getting Dirty: The Eco-Eroticism of Women in Indigenous Oral Literatures." *Critically Sovereign: Indigenous Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies*, edited by Joanne Barker. Duke University Press, 2017, pp. 229-260.
- Petrella, Serena. "Ethical Sluts and Closet Polyamorists: Dissident Eroticism, Abject Subjects and the Normative Cycle in Self-Help Books on Free Love." *Sexual Politics of Desire and Belonging*, edited by Nick Rumens. Brill Rodopi, 2007, pp. 151-168.
- Reardon, Jenny and Kim TallBear. "Your DNA is *Our* History": Genomics, Anthropology, and the Construction of Whiteness as Property." *Current Anthropology* 53, S5, 2012, pp. S233-S245.
- Shorter, David Delgado. "Sexuality." *The World of Indigenous North America*, edited by Robert Warrior. Routledge, 2015, pp. 487-505.
- Shorter, David Delgado. "Spirituality." *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*, edited by Fred E. Hoxie, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 433-457.
- Water Makes Us Wet: An Ecossexual Adventure*. Directed by Stephens, Beth and Annie Sprinkle, Juno Films, 2019.
- TallBear, Kim. "Making Love and Relations Beyond Settler Sexuality." *Make Kin, Not Babies*, edited by Donna Haraway and Adele Clark. Prickly Paradigm Press, 2018, pp. 145-164.
- Theobald, Stephanie. "Nature is Your Lover, Not Your Mother: Meet Ecossexual Pioneer Annie Sprinkle." *The Guardian*, 15 May 2017.
- Willey, Angela. *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology*. Duke University Press, 2016.

ARTIST STATEMENT FOR SEXUAL/NATURE

REBECCA ANWEILER

Examining notions of the “natural” and the “ideal” as reproduced primarily through educational materials, the *Sexual/Nature* series is inspired by a fascination with knowledge production as it is affected by social climate. Studies of the natural world and developing knowledge about human sexuality are often interconnected. Challenging theoretical paradigms such as evolutionary theory, recent research is providing evidence that animal sexuality is not always attached to heterosexual reproductive strategies. Homosexual behaviours are part of the range of sexual activities of many species, sometimes simply for the purpose of pleasure. This becomes especially significant when we consider how references to a “natural” inevitability or biological determinism are often dubiously applied to human sexuality, providing social/legal/religious systems with rhetorical justification and legitimation.

The series contains a combination of images from three sources related to the cultural construction of sexuality: documentation of the natural world, lesbian pornography, and stills of romantic liaisons from old films. *Sexual/Nature* plays with the notion of desire as shaped by both nature and culture. The choice of source imagery from textbook and encyclopaedic materials comes from a desire to expose these representations as the familiar and taken-for-granted reproductions of what gets constituted as “natural” and “normal.” These photos are often posed in order to best elucidate their educational or descriptive intent. Done for the sake of photographic expediency, posing can also reveal views about the proper conduct of people and notions of the “natural” and the “ideal” in images of nature. Reproducing these kinds of photographs as paintings effectively imitates how these repeated and legit-

imized representations function in the everyday by serving to transform them to the level of the symbolic. At the same time, painting allows the artist to get close enough to find what is left behind of the staged subject, despite the pose.

The cinematic pose was significant in defining Western romantic relationships. The exclusion of any positive references to homosexuality throughout the era of the Hays Code years in Hollywood (1930 to 1968) parallels the suppression of research on animal sexual diversity. The Hays Code was a voluntarily industry-determined set of moral criteria developed to establish ways to include socially sensitive subjects in cinema without being censored through government interference. In particular, these principles curtailed depictions of sexuality, especially any “inference of sexual perversion.” Scientific studies of the animal world have also, until very recently, censored the reality of non-conceptive sexual expression in order to justify Western patriarchal and puritanical notions of acceptable sexual expression. When mentioned at all, deviations from what was considered “normal” heterosexual couplings were often labelled “unnatural.”

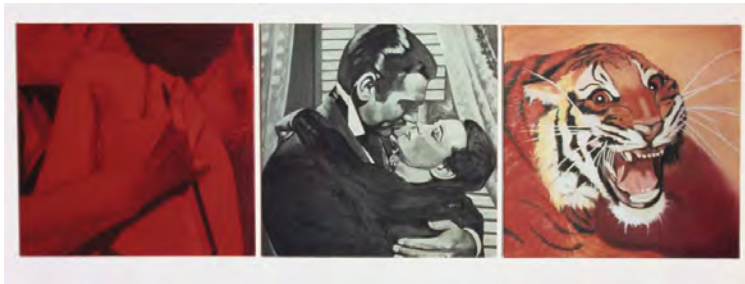
Engaging these parallels in suppression, one set of images for *Sexual/Nature* comes from defining moments in Hollywood films from the Hays Code years, playing with both portrayed and implied romantic relationships between the filmic characters. The films referenced in these works shaped formative knowledge about love and romance for both straights and gays, “a testimony to the vitality and fluidity of desire,” as artist Deborah Bright wrote following her photomontage series, *Dream Girls*. Performances by women from this period of Hollywood film often displayed an intelligence and body language that, while challenging conventional feminine stereotypes, were controlled within the film by the monogamous and heterosexual logic of the narratives.

A second set of images comes mostly from *National Geographic* but also from educational encyclopedic or coffee-table books, from the decades of the Hays Code. While the posed subject is somewhat less controlled during animal photography, various efforts are made to secure good images that involve manipulation of the “natural” environment. My image sourcing reflects a suggestive tension or relationship

that does not necessarily identify biological sex. Many images are of species whose behaviours contest the very narrow claims of heterosexual reproductive strategies that mainstream Western science has championed, such as Bighorn Sheep (in which a significant percentage of the mighty rams exhibit exclusive same-sex mounting preferences) and female Japanese Macaques (a number of whom genitally liase with members of the same sex, rejecting the company of males even during estrus).

The final source of images are cropped selections from the first North American lesbian erotica magazine, *On Our Backs*, published between 1984 and 2006, which took a definitive stance as pro-pornography in the feminist “sex wars” of the 1980’s and 1990’s. A radical publication from the perspective of its presentation of diversity in gender presentation, race, and sexual practice, the magazine did not, as it claimed, portray “real” sex; instead it showed sexual relations under the conditions of staged and photographed constructions of the sexual ideals of the radical feminist lesbian community who supported them. Nonetheless, participants were willing subjects and defined their own pleasure in distinct ways from mainstream pornographic depictions of lesbian sexuality. Their agency in the process speaks to my interest in placing lesbians in the position of the “universal” subject for a change, while at the same time subverting the history of the nude in Western art by their complete refusal of any interest in the male gaze. Cropping the images to focus on hands enhanced their sexual ambiguity and helped serve as an indicator of, or reference to, their subjectivity.

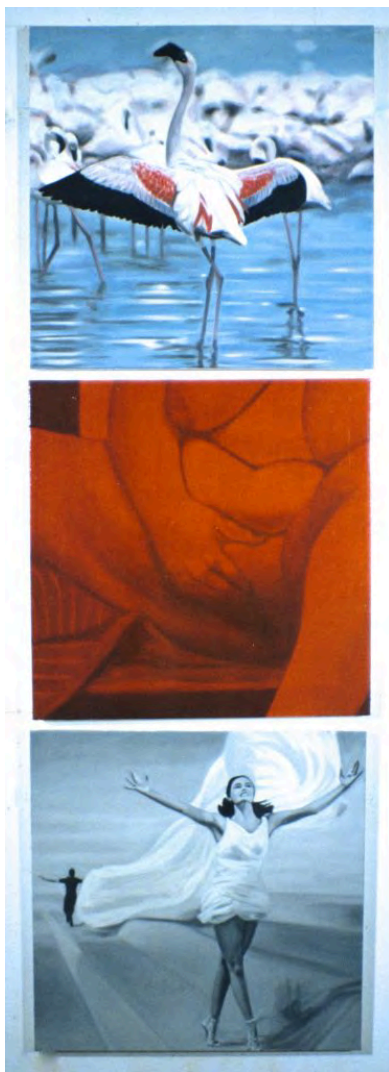
In celebrating human-animal relations with camp humour, the works from *Sexual/Nature* play with personal preferences and subvert social labeling while reflecting on the “nature” of desire.



Cat Lover, Version 1, 2003-4. 3 panels, 2' X 6'. Oil on canvas.



Dog Lover, 2003-4. 3 panels, 6' 2" X 2'. Oil on canvas.



Solo, 2003. 3 panels, 6' 2" X 2'. Oil on canvas.



Watersports, 2003-4. 5 panels, 6' 2" X 6' 2" (irregular). Oil on canvas.



Bareback, 2004. 6 panels, 6'2" X 6'2" (irregular). Oil on canvas.



Animal Lover, 2003-4. 13 panels, 8' 2" X 10' 3"(irregular). Oil on canvas.



Nature Lover, 2004-5. 9 panels, 8' 2" X 8'2" (irregular). Oil on canvas.



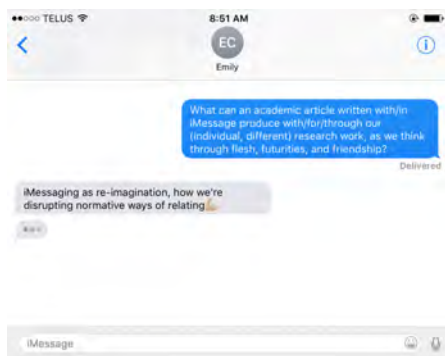
Mouse Lover, 2003-6. 5 panels, 6' 2" X 6' 2" (irregular). Oil on canvas.

MESSAGING FLESH, FRIENDSHIP, AND FUTURITIES

EMILY COON AND NICOLE LAND

Abstract: *This article enacts our ongoing collaborative experiments utilizing “iMessaging” on iPhone as a practice of critical relationality toward building our Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship. Holding written text alongside our iMessage conversations, we confront three threads that continually interject in our exchanges: (1) what happens with our fleshy bodies when we connect with iMessage; (2) how our co-created, but uncommon, iMessage-body exchanges are an experiment with potential modes of Indigenous-settler academic friendship; (3) and how our iMessaging practice makes real the academic futures that we hope, and need, to contribute to. Together, we grapple with how the iMessaged space we create in our friendship might enable us to be attentive to the disjunctures between Indigenous knowledges and feminist science studies. We wonder how we might think of iMessage as a mode of friendship that is potentially capable of challenging settler-colonial normativities and temporalities of academic relating, while also calling us to attend to the complexities of our bodied lifeworlds as we iMessage our (digital) flesh, futurities, and friendship as young, emerging scholars.*

Résumé: *Cet article est la représentation des expériences collaboratives que nous sommes en train de mener en utilisant la messagerie électronique sur iPhones comme une pratique relationnelle critique visant à construire notre amitié académique millénaire entre Autochtones et colons. En plaçant côte à côte les textes écrits et nos conversations sur messageries, nous sommes confrontés à trois fils directeurs qui réapparaissent continuellement dans nos échanges: 1) ce qui se passe dans notre corps de chair lorsque nous nous connectons par messagerie; 2) comment ces échanges entre corps et messages, créés ensemble, mais séparés, constituent une expérience de modes potentiels d'amitié académique entre Autochtones et colons; 3) et comment nos pratiques d'échanges par messagerie électronique concrétisent les avenir académiques que nous espérons et auxquels nous avons besoin de contribuer. Ensemble, nous nous efforçons de comprendre comment l'espace électronique que nous créons dans nos amitiés pourrait nous permettre d'être plus attentifs aux disjonctions entre les savoirs indigènes et les études des sciences féministes. Nous nous interrogeons sur la manière dont nous pourrions concevoir la messagerie électronique comme un mode d'amitié potentiellement capable de remettre en question les normalités relationnelles entre Autochtones et colons, ainsi que celles du monde académique, tout en tenant compte des complexités de notre vie corporelle lorsque nous échangeons électroniquement nos chairs, nos visions du futur et nos amitiés en tant que jeunes scientifiques en début de carrière.*



4,595 kilometers, thousands of iMessaged words, and four years of negotiating graduate-school female friendship in a world of settler-colonial and neoliberal academic politics lay between us, Emily and Nicole. Emily is a Kanien'kehaka Master's student working within ruptures of urban indigenities to (re)map colonized lands and bodies, and grounds her work with Indigenous feminisms and resurgent imaginations of Drum-work ceremony; she currently

walks along Dish With One Spoon territories of the Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe peoples. Nicole is a fourth-generation settler PhD student who thinks with fat(s), muscle(s), and movement in early-childhood education while integrating feminist science studies and post-qualitative education research methodologies; she inhabits the unceded territory of the Coast and Straits Salish peoples. As Indigenous and settler female graduate students, we understand our research and relationships with academia to be profoundly fleshed. We research bodies differently, care-fully interrogating, re-mapping, inhabiting, and re-configuring the gendered and generative, exhausted and unexpected, physiological and frustrating, reluctant and resurgent flesh we encounter in our work and lives. Uteruses, adipose tissue, blood quantum, and top-knotted hair animate our everyday transit within the academy and, as we both anchor our research work in bodies, we marvel at the paradoxical richness of the distance that separates our flesh from meeting in the same room.

As two female graduate students, born in 1990 and 1989, we proudly assert our allegiances to the "millennial" generational and negotiate our cross-country friendship—and the collaborative and contested conversations between our ontologically divergent research—over our iPhones' iMessage. Confronting the tensions of Indigenous-settler millennial academic relationships, we beam deeply corporeal experiences digitally, sharing our encounters with bodies through a machine made of neoliberal and colonial technoscience. Each time our thumbs tap the "send" key, we feel, differently, the legacies of abstraction, erasure, and

resource extraction that literally craft our iPhones. In the same instant, we take seriously the importance of iMessage as a tool of friendship as we work together, and apart, to nurture our mode of Indigenous-settler friendship in the academy.

Our feminist academic passion project has become reconfiguring how our iPhones function as a (de)colonial technoscience in our Indigenous-settler friendship. In our daily interactions with academia, mainstream Canadian popular culture, and the millennial-authored blogs we encounter on our Twitter feeds, we notice how our iPhones can be complicit in neoliberal narratives of anthropocentric progress, Euro-Western exceptionalism, and the maintenance of colonial heteropatriarchal notions of difference that both obscure difference in favour of multicultural diversity and cleave open the oppressive power of difference as a problem of access, platform, and publicity in a digital world with limited space (contrast Eve Tuck's [@tuckeve], an Alaska Native feminist scholar with 2962 Twitter followers with Justin Trudeau's [@JustinTrudeau], the Canadian Prime Minister with 2.4 million followers; January 2018). Disguised in a flashy rose-gold finish, we follow the aluminum in our iPhones as it travels from stolen Land brimming with resurgent ancestral memories of care-fully tended soil, through violent politics of resource extraction rooted in ongoing settler colonialism that is then justified through the iPhone's complicity in narratives of human progress. As we clutch our iPhones, we know that while Euro-Western science and technology, rooted in unquestionable facts, continue to be used against Indigenous peoples—providing scientific justifications for Residential Schools, blood quantum logics of identity, and forced sterilizations—Indigenous peoples have been practicing their own complex forms of scientific knowledge and technology. Adjacent to, but divergent from, these differently lived sciences, feminist science studies scholars chisel at the hegemonic ontological foundations of universalized Euro-Western Science, tracing how Science inserts itself as a technique of governance made real in fleshed possibilities for life (see Haraway, *Simians, cyborgs, and women*; Harding, *Science and social inequality*; Landecker, *Culturing life*; Roy and Subramaniam, *Matter in the shadows*; Whitt, *Science, colonialism, and Indigenous peoples*; Willey, *Undoing monogamy*). Understanding science as embedded in specific social and historical contexts, we can understand

how this knowledge serves to marginalize, silence, and erase groups of people (see Sanabria, “Circulating ignorance”; Subramaniam, *Ghost stories for Darwin*). Embracing the relationship we have generated with our iPhones and iMessaging conversations, we activate the ironic potential of utilizing this colonial item as the very thing we have used to disrupt settler colonialism and tend to our resurgent forms of allyship and solidarity.

Grape Twizzlers inaugurated our friendship, when Nicole offered Emily a snack during a multi-day childhood studies symposium on children’s multispecies relations within colonized worlds. We exchanged contact information and began iMessaging to support one another through a stressful mid-semester paper season. Our ongoing friendship owes to this institutional academic space where we were introduced, having both begun graduate programs at the same university two weeks earlier. Our friendship thus also began with iMessage, as we both hold iPhones and have laboured to craft a friendship intertwined with emoji, blue conversation bubbles, and touchscreen-typed words. As our Indigenous-settler friendship evolves, we care for different threads of our friendship differently: we pull at the “academic” threads of our constant collaborations as we trace how our scholarly projects converse and diverge. We tug at frictions, wondering how we might maintain the tension in our friendship—the uneven consequences, the differently risky labour, and the work of forging female millennial Indigenous-settler bonds that might cultivate futures. We carry our iPhones every day, tending to the words we share with one another, just as we critically trace how this technology affects our work together. Importantly, we do not wish to foreground iMessage—the patented and monetized technological interface that enables our digital conversations—as a magical or exceptional participant in our friendship. Our iMessaging is situated, rooted in Emily’s practices of carrying her iPhone SE in her well-loved crossbody bag and Nicole’s habit of popping her chipped iPhone 8 in her sports bra. In a world where our friendship evolved with a different platform, perhaps text messaging, WhatsApp, or Facebook Messenger might have also cared for our friendship.

In our practice of iMessaging Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship, we confront three threads that continually interject in our

conversations: (1) what happens with our fleshy bodies when we connect with iMessage; (2) how our co-created, but uncommon, iMessage-body exchanges are an experiment with potential modes of Indigenous-settler academic friendship; (3) and how our iMessaging practice makes real the academic futures that we hope, and need, to contribute to. As a response, we trace the rhythms of our iMessage friendship and we imagine what, and how, our academic bodies are capable of creating with iMessage: how might theorizing through gifs and memes create degrees of relationality that lend space for us to put our theoretical loyalties, from Indigenous feminisms (see Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, “Decolonizing feminism”; Goeman and Denetdale, “Native feminisms”; Simpson, “Anger, resentment & love”) to feminist science studies (see Roy, “Somatic matters”; Warin, “Material feminism, obesity science, and the limits of discursive critique”; Wilson, *Gut feminism*; Willey, *Undoing monogamy*) into conversation, while colonial technosciences concurrently contribute to the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous bodies in academia? How can the iMessaged space, open and closed, in our friendship enable us to be attentive to the disjunctures between Indigenous knowledges and feminist science studies, and to return continually to these tensions to move with their uncertain potentialities? Can we think of iMessage as a mode of friendship that is potentially capable of challenging settler-colonial normativities and temporalities¹ of academic relating, while attending to the complexities of our bodied lifeworlds as we iMessage our (digital) flesh, futurities, and friendship?

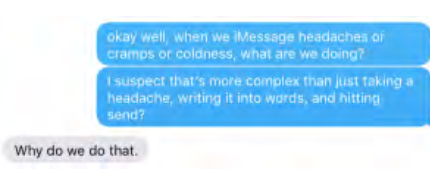
Over three days, we combed through our histories of iMessaging, layering upon what we know in our bodies to be generative conversations and articulations of how iMessaging is an experiment in critical relationality. In what follows, please find traces of both our iMessages and our individual academic writing practices. We write with formal bodies of text and iMessages as we thread flesh through our emojis and trace the contours of our bodied tensions through digital conversation. At points we claim our writing with our names, while in other moments we write together as we toggle between responding to one another and developing our theorizing independently. We invite a reading of our iMessages alongside our paragraphs of text, but we also offer a formatting experiment that allows for an uneven attention to ei-

ther aspect of our iMessaged/written performance. Our iMessage conversations are dotted with Emily's grey message blocks and Nicole's blue blocks. Embracing iMessage as a form of colonial technology that cares for our conversations, we work towards a millennial theorization and visualization of friendship and solidarity in academia. Together, and apart, we experiment with how iMessaging is, and might be, productive of co-creative, relational, propulsive provocations for exploring the futurities of (our) Indigenous-settler (millennial) friendship(s) in academia.

IMESSAGING (NOT/DIGITAL) FLESH

iMessage (Re)mapping Bodies

Emily



I have coupled the praxis of (re)mapping from Seneca scholar Mishuana Goeman (*Mark my Words*) with a Drum-work methodology to explore and expand the ways urban bodies engage with their identities, kinship rela-

tionships, and the land. Locating my work in Kingston, Ontario is significant, as this is a city saturated in settler-colonial permanence: a place where (Sir) John A. MacDonald is toasted each year on his birthday, tours of Kingston Penitentiary are eagerly anticipated and quickly sold out, and Indigenous culture, representation, and peoples are erased. Being Indigenous in this city is not easy. Within settler-colonial logic, Indigenous bodies are dissected into manageable cuts of (non)belongingness. Our bodies and lands are rendered into empty spaces, easily mapped with settler notions of power and crisscrossed with binaries of inclusion/exclusion.

Can the fragmented-temporal-shifting snapshots of contemporary Indigenous identities shared through digital iMessaging bodies begin to ease the clutches of settler colonialism? My remapping of Drum-work methodology fights to leave vibrational traces that smudge dividing lines of racism, layering decolonial relationalities over settler spatialities to rupture colonialism and allow Indigenous stories to (re)emerge.

iMessaging, configured as digital flesh, has become a pocket of resurgent potentiality in my research–recording drumming–laughing–singing voices, capturing fuzzy pictures of drumsticks connecting with deer hide, and sending those moments to the phones of community members and friends with whom we walk this land. Thinking with bodies differently–human bodies, Drum bodies, land bodies, iPhone bodies–matters as we work together to generate a resurgent practice of community that can flourish in the shadows of limestone walls and blossom in the barren wastelands of impoverished neighbourhoods, shattering the damaging narratives and stereotypes being told about us and re-writing those stories with our contemporary iMessaging bodies.

iMessage Muscles

Nicole

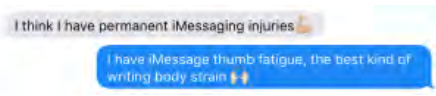


Thumbs are my favourite digit, the anatomical articulation point that most captures my attention: my thumb can circumduct, rotating around its base, sketching tiny circles into the air; it cradles the corners of my iPhone in its pudgy muscle bellies; it abducts and adducts as I touch my pinky finger and

bounce my thumb back across my palm; it taps out letters and emojis, leaving smudged greasy thumb prints across my iPhone screen; my extensor pollicis longus tendon pulls my thumb upwards as I type words I care for deeply; and it fatigues as marathon iMessaging sessions gain momentum. I often watch how my thumbs move across space–become displaced–when Emily and I iMessage, and I debate often what the movement that ceases in this displacement entails (see Manning, “Wondering the world directly”)? How are my thumbs doing (with) this movement: *how* are iMessaging muscles? My muscles are never abstract and they refuse to be representational, and my digits are entangled with the digitalism(s) of my iPhone. To say that my muscles make movements that become translated into words that another purposeful muscle contraction then beams off to Emily seems not just inadequate but incorrect. Following Manning’s *Relationships*, I wonder how

thumb-iMessage “movement is always in the infinity of a crossroads between a where and a how, and never a who” (167): how does iMessage do muscles? How does iMessage do with, or demand different things from, my muscles, Emily’s muscles, or with our muscles (and bicep emojis) of Indigenous-settler academic friendship?

Hannah Landecker writes of “fat knowledges” (“Postindustrial Metabolism” 498) as a mode for tracing the epistemological effects of adipose tissue while attending to how fat knowledges generate possibilities for life (as opposed to debating what causes adipose tissue/metabolisms that then necessitate inquiry). In my research, I borrow fat knowledges into physiological knowledge(s), speculating how physiologies generate propositions with early-childhood education pedagogies. I trace how physiological knowledges might collaborate with my iMessaging thumbs, with our iMessaged Indigenous-settler academic friendship.



A muscle-anatomy physiological knowledge makes my thumb muscles perceptible as parcels of contractile proteins that produce contractile force. Contractile proteins that are made

knowable as actin and myosin layer upon one another to form myofibrils, which are knitted together to compose muscle fibres (see Krans, “The sliding filament theory of muscle contraction”; McArdle, Katch, & Katch, *Essentials of exercise physiology*). With this physiological knowledge, these active muscle fibres are fashioned together to compose a muscle belly. Within a muscle, actin and myosin myofilaments meet and enact a crossbridge, as myosin slides actin along the length of the actin filament to generate motion. This actin-myosin crossbridging entails a sliding of filaments, a coordinated but asynchronous bridging tediously enacted across a multitude of bridges and through many muscle fibres to propel my thumbs. Actin-myosin crossbridging: my thumb muscles are a cascade, a torrent of collective force that participates in my iMessaged words to Emily. With physiological knowledges of aerobic metabolism and adenosine triphosphate energy molecules, I wonder iMessage as a space “where the messy grooves of our organs present openings without clear endings” (Roy, “Somatic Matters” para. 3): when I beam Emily a citation that I am captured by, what

are my thumb muscles entangled with? How am I accountable to the shared, gathered, and fleeting electron energies and non-Nicole moving thumb muscles that iMessage collaborates with—to my iMessaged coextensiveness? I marvel at how the collective contractions of my thumbs against my iPhone, of our thumbs against different iPhones, disrupt Euro-Western narratives of bounded human skeletons or of flesh that can be contained, controlled, and commodified.

iMessaging (Indigenous-settler) Friendship

Even, why are we friends? What does our (Indigenous-settler) (millennial) (grad school, academic) (cross-country) (feminist) friendship do, collaboratively and differently, for us?

And, what does it mean to find, and create, safe spaces with people.

Because so many friendships developed, and quickly dissolved that year.

But ours progressed from grape twizzlers to a place where we could talk about decolonizing and desettling.

That didn't happen with anyone else.

We hold our friendship between our bodies but we cannot write about friendship without centering the friendships that circle our understanding of what friendship demands. We have many millennial female academic friendship citations that escape citationality, both because we live them and because we witness friendships lived on Twitter and in articles written by scholars

we have never met. How might we cite friendships that unknowingly build up our friendship? We take great inspiration from Billy-Ray Belcourt and Maura Roberts' conversations on caring for friendship kin capable of weathering the messes of settler colonialism ("Making Friends"); from Zoe Todd (@ZoeSTodd) and Erica Violet Lee's (@EricaVioletLee) Twitter storms of building Indigenous feminist friendship; from the heartbreakingly tough and necessary writing of Naomi Sayers (@kwetoday) and Sarah Hunt (@thesarahhunt) as they both celebrate and fight for the lives of Indigenous sex workers, trans folk, and Two Spirit youth who face unimaginable violence and stigma in this country; and from Susan Blight (@Blightboo) and Melody Mckiver (@m_melody) swapping resurgent Nish words over Twitter and considering Anishinaabeg governance over Snapchat voice changer. We are learning to write our Indigenous-settler friendship into words from Cathy Richardson and Vicki Reynolds ("Here we are, amazingly alive"), from Elicia Loiselle, Sandrina de Finney, Nishad Khanna, and Rebecca Corcoran ("*We need to talk about it!*"), and from Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones ("Lessons in fluid encounters").

KEEPING SWEETGRASS IMESSAGE TENSIONS

Emily

I wonder, if that "what does it mean to craft safe spaces with people" is a question of why or of how?

Or both?

It became safe because it was necessary. It was BOTH of us deciding that this ally/friendship was something that needed to happen.

Keeping the tension in our friendship immediately brings an image of a taut rope to mind: frayed pieces entangled and twisted together, a back and forth exchange of energy, ideas, and margaritas. Nicole at one end and me at the other.

I'd even argue it's a friendship not predicated on proximity nor shared interests. Actually, the inverse/otherwise of that, maybe?

But I honestly don't know how to articulate this most days.

So, why/now are we friends? What does our friendship do, which I think is also a question of what it demands?

Getting other people to realize, and understand, and think with/through desettling is BRUTAL.

So much of my life, and my work, is a fight. It's that struggle.

And it is so, so, so nice to not have to do that.

I can be all about the Indigenous futurities (which is terrifying for settlers) and not have to worry about your settler guilt.

To echo the words of Billy-Ray Belcourt ("Making Friends"), doing decolonizing work feels selfish—centring my Indigenous body, my Haudenosaunee knowledge systems, my expansive kinship networks, and the land in spaces where that intellect is rendered worthless, mythical, and irrelevant in favour of white bodies and reconciliation rhetoric—and endlessly exhausting. Every breath I take is an act of resistance, refusal, survival—my body constantly coiled with the tension of existing in a world where

I should not. Keeping the tension is a chore I have no choice but to perform everyday: vacuum the carpet, dust the shelves, scour "honourary" appropriation, mop up settler tears. Yet I know how to walk and talk as a functional Canadian because Indian bodies have been assimilated to do so. Doing decolonization work and bringing my decolonizing self into this iMessaging friendship means learning how to navigate the complex anxiety of calling out "settler moves to innocence" (Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor"), unapologetically carving out space for ancestral ontologies (see Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle's back* and "Land as pedagogy"; Watts, "Indigenous place-thought & agency amongst humans and non-humans"),

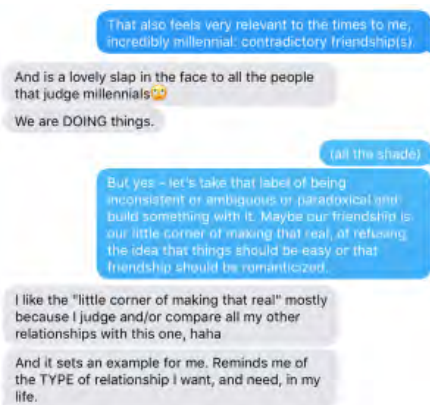
and tentatively-carefully-determinedly pressing send on iMessages that transform an easy, romanticized friendship into a productively complex one that nurtures the tension of expanding our comradeship as Indigenous and settler friends.

This friendship is a space I return to again and again, because it stands firm in reminding me of what I am fighting for. It holds space for me to flesh out the resurgent future I am dreaming of and generates space for me to iMessage my way towards a more inclusive reality. iMessage is a place where I do not have to explain why I choose to pick up decolonization while refusing reconciliation; a place where I can complain about being skirt-shamed and then strategize ways to (re)embrace my Indigenous feminisms (see Lee, “Seek spaces of Indigenous Feminist liberation without compromise”; Simpson, *Dancing on our turtle’s back*; Todd, “Moon lodge this way”) in the face of internalized Indian Act traditionalism and misogyny. The friendship negotiated between Indigenous-Emily and settler-Nicole is not afraid to pick up rigid boundary lines and jump rope with them, to utter the raw words of privilege that are often swept under the allyship rug, to expose the painful and resilient realities of co-existing as uneven bodies in this settler-colonial nation-state called Canada.

While keeping the tension in my social life is masked as an ugly obligation, keeping the tension in this friendship makes it easier to face the tensions that are waiting outside of our iMessaging bubbles. As Erica Violet Lee (“Seek spaces of Indigenous Feminist liberation without compromise”) calls for Indigenous women to find spaces that smell like sweetgrass, nurturing and holding up this friendship smells like sweetgrass. Carrying the sweetness of this iMessaging friendship in my pocket, I am reminded of the challenging generosity we continue to negotiate as we dream, create, and fight our way forwards as Indigenous and settler friends.

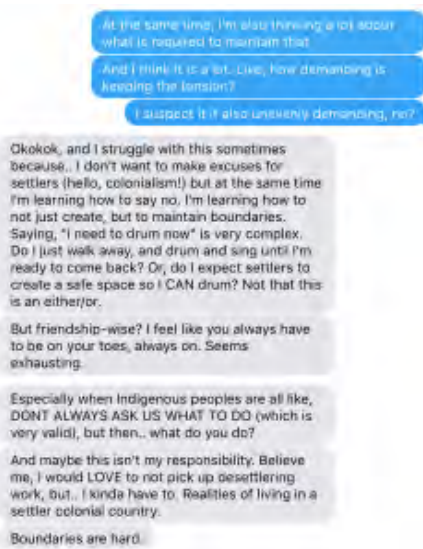
KEEPING DEMANDING IMESSAGE TENSIONS

Nicole



I cannot think the concept of “tension” without “extension” interjecting. I thread back to marathon anatomy study sessions during my undergraduate degree, memorizing quantifications of what muscles can do. I rehearsed my extension definition countless times: moving a limb into extension intensifies the angle between body parts. Anatomy-extension extends as it activates lengthening contraction tension in muscles (see McArdle, Katch, & Katch, *Essentials of exercise physiology*; Unglaub Silverthorn, *Human physiology: An integrated*

approach). When I grip my iPhone in my palm and extend my elbow, my hand travels toward my waist, expanding the space between my shoulder and my fingers. When I do extension with our Indigenous-settler friendship, what happens? I think first of *exten(d)sion*; a stretching, a moving into the felt pressure of tension in a muscle belly and in friendship. As a white settler, our friendship moves my body into differently-perceptible tension(s). For me, this is less a question of naming these tensions than it is a question of accountability, of being response-able (Haraway, “Anthropocene”) to the tensions that Emily and I generate together. Our friendship extends the spaces of tension that my settler body can inhabit, generously extending my possibilities for participating in desettling, anti-neoliberal, inventive politics. In the same pulse, the tensions I can extend into are necessarily limited. I think of Erin Manning’s articulation of an emergent politics, where “it’s the movement of thought pulled forth from the relations of tension that make up the work” (“Creative propositions for thought in motion”, 16). It is *how* the Emily-Nicole friendship extends my/our tensions that actually create the tensions that Emily and I confront in our Indigenous-settler friendship.



It matters that the space of tension is between us, just as extending my elbow is filled with different potential than when I extend my knee. This is our *extension*, one that I have to make tense because our tension demands accountability. This tension, our relational space of co-created, uneven, nourishing tension, needs to be cared for because it is what we have in (un)common. We are generating a collective but un-shareable node of tension, a Emily-Nicole tension, where the tension demands that I can only ever strain against a small fraction of the messes of ongoing settler colonialism. I know that there is an unimaginable mass of tensions that my body being on this stolen land engenders—for

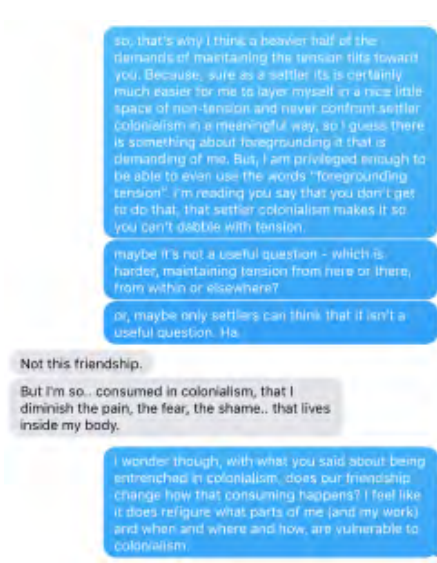
Emily, for myself, for all of the people and lives that I might never meet—but that to keep the tension demands that I make the tension perceptible and trace how I make tensions matter.

My ethic of caring for tension echoes Isabelle Stengers, who argues that those who are embedded within a delimited genealogy of knowledge must never “consider that problems ‘are’ transversal, but see that connections are something that must be created ... this is the only way of succeeding in creating problems rather than receiving them ready-made” (“History” 9). I do not assume that there should be tension at the heart of Emily-Nicole friendships, nor that the tension we have cultivated will endure; if I let my extended elbow dangle by my side, it is no longer loaded with the same elastic energy. I also do not assume that Emily should confront the tensions I create. Rather, I take tension as something that requires tending: *extend*. Keeping the tension then, for me, is a practice of extension (of limbs and friendship). It matters to our friendship that I bring physiology to this article, a knowledge built upon the voyeurism of colonial scientists who crafted a knowledge on the un-consenting flesh of minoritized humans and animals, but also a knowledge that, as a settler, I have been trained in (or financed in-

to)—a knowledge that I must claim in order to disrupt (Willey). Keeping the tension as friendship: *extending, extension, extend*.

DEPLOYING FRIENDSHIP TENSION

Emily + Nicole



We are in the forest with a group we know well. Emily is Drumming, Nicole is kicking a deflated soccer ball, and a stranger interjects, asking Emily about Drum. I notice this lady immediately, and am very aware of how loudly she is crashing through the forest to get to me/us. I do not have to notice the presence of this interjector immediately, as I am focused on the moving bodies and rhythms that surround Drum. The lady approaches me and I am immediately uncomfortable with how close she is to my body and to Drum's body. I catch her disruption when I hear a strange adult voice over the sound of children's boots on the forest floor. I try to move backwards as her hand reaches out to

touch Drum. I look over and see Emily wrap her arms, shoulders, neck over Drum. I look around to see if anyone else has noticed the entitled human standing in front of me, asking too many questions and causing my heart to pound harder in my chest. I share eye contact with a colleague as I debate if I should interrupt this conversation, trying to assess what my interjection might pause. I find angry looks being thrown at the unwelcome stranger by colleagues' eyes. I worry about the limited words that I might put together accidentally camouflaging Emily's refusal or somehow settler-softening the power of confrontation for this stranger and I stay crouched on the forest floor. I feel a numb coldness flow through my blood, paralyzed by the unexpectedness of her presence, her questions, her body too close to mine; while this happens more than I care to admit, I am thrown off-guard by her appearance in

the forest with raging words refusing to tumble off my tongue. I am so unsure how to negotiate allyship when I haven't been invited into this encounter, and as I debate why I am allowing my need for a signal to silence friendship, I do not move. I hastily turn away from the woman, the unease of this encounter lingering, her thick French accent creeping along my skin, unsettling anxiety burning in my body.

Of course, but I also think that I have to know that me, my skeleton, even being here does that too, right? There's one thing in me saying those words, and thinking that I can say them as a way of me reminding myself to be accountable to the privilege (and absurdity) in noticing that the labour of tension can even be optional for me (but you reading those words as another kind of reminder), but there's also a gap in settler accountability if I think words are the only way that I remind you of that too (at least, in my head). That I'm here, on stolen land, feels like it does the same thing, differently?

so then, keeping the tension, caring for that tension, has to also involve me attending to how I make it visibly accountable and quietly accountable?

That's really painful to think about. You remind me of the permanence of settler colonialism, Nicole. What do we even do with that?

This moment lingers as I pick Drum up in public spaces, fear prickling in my mind when I raise my voice to match Drum's heartbeat, dreading the next settler intrusion into these moments of ceremony. Scrolling through the words so carefully written by Indigenous women, I have found a strange and unexpected comfort in knowing that I am not alone in these invasive encounters. Unraveling this settler entitlement to Indigenous bodies, Erica Violet Lee shares how "beaded earrings are "beau-

tiful" magnets for white folks who can never resist grabbing at our ears without our consent, as if they expect we're made of the same hard plastic as the little Indian dolls sold in Canadiana gift shops" (Lee, "My ancestors survived colonization" para 20.). White hands reach out to claim flesh that was never meant to survive under the policies of the Indian Act.

This moment lingers while I hear Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones ("Lessons") speak of uneven risk as a question made real in Indigenous-settler friendship. I trace how my settler body necessarily confronts a different regime of risk than Emily, a (de)settler "risk" that (absurdly) allows for me to even debate my participation.

I think I'm also getting stuck because, really, what's in this for you? Indigenous futurisms do not concern themselves with settler futurities.

It's like this weird play, where Indigenous peoples have to be super self-centred, but settlers that are allies, are considered self-sacrificing.

that makes me think also about unlearning how to grapple with tensions

I've definitely been taught ways to take on tension. But I think that maybe there's also a forgetting of those strategies required for our friendship?

So, would keeping the tension be more like a "neutral" resting state of our friendship - tending to energies and emojis and maybe making space to acknowledge, but not necessarily grapple with the unknowable/uncommon tensions between us? And then deploying the tension, is like.. when we write, when we present, when we put the tension to work. Deploying the tension means taking seriously the ebbs and flows of our friendship that you had mentioned before.

maybe it's a process, period?

being accountable to any Indigenous-settler scholar friends ethic/label is overwhelming. Necessarily terrifying, and something that I very much want to learn my way into, but intimidating?

But. It's deploying that tension outside of Message? That's intimidating.

Have we done that?

I know that I did not want, or need, a settler saviour to bravely fly in and save me from the white hands that felt entitled to my Indian body. Yet I grapple with the budding tensions that emerged in our Indigenous-Emily and settler-Nicole friendship, where boundaries between help and safety became blurry: what do I expect/demand/need from a radical friendship that is committed to solidarity? Reflecting on this moment, I did not want another settler body to take up space, but my best friend heart ached at Emily describing the magnitude of the disruption, the violence it did to her resurgent decolonial self-love, and we debated what our friendship asks of one another in places with limited space: what do I need if I want to care for radical friendships that truly keep the tension, even when tracing tension becomes very (unevenly) tough? We created ways of coping-attending-deploying together, with iMessaging the

tensions; we iMessaged for hours, days, and even weeks and months through this encounter, imagining what it demands of our Indigenous-settler friendship. We are still unsure what the possibilities for deploying our tensions, without always knowing what our tensions are capable of, might entail. We debate our processes of friendship and iMessage through our deploying of the tensions we keep in a productive, safe, politicized, confronting, and imperfect way; we foreground deploying our tensions, not tensions we have deployed.

IMESSAGING (OUR FEMINISMS + ACADEMIC) FUTURITIES

iMessaging (as) Survivorship Futurities

Emily

Hmm. So, I was just about to write, "And for me, I'll deploy your words of 'you remind me of settler colonialism' as 'benefitting, complicity, perpetuation of ongoing colonialism.'" But then, I think I just need to hear it as you wrote it, as I remind Emily of the permanence of settler colonialism?

because, otherwise it seems like re-centering nice settler words. Complicity in ongoing settler colonialism feels a lot different than, I remind Emily of the permanence of settler colonialism. I choose to be accountable to your words, here.

I think it's very, very important that we think about the language we're using. What does it mean to recentre nice-settler-academic words in the face of words that are real and maybe painful?

I refuse to entertain an illusion of “decolonizing the academy.” My decolonizing projects will not attend to the dismantling of a colonial institution. Yet as an Indigenous woman who haunts the hallways of the ivory tower, I demand an academia that is softer, more forgiving, and accountable. This academic world is always in flux, expanding into new fields of study and proudly proclaiming the innovation of their carefully chosen students—how is it that Indigenous intel-

ligence is still re-labelled with colonial theoretical titles? In the face of rapidly spreading knowledge about the cultural genocide of residential schools (see Sinclair, Wilson and Littlechild, *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future*), and the incorporation of land acknowledgments into university protocol, why do Indigenous students continue to grapple with the debilitating anxieties of navigating post-secondary education? You cannot dispossess us from our lands, wrap up our identities with assimilative Indian Act policies, and then laugh when you try to ruin our bodies in academia. Canadian universities are built on ancestral bones, stand on top of bloody legacies, and interrupt land pedagogies (see Simpson, “Land as pedagogy”) with manicured green-spaces creeping with English ivy. I need an academia that is steeped in responsibility to Indigenous peoples, cleaving open room for survivorship while working diligently to move beyond this.

(Side note: Eve Tuck always throws me off a little bit with her "i'm not saying not to write about pain. I'm saying that's what they want you to do" and that's very salient in my mind right now)

(Thrillingly. Because, I want to ask if there are kinds of pain that are differently accountable to what Eve Tuck is saying - like, if writing about caring for tension and deploying tension differs from just writing about tension, but I also have absolutely no business wondering that question)

I honestly have NO idea. I feel like I'm biased because I'm going through a lot of pain right now and I want to write about it. It matters. And it matters when settlers easily dismiss it.

One of my fav tweets is from Joshua whitehead, "sometimes a decolonial "love you" sounds like, "im in pain with you""

The complexities of decolonial love and ally/friend/ships.

Speaking to survivorship in academia means generating space for the complexities of Indigenous love and pain—not a pain that is expected from settlers with an “at risk” label, greedily gobbled up as a certificate of lived Indigenous authenticity (see Tuck and Yang, *R-words*), or even one that is easily dismissed with an impatient eye roll. I need space for the tensions of being an Indigenous body swimming in a sea of white theorists, white theories, and white classrooms. I need an academia that is not afraid to centre the pain-full,

anxiety-riddled, extraordinarily resilient experiences of Indigenous peoples, unraveling this expectation that Indigenous minds do not belong in “higher” colonial education systems.

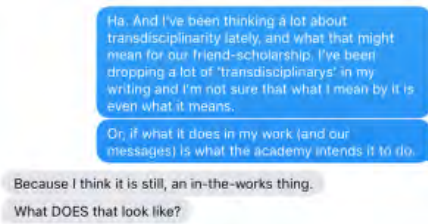
A survivorship academic futurity is both radical and gentle; a decolonial love coupled with pain and rage (see Flowers, “Refusal to forgive”) will unapologetically push against the restrictive rules of academia, elbowing appropriative theoretical books in the spine, speaking justifiably angry words that unplug fingers from ignorant settler ears—making space and demanding space for itself in institutions simmering with impatience, fear and hate. The embodied ethics I expect from my corner of the academy is for Indigenous survivorship to be present in our universities, rooting our academic futurities in gentle kindness and tender generosity (see Justice, “Carrying the fire”).

As millennial female graduate students, Nicole and I have iMessaged extensively about our respective experiences as feminist women in the academy. Our emoji-studded conversations repeatedly return to the ethics and practices we hope to embody as emerging writers, researchers, and instructors; our iMessaging relationship hints at the academic futurities we both dream of as radical Indigenous and settler allies. As I seek to (re)map dissected Indigenous bodies, and Nicole aims to engage fatty-moving-muscling bodies, we each tend to our respective feminisms that inspire us to research bodies differently. Envisioning an academic world that refuses the permanence of cis-het-

ero-white-settler-men with our feminist “softness,” we embrace the destructive strength of our menstrual cramps, the power of our perfectly timed eggplant emojis, and the ass-kicking abilities of our moccasin boots and Birkenstocks, as we take on the tired, old ways of *doing* in the academy.

iMessaging (as) Transdisciplinary Futurities

Nicole



The word “transdisciplinary” makes 12 appearances in my latest dissertation article draft. My transdisciplinarity owes to numerous brilliant feminist science studies and feminist new materialisms scholars, as I echo their calls to fashion “incorporations, appropriations, and rerecordings of inherited discourses in

ffective transdisciplinary labour” (Roosth and Schrader 6) capable of cultivating “epistemologically eclectic mode[s] of engaging with the body” (Pollock 3). I am so inspired by invitations to make critiques of Euro-Western sciences proliferate and be bodied otherwise (see Willey), to trace pedagogies as they animate physiologies (Lenz Taguchi, “The concept as method”), and to inhabit the borders of dominant disciplinary silos (Stengers, “Introductory notes on an ecology of practices”). I can endeavor to do this in my research and craft productive, rigorous, precarious amalgamations of transdisciplinarity; I can activate what an immediately accessible academic transdisciplinarity might ask of me. In doing so, I often fall into drawing finessed onto-epistemological loops around my transdisciplinary imaginings as I participate in an exciting but coherent transdisciplinarity. This is my practiced shortcoming, not that of the feminist science studies, feminist new materialisms, or post-qualitative education scholars I owe. Although the parts of my transdisciplinary bundles might profoundly trouble one another, it remains that these dual/multiple knowledge fragments are made perceptible and hospitable to one another when I transform them into text. That physiologies and pedagogies can forge collective provocations is the crux of my doctoral research, which assumes the possibility of transdisciplinarity and requires a specific sort

of transdisciplinarity. While I work hard to articulate methodological experiments that do not “approach practices as they are—physics as we know it, for instance—but as they may become” (Stengers, “Introductory Notes” 186) and orient toward productivity and problems rather than mounting multidisciplinary response-solutions to problems of pedagogies and physiologies, I wonder how I double back on myself to tie together bundles of a very partial sort of transdisciplinarity.

When Emily and I iMessage transdisciplinarity, we are not doing a transdisciplinarity where each moment, nor the content of each message, is wholly intelligible to another. Emily and her Indigenous feminisms and resurgent (re)mapping interventions do not dialogue with ease with myself and my post-qualitative early-childhood education feminist science studies allegiances. There exists no manageable cross-talk, no traversing of a parallel disciplinary plane. We are typing into practice a tense—an extended—transdisciplinarity, one where what it is to transit and what it is to be disciplinary are crafted differently and momentarily (Lather, “Top ten+ list”). In our conversations, movement requires digital space, the fast taps of our thumbs, and fleshed intellectual motion across ontological and political spaces that necessarily refuse entrance (or that we refuse to trespass) and force us to work in the spaces where we become incomprehensible to one another. I think of the “trans” in our transdisciplinarity as a precise mode of moving, of “politics as movement, not as ‘a’ movement, [where] we open it to the outside rather than understand it as an intrinsic, predetermined relationship. This is not a politics that rests on representing or speaking for a single group of people to a wider audience, but is grounded in bringing bodies together in and through space” (Rotas and Springgay 386). This transit demands immediacy, unintelligibility, and accountability, but it never expects that this answerability will ever rest with one of us holding the other to account; it is an accountability to what we negotiate together, not an expectation that accountability will emerge by virtue of our being in digital conversation. Our iMessaging transdisciplinarity needs to be content in being unable to transit, as Emily and I often find ourselves saying to one another “I have absolutely no idea what that means for your project, but I would think the problem like this...”.

(I'm excited to read this, because yeah, what even is transdisciplinary?)

(and I'm excited to read your words, because yeah, what even is iMessaged millennial Indigenous-settler friendship feminism?)

Our iMessages are filled with artifacts, from GIFs to academic quotes, screen captures of Twitter threads to moments of writer's block, emojis to lengthy narratives about our research days. We are

disciplinary, but loyal to the disciplines beget by the tensions we keep and deploy in our friendship conversations. We are academic, but perhaps not in a way the academy might welcome (or publish). I think of Haraway's articulation of tentacular thinking, of the need to generate modes of collective inquiry that cultivate practices that "make a difference, they weave paths and consequences but not determinism" (*Staying* 31). I imagine our iMessages layering on top of tentacular thinking, an iPhone screen-protector sheen of partiality; our iMessaged transdisciplinarity is about paths and consequences but also about the uneven imperfections of the paths and consequences we generate together (see Hoskins and Jones, "Lessons in fluid encounters"). Our iMessaged transdisciplinarity is hard, and it often undoes my critical early childhood and feminist science studies propositions as they are in the process of unfurling. My iMessaged transdisciplinarity is not often Emily's iMessaged transdisciplinarity. We do a transdisciplinarity that exposes my words to the trouble in being transdisciplinary in millennial Indigenous-settler academic friendships. It highlights how the work in which I invest calls for increased academic transdisciplinarity and can be complicit in perpetuating existing forms of scholarly engagement and conversation; it also makes clear how collaboratively divergent transdisciplinarity are already threaded through our theorizing and spurs me toward an ethic of transdisciplinarity that allows for neither the transit nor disciplines that my settler body (of scholarship) knows now.

Writing Knowledge Futurities with iMessage

Emily

Why can Emily iMessage and then totally seize up in front of a computer.

Valid questions.

#oraculture

Ugh. I'm trying to make this sentence work: "why is it a baillion times easier to iMessage than to write an article?", but EASIER is not the right word. I'm not trying to say easier, different?

iMessaging has evolved into a space where words flow, ideas are fleshed out, and the block that exists between my heart, thoughts, and posed fingertips on laptop keys disappears. In academia, the knowledge that escapes from the lips of Indigenous women is often silenced.

This erasure, as a purposeful violence enacted in the academy, mirroring the greater systemic issue of colonial gender-based violence in Canada—where the rape, kidnapping, and murder of targeted bodies is not just widespread, but normalized (see Arvin, Tuck and Morrill; Simpson, “Anger, resentment & love”). Turning to Facebook status updates, Instagram captions, tweets, and blog posts, Indigenous women have found “alternative” ways to raise their voices and hold up the enduring efforts and resilience of Indigenous women, girls, and Two Spirit folks in the midst of targeted violence. Yet these methods of sharing have also been cast aside as holding little weight in the academy. As a young Indigenous graduate student, I am endlessly inspired by the unapologetic fierceness and fearlessness of Indigenous women and Two Spirit scholars that are paving the way for me to do the same (@KimTallBear; @tuckeve; @justicedanielh; @apihtawikosisan; @sammynock; @BillyRayB; @kwetoday; @ZoeSTodd; @EricaVioletLee; @thesarahhunt; @betasamosake; @RedIndianGirl³). Collecting pieces of Indigenous intelligence and truths to store in my bundle, these women lend me life with their words, nudging me to hold my head up high in this hostile world.

It's more.. like.. fluent? Or some word similar to that. It flows so much easier. There's no block.

I think it's interesting you think that. I actually think I have more words when I write.

Because, in a word doc I can go back.

in iMessage, it's gone once I hit that button and I usually hit the button before my brain has caught up to my fingers.

I think that's why I like it.

But, honestly, it comes back to pain for me.

I do EVERYTHING to not feel because of the colonial traumas I carry in my body.

And my Haudenosaunee teachings are all about listening to my heart knowledge.

It's about being in my body.

So that.. effortless flow of words, is necessary.

Otherwise they get stuck.

it matters that our iPhones are with us, that they count our steps and catch our iMessages

Hm.. yes, the pace/temporality of iMessaging really does matter for me. I think formal academic writing still feels too.. disconnected for me. Being a good speaker is ESSENTIAL in Haudenosaunee culture (ask anyone, we are such a chatty people). But being a good speaker is nurtured in a web of relationships.

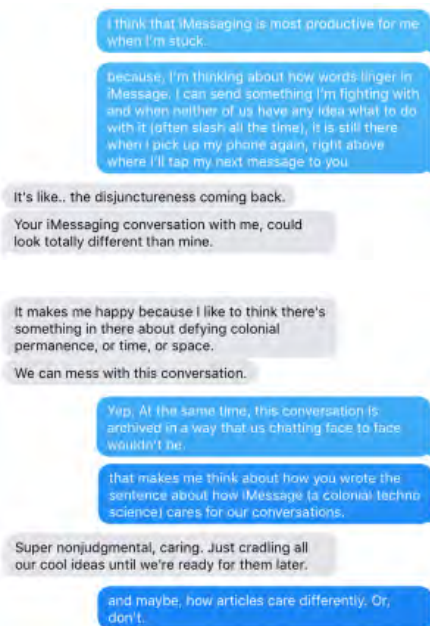
iMessaging feels closer to that tradish knowledge, then articles.

In light of this, I have found that the quickened pace and fleeting temporality of iMessaging matters for my writing. I often feel disconnected from the rigidity of formal academic writing. The frustration that mounts inside my body, as I stutter to translate heart knowledge and ancestral teachings into academic jargon is paralyzing. I overthink every letter, losing myself in the process, allowing doubt, fear, and insecurity to navigate and overtake my writing. As a Haudenosaunee woman, I gather inspiration from how we are well-known for our lengthy ceremonies. As peoples of an oral culture, every word we speak is significant, dripping with knowledge, carefully shared and crafted between generations. In our Creation Story, as Sky Woman danced and sang this world into existence, she outlined the original instructions by which the Haudenosaunee live their lives—we are the

ones responsible for weaving a complex web of loving kinship relations. My body, my voice, and my words must be accountable to more than just the academy. As Nicole and I found our way to an iMessaging friendship that cares for our conversations, I have found myself tiptoeing closer to a writing praxis that resonates with my embodied Haudenosaunee knowledge. iMessaging fragmented words, fractured ideas, and relevant memes carves open a path where my voice can flourish and my words are cradled in a digital web of human interaction. My writing, freed from the heaviness of colonial expectation, is effortlessly transported across the country, instantly appearing in the Messages app of Nicole's iPhone—a space we both nurture so that my words are able to take on a persistence that defies the systemic silencing and erasure of Indigenous women, girls, and Two Spirit people in Canada.

Writing Careful Futurities with iMessage

Nicole



Writing articles is immensely comforting to me. I take (often indulgent) joy from filling the vibrant white pages that live on my laptop screen with words made of pedagogical inquiry, Photoshop art, scholars whose texts nourish me, and my own histories of knowledge. I am overtly aware that my cozy relationship with writing owes to the “*perceptual style* and *habits of seeing*” (Jackson and Mazzei, *Thinking* 134, original emphasis) that I have been trained into; I am often reminded that I am in “grade 22,” having been, for my entire adult life, a constantly complicit participant in the dominant Euro-Western systems of normative education that my ancestors built. I do not take the same comfort in iMessaging as Emily. iMessage demands of me a different habit of seeing, an

interruptive perceptual pace, and an unfamiliar pattern of making words real (see Jackson and Mazzei, “). Plugging on text into another”; Koro-Ljunberg & MacLure, “Provocations, re-un-visions, death, and other possibilities of “data””; Pacini-Ketchabaw, Taylor, and Blaise, *Decentering the human in multispecies ethnographies*). We cultivate iMessage tempos that are both urgent and slow—urgent, as we pull out our iPhones in moments of crisis to tap into our collaborative brain trust, and with a slowness that for me resonates with slow science as I work “to activate the possible, and not to describe the probable, that is, to think situations with and through their unknowns when I can feel them” (Stengers, “Another Science” 1). iMessage makes itself felt in a mode that co-writing in a shared Word document does not. To schedule “iMessaging time” into my day feels ludicrous, as our iMessaging has its own momentums that announce themselves with phone vibrations and that ebb and flow in concert with the unfolding of our days.

I carry our iMessage threads with me, pulling out my iPhone in the middle of the grocery store to add to our conversations about smashing the colonial heteropatriarchy as I throw an industrially farmed and water-devouring avocado in my basket. Often I cannot iMessage perfectly articulated bundles of words, because my fingers are too cold to keep the pace. There is no “save” function with iMessage, no space where my words hang in limbo on a page but not logged; I hit “send” and my thinking transits to Emily. iMessage, then, enacts a curatorial care for our conversations; it carries our chats, keeping them constantly within arm’s reach, while we nurture our own urgency that is patient and slow and generous and contradictory.

I like the idea of how our iMessaging friendship hints at the academic futures we’re dreaming and creating.

I think it’s cool, because I feel like this paper was actually us deploying our tensions. Working through that awful moment in the forest, and swapping things we had written and then fangirled over lines the other one had written.

Like.. C’mon, world. Catch up. Millennial academic bestie friendships are KILLING it. 🙌

I re-read that paragraph and chuckle at how so-called millennial it sounds. I always have my iPhone near me. We iMessage all the time. Such a summary lacks the precision with which Emily and I iMessage, where we write with tensions that demand a generous urgency. I think of Erin Manning’s imagining

of an ethic of research-creation performance that “is emergent anew each time, yet carries a precision of technique” (“The Dance” 344), of how Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (2014) writes of her own collaborative potentialities “but only in a certain way” (374), and how Elizabeth Wilson stakes a terrain that resolutely “does endorse biology” (27). Our iMessaging methodologies are bounded differently than those Manning, St. Pierre, or Wilson inhabit, but I borrow from them to trace the contours of our practice as a method of caring. This is a precision that is not prescriptive but one of intentionality, of keeping and deploying the tension, and of iMessaging survivorship and transdisciplinarity. I iMessage many friends, but Emily and I allow for a different ethos of messaging that is more laboured, that tugs at more precision. I do not simply need iMessage to finish my dissertation or to imagine what my research contributions might look like into the future. I need to *iMessage (with) Emily*. I need to iMessage our Indigenous-settler friendship because of the tensions we keep and the precision we curate, because this is a precision that gives to iMessage the power to make us think how we can activate the unknowns between

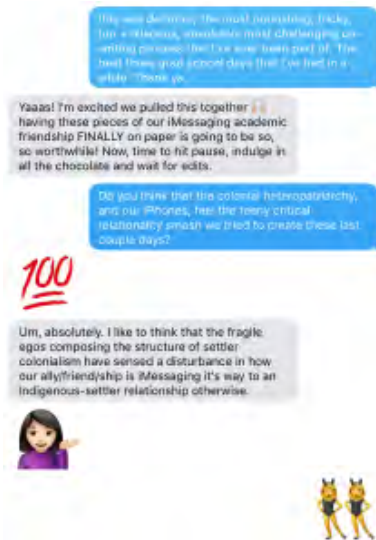
our lives (see Stengers, “Introductory notes on an ecology of practices”). To deploy the tensions our iMessaged friendship cares for feels like an ethics relevant to the academic futures that I need to help create.

**IMESSAGING PROCESS AND PAUSE, AGAIN AND AFTER,
ACROSS AND APART**

As we look toward how our iMessage collaborations might continue to evolve, we have only tentative responses to question, “*how* does iMessaging flesh, friendship, and futurities matter?”: iMessage is present in our collaborations and throughout this article, because our iMessaging practices are entangled with the engagements, flesh, friendship, and futurities we make possible through the bodies, tensions, and temporalities we craft with iMessage. Thinking with flesh, we take seriously how our hands clutch our iPhones as our fingerprints leave traces of the digital words we have beamed to one another across their screens. As we consider how tension matters to our Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship, we sit with the messiness of relying on expensive, commoditized technologies to sustain collaborations we hope might chisel at the heteropatriarchal habits of our academic communities. We do not have any interest in deploying our friendship toward traditional academic ends, such as increasing our publication count, or mounting “interdisciplinary” or “reconciliation” research collaborations. We carry the tensions of our friendship alongside the uneven, difficult work of inheriting and inhabiting shared and incommensurable worlds. Imagining futurities, we notice how iMessage lends a patient urgency to our scholarship, leaning into a temporality of collaborative work we cannot otherwise access in the academy, wherein notifications of our messages instantaneously light up our iPhone screens but then faithfully linger until we are ready to read, reply, debate, or return to the unintentional archive of scholarship our iPhones hold for us. We take seriously iMessaging, not iMessage: iMessage matters as our mode of Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship *only with* the kinship we make real.

We extend these partial responses to how our friendship has become entangled with iMessage into to questions of how we might continue to hold up the tensions of our friendship in our academic work: if mobili-

ty matters to how we iMessage bodies in our Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship, how might we generate active, lively conversational spaces that stretch beyond academic conversational conventions with our students, colleagues, and collaborators? Where our work of maintaining our tensions becomes the generative backbone of our Indigenous-settler friendship, how might we cultivate gentle and uncompromising, demanding and evolving tensions throughout our academic communities, while *doing tension* as a method of love, friendship, and scholarship? How might we enact our iMessage transdisciplinarity and temporalities beyond the skeletons of our iPhones, working to collaboratively imagine not-yet-present academic practices that value lingering and urgency, perfect sentences and inexact wonderings, returning and responding, and tension and intention as modes of relating that do scholarship and Indigenous-settler millennial academic friendship in the same breath?



WORKS CITED

- Apple, Inc. "iPhone 7". December 2017, <http://www.apple.com/ca/iphone-7/>
- Arvin, Maile et al. "Decolonizing feminism: Challenging connections between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy.. *Feminist Formations*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2012, pp. 8-34.
- Belcourt, Billy Ray. "On 'moving too fast,' or decolonial speed" [Blog Post]. 2015, from <https://nakinisowin.wordpress.com/2015/08/20/on-moving-too-fast-or-decolonial-speed/>
- Belcourt, Billy Ray, and Maura Roberts. "Making friends for the end of the world". *Guts Magazine*, vol 6 (Futures). May 23 2016, <http://gutsmagazine.ca/making-friends/>
- Flowers, Rachel. "Refusal to forgive: Indigenous women's love and rage". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2015, pp. 32-49.
- Goeman, Mishuana. *Mark my words: Native women mapping our nations*. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

- Goeman, Mishuana, and Jennifer Nez Denetdale. "Native feminisms: Legacies, interventions, and Indigenous sovereignties". *Wicazo Sa Review*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2009, pp. 9-13.
- Haraway, Donna. *Simians, cyborgs, and women: The reinvention of nature*. New York, NY, Routledge, 2013.
- Haraway, Donna. "Anthropocene, capitalocene, plantationocene, chthulucene: Making kin.". *Environmental Humanities*, vol 6, 2015, pp. 159-165.
- Haraway, Donna. *Staying with the trouble: Making kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, NC. Duke University Press, 2016.
- Harding, Sandra. *Science and social inequality: Feminist and poscolonial issues*. Chicago, IL, University of Illinois Press, 2006.
- Jackson, Alecia Youngblood, and Lisa Mazzei. *Thinking with theory in qualitative research*. London, UK: Routledge, 2012.
- Jackson, Alecia Youngblood, and Lisa Mazzei. "Plugging on text into another: Thinking with theory in qualitative research". *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2013, pp. 261-271.
- Hoskins, Te Kawehau, and Alison Jones. "Lessons in fluid encounters: A native-settler engagement." Keynote session presented at the Summer Institute for the Antipodes, Sydney, Australia, 2016.
- Justice, Daniel Heath. "Carrying the fire" [Blog post]. March 14, 2014, <http://nationsrising.org/carrying-the-fire/>
- Koro-Ljungberg, Mirka, and Maggie MacLure. (2013). "Provocations, re-visions, death, and other possibilities of "data"". *Cultural Studies - Critical Methodologies*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2013, pp. 219-222.
- Krans, Jake. "The sliding filament theory of muscle contraction". *Nature Education*, vol. 3, no. 9, 2010, pp. 66.
- Landecker, Hannah. *Culturing life: How cells became technologies*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Landecker, Hannah. "Postindustrial metabolism: Fat knowledge". *Public Culture*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2013, pp. 495-522.
- Lather, Patti. "Top ten+ list: (Re)thinking ontology in (post)qualitative research". *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2016, pp. 125-131.
- Lee, Erica Violet. [@EricaVioletLee]. "Seek spaces of Indigenous Feminist liberation without compromise. Seek spaces that smell like sweetgrass and feel like home" [Tweet]. May 20, 2016, <https://twitter.com/EricaVioletLee/status/733825566139256832>.
- Lee, Erica Violet. "My ancestors survived colonization and all I got was this lousy eye twitch" [Blog Post]. August 20, 2016,

<https://moontimewarrior.com/2016/08/20/my-ancestors-survived-colonization-and-all-i-got-was-this-lousy-eye-twitch/>.

- Lenz Taguchi, Hillevi. "The concept as method: Tracing-and-mapping the problem of the neuro(n) in the field of education". *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2016, 213-223.
- Loiselle, Elicia et al. "'We need to talk about it!'" Doing CYC as politicized praxis". *Child & Youth Services*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2012, pp. 178-205.
- Manning, Erin. "Creative propositions for thought in motion". *Inflexions*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1-24.
- Manning, Erin. *Relationships: Movement, art, philosophy*. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press, 2012. Manning, Erin. "The dance of attention". *Inflexions*, vol. 6, 3, 2013, pp. 37-364.
- Manning, Erin. "Wondering the world directly: Or, how movement outruns the subject". *Body & Society*, vol. 20, no. 3&4), 2014, pp. 162-188.
- McArdle, William et al. *Essentials of exercise physiology* (3rd ed.). Baltimore, MD, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins, 2006.
- Morrill, Angie et al. (2016). "Before dispossession, or surviving it". *Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2016, pp. 1-20.
- Pacini-Ketchabaw, Veronica et al. (2016). "Decentering the human in multispecies ethnographies". *Posthuman research practices in education*, edited by Carol Taylor and Christina, Hughes, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 149-167.
- Pollock, A. "Heart feminism". *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2015, pp. 1-30.
- Richardson, Cathy, and Vikki Reynolds. "'Here we are, amazingly alive': Holding ourselves together with an ethic of social justice in community work". *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, vol. 1, 2012, pp. 1-19.
- Roosth, Sophia., and Astrid Schrader. "Feminist theory out of science: Introduction". *differences*, vol. 23, no. 3, 2012, pp. 1-8.
- Rifkin, Mark. (2014). "Queering Indigenous pasts, or temporalities of tradition and settlement". *Oxford companion to Indigenous American literatures*, edited by Daniel Heath Justice & James H. Cox, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 137-151.
- Rotas, Nikki, and Stephanie Springgay. "'You go to my head': art, pedagogy and a 'politics-to-come'". *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2013, pp. 278-290.

- Rowe, Aimee Carrillo, and Eve Tuck. "Settler colonialism and cultural studies: Ongoing settlement, cultural production, and resistance". *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2017, pp. 3-13.
- Roy, Deboleena. "Somatic matters: Becoming molecular in molecular biology". *Rhizomes*, vol. 14, no. Summer 2007, 2007. <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue14/roy/roy.html>.
- Roy, Deboleena., and Banu Subramaniam. "Matter in the shadows: Feminist new materialism and the practices of colonialism?". *Mattering: Feminism, science, and materialism*, edited by Victoria Pitts-Taylor, NYU Press, 2016, pp. 23-42.
- Sanabria, Emilia. "Circulating ignorance: Complexity and agnogenesis in the obesity 'epidemic'". *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2016, pp. 131-158.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *Dancing on our turtle's back: Stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence and a new emergence*. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2014, pp. 1-25.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Anger, resentment & love: Fuelling resurgent struggle" [Blog Post]. June 8, 2015, <http://leannesimpson.ca/anger-resentment-love-fuelling-resurgent-struggle/>. Sinclair, Murray et al. *Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future: Summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. 2015, http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Exec_Summary_2015_05_31_web_o.pdf.
- St. Pierre, Elizabeth. "An always already absent collaboration". *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, vol. 14, no. 4, 2014, pp. 374-379.
- Stengers, Isabelle. "Introductory notes on an ecology of practices". *Cultural Studies Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2005, pp. 183-196.
- Stengers, Isabelle. "History though the middle: Between macro and mesopolitics. Interview with Isabelle Stengers, Brian Massumi, & Erin Manning". *Inflexions*, vol. 3, 2008, pp. 1-16.
- Stengers, Isabelle. "'Another science is possible!' A plea for slow science". Presented at Université Libre de Brussels, Brussels, Belgium, 2011. Retrieved from http://we.vub.ac.be/aphy/sites/default/files/stengers2011_pleaslowscience.pdf.
- Subramaniam, Banu. *Ghost stories for Darwin: The science of variation and the politics of diversity*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014.
- Todd, Zoe. "Moon lodge this way" [Blog post]. March 10, 2016.

<https://zoeandthecity.wordpress.com/2016/03/10/moon-lodge-this-way/>.

- Tuck, Eve., & C. Ree (2013). "A glossary of haunting. *Handbook of autoethnography*, edited by Stacy Holman Jones et al., Left Coast Press Inc, pp. 639-658.
- Tuck, Eve, and Wayne K, Yang (2014). "R-words: Refusing research". *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities*, edited by Djanjo Paris and Maisha. T. Winn, SAGE, pp. 223-247.
- Tuck, Eve, and Wayne K. Yang. "Decolonization is not a metaphor". *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1-40.
- Unglaub Silverthorn, Dee. *Human physiology: An integrated approach* (4th ed.). San Francisco, CA, Pearson Education, 2007. Warin, M. "Material feminism, obesity science, and the limits of discursive critique". *Body & Society*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2015, pp. 48-76.
- Watts, Vanessa. "Indigenous place-thought & agency amongst humans and non-humans (First Woman and Sky Woman go on a European world tour!). *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2013, pp. 20-34.
- Whitt, Laurelyn. *Science, colonialism, and Indigenous peoples: The cultural politics of law and knowledge*. Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Willey, Angela. *Undoing monogamy: The politics of science and the possibilities of biology*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2016.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. *Gut feminism*. Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 2015.

NOTES

1. Our understanding of how we might begin and the necessity to reimagine futurities and temporalities borrows inspiration from Indigenous scholars who emphasize the urgency in resisting and reconfiguring settler-colonial conceptions of space and time (see Belcourt, "On 'moving too fast', or decolonial speed"; Morrill et al., "Before dispossession, or surviving it"; Rifkin, "Queering Indigenous pasts"; Rowe and Tuck, "Settler colonialism and cultural studies"; Tuck and Ree, "A glossary of haunting"). We situate our work as a tentative, partial practice of making public how our iMessaging orients us toward specific pauses, archives, words, and exchanges that matter to our Indigenous-settler millennial academic

friendship because they complexify the temporal and disciplinary contours of our (scholarly) writing and reading habits.⁴¹

2. At the time of publication, @RedIndianGirl has been continually censored by Twitter and their account has been blocked multiple times. We are citing the account that was active as we wrote this article, but want to note that this Twitter handle has necessarily changed, and continues to change, to avoid ongoing censorship.⁴²

INTRODUCTION TO THE (UN)NATURAL ARCHIVE

SOPHIE DUNCAN

In herbaria around the world, there are millions of plants pressed flat, mounted, dried, and stored for hundreds of years. Their labels tell a story that in many ways says as much about the humans who collected them as the plants they describe. The narrative that emerges from this natural history archive tells a story about the plant kingdom rooted in racialized and gendered hierarchies. Textbooks, curriculum, and the scientific canon have absorbed this story, repeating these tales until these hierarchies are treated as scientifically true.

I am invested in troubling these hierarchies. They create a science that tells a limited a story about how relating happens in the world. This story in turn deems these hierarchies as natural. Disrupting this narrative using the natural history archive can show how these violent hierarchies became “natural” and reveal ways of relating that disrupt this narrative of naturalized power relations.

As a plant scientist, I have studied how phylogenies (the way organisms are related to each other) and scientific systems of classification are powerful forces that characterize “relatedness” according to a specific set of principles. My exposure to history, critical theory, and social science has shown me how these ways of characterizing and categorizing lifeforms has contributed to how systems of power assign value to racialized and gendered bodies. Although a rich body of work in the humanities and social sciences addresses these legacies, scientists (for the most part) ignore these efforts.

The following images emerged as a part of my efforts to connect these histories of colonial violence to the current toxic cultures that permeate scientific communities and the communities influenced by science.

This project for me has been an entry point into a conversation with scientists, artists, and historians. However, it is limited in its scope and I want to name and acknowledge its limitations so that my project does not continue to erase the stories absent from it. First and foremost, I am a white plant scientist and this shapes the work I do and art I create. Additionally, the image series and accompanying essays do not pretend to be rooted in critical theory or analysis. Rather, they are my reflections as a scientist, shaped by extensive reading, dialogue, and the guidance of mentors.

I developed these images as a way for scientists to see science differently, by embedding the traditional, hagiographic, ahistorical, hero-driven version of science history in its context. I am saying all of this because I am aware of the limitations with which I approach this project, do not claim expertise, and do not want to reproduce the violence I am trying to address. There are glaring absences in this work that I will name. This project began while working in a natural history archive and conducting scientific research, when I began to interrogate standard narratives of science and scientific language. Having the scientific canon and natural history archive as my starting place centers whiteness and colonial power. Although I highlight the problems with legacy of the Linnaean classification system, I do not explicitly discuss specific Indigenous classification systems and nomenclature (see Kimmerer, *Geniusz*). This does not mean to imply that they do not exist.

Through this project I speak to a small piece of a giant story, but I also realize that the absences in my work potentially reproduce elements of the system I hope to change by centering the relationships among whiteness, colonial power, and science. There is significant work that has been done in reimagining futures for science predicated on justice and reparations and documenting this work in the past and there is so much more to do. These images are a tiny and incomplete piece of this puzzle.

This story begins when I fell in love with plants and started asking questions. As soon as I began encountering Latin names in scientific texts I was surprised by the familiarity of the language. I wanted to know why the name of what I knew as the American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*) echoed the Eclogues of Virgil (*fagus*) and Idylls of Theocri-

tus (Φηγός)¹. These etymological roots reveal history that links plants from all over the world back to the Greco-Roman world through these Latin names. I wanted to follow these threads connecting language, places, and plants to understand why *Fagus* became part of the official name for a tree neither Virgil (70-19 BCE) or Theocritus (260 BCE) ever knew, oceans away.

I started asking questions and found myself in the middle of a web of classics, botany, and histories of colonization that led to the creation of the (Un)Natural Archive, a series of images motivated by this quest. As someone who worked in a “natural” archive, an herbarium where botanists store dried and pressed plants as a reference library for plant identification, I wanted to interrogate how this archive reinforced a white-washed natural history, stripped of its context and stored for later. I also wanted to reimagine an archive that tells a true story and makes space to center the stories at the margins of this history. This project does not attempt to decolonize² but rather draw attention to how colonialism has shaped botany and other scientific practices. My goal is to question the scientific practices that insidiously erase the history of violence associated with “scientific discovery” and “enlightenment exploration” and shed light on how contemporary science perpetuates this historical violence.

OVERVIEW OF IMAGES

These images pave a path through history to illuminate the inextricable links between power, history, and science. Collage features prominently in these images to highlight how different layers of history, words, and languages tell a nuanced and complicated story of how plants touch our lives. I use certain media and processes, such as cut-outs and cyanotypes, to acknowledge the work of women, such as Mary Delany and Anna Atkins, who made contributions to science through these media. However, I also want to recognize the complicity of many of these women, and in particular white women, in scientific imperialism. As a white, female scientist, I am aware of and always trying to find the balance between honouring the overlooked and ignored contributions of these women to science and also recognizing their complicity in colonial science.

Too often, women scientists, particularly those who use visual art, receive the label of hobbyists, amateurs, or artists lacking scientific rigor. The cut-outs (paper reconstructions of plants) honour the work of Mary Delany (1700-1788), who never received the scientific recognition for her anatomically accurate and highly detailed cut-outs of plants, which scientists regularly used as references (see Laird et al., 2009). I also included cyanotypes in my collages to echo the work of Anna Atkins (1799-1871), a botanist and the first female photographer who made photographic prints of biological specimens through cyanotyping, which uses the sun to capture the shadows of objects.

Both cut-outs and cyanotypes require some sort of emptiness. While both capture certain features of plants, such as leaf shape, with perfect accuracy, the process of making each image requires leaving something out. By its very nature, cut-outs require the removal of paper surrounding the desired object. While cyanotypes represent the shadow, they do not reflect the colour or details of the object casting the shadow. This process of making images reflects how the material archive of natural history often featured in museums, curiosity cabinets, and herbaria have gaps and empty spaces in the stories they tell, reinforcing certain narratives about what is “true,” “natural,” and “right” for both humans and nature.

I also constructed many of the images as reinterpretations of herbarium specimens that capture the plants’ social and political context. A traditional herbarium specimen consists of a plant, pressed flat and dried, mounted on white paper with a scientific label in the lower left corner. This label contains the scientific name of the plant, the collector, and location of its collection. The scientific name of the plant consists of the genus and species. Next to the genus and species name is the “author” of the plant, the person first credited with its “discovery” and identification.

The practice of collecting herbarium specimens is based on a method established by Luca Ghini (1490-1556), an Italian botanist. Botanists typically collect plants for pressing in newspaper due to the convenient size. These newspapers capture the historical and social moment in which the botanist collected the plant. However, during mounting, none of this contextual information makes its way onto the white page

that contains the plant and its label. Like the cut-outs and cyanotypes, a mounted herbarium specimen represents context left behind. All of the newspapers (and plants) featured in this project come from either my own personal plant collections or the herbarium where I conducted my research. In addition, keys feature prominently in these images. These keys come from the cabinets of this herbarium.

Finally, I hope that these images draw attention to the margins. Both literal and figurative margins feature prominently in this project. By drawing attention to the margins, I am questioning what is centered on the pages of natural history archives and why. Marginalia frequently appears around herbarium specimens, reflecting the thoughts of different botanists about the specimen at hand. Through these images, I have created my own annotations and questions about the plants I have collected and constructed.

Image One—Introduction by way of a self-portrait

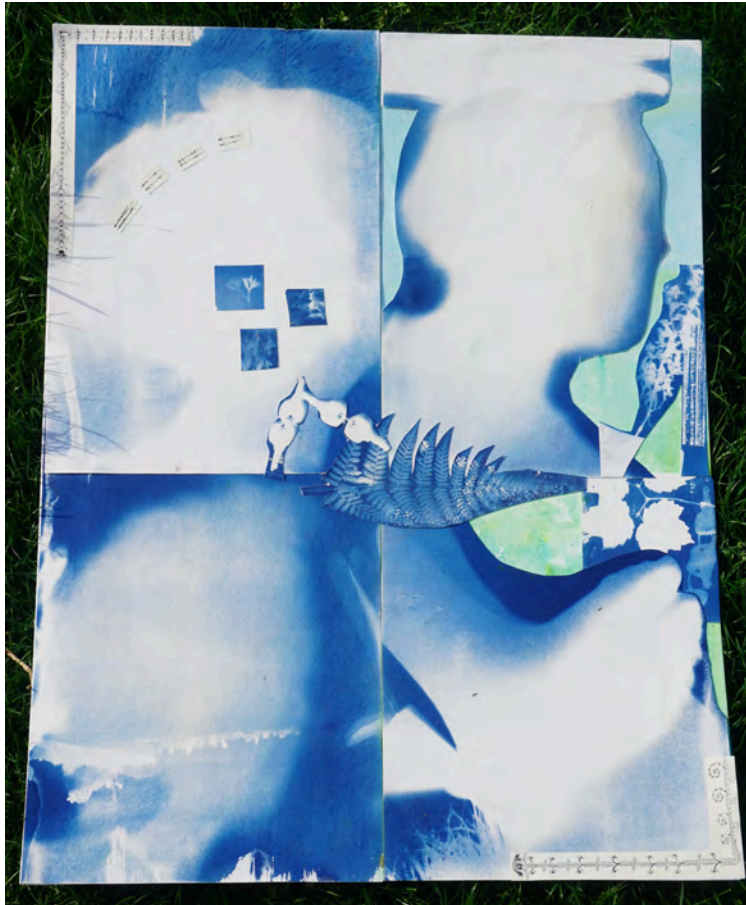


Image One—Introduction by way of a self-portrait

In a 2016 YouTube video and an accompanying *New Yorker* and *New York Times* article, renowned classicist Mary Beard illuminates the link between misogyny in ancient Rome and the cyber-bullying she faces as a female academic in the 21st century: “The gloomiest way of describing the ancient world is it is misogyny from A to Z, really...we have never escaped a certain male cultural desire for women’s silence”

(Women in the World). In a similar vein, I hope to illuminate threads that connect the ancient with the modern and shed light on how the knowledge we inherit shapes the fields that we study and the questions that we ask. The first image in the series is a self portrait, to root my science, art, and writing in my body and self. This self-portrait is the first image in the series to ground this work in my identity and to be upfront about my unconscious biases.

In my own experience, becoming a female scientist has come with challenges typical of women in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math), and as Mary Beard's statements indicate, of women in the world. In addition to the individual sexist encounters I regularly experience, the institutionalized culture of STEM makes me, like Mary Beard, ask what cultures of misogyny contributed to the construction of this present-day phenomenon. As a queer, female ecologist, I face additional barriers, which force me to ask why and how this came to be (see Becker). Despite the barriers I have faced as a female scientist, I am a white, settler ecologist who has profited from and is complicit in a field of science that has its roots in colonialism and the Transatlantic slave trade. Through the immaculate record left by natural historians, I can trace their steps backwards—from my experiences today to the invasion of America by colonizers, and even further back to Pliny's (23-79 AD) descriptions of imperial gardens in Augustan Rome.

Image Construction

This self-portrait features shadows of my face and feet. While cyanotypes capture my profile, they do not capture more specific details, so I added cutouts of key features to accurately portray myself. Cyanotyping required me to be outside. I chose to create a portrait using cyanotypes given how much time I devote to being outside as a botanist.

In the top-right quadrant I have my hand above my head and am sniffing a cut-out creosote cyanotype. The lower-left quadrant's portrait is less evocative of a human profile. I chose to include this print to represent how the same thing can appear so differently. As part of my project to reimagine the herbarium specimen and natural history, I wanted to ground my representation of self in this theme of recasting familiar themes and images in new lights.

In the lower-right quadrant I included my foot, as part of my body constantly connecting me to the ground. The print captured the shadows of grass as well. So much of my work is connected to land and the context for my relationship to land as a settler ecologist.

In the *Eclogues* Virgil (70 BC- 19BC) uses the *Fagus* (beech tree) to evoke Northern Italy and the stakes of land ownership (Leigh). During my own fieldwork, I have encountered the genus *Fagus* oceans away from Virgil's terrain. Virgil's *Fagus* operates as an indicator of land ownership and political strife in the *Eclogues*, and also evokes Theocritean uses of the Greek origins of *Fagus*, φηγος (Leigh). When Carl Linnaeus consolidated the system of European classification, producing a Latin system of binomial nomenclature referring to organisms by their genus and species' name, *Linnaeus* introduced *Fagus* into the permanent scientific lexicon: "Latin as the universal language of botany in the eighteenth century, was capable of assimilating names from many other world languages" (Laird and Weisberg-Roberts). Linnaeus' student, Jakob Friedrich Ehrhart, authored *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. (American Beech), which is native to the Eastern United states. Authoring plants occurs when a "new" species is "discovered"—the "discoverer" gives the species a Latin, scientific name and the "discoverer's" initials, in this case "Ehrh.," appear as part of the plants' scientific name.

Through these relationships, the plant name that Virgil so heavily imbued with meaning comes in direct contact with a plant that Virgil never saw. Similar to the strife associated with the contestation over land in Italy that Virgil described, in an American context the beech is also a symbol of conflict over land ownership (Go Botany). Daniel Boone, a pioneer on behalf of Manifest Destiny, marked his westward journey on beech trees (Go Botany). Given Boone's active participation in land appropriation from and genocide of Indigenous people, his symbolic etchings on beech trees bring Virgil's interrogation of empire and land ownership into an American context via the word *Fagus*. However, the application of the Latin word *Fagus* to all beech trees, including the American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*), erases, appropriates, and assimilates Indigenous botanical names and knowledge by establishing the universal "scientific" lexicon as Latin and crediting Ehrhart as the author.

This erasure created by the celebrated Linnaean system raise questions regarding whose voices this system represents and why these voices are heard while others are silenced.³ Exploration, the exploitation of people and natural resources, imperial expansion, and profit together form

the underpinnings of the system of binomial nomenclature. The employment of botanists and doctors with an eye for herbal medicine by “exploration expeditions” often for slave-trading companies, such as the Dutch West India Company and the British East India Company, made it possible for botanists to collect plants to take back and use for imperial economic enrichment.⁴

The fact that “few in the eighteenth century agonized over who owns nature,” meant that in constructing his naming system, Linnaeus did not take into account the longstanding practice of appropriation embedded in his system of classification (Schiebinger 17). The establishment of ownership over plants by naming them led to the appropriation of profits associated with those plants claimed by European explorers and settlers. For example, “The genetic resources possessed by peoples and nations in the tropics...were not protected by international agreements until 1992” (Schiebinger 16). While many books have been written on the topic of colonial botany, my goal is not to rehash these arguments but rather to explain them in order to situate the images I have constructed historically and question the ways of relating sanctioned by the natural history archive.

Image Construction

The painted bottom-center image of this illumination is the *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh., the American beech. The white spaces within the outline of the leaves represent the empty spaces in the archive that the Linnaean system excludes. The illuminations around the edges address these issues; below the *Fagus* painting are the opening lines from Vergil’s *Eclogues* to evoke the *Eclogues* and the relationship between people, power, and land that Virgil addresses with his use of *Fagus*.

The middle cyanotype and top painting are of *Medeola virginiana* L. (indian cucumber root).⁵ The cyanotype of *Medeola virginiana* contains my hand and slides of Medieval and Renaissance imagery. The presence of my hand acts as a reminder that despite the centrality of the plants in this illumination, the identity of the collector and the plants’ context have equal importance. Moving out from the centre, the magazine snippets are positioned to contrast articles about the joys of urban gardening with information about housing segregation and

redlining. The illuminations around the edges introduce some of my guiding themes:

Where this journey begins: I love plants, I love seeds, I love Latin, I need context...Why is Latin used to formalize plant names what does that say about power (and empire)? When I Google 'father of botany' it is recognized as an official term with many men (like Theophrastus and Linnaeus), but when I Google "mother of botany" I get no one. Plants live all over the world. Why do a few men from Europe get the paternity rights to Earth's flora? *Fagus grandifolia* carries through its genus ties to the *Fagus* of Virgil's *Eclouges* and the Theocritean *φηγαύς* (Image Two: Enjoy your garden world).

While subsequent images address either explicitly classical or modern motifs, this image seeks to display the connection between plants and their names over time.

Image Three: A Field Guide to Roman Imperialism in Three Plants



Image Three: A Field Guide to Roman Imperialism in Three Plants

I have reconstructed a garden image from the Villa of Livia—a first century BCE dwelling north of Rome that belonged to the wife of the Roman Emperor Augustus—to represent how Roman culture relied on foreign plants introduced through conquest and trade routes created by imperial expansion. Sources, such as Pliny the Elder, Apicius, or Diocletian’s Edict on Maximum Prices, as well as archaeological and archaeobotanical evidence provide insight into many plants that had a profound influence on the Roman economy, diet, and landscape. To construct my re-representation of the Villa of Livia, I chose to focus on three plants: cinnamon, black pepper, and the balsam tree. Each of these plants provides a window into how Romans interacted with non-Romans through plant exchange, setting the foundation for the xenophobia, language, and gendering applied to plants in modern ecology. Similar to how Mary Beard traces the roots of misogyny in her work as a classicist back to the ancient world, I am tracing the roots of colonial botany to the ancient Greco-Roman world.

There is no coincidence that Latin is the official scientific language and the Roman Empire practiced imperial botany. Romans displayed their wealth in their gardens: “part of the governing class’s income could be used for embellishing cities, temples, and great houses with gardens...cultural traffic between the Classical Greek world and the Middle East brought the idea of the garden to Europe” (Vercelloni, Vercelloni, and Gallo 14). The history of the garden as a foreign concept naturalized in Roman society mirrors the trajectory of many of the plants grown in these gardens. The relationship between Alexandria and Greece, and their ultimate conquest by the Roman empire, reflects the role of conquest in transferring knowledge about the natural world: “It was probably Alexandrian culture that brought the ancient idea of Egyptian and Eastern gardens to Greece, whence it spread to Rome and the rest of Europe” (Vercelloni, Vercelloni, and Gallo 15).

This relationship between war and plants manifests in a multitude of ways: through trade networks established via conquest, the search for plants with economic value, and the integration of spices as a regular part of the Roman diet. Simultaneous to the “discovery” and distribution of exotic spices that accompanied imperial expansion and trade, the Roman Empire enslaved non-Romans people.⁶ The commodification and objectification of people from outside the empire accompa-

nied the introduction of non-native plants and spices. Trade networks both outside of and within the empire ensured that foreign spices could be shared in common among all Romans dispersed across the empire. Their view of these plants as exotic further cemented the distinction they had constructed between themselves and non-Romans: “Ideas about exotic trade goods and their ritual use did not travel intact as far as the goods themselves did. This fall-off in idea exchange explains how Mediterranean trade relations beyond the Roman...contributed to the Roman/Mediterranean center’s association of those spices and places with magic” (Pollard 1). The “magic” associated with unknown cultures is evocative of contemporary exotification and ways of cross-cultural interaction predicated on consumption.

This characterization of Roman encounters with “the other” through plants is not to say that Romans never interacted with or respected non-Romans, but rather is to emphasize the roles that plants and empire played in mediating Roman identity. The incorporation of spices from non-Roman places into the Roman diet allowed Romans to enjoy foreign plant products without interrogating “Romanness” in the context of empire.

These differing attitudes towards plants and people reflect the Roman desire to reap the rewards of conquest without addressing the human cost. Although the “magic” connotation might seem positive, it further disassociates Romans from the sources of these mystical spices and through exotification allows them to maintain a uniformed and nebulous image of the places and people providing the plants. Gardening non-native plants allowed Romans to incorporate the fruits of other cultures into Roman culture without interacting with people from other cultures, echoing modern-day false promises of multiculturalism. Roman gardens filled with non-native plants reflect the cultural exchange facilitated by imperial expansion. The presence of non-native plants provides insight into the exchange that occurred at the frontiers through conquest and at the ports through trade.

Image Construction

I used collage as a way to reconstruct a Roman garden fresco so that I could reflect the different layers of cultural and geographical identity connected to the plants and landscape represented. To build the tree at

the centre of the image I created several cutouts based on the shape of my three focal plants. I cut these shapes from maps reflecting the origin of each plant and primary and secondary sources discussing these plants in their native contexts. I constructed the background behind the tree using Roman images of plants, from the Villa of Livia and House of the Wedding of Alexander (a Pompeiian archeological site with significant botanical frescoes) and maps of the Roman Empire to reflect the Roman backdrop for these plants once they entered the empire.

Through collage, I decided to reconstruct an image from the Villa of Livia because of Livia's ties to Augustus, the first Roman Emperor, and the presence of non-native plants documented in Roman gardens and garden painting. The volcanic eruption at Pompeii left spectacular preservations of garden paintings, including frescoes at the House of the Wedding of Alexander and archaeobotanical evidence providing insight into the floral composition of Roman gardens and botanical art (Ciarallo). Delving into the flora of Roman imperial gardens provides insight into how conquest and exploration shaped the physical landscape of public spaces: "The villa gardens at Pompeii demonstrate that the Romans were willing and able to grow nonindigenous plants on Roman soil, and the city gardens show that conquerors often built gardens to celebrate their conquests" (Pollard, "Pliny's Natural History" 321). Although pepper, balsam, and cinnamon were not necessarily documented in the garden at the Villa of Livia, my intent is to link "foreign" plants (what plants biologists today would call "non-native") used regularly in Roman garden culture.

Balsam

The Balsam tree, scientifically known as *Commiphora gileadensis* or *Commiphora opobalsamum*, exclusively came from Judea. In the late 60's CE, Titus Flavius Vespasian conquered Judea and upon his return commenced celebrations and constructions to commemorate his victory. Pliny the Elder's description of the Balsam tree provides insight into how Romans viewed the Balsam tree after the conquest of Judea: "Pliny states, 'this tree [the balsam, from Judea] now is a subject [of Rome] and offers tribute with its own race [meaning the recently conquered Jews]'" (Pollard, "Pliny's Natural History" 327). Vespasian built

the *Templum Pacis* and outfitted it with gardens and built the *Horrea Piperataria*, a spice market to mediate Roman reception of foreign goods:

The gardens in the *Templum Pacis* would not have been large enough to supply the spice market next door; however, they would have provided a symbolic religious framework for Romans to make sense of their reliance on these luxury items from India—a framework that preserved their own sense of world dominance. Gardens would show that these rarities could be grown Roman soil and that it was Flavian-delivered peace that made the importation of these goods possible. (Pollard 335-336)

Imported plants created a problem for the Roman's belief in a supreme Roman identity: Romans were seeking a distinctly non-Roman object to secure their economic, aesthetic, and culinary happiness.

The Romans described imported plants from conquered territories with submissive and pejorative terms. Totelin examines how Pliny's description of the parade of the Balsam Tree for the triumph over the Jews uses language applied to slaves to describe the plant, particularly since it is an incredibly valuable crop: "But parading the tree was above all an affirmation of power. The language of [Pliny's] passage is political: 'the balsam tree is a slave (*seruit*), conducted in triumph (*in triumpho duximus*), paying a tribute to Rome (*tributa pendit*); it belongs to the race of the Judeans (*sua gente*)" (Totelin 123). Both Pollard and Totelin highlight the connection between the display of conquest and power demonstrated through the display and use of plants. The Balsam tree in particular provides insight into how plants fit into the discourse of submission created by conquest.

Spice Trade: Pepper and Cinnamon

While non-native plants, such as the Balsam tree, became integrated into the empire directly through conquest, imperial expansion also increased the geographical range of contact Romans had with other cultures even if those places never were directly under Roman control. The Romans went to great lengths to obtain valuable and sought after spices: "Cinnamon was extremely expensive and was bought up by the perfume industry and favored in wine and in some sweet and sa-

vory dishes....and Nero supposedly burned a year's supply of cinnamon and cassia at this wife's funeral rite" (Czarra). Nero used cinnamon to reflect his immense power. By burning mass quantities of it, Nero demonstrated that he had the economic and imperial resources to obtain valuable spices and then use them in greater quantities than any other Roman. Cinnamon had other connections to the Imperial throne as well due to its economic significance. Diocletian included both pepper and cinnamon in his Edict on Maximum Prices ("Cinnamon").

In addition to non-native plants in Roman gardens, Roman cooking relied on the trade networks created by the Empire: "90 percent of the five hundred recipes in [Apicius' cook] book called for costly imported spices, especially black pepper" (Czarra). Pepper, described as the "most widely used spice in the Roman world," came from the Malabar Coast of India (Czarra). While two varieties of pepper circulated in the classical world, several varieties of cinnamon came from multiple places, including India, China, Sri Lanka, Arabia, Ethiopia ("Cinnamon").

Archeological discovery has documented an extensive record of pepper at Berenike, an important archeological site in Egypt and "one of many hubs in the extensive Old World economic network...that concatenated east and west" (Sidebotham 1). As both luxury products and plants, pepper and cinnamon traveled throughout the Roman Empire leaving physical and cultural traces from their places of origin in their wake.

My goal for this image is for the viewer to see the complexity of the Roman relationship with plants and plant products and to draw ties to the relationships between botany and imperialism that still exist today. The fact that today these plants have scientific names in Latin reflect the lasting impact that the Roman Empire has had on how plants and plant products are perceived by the world. Although black pepper (*Piper Nigrum*), cinnamon (*Cinnamomum*), and the Balsam tree, (*Commiphora gileadensis*), did not come from within the Roman empire, their contact with the empire and descriptions by Pliny have preserved their names and stories in Latin and through a Roman lens. Rather than using their Indigenous names, science uses their Roman

names. Although Latin scientific names often incorporate parts of plants' Indigenous names, the incorporation of these names into "science" requires them to be Latinized. I hope to use this image to question why that has happened, and in do so link classical natural sciences from the Roman world to the development of botany in Europe and modern botany and ecology.

ILLUMINATED NEWSPAPERS AND GARDENING MAGAZINES

The idea to illuminate newspapers (and the newspapers used in the construction of these images) came directly from the herbarium. Newspapers are the perfect size for collecting plants, so in addition to providing an archive of plant material, herbaria often contain an archive of newspapers reflecting the political, social, and cultural context of the plant collector at the time of collection. My goal in illuminating newspapers was to connect the plants directly to their context. In illuminating these newspapers, I provide space for myself, like the scribes in scriptoria, to make provocative comments in the true spirit of marginalia, allowing me to participate in a long tradition of illustrators attracted to the floral aesthetic with some comments on the content of the page. The content of the articles often deal with the ramifications of colonialism, including oppression based on race, gender, and nationality.

For example, many plants deemed native and invasive are given these designations in America based on their existence in America before and after 1492. Not only does the language of invasion centre Western explorers, but the language "invasive," "introduced," "non- native," "exotic," and "alien" are also common tropes expressed in anti-immigrant, xenophobic sentiments. Bringing plants into dialogue with contemporary issues and the common history that they both share can hopefully pave the way from an ahistorical approach to studying plants to a more nuanced and context-driven understanding of the relationship between plants, people, and knowledge production.

This series of images also addresses the relationship between the system of binomial nomenclature, race, and gender. The Linnaean classifications system helped create a foundation for scientific racism and modern eugenics, implicating plants "authored" by him in this history

(see Garrod). This fact provides context for the meaning carried by the author initial, “L.,” following plant names authored by him.

Linnaeus’ classification system was considered revolutionary because he classified plants based on their reproductive systems. However, in pursuing this end, he perpetuated a longstanding practice of ascribing human gender and sex to plants and embedded this practice within his classification system, such that science formally recognizes plants as male and female. Not only does Linnaeus system render contemporary botanical language complicit in reinforcing the gender binary, but it also conflates plant and human reproduction. I also want to acknowledge that many scholars have done queer readings of the Linnaean sexual system though I do not address that body of scholarship here.

Due to Victorian sexual taboos, this system of classification further inhibited female botanists from participating in the field:

Victorian women botanists were still affected by the fallout from Linnaeus’s creation of a binomial classification system for plants in his *Species Plantarum* of 1753. This revolutionized botany, yet it had turned the singular barrier of Latin language into a double one for female students; not only the difficulty of access to a classical education, but also a problem of sexual decorum. For Linnaeus’s system was based on the claim (originally made in his *Praeludia Sponsaliorum Plantarum* in 1729) that the reproductive parts of plants paralleled the sex organs of animals. Botany became ‘the most explicit discourse, in the public domain, on sexuality during the mid-eighteenth century.’ (Jackson-Houlston 85)

In addition, many women who practiced botany were considered “amateurs,” while men who had other professions but practiced botany (such as Linnaeus, a pastor and doctor) are still celebrated as fathers of botany.⁷

In part, my goal in illustrating my work as a scientist is to honour and recognize the many female *scientists* who dissected, collected, and depicted plants but were (and still are) considered amateurs. Alongside the botanical sexism experienced by European women, male “explorers” such as the celebrated Joseph Banks (1743-1820), a director of

Kew Royal Botanic Gardens who participated in Captain Cook's expedition to Tahiti, exoticized Tahitian women and appropriated their medicinally and culturally significant plants to bring back for the profit of Britain's growing empire (Fara).

I used collage cut-outs and cyanotype to honour two women botanists who used those methods, Mary Delany (1700-1788) and Anna Atkins (1799-1871). Mrs. Delany in particular did not ever get the recognition she deserved: "whereas the natural historians and botanical artist whom Mrs Delany knew and beside whom she worked...are seen as having played an integral role in the advancement of Linnaean botany, Mrs. Delany's gender and amateur status have largely prevented her work from being considered alongside theirs" (Laird and Weisberg-Roberts). In drawing attention to Mrs. Delany, I hope to highlight gaps in the standard botanical narrative.

The cut-outs and cyanotypes draw attention to the gendering of plants. Some of the cyanotypes contain floral lacy underwear and suggestive apples to ask why flowers and fruits are associated with the feminine. In addition, through these images I hope to ask why, in light of cultural associations between plants and gender, scientists must ascribe gender and sex to plants and reinforce violent gender and sex binaries. The keys in the images are from the herbarium where I conducted my research and raise the question of who, historically and presently, has access to natural history and whose history do those keys unlock. In addition, all of the magazine images come from various seed catalogues, *Flower and Garden*, *The American Gardener*, *National Geographic* from the 1970s, 1990s, and from the past ten years.⁸

Image One—Common Culture Problems



Image One—Common Culture Problems

This illuminated cyanotype of *Berberis vulagris* L. (common barberry) introduces the language of invasion and the gendering of plants. In the top and left margins, I included marginalia probing these themes.⁹ The other illumination in the lower-right corner contains *Medeola virginiana* L. (indian cucumber root). While the introduced species is centered in this piece, the native plant exists in the margins. The co-existence of these two plants on the same pages calls into question how we frame the dialogue around native and invasive species.¹⁰ In addition, I have combined the issues of gendering plants and the language of invasion on the same page to highlight how the gendered language used to describe certain plants perpetuates stereotypes, xenophobia, and racism. The exotification of tropical plants and Indigenous women from tropical regions cannot be separated from one another given the history of collectors taking advantage of these women's bodies and their knowledge.¹¹

Image Two—Objectivity is a false god



Image Two—Objectivity is a false god

This illuminated cut-out features *Epipactis helleborine* (L.) Crantz, a non-native orchid named for its similarity to the European hellebore. I collected this plant in Stockbridge, Massachusetts and then used its shape to construct three cut-outs. One of them is solid green to rep-

resent the plant without its context. I constructed the far-left orchid cut-out from a Medieval tapestry postcard to evoke the European history of the hellebore appearing in the *Belluno Herbal*, the relationship between medieval illuminations and the development of European botany, and the classical connections of the Greco-Roman world to imperial aspects of contemporary botany.¹² I used newspapers left over from collecting plants to construct the centre orchid. I highlighted the quote “Objectivity is a false god” to probe methods of science that claim to be free from implicit bias, are ahistorical, or do not appreciate how identity shapes a scientist’s experiments. For the background, I selected a school newspaper article that was used for collecting and features topics of race and gender significant to campus and world affairs. I illuminated the margins with keys and leaves.

Image Three—Rediscovering New York



Image Three—Rediscovering New York

This illumination questions narratives of discovery, particularly as they pertain to settler colonialism in America. Often the words “empty,” “pristine,” and “untouched” describe parks and forests that were once people’s homes. The foundation for this piece was a recent *National Geographic* article that describes New York prior to European colonization. While the article makes a slight mention of the people who lived in the land where New York now sits when Henry Hudson arrived in 1609, the article perpetrates the glorification of the male explorer while glossing over the atrocities that resulted from Hudson’s arrival. I moved the marginalia away from the edges of the page to centre the erasure of displacement and genocide in narratives of discovery.¹³

Image Four—Deadly Play



Image Four—Deadly Play

This illumination continues on the themes introduced in *Rediscovering New York* (the previous image). The plants featured in this include *Hamamelis virginiana* L. (witch hazel), *Carex pensylvanica* Lam. (Pennsylvania sedge), *Ostrya virginiana* (hop-hornbeam), *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. (American beech), *Pinus strobus* L. (white pine), and

two non-native plants: *actinidia arguta* (Sieb. & Zucc.) Planch. ex Miq. (tarvine), and *Lonicera morrowi* Gray (Morrow's honeysuckle). The images from nature and gardening magazines contrast with rhetoric about garden festivities with the human toll inflicted by settler colonialism.

Image Five—Beauty Secrets from the Garden



Image Five—Beauty Secrets from the Garden

This illumination features the sexualized language used to discuss plant reproduction, the exoticification of invasive plant names, and the

primacy that science places on native plants but not Indigenous people. The cyanotypes feature vaginal symbols made from apples, the lacy-looking *Athyrium angustum* (northern lady fern), lace floral underwear, non-native *Berberis vulgaris* (common barberry), and herbarium keys. The confluence of these images highlights how objectifying and eroticizing plants translates into the objectification of women and how objectification, eroticization, and exotification are inextricably linked with modern botany and ecology. The surrounding articles contain sexually charged botanical captions that include: “Bodacious brassicas,” “The irresistible Epimedium: Exquisite flowers, delicate foliage, and easy dispositions make them perennials to pant for,” “Ecologically desirable,” and “What I learned of the prostitute orchid forced me to revise my estimation of what a clever plant is capable of doing to a credulous animal.” This image also highlights how the Linnaean sexual system reinforces sex and gender binaries based on the associations between plants and sexualized language in formal botanical science and cultural descriptions of plants. In addition to the sexually charged captions, the image contains many names and descriptions of seed varieties that are offensive and/or essentialize the cultures and people from whom the seeds originated, such as “turban” squash, a “Bali” seed variety described as a “new oriental favorite here,” and a seed variety called “Dixie Queen.”

Image Six—February 6th, 1969



Image Six—February 6th, 1969

The final panel of three illuminations is relatively empty compared to the other illuminations. These illuminations attempt to de-centre the plant by moving them to the margins. The far-right panel in the above three images most resembles an herbarium specimen, with the middle and far-left panels fully decentering the plant while centering its context. I mounted all three illuminations on a newspaper from February 6th, 1969, found amongst dried plants in the herbarium where I conducted research during the summer of 2015. This newspaper contained articles that resonated with more contemporary plant-collecting newspapers from the past 20 years. In particular, the articles in the 1969 speak to articles featured in past illuminations in this series, especially “Objectivity is a false god.”







The first panel in this series of three images features *Athyrium angustum* (northern lady fern) in the centre and maintains the standard centrality of plants. The middle panels contain articles highlighting the threat to liberalism and universities that white liberals perceive

from Black activism. I superimposed seed varieties from Parker Seeds (1997) and Baker Heirloom Seeds (2014) that have racially charged names. While one seed variety is called “Black and White Minstrels,”¹⁴ another is “Black Beauty: The blackest flowers you’ve ever seen.” The far-left panel in the series centres context, featuring articles about Brown University’s relationship to the slave trade (the university where I attended and conducted this research), inclusivity in STEM, and an art exhibit using collage to amplify marginalized voices with plants moved entirely to the margins.

CONCLUSIONS

Words such as “diversity,” “culture,” “exotic,” and “native” appear frequently in gardening magazines and scientific literature. The development of natural history and botany in the context of empire meant that these words were stripped of their human context. By tracing Latin from ancient Rome to the current scientific lexicon via medieval manuscripts, I am interrogating the mythology of the “fathers of botany” to recreate and reimagine ways of relating that the current natural archive masks. How and why we organize plants according to the Linnaean system has consequences for how contemporary scientific practices and communities reinforce certain ways of relating as the right ways of relating. These illuminations reimagine the natural history archive to tell the story of how these state-sanctioned ways of relating became integrated into the scientific canon and how recontextualizing this archive can contribute to reimagining futures for science that disrupt rather than reinforce settler-colonial notions of relating.

WORKS CITED

- Becker, Rachel. “Fighting the Menstruation Taboo in the Field.” *Nature* (London), 02/12/2016, doi:10.1038/nature.2016.19372.
- Campbell, Mike. “Meaning, Origin and History of the Name Medea.” *Behind the Name*, <www.behindthename.com/name/medea>.
- Ciarallo, Annamaria. *Gardens of Pompeii*. Vol. 1. L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2000.

- "Cinnamon." *Ohio River - New World Encyclopedia*, New World Encyclopedia, <www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Cinnamon>.
- Cockburn, A. "Weed whackers: Monsanto, glyphosate, and the war on invasive species." *Harper's Magazine*, 2015, 57-63.
- Czarra, Fred. *Spices: a global history*. Reaktion Books, 2009.
- "Fagus Grandifolia Ehrh." *Arisaema Dracontium (Green-Dragon): Go Botany*, <gobotany.newenglandwild.org/species/fagus/grandifolia/>.
- Fara, Patricia. *Sex, Botany & Empire: The Story of Carl Linnaeus and Joseph Banks*. Columbia University Press, New York, 2003.
- Fisher, Celia. *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2004.
- Garrod, Joel Z. "A brave old world: an analysis of scientific racism and BiDil." *McGill journal of medicine : MJM : an international forum for the advancement of medical sciences by students* vol. 9,1 (2006): 54-60.
- Gathercole, Patricia M. *The Landscape of Nature in Medieval French Manuscript Illumination*. Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, N.Y, 1997.
- Geniusz, Mary Siisip. *Plants have so much to give us, all we have to do is ask: Anishinaabe botanical teachings*. U of Minnesota Press, 2015.
- Goldberg, Susan. "For decades, our coverage was racist. To rise above our past, we must acknowledge it." *National Geographic*. 2018.
- Hutchinson, G. E. "Marginalia: Aposematic Insects and the Master of the Brussels Initials: The Late Medieval Tradition of the Iconography of Nature, Exemplified in the Work of this 15th-Century Manuscript Painter, Contributed to the Rise of Modern Biology." *American Scientist*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1974, pp. 161-171.
- Jackson-Houlston, C. M. (Caroline Mary). "'Queen Lilies'? the Interpenetration of Scientific, Religious and Gender Discourses in Victorian Representations of Plants." *Journal of Victorian Culture*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006, pp. 84-110.
- Jones, Frederick. *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space*. Bristol Classical Press, London, 2011.
- Joyce, Kathryn. "Out here, no one can hear you scream." *The Huffington Post*, 2016.
- Laird, Mark, and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts. *Mrs. Delany & her circle*. In association with Yale University Press, 2009.
- Leigh, Matthew. "What is the setting of the Eclogues?" Oxford University. Handout.

- Livarda, Alexandra. "Spicing Up Life in Northwestern Europe: Exotic Food Plant Imports in the Roman and Medieval World." *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2011, pp. 143-164.
- Lipka, Michael. "Notes on fagus in Vergil's Eclogues." *Philologus* 146.1, 2002, pp. 133-138.
- Kimmerer, Robin W., and Xwi7xwa Collection. *Braiding Sweetgrass*. Milkweed Editions, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 2013.
- Mead, Rebecca. "The Troll Slayer." *The New Yorker*, 1 Sep. 2014.
- Pollard, Elizabeth, A. "Indian Spices and Roman "Magic" in Imperial and Late Antique Indomediterranea." *Journal of World History*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-23.
- . "Pliny's Natural History and the Flavian Templum Pacis: Botanical Imperialism in First-Century C.E. Rome." *Journal of World History*, vol. 20, no. 3, 2009, pp. 309.
- Schiebinger, Londa L. *Plants and Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Schneier, Matthew. "Mary Beard and Her 'Battle Cry' Against Internet Trolling." *The New York Times*, 18 Apr. 2016.
- Shiva, Vandana. *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*. South End Press, Boston, MA, 1997.
- Sidebotham, Steven E. *Berenike and the ancient maritime spice route*. Vol. 18. Univ of California Press, 2011.
- Totelin, Laurence. "Botanizing Rulers and their Herbal Subjects: Plants and Political Power in Greek and Roman Literature." *Phoenix*, vol. 66, no. 1/2, 2012, pp. 122-144.
- Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* vol. 1 no. 1, 2012.
- Vercelloni, Matteo, Virgilio Vercelloni, and Paola Gallo. *Inventing the garden*. Getty Publications, 2010.
- Women in the World. "How Misogyny in Ancient Rome Shaped Modern Cyberstalking." *Youtube*, 7 April 2016. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rcu0_7NiDl4. Accessed 02 May 2019.

NOTES

1. Despite the shared sound and established etymological link between these Greek and Latin words, classicists have long debated whether Virgil

intended to echo Theocritus' use of Φηγός to mean oak as the Greek implies or to signify a beech tree, which is what the word would have meant in Virgil's time (see Lipka 2002; Jones 2011). Regardless of this lack of consensus, today beech trees bear the name *Fagus*, which, through the linguistic derivation and Virgil's nod to Theocritus, echoes the Greek Φηγός.↵

2. "Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools" (Tuck and Yang 1). ↵
3. "A rich diversity of traditional names was funneled in this period through the intellectual straits of Linnaean nomenclature to reproduce standardized naming. Botanical Latin was made and remade in the 18th century to suit naturalists' purposes. If Latin, the language of European learning, was to become the standard language of botanical science, it might have incorporated customary names from other cultures as plants from those cultures entered Europe. It might also have preserved a sense of biogeography of plants by making plants with their places of origin. But plants more often were named for European botanists and their patrons. Naming practices celebrated a particular brand of historiography—namely, a history celebrating the deeds of great European men. It is remarkable that Linnaeus' system itself retold— to the exclusion of other histories—the story of elite European botany" (Schiebinger 20).↵
4. In addition to an intrinsic interest in plants, economic factors motivated Linnaeus: "Now celebrated as the "father of modern taxonomy," the Swedish scholar often saw his taxonomic innovations as secondary to his many economic schemes. The eminent botanist William Stearn has pointed out that Linnaeus' binomial system of nomenclature first developed as a kind of shorthand to aid several of his economic botanical projects, most immediately for cataloguing Swedish fodders in order to enhance animal husbandry" (Schiebinger 6-7).↵
5. "From Greek Μηδεια (*Medeia*), possibly derived from μηδομαι (*medomai*) 'to think, to plan. In Greek mythology Medea was a sorceress from Colchis (modern Georgia) who helped Jason gain the Golden Fleece. They were married, but eventually Jason left her for another woman. For revenge Medea slew Jason's new lover and also had her own children by Jason

killed” (Campbell). In addition, the common name “indian cucumber root” is an example of the racist nomenclature embedded in botanical discourse.↵

6. This not only applies to Rome and the Mediterranean, but also Provincial parts of the empire: “The most striking observation is their [exotic plants] conspicuous absence outside the Roman frontiers, which highlights the prominent role that the Roman Empire played in their dissemination. Interestingly, a prominent military association is apparent for most taxa featuring in Roman archaeobotanical contexts, making a strong case for a connection between the movement of the army and the dissemination, at least initially, of imported plants in northwestern Europe” (Livarda 156).↵
7. “Indeed, it was precisely because of attitudes like these that botany rapidly succumbed to the process of reclassification and dismissal by what Joanna Russ calls “the double standard of content” and “false categorizing.” If women could do botany, then it wasn’t a science, and people who did it weren’t men. (The same was true of flower painting.) In 1828 John Lindley regretted the undervaluing of botany as “an amusement for ladies rather than an occupation for the serious thoughts of man”... John Lindley, a prime player in the relegation of women botanist to the status of amateurs, had his own books illustrated partly by his daughters.” (Jackson-Houlston 88) [Unclear what is a quotation here since the footnote does not begin with a quotation mark (but is it all quotation?)—please fix and use MLA in-text citation.]↵
8. A condensed version of this section, including one of the images, originally appeared on the Free Radicals blog (Duncan)↵
9. “Native, invasive, exotic, introduced, non-native—do these labels refer to plants or people? Who gets to decide? Why are plants labeled as male or female? Just because flowers look vaginal and pollen tubes are phallic doesn’t mean that seeds are ovaries and plants have genders. Male and female are fraught categories for plants and people” (Image One).↵
- 10.☒ Species are deemed “introduced” if they arrived in North America after 1492: “As usual, the nativist dream of eradicating the interloper is intertwined with a fantasy of restoring the landscape to its ‘original’ condition” (Cockburn). In addition, the language of invasion is racially

coded, referring to “oriental exotics” and descriptions of plants as having agency and being intentionally aggressive and destructive, taking resources away from native plants. These tropes echo anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. While on a garden tour at a place that prides itself in planting exclusively native plants, I heard the tour guide describe Oriental bittersweet (*Celastrus orbiculatus*) as a “thug plant.”[←]

11. In addition to introducing sexually transmitted diseases, European explorers had sexual encounters with indigenous women. For example, “The female dancers found it advantageous to keep their eccentric visitors [Joseph Banks and Captain Cook] happy...His [Banks’] special flame was Otheothea, the personal attendant of a high ranking woman, Porea- or Queen Oberea as she was mistakenly called by the Europeans, who misheard her name and elevated her rank because they were insensitive to fine social distinctions between people they lumped together as an inferior race. During the *Dolphin’s* visit Porea had taken over Wallis’ social agenda. She distracted him from perpetrating further carnage amongst islanders by entertaining, massaging, and feeding him” (Fara 6-7).[←]

12. Medieval illustrations depict flora and fauna with their utmost detail and these illustrations ultimately led to the development of modern biology (see Hutchinson, Gathercole, Fisher). For example, an illuminated Book of Hours, a collection of religious services, contains detailed paintings of insects in the margins that reveal intimate knowledge of nature by the artists. While the margins of a religious book might not seem like the most intuitive place to begin an exploration of insect and avian anatomical features, these margins became a place for biology to begin. These marginal images commanded the attention and imagination of their viewers prompting them to explore, document, and study the natural world. In addition to illustrating plants in herbals, which were bound books often documenting the medicinal uses of plants, manuscript illustrators illuminated religious texts with plants around the edges of manuscripts as decorative and often meaningful symbols. This tradition of marginal botanical illustration appeared in both medicinal manuscripts and prayer books; regardless of the content of the text, plants appeared on the page: “The marginal decoration on the French medieval manuscripts often completed the portrayal of Nature in the miniatures themselves. Along the margins we discover a wealth of leaves, in particular ivy, oak,

and acanthus foliage...During the Romanesque period, the miniaturists made use of rudimentary plant forms”(Gathercole page number). For example, the grape vine represented communion and Christ’s blood, while ivy was associated with Bacchus, and asters with Athena, Artemis, and later, Mary: “some plant symbolism derived from biblical sources, but a great deal more was inherited from the classical world, both in the form of pagan legend (vine and ivy were both sacred to Bacchus) and from the works of the founding fathers of European botany, Theophrastus (372-257 BC), Dioscorides (c. AD 40-90), and the elder Pliny (AD 23-79), whose writings remained a source of reference for many centuries” (Fisher 6). The cultural significance of these plants and their frequent appearances in the margins of manuscripts carried the symbols of classics into the foundation of botany. Illustrators began depicting plants with more anatomical accuracy due to shifting artistic styles: “the new impetus towards realism in fourteenth-century Italy inspired the illustrators of herbals. This movement started in the medical schools of Salern and owed much to Arabic influence” (Fisher 7). *Circa Instans*, a 12th-century Latin medicinal text, represents an important deviation from past practices, which involved solely relying on classical representations of plants (Fisher 7). The *Belluno Herbal* contains the representation of a hellebore root in a fashion evocative of the herbarium specimen (Fisher 10-11). Alongside these illustrations, war and exploration contributed to the developing significance of gardens in the medieval world: “During the twelfth century, gardens in general assumed an increase in importance in the Western World, since the crusaders came to admire the splendor of Eastern grounds adorned with flowers and would describe them on their return home”(Gathercole page number). This practice, similar to the relationship between conquest and garden cultivation in the Roman and Greek worlds, was the precursor to the age of exploration, in which botany and empire building were inextricably linked. ←

13. The marginalia reads: “Was it a ‘virgin landscape,’ ‘land of opportunity,’ ‘natural wonder,’ ‘wilderness’? Was it ‘wild,’ ‘empty,’ ‘pristine,’ ‘untouched?’” Although these images were produced during 2015 and 2016, it is timely and relevant to note that National Geographic recently published an issue exploring their history of racist coverage (Goldberg). ←
14. The American minstrel tradition included offensive blackface

performances and emphasized racial stereotypes thus, referring to Black minstrels in a seed-variety name is explicitly racist. ←

RUXIMIK QAK'U'X

RELACIONALIDADES	INESCAPABLE
INELUDIBLES EN EL ARTE	RELATIONALITIES IN GRUPO
ESCENICO DE GRUPO	SOTZ'IL'S PERFORMANCE
SOTZ'IL	PRACTICE

MARÍA REGINA FIRMINO-CASTILLO

DANIEL FERNANDO GUARCAX GONZÁLEZ, ON BEHALF OF
GRUPO SOTZ'IL

TOHIL FIDEL BRITO BERNAL

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

1. INTRODUCTION



Video: Sotz'il Jay.Xul K'ej: La Ocarina. Grupo Sotz'il Música y Danza Maya Kaqchikel: Wachib'äl, Documentales. Director, Víctor Manuel Barillas; Principal Actor, L. Lisandro Guarcax G. 2004.<http://www.gruposotzil.org.gt/wachibalgaleria-multimedia/>

Lisandro recolecta leña. Por casualidad, encuentra un **Iq'**—*un objeto vivo*.¹ **Iq'** es sinónimo de viento y también es uno de los veinte días—cada uno de los cuales es a su vez un ser vivo—del **Cholq'ij**, *el calendario ritual maya*. A objetos como éste se les llama **Iq'** porque llevan las voces de los ancestros, que están asociadas con el viento. Se dice que los ancestros son el viento y que sus voces son el viento. En este caso, el **Iq'** que Lisandro encuentra es un instrumento de viento. Lisandro coloca el **Iq'** en la tierra, en la base del cerro. Él coloca su comida y bebida allí, compartiendo su sustento con el **Iq'** y también compartiéndolo con el cerro. Lisandro se sienta con ellos; él les habla en meditación y escucha. A través de estos actos, Lisandro entra en relación con el **ruk'u'x**—el *corazón* o *fuerza vital*—del **Iq'** y del cerro. Estos actos despiertan la historia almacenada en su propio cuerpo: recuerdos de ataques violentos contra sus ancestros; pero también surge la memoria de **xajoj q'ojom**, *danza-música*, que fue prohibida por los españoles que invadieron el territorio Kaqchikel en el siglo XVI. Estas memorias reverberan por los huesos de Lisandro, por sus músculos, por su piel, convirtiéndose en **xajoj q'ojom**—*danza-música*—otra acción a través de la cual él entra en relación con su entorno.² El **xajoj q'ojom** es un diálogo entre el **ruk'u'x** (*corazón*) del músico-danzante y el **ruk'u'x** de todas las cosas: la materia viva del **Iq'**, o instrumento de viento, el suelo sobre el cual se danza, el cerro, el cielo, los ancestros, la esencia del día, y una gran variedad de entidades—humanas y de otro tipo—que habitan en la Tierra.

Lisandro collects firewood. By chance, he finds an **Iq'**—*a living object*.¹ **Iq'** is synonymous with wind and is also one of the twenty days—each of which is also a living being—in the **Cholq'ij**, the *Mayan ritual calendar*. Objects of these kind are called **Iq'** because they carry the voices of the ancestors, who are associated with the wind. It is said that the ancestors are the wind, and that the wind is their voice. In this case, the **Iq'** Lisandro finds happens to be a wind instrument. Lisandro places the **Iq'** on the ground, at the base of the mountain. He places his food and drink there, sharing his sustenance with the **Iq'** and the mountain. Lisandro sits with them; he speaks to them in meditation and listens. By these acts, Lisandro enters into relationship with the **ruk'u'x**—the *heart* or *life force*—of the **Iq'** and the mountain. These acts rouse the history stored within his own body: memories of violent attacks against his ancestors, but also of **xajoj q'ojom**, *dance-music* prohibited by the Spanish, who invaded Kaqchikel territory in the sixteenth century. These recollections reverberate through his bones, through his muscles, and his skin, becoming **xajoj q'ojom**—*dance-music*—another act through which he enters into relationship with his surroundings.² **Xajoj q'ojom** constitutes a dialogue between the **ruk'u'x** (*heart*) of the musician/dancer and the **ruk'u'x** of all things: the living matter of the **Iq'**, or wind instrument, the ground danced upon, the mountain, the sky, the ancestors, the essence of the day, and a great variety of entities—human and other—who inhabit Earth.

En el año 2000, en El Tablón, Sololá, Guatemala, el hombre que aparece en el video anterior, Tat Lisandro Guarcax,³ fundó el Grupo Sotz'il, un colectivo dedicado a la creación de **xajoj q'ojom**. Más que la creación de danza y música, el colectivo se involucra de manera transdisciplinaria en una teoría/praxis que abarca lo corporal, lo filosófico, lo espiritual y lo político. El **xajoj q'ojom** del Grupo Sotz'il nace de una raíz histórica maya kaqchikel, existiendo en el tiempo y respondiendo a dinámicas locales y globales a través de un constante reconocimiento y exploración de **ruximik qak'u'x**, *los lazos, o interconexiones, entre nuestros corazones: la relacionalidad radical e ineluctable entre todas las cosas*. En lo que sigue, se expone la teoría/práctica del Grupo Sotz'il sobre esta relacionalidad y al mismo tiempo se manifiesta el proceso de colaboración mediante el cual se escribió este artículo.

In the year 2000, in El Tablón, Sololá, Guatemala, the man in the video above, Tat Lisandro Guarcax,³ founded Grupo Sotz'il, a collective dedicated to the creation of **xajoj q'ojom**. More than the creation of dance and music, the collective engages in a transdisciplinary theory/praxis that encompasses corporeal, philosophical, spiritual, and political dimensions. The group's **xajoj q'ojom** is rooted in Kaqchikel Maya history, existing in time and responding to local and global dynamics through a constant recognition and exploration of **ruximik qak'u'x**, *the binding, or inter-connection, of our hearts: the radical and ineluctable relationality between all things*. This theory and practice of relationality as developed by Grupo Sotz'il will be discussed through a collective process in which **ruximik qak'u'x** also forms the basis of collaboration between the three authors.

2. NUESTRO PROCESO:

2. OUR PROCESS:

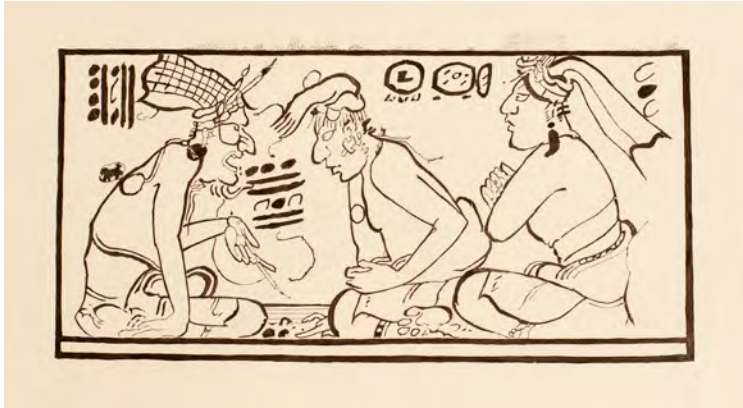


Imagen 1: **Ruximik qak'u'x** se manifiesta en la construcción de saberes: el conocimiento es un proceso intersubjetivo y dialógico, incluso dentro de la transmisión intergeneracional. Tal como se dice en kaqchikel, "**Nqatz'aqatsaj kitzij qati't qamama'**—es nuestro turno continuar las palabras de los ancestros."

Aquí, Pawahtuun imparte conocimiento a los jóvenes estudiantes; inferimos que los jóvenes mantendrán vivo este conocimiento a través de sus propias aplicaciones y transmisiones. Kerr (2004) se refiere a Pawahtuun como una deidad de las artes y la escritura (párrafo 1), pero consideramos que Pawahtuun es una figura histórica conmemorada en arcilla policromada por sus contribuciones intelectuales y artísticas. Estudio visual de un detalle de la vasija maya de cerámica (Kerr 1999a, vasija número 1196, procedencia desconocida, circa 550-950 CE) por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 1: **Ruximik qak'u'x** as manifest in knowledge-making: knowledge is an intersubjective and dialogical process, even when there is intergenerational transmittal. As is said in Kaqchikel, "**Nqatz'aqatsaj kitzij qati't qamama'**—it is our turn to continue the words of our ancestors." Here, knowledge is being imparted by Pawahtuun to young students; we infer that the young students will keep this knowledge alive by their own applications and transmissions. Kerr (2004) refers to Pawahtuun as a deity of arts and writing (para. 1), but we consider Pawahtuun to be an historical figure memorialized in clay and polychrome for his intellectual and artistic contributions. Visual study of a detail of Maya ceramic vessel (Kerr 1999a, vase number 1196; provenance unknown, circa 550-950 CE) by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

En el proceso de preparación de este texto, estamos atentos al **ruximik qak'u'x**, *la interconexión de nuestros corazones*, y al papel del mismo en la construcción del conocimiento; como tal, la relacionalidad de **ruximik qak'u'x** es el núcleo de nuestra epistemología, o forma de saber, desarrollada en forma colectiva. Esto complementa nuestro tema de investigación, la relacionalidad radical e ineludible en la base de **xajoj q'ojom**, la práctica de *danza-música* de Grupo Sotz'il. Con el fin de crear un espacio colectivo y dialógico en el que **ruximik qak'u'x** se manifieste en nuestra investigación, escritura, y proceso creativo, los lugares que habitamos y las prácticas a las que nos dedicamos constituyen nuestros distintos puntos de partida. Escribimos desde nuestras diferencias, pero, como colectivo, dos cosas nos unen: 1) el cordón umbilical de cada uno de nosotros está enterrado en algún lugar de Guatemala; y, 2) cada uno de nosotros utiliza las artes como herramientas de investigación, expresión y liberación personal y social. Aunque compartimos estas características en común, nuestras prácticas y perspectivas están marcadas por cómo cada una de nuestras trayectorias biográficas ha moldeado nuestra relación con la tierra que nos sintió nacer. En lo que sigue, nos presentamos en relación con esa tierra, y en relación entre nosotros, adentrándonos más profundamente en el tema de estas relaciones ineludibles.

In the process of preparing this text, we are attentive to **ruximik qak'u'x**, *the interconnection of our hearts*, and to its role in the construction of knowledge; as such, the relationality of **ruximik qak'u'x** is the core of our collectively developed epistemology, or way of knowing. This complements our topic of inquiry, the radical and inescapable relationality at the base of **xajoj q'ojom**, the *dance-music* practice of Grupo Sotz'il. In order to create a collective and dialogical space in which **ruximik qak'u'x** manifests in our research, writing, and creative process, the places we inhabit and the practices we enact constitute our distinct points of departure. We write from our differences, but, as a collective, two things join us: 1) each of our umbilical cords is buried somewhere in Guatemala; and, 2) each of us uses the arts as tools of research, expression, and personal and social liberation. Though we share these commonalities, our practices and perspectives are marked by how each of our biographical trajectories have shaped our relation to the land that felt our births. In what follows, we introduce ourselves in relation to that land, and in relation to each other, moving us deeper into the topic of these inescapable relationalities.



Imagen 2: Detalle de vasija maya códice, estilo Ik (Kerr 1999a, vasija número 791), de Motul de San José, Petén, Guatemala: en esta representación de danzantes-músicos, los movimientos y el sonido trascienden juntos, en uno, así como ocurre en el **xajoj q'ojom** del Grupo Sotz'il. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 2: Detail of a Maya codex vase in the Ik style (Kerr 1999a, vase number 791), from Motul de San José, Petén, Guatemala: in this depiction of dancer-musicians, movements and sound transcend together as one, as occurs in the **xajoj q'ojom** of Grupo Sotz'il. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Daniel Guarcax, en representación del Grupo Sotz'il: Soy músico/danzante kaqchikel autodidacta; he sido miembro del Grupo Sotz'il desde los trece años. Mi papel dentro del grupo es de conducir la parte musical de nuestros montajes escénicos. También participo como músico invitado en las marimbas tradicionales de Los Hermanos Meletz y de Ojer Rutzij Yaxón, maestros reconocidos en las comunidades kaqchikeles de Sololá. Desde el 2007 he sido miembro-fundador del Centro Cultural Sotz'il Jay (Casa del Murciélago); en la actualidad desempeño el cargo de representante legal del Centro. En esta colaboración, soy portavoz del Grupo Sotz'il; mi aporte es describir el trabajo del grupo y reflexionar sobre toda su trayectoria y visión dentro del tiempo y el espacio.

Daniel Guarcax, on behalf of Grupo Sotz'il: I am a self-taught Kaqchikel musician/dancer; I have been a member of Grupo Sotz'il since the age of thirteen. My role in the group is to conduct the musical aspects of our performances. I also participate as a guest musician in the traditional marimba groups Los Hermanos Meletz and Ojer Rutzij Yaxón, recognized as master ensembles throughout the Kaqchikel communities of Sololá. Since 2007, I have been a founding member of Sotz'il Jay (House of the Bat) Cultural Center, currently serving as its legal representative. In this collaboration, I am a spokesperson for Grupo Sotz'il; my contribution is to describe the group's work and reflect on its entire trajectory and vision within time and space.



Imagen 3: Glifo de la palabra **Itz'at** (artista, escriba, pensador; maya clásico): en Kerr (1999a, vasija 635), de Naranjo, Guatemala. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 3: Glyph of the word **Itz'at** (artist, scribe, thinker; Classical Maya): In Kerr (1999a, vase 635), from Naranjo, Guatemala. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal: Soy artista pluridisciplinario maya ixil, con estudios en arqueología de la Universidad de San Carlos, Guatemala. Estudié arte visual en México y Cuba, países donde viví desde temprana edad como refugiado debido a la violencia genocida desatada por el Estado de Guatemala, que nos puso en peligro a mi familia y a mí. Al centrarme en la investigación del arte maya en todas sus dimensiones, insisto obstinadamente en nuestra existencia, que ocurre pese a siglos de colonialismo y guerra. Así, mi arte se convierte en un acto político. En esta colaboración, mi contribución es la investigación y la ilustración visual de los conceptos filosóficos empleados por el Grupo Sotz'il. Con estos fines, hago correspondencias lingüísticas, iconográficas, epigráficas y a veces puramente poéticas. En lugar de buscar la certeza científica, este trabajo constituye una aproximación. Como tal, es un atrevido, pero respetuoso, intento de dialogar con el pasado para hablar en el presente.

Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal: I am an Ixil Maya multidisciplinary artist, with studies in archeology from the University of San Carlos, Guatemala. I studied visual art in México and Cuba, countries where I lived, from an early age, as a refugee due to the genocidal violence unleashed by the state of Guatemala that endangered my family and me. By focusing on the investigation of Mayan art in all its dimensions, I stubbornly insist on our existence despite centuries of colonialism and war. Thus my art becomes a political act. In this collaboration, my contribution is the visual research and illustration of the philosophical concepts employed by Grupo Sotz'il. To these ends, I make linguistic, iconographic, epigraphic, and sometimes purely poetic correspondences. Instead of pursuing scientific certainty, this work constitutes an approximation. As such, it is a bold, but respectful, attempt to dialogue with the past in order to speak in the present.



Imagen 4: Glifo de la palabra **U-tz'i-b'a-la** (su/la escritura; maya clásico): En vasija códice, estilo Ik (Kerr 1991a, vasija 791), del sitio Ik, Motul de San José, Petén, Guatemala. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 4: Glyph of the word **U-tz'i-b'a-la** (their/the writing; Classical Maya): On codex vase in the Ik style (Kerr 1991a, vase 791), from Ik site, Motul de San José, Petén, Guatemala. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

María Regina Firmino-Castillo: Soy artista multidisciplinaria, antropóloga e investigadora de la expresión corporal en su dimensión decolonial y política. Nací en Guatemala de una madre de la frontera con Cuscatlán/El Salvador y de un padre migrante italiano. Viví mi infancia en los Estados Unidos; regresé a Guatemala como adulta, en donde, a través de la convivencia y el matrimonio, formé vínculos de parentesco y afinidad, respectivamente, con mi familia ixil y mis amigos kaqchikeles, entre otros. Como descendiente de ancestros nahua/ pipil y del sur de Europa, tengo en mis venas el ADN (o sangre si uno prefiere) de víctimas y sobrevivientes (y también de perpetradores). Teniendo mucho que decolonizar y varias reparaciones que hacer, esta colaboración es un esfuerzo en ambos ámbitos. Como tejedora, coloco y organizo los hilos de nuestro diálogo, identificando patrones armónicos y consultando, una y otra vez, con mis interlocutores sobre la integridad del diseño.

María Regina Firmino-Castillo: I am a multidisciplinary artist, anthropologist, and researcher of performance in its decolonial and political dimensions. I was born in Guatemala to a mother from the border with Cuscatlán/El Salvador and an Italian immigrant father. I was raised in the US, returning to Guatemala as an adult, where, through conviviality and marriage, I made bonds of kinship and affinity with my Ixil family and Kaqchikel friends, respectively. Being descended from Nahua/Pipil and southern European ancestors, I have in my veins the DNA (or blood if one prefers) of victims and survivors (as well as that of perpetrators). Having much to decolonize and many reparations to make, this collaboration is an effort in both spheres. As a weaver, I place and organize the threads of our dialogue, identifying harmonic patterns, and consulting, again and again, with my interlocutors about the integrity of the design.

Es en estas coyunturas, pero también en las disyuntivas, donde nuestra colaboración encuentra tierra fértil para echar raíz. En este texto, nuestras voces resuenan desde un terreno ancestral de linajes continuos—a pesar de la violencia genocida—y nuestras voces hacen eco en la creciente diáspora que lucha por mantener esas conexiones intactas—a pesar de las distancias geográficas y las circunstancias históricas de desplazamiento y exilio. Las yuxtaposiciones entre nuestras diferentes formas de ser, distintas formas de saber, y múltiples formas de expresarnos activan **ruximik qak'u'x**—*interconexiones entre corazones*. Ésta es la relacionalidad de la cual somos parte y que, a su vez, nos constituye. Nuestras voces e imágenes se entrelazan así en una **rukemik qana'oj**—*tela de pensamientos entretelados*—que contribuye al tapiz, aun por terminar, que nos dejaron nuestros ancestros. Este concepto del conocimiento en el tiempo se expresa en kaqchikel con la frase: **nqatz'aqatsaj kitzij qati't qamama'**—*ahora nos toca complementar las palabras de nuestros abuelos*. Con las palabras y con las imágenes seguimos las huellas dejadas por los **ajtz'ib'** y **ajtzij**, *escritores y comunicadores*. Con movimiento y sonido, seguimos los pasos de **ajxajonel-q'ojomanel**, *danzantes-músicos*. Dialogando entre nosotros volvemos a dialogar con las piedras, y también las estrellas, la luna, los volcanes, y una multitud de seres terrenales, celestiales, y de todas dimensiones en el espacio y el tiempo.

It is in these junctures, but also disjunctures, that our collaboration finds fertile earth and takes root. In this text, our voices resound from an ancestral ground of continuous lineages—despite genocidal violence—and our voices echo back and forth from the growing diaspora that struggles to keep connections intact—despite geographic distances and historical circumstances of displacement and exile. The juxtapositions between our different ways of being, distinct ways of knowing, and multiple forms of expressing ourselves activate **ruximik qak'u'x**—*interconnections between hearts*. This is the relationality we are part of, and which, at the same time, constitutes each of us. Our voices and images are thus joined in a **rukemik qana'oj**—*fabric of interwoven thoughts*—that contributes to the unfinished tapestry left to us by our ancestors. This theory of knowledge in time is expressed in Kaqchikel by the phrase: **nqatz'aqatsaj kitzij qati't qamama'**—*now it is our turn to continue the words of our ancestors*. With words and images, we follow the steps left by the **ajtz'ib'** and the **ajtzij**, *writers and communicators*. With movement and sound, we follow the steps of the **ajxajonel-q'ojomanel**, *dancers-musicians*. Dialoguing among ourselves, we can dialogue once again with the stones, and also the stars, the moon, the volcanoes, and a multitude of terrestrial and celestial beings, and beings of all dimensions in space and time.



Imagen 5: Estudio visual de un detalle del Códice de Dresde (circa 1500 [1892], folio 64/74) y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito-Bernal (2017): Huellas enmarcadas en rectángulos blancos entrelazados indican pasos, movimientos, caminos. Este es un espacio transitado, los caminos recorridos por nuestros antepasados y señas para proceder. Las huellas trazan el **sakbejo'ob'** (maya yukateko, carreteras blancas), una red de caminos conocidos por su peculiar luminosidad debido a los materiales utilizados en su construcción. Estos forman un sistema de carreteras y calzadas construidas para comunicar las regiones mayas y las ciudades-estado durante la llamada "Era Clásica" (250-900 C.E); continúan teniendo un significado espiritual y político además de un uso práctico.

Image 5: Visual study of a detail of the Dresden Codex (circa 1500 [1892], folio 64/74) and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito-Bernal (2017): Footprints framed in white interlocking rectangles indicate steps, movements, paths. This is a transited space, the paths walked by our ancestors, and signs to proceed onwards. The footprints trace the **sakbejo'ob'** (Yukatek Maya, white roads), a network of roads known for their peculiar luminescence due to the materials used in their construction. These form a system of roads and causeways built to communicate Mayan regions and city-states during the so-called "Classic era" (250-900 C.E); they continue to have a spiritual and political significance in addition to a practical use.

3. GRUPO SOTZ'IL EN EL
ESPACIO Y EL TIEMPO

3. GRUPO SOTZ'IL IN
SPACE AND TIME



Imagen 6: Integrantes del Grupo Sotz'il
en sus inicios; foto Victorino Tejaxún, ar-
chivo Grupo Sotz'il, circa 2000.

Image 6: Members of Grupo Sotz'il;
photo, Victorino Tejaxún, Grupo
Sotz'il archive, circa 2000.

El Grupo Sotz'il se fundó en 1996, solo cuatro años después de la firma de la paz que terminó con 36 años de guerra genocida. Los fundadores del grupo (que incluían a Daniel Guarcax) eran jóvenes kaqchikeles que tenían un deseo inquieto de participar en todas las áreas de la sociedad, desde lo artístico a lo político a lo científico. De acuerdo con el marco holístico del conocimiento maya, la intención de Grupo Sotz'i era hacer esto mediante la profundización de nuestro conocimiento de la filosofía y espiritualidad kaqchikel a través del estudio intergeneracional del **xajoj q'ojom** (*danza-música*) complementado por la investigación en el registro escrito y arqueológico.

Antes de continuar con nuestro tema, la interrelacionalidad al corazón de la práctica de Grupo Sotz'il, es importante tener en cuenta las complejas y violentas circunstancias históricas bajo las cuales se fundó el Grupo Sotz'il. Este contexto, que se ha desarrollado durante siglos, está marcado por cuatro épocas superpuestas. La primera fue la invasión y ocupación militar de los territorios mayas por fuerzas imperiales españolas que ocurrió al principio del siglo dieciséis. El segundo periodo sucedió en el siglo diecinueve, durante la mal-llamada época de Independencia, cuando las naciones mayas siguieron bajo el yugo neocolonial de nuevas clases de élites criollas, y después, capitalistas. El tercer periodo se produjo en 1960, con el comienzo de una guerra que duró treinta y seis años, y en la cual el Estado lanzó una campaña de terror dirigida contra la población civil bajo el pretexto de “contrainsurgencia;” aunque la violencia fue general, las comunidades mayas de Guatemala fueron los

Grupo Sotz'il was founded just four years after the signing of the 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords which ended thirty-six years of genocidal war. The group's founders (which included Daniel Guarcax) were Kaqchikel youth who had a restless desire to participate in all areas of society, from the artistic to the political to the scientific. In keeping with the holistic framework of Mayan knowledge, Grupo Sotz'is intention was to do this by deepening our knowledge of Kaqchikel philosophy and spirituality through the intergenerational study of **xajoj q'ojom** (*dance-music*) complemented by research in the written and archaeological record.

Before proceeding to our topic, the interrelationality at the core of Grupo Sotz'il's practice, it is important to note the complex historical circumstances under which Grupo Sotz'il was founded. This context, which has unfolded over centuries, is marked by four overlapping epochs. The first was at the start of the sixteenth century when Spanish imperial forces invaded Maya territories and started a centuries-long military occupation. The second period occurred in the nineteenth century, during the so-called Independence period, when Maya nations continued under the neocolonial yoke of creole and, later, capitalist elites. The third epoch came in 1960, the beginning of a war that lasted thirty-six years and in which the State launched a campaign of terror directed against the civilian population under the pretext of “counter-insurgency;” though the violence

principales objetivos de las políticas genocidas del Estado. Tras la firma de los Acuerdos de Paz en 1996 comenzó el cuarto periodo, caracterizado por condiciones de guerra que persisten hasta nuestros días: altos índices de violencia al igual que represión política y cultural; negligencia del Estado en relación a la salud, educación, e infraestructura social; la intensiva explotación de recursos naturales a favor de la clase oligarca e intereses transnacionales; y el despojo continuo de Pueblos Originarios de sus territorios ancestrales.

Es importante notar que a lo largo de estos cuatro momentos en la historia de Guatemala (y de la región), la danza y la música han sido criminalizadas y reprimidas violentamente. Esto se debe a que las prácticas expresivas corporales construyen y transmiten ontologías, es decir, formas de existir y relacionarse en el mundo (Firmino Castillo 2016). Éstas eran ontologías corporales que la colonialidad genocida intentó destruir para imponer formaciones ontológicas basadas en una desconexión con la tierra. En otras palabras, la relationalidad que Grupo Sotz'il activa a través de su práctica fue (y hasta cierto punto continúa siendo) el objetivo de los regímenes coloniales y neocoloniales basados en economías extractivas que se benefician de la cosificación de la tierra, de las personas, y de toda la materia (Castillo 2018). Fue solo con la firma en 1996 de los Acuerdos de Paz que el Estado respetó y protegió los derechos de los Pueblos Indígenas a participar en estas prácticas—que incluían el ritual, la espiritualidad y la danza—al menos en teoría.

was general, Guatemala's Mayan communities were the main targets of the State's genocidal policies. After the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, the fourth epoch began, with war-like conditions which persist until the present day: high levels of violence as well as political and cultural repression; neglect by the State in the areas of health, education, and social infrastructure; intensive exploitation of natural resources to benefit the oligarchy and transnational interests; and the continued dispossession of First Nations peoples of their ancestral territories.

It is important to note that throughout these four points in the history of Guatemala (and the region), dance and music have been criminalized and violently repressed. This is because embodied expressive practices construct and transmit ontologies, that is to say, ways of being and relating in the world (Firmino Castillo 2016). These were embodied ontologies that genocidal coloniality attempted to destroy in order to impose ontological formations based on a disconnection to land. In other words, the relationality that Grupo Sotz'il activates through their practice was (and to a degree continues to be) the target of colonial and neocolonial regimes based on extractive economies that benefit from the thingification of land, persons, and all matter (Castillo 2018). It was only with the 1996 signing of the Peace Accords that Indigenous peoples' rights to engage in these practices—which included ritual, spirituality, and dance—were respected and protected by the State, at least in theory.

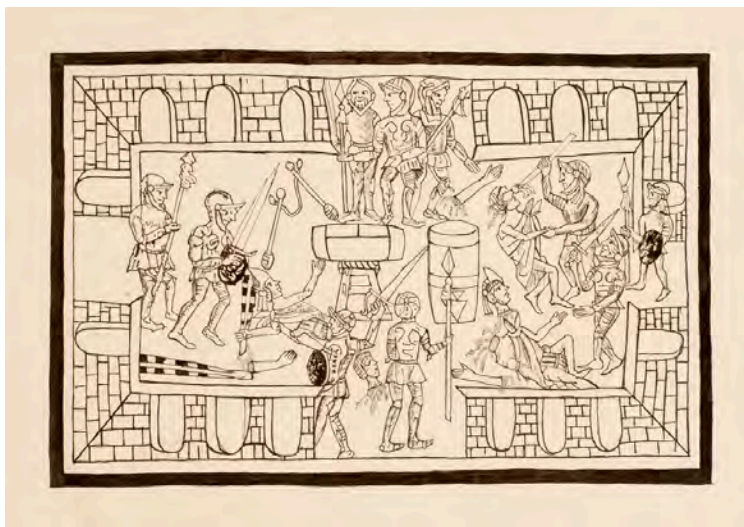


Imagen 7: Masacre durante el Festival Toxcatl en Tenochtitlan, el 22 de mayo de 1520. Como se puede ver en el dibujo, los soldados españoles masacran a músicos, danzantes y conductores de rituales durante la ceremonia en honor a los hermanos divinos, Tezcatlipoca y Huitzilopochtli. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, basado en el original en el Códice Durán, o La Historia de las Indias de Nueva España (1581 [1994], folio 211r).

Image 7: Massacre during the Toxcatl Festival in Tenochtitlan, on May 22, 1520. As can be seen in the drawing, Spanish soldiers massacre musicians, dancers, and ritual officiants during ceremony for the divine brothers, Tezcatlipoca and Huitzilopochtli. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, after the original in the Durán Codex, or La Historia de las Indias de Nueva España (1581 [1994], folio 211r).

En la apertura prometida por los Acuerdos de Paz, Grupo Sotz'il pudo producir un cuerpo de obras escénicas. En el 2004, el grupo presentó *Kaji' Imox* (nombre del gobernante kaqchikel en el siglo dieciséis). Este montaje escénico se basa en el *Memorial de Sololá, Anales de los Kaqchikeles*, un texto de la época colonial que relata la historia kaqchikel desde el siglo doce hasta la invasión y ocupación militar española en el siglo dieciséis. En *Kaji' Imox*, nosotros contamos nuestra propia historia. *Kaji' Imox* reveló nuestra perspectiva de hechos pasados, reflejó las condiciones socio-políticas en que vivíamos en ese entonces y, a la vez, proyectó un lamentable futuro. En 1540, *Kaji' Imox*, nuestro **k'amol b'ey**, *guía principal del camino, o líder*, fue torturado y asesinado por invasores españoles. En los siglos siguientes, sucedió lo mismo con muchos otros líderes, incluyendo a nuestro fundador, Tat Lisandro, quien fue secuestrado, torturado y asesinado en el 2010 a la edad de treinta y dos años. Estos hechos evidencian la continuidad de la violencia generada a lo largo de los últimos cinco siglos. En lugar de paralizarnos por el temor del asesinato de Tat Lisandro, se encendió nuestro compromiso por crear un arte íntegro, vivo y con relevancia para nuestras comunidades: un arte que provoca reflexionar, analizar, y cuestionar la realidad en la que vivimos. Con ese fin, ponemos en escena el pasado y el presente, y así visualizamos un futuro diferente.

In the opening promised by the Peace Accords, Grupo Sotz'il was able to produce a body of work. In 2004, the group presented *Kaji' Imox* (name of the sixteenth century Kaqchikel ruler). This performance is based on *Memorial de Sololá, Anales de los Kaqchikeles* (*Memory of Sololá, Annals of the Kaqchikel*), a colonial-era text that recounts Kaqchikel history from the twelfth century until the sixteenth century Spanish invasion and military occupation. In *Kaji' Imox* we tell our own history. *Kaji' Imox* revealed our perspective on past events and reflected the socio-political conditions in which we lived at the time; at the same time, it projected an unfortunate future. In 1540, *Kaji' Imox*, our **k'amol b'ey**—*principal guide of the way, or leader*—was tortured and murdered by the Spanish. In subsequent centuries, the same thing occurred to many of our leaders, including our founder, Tat Lisandro, who was kidnapped, tortured, and murdered in 2010 at the age of thirty-two. These deeds demonstrate the continuity of violence over the past five centuries. But instead of being paralyzed by fear, Tat Lisandro's assassination ignited our commitment to create an integral and living art that is relevant to our communities: an art that provokes reflection, analysis, and that interrogates the reality in which we live. To that end, we stage the past and present to envision a different future.



Imagen 8: Tat Lisandro Guarcax; Foto,
Archivo de Grupo Sotz'il, 2009.

Image 8: Tat Lisandro Guarcax; photo,
Grupo Sotz'il archive, 2009.



Imagen 9: Cerámica excavada en el entierro 116, Tikal, Guatemala, Complejo Imix. El glifo en el centro dice “**kuch sabak** contenedor para tinta” (Kerr 1999b, Imagen 6580). Desde el caracol del tiempo en espiral, sacamos la tinta con la que trazamos nuestro pasado-presente-futuro. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017, basado en la foto de Kerr (1999b, número 6580).

Image 9: Ceramic excavated from burial 116, Tikal, Guatemala, Imix Complex. The glyph in the center reads, “**kuch sabak** container for ink” (Kerr 1999b, Image 6580). From the spiraling conch shell of time, we draw the ink with which we trace our past-present-future. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017, after Kerr's photograph (1999b, number 6580.)



Imagen 10: Glifo "K'ak'" (fuego ritual; maya clásico), en Kettunen y Helmke (2010, 8). Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 10: Glyph "K'ak'" (ritual fire, Classical Maya), in Kettunen and Helmke (2010, 8). Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Como parte del proceso del Grupo Sotz'il, en el cual pasado-presente-futuro se conjugan, consultamos con abuelas y abuelos, agricultores, terapeutas tradicionales, líderes comunitarios, artistas, **ajq'ija'**—*guías espirituales*—y otras personas importantes para la comunidad. Pedimos permiso ante ellas y ellos, nuestras autoridades ancestrales, y ante el **Loq'oloh Q'aq'**—*Fuego Ceremonial*. Esto último es una de las diferentes formas de comunicarnos con las entidades que presiden sobre la creación de **xajoj q'ojom**, *danza-música*, entre otras cosas. También investigamos fuentes arqueológicas para profundizar en nuestra visión dramática y así entender los contextos históricos y sociales de una obra. En estas formas encontramos elementos artísticos innovadores para nuestro arte escénico. Las tradiciones son el eje del proceso del Grupo Sotz'il; como tal, las valoramos y las vivimos a través de la práctica. Esto significa que reconocemos que las tradiciones son dinámicas y capaces de responder a cambios ambientales e históricos de todo tipo. Por ende, es de suma importancia el ejercicio de cuestionar no sólo las prácticas de culturas impuestas, sino también las prácticas de nuestra propia cultura. Cuando no regeneramos el conocimiento y las prácticas, se vuelven costumbres, o hábitos no pensados: formas autómatas que no responden a nuestras condiciones cambiantes. Se vuelven representaciones descontextualizadas que carecen de intenciones, sentidos, y esencia. Podemos investigar, pero si no usamos el conocimiento para crear algo nuevo, como artistas, lo volvemos folclor: es decir, algo estático, exótico, una reliquia curiosa sin relevancia para la actualidad. El aspecto político del trabajo de Sotz'il se manifiesta en el empeño de generar nuevos conocimientos desde la cosmovisión, pero con miras a un futuro en el cual nuestros pueblos puedan manifestar su pleno **kik'uxlal k'aslemal**—*existir o vivir con dulzura en el corazón como consecuencia de una vida responsable*.

As part of Grupo Sotz'il's process, in which past-present-future are conjugated, we consult with elders, farmers, traditional therapists, community leaders, artists, **ajq'ija'**—*spiritual guides*—and other people important to the community. We ask for the permission of our ancestral authorities and of the **Loq'oloh Q'aq'**—*the Ceremonial Fire*. The latter is one of many ways we communicate with the entities that preside over the creation of **xajoj q'ojom**, *dance-music*, among other things. We also investigate archaeological sources that deepen our dramaturgical insights in order to better understand the historical and social contexts of a work. In these forms we find artistic elements that provoke innovation in our stage craft. Traditions are the axis of Grupo Sotz'il's process; as such, these are respected and valued through practice. This means we recognize that traditions are dynamic and capable of responding to environmental and historical changes of all kinds. Along these lines, we consider the practice of critique to be of principal importance; we question not only the practices of cultures imposed upon us, but also the practices of our own culture. When we do not regenerate our knowledge and practices, they become customs, or unexamined habits: automatic forms that do not respond to our changing conditions. They become decontextualized representations that lack intention, affect, and substance. We can research, but if we do not use knowledge to create something new, as artists, we produce folklore: that is, something static, exotic, a curious relic without relevance to the present. The political aspect of Sotz'il's work is manifest in the effort to generate new knowledge rooted in our worldview, but with a view toward a future in which our peoples can fully enact **ki'kuxlal k'aslemal**—*to exist or live with sweetness in the heart as a consequence of a responsible life*.

4. EN DIÁLOGO CON KAJ
ULEW, CIELO-TIERRA:
MOVIMIENTO, IMAGEN,
SONIDO, Y PALABRA

4. IN DIALOGUE WITH KAJ
ULEW, EARTH-SKY:
MOVEMENT, IMAGE, SOUND,
AND WORD



Video: Uk'u'x Ulew: Grupo Sotz'il. KIWE/KAQCHIKEL: International Indigenous Cultural Exchange: Jalwachinik na'ojilal b'anob'äl.

Describir **xajoj q'ojom** como “danza-música” es insuficiente porque no representa adecuadamente la complejidad del término. **Xajoj** significa danza, y el movimiento es un elemento de la danza, incluso es así en aparente inmovilidad si consideramos los movimientos internos de nuestros cuerpos y los movimientos giratorios del planeta. **Q'ojom** se refiere a la música, al sonido. Cada palabra puede usarse por sí misma, pero cuando se unen, su complementariedad inherente se revela debido al hecho de que el sonido y el movimiento coexisten y son interdependientes. La música siempre depende del movimiento dado que todo sonido es producto de la vibración de la materia. La materia en movimiento causa que el ambiente circundante vibre, dando como resultado ondas de sonido. De manera similar, cada objeto en movimiento produce vibraciones y, por lo tanto, sonido. Conscientes de esta interdependencia entre el sonido y el movimiento, Grupo Sotz'il crea **xajoj q'ojom**—*movimiento en sonido/ sonido en movimiento*—para contar historias, pero también para provocar una mayor conciencia de la matriz relacional en la que existimos. *Uk'u'x Ulew: Corazón de la Tierra* es una de las obras de **xajoj q'ojom** de Grupo Sotz'il en la que esto se ejemplifica. Combina elementos lúdicos dentro de un contexto espiritual y político para provocar reflexión sobre las dimensiones ecológicas, sociales, políticas, y espirituales de nuestra crisis planetaria, al tiempo que enfatiza nuestra responsabilidad humana de restaurar la relacionalidad con **Qate' Ulew**, *la Madre Tierra, nuestra matriz ecológica*. Las obras no sólo son **atz'anin** o **ka'ay**, *juegos* o *diversiones*.

To describe **xajoj q'ojom** as “dance-music” is not enough for it fails to adequately represent the complexity of the term. **Xajoj** means dance, and movement is an element of dance, even in apparent stillness if we consider the internal movements of our bodies and the rotating movements of the planet. **Q'ojom** refers to music, to sound. Each word can be used on its own, but when they are joined, their inherent complementarity is revealed as sound and movement coexist and are interdependent. Music always depends on movement given that all sound is the product of the vibration of matter. Moving matter causes the surrounding environment to vibrate, resulting in sound waves. Similarly, every object in movement produces vibrations, and therefore, sound. Aware of this interdependence between sound and movement, Grupo Sotz'il creates **xajoj q'ojom**—*movement in sounds/sounds in movement*—to tell stories, but also to provoke a heightened awareness of the relational matrix in which we exist. *Uk'u'x Ulew: Heart of Earth* is one of Grupo Sotz'il's works of **xajoj q'ojom** in which this is exemplified. It combines ludic elements within a spiritual and political context in order to provoke reflection on the ecological, social, political, and spiritual dimensions of our current planetary crisis, while emphasizing our human responsibility to restore relationality with **Qate' Ulew**, *Mother Earth, our ecological matrix*. Grupo Sotz'il's creations are not only **atz'anin** or **ka'ay**, *games* or

Tampoco son coreografías centradas principalmente en elementos formales ejecutados en el tiempo y el espacio. Son **xuklem: rituales**, o actos de acercamiento y diálogo con **Kaj Ulew, Cielo-Tierra**. Como se explica en *Ati't Xajoj (Danzando con la Abuela)*, el reciente libro del Grupo Sotz'il en el que se sistematiza la metodología de **xajoj q'ojom**, "...la danza va más allá, es como 'tomar el pensamiento del otro' *xqa amajej*.... llevar a las personas a 'otro mundo', a otra dimensión, a la trascendencia" (30). El músico-danzante trasciende los confines de su individualidad para entrar en una interrelación con otras entidades—otros danzantes, el público, o seres más-que-humanos—con quienes dialogamos a través de una percepción elevada que resulta de, y está al centro de, **xajoj q'ojom, danza-música**.

amusements. Nor are they choreographies focused primarily on formal elements executed in time and space. They are **xuklem: ritual acts of rapprochement and dialogue** with **Kaj Ulew, Sky-Earth**. As stated in *Ati't Xajoj (Dancing with the Grandmother)*, the recent book by Grupo Sotz'il (2015) that systematizes the methodology behind **xajoj q'ojom**, "...the dance goes beyond, it's like 'taking the thought of another' *xqa amajej*....taking persons to 'another world', to another dimension, to a state of transcendence" (30).⁴ The musician-dancer transcends the confines of their individuality to enter into a relationality with other entities—other dancers, the public, and other-than-human beings—with whom we dialogue through a heightened perception that results from, and is the core of, **xajoj q'ojom, dance-music**.



Imagen 11: Las figuras en silueta (en el fondo) son Jun Batz' y Jun Chowen, los gemelos en la obra literaria maya K'iche' con raíces precoloniales, Popol Wuj (Sam Colop 2008). Allí, los gemelos se describen como maestros de todas las artes, aunque fueron asediados por dificultades, incluyendo ser convertidos en monos aulladores debido a la envidia que sentían hacia sus hermanos menores. La mujer que danza en primer plano (de figura de Jaina) percibe la presencia de Jun Batz' y Jun Chowen, ya que está involucrada en **xajoj q'ojom**. Estudio visual y dibujo de la figura de Jaina (Museo Nacional de Antropología, México) y detalle de la vasija códice Kerr 6063 (Kerr 1999) por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 11: The figures in silhouette (in the background) are Jun Batz' and Jun Chowen, the twins in the K'iche' Maya literary work with precolonial roots, Popol Wuj (Sam Colop 2008). There, the twins are described as masters of all the arts, though they were besieged by difficulties, including being turned into howler monkeys due to the envy they felt toward their younger siblings. The dancing woman in the foreground (from Jaina figurine) perceives the presence of Jun Batz' and Jun Chowen as she is engaged in **xajoj q'ojom**. Visual study and drawing of Jaina figure (Museo Nacional de Antropología, México) and detail from codex vase Kerr 6063 (Kerr 1999), by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Este estado de percepción es provocado por un fenómeno que en kaqchikel se llama **retal**, una palabra que se refiere a las *señas impredecibles* que forman parte de **xajoj q'ojom** y también de **xuklem**, o *ritual*. Dentro de los montajes escénicos de Grupo Sotz'il, las energías del espacio-tiempo se manifiestan en forma de **retal**, que son recibidas y reconocidas en el acto de **xajoj q'ojom**. El proceso es imposible de predecir, pero el **retal** tiene su efecto. Un **retal** puede venir en la forma de una mirada, el vuelo de una bandada de aves, el roce de tela contra la piel de un danzante, o los movimientos del fuego que forma parte del montaje. El **retal** influye en el curso de la acción de los músicos-danzantes en el espacio y el tiempo, pero las presentaciones no son espacios de improvisación libre. Al **retal** se le da su espacio y reconocimiento como una manifestación de **ruk'u'x**, *corazón o fuerza vital*, en su búsqueda de diálogo con y entre los danzantes-músicos, entre los danzantes-músicos y el público, y entre los danzantes-músicos y **Kaj Ulew**, *Cielo-Tierra*.

This state of perception is brought about by a phenomenon that in Kaqchikel is called **retal**, a word that refers to the *unpredictable signs* that are part of **xajoj q'ojom** and also of **xuklem**, or *ritual*. Within Grupo Sotz'il's performances, the energies of time-space come forth in the form of **retal**, which are received and acknowledged in the enactment of **xajoj q'ojom**. The process is impossible to predict, but the **retal** have their effect. A **retal** can come in the form of a glance, the flight of a flock of birds, the touch of cloth against the skin of a dancer, or in the movements of the fire which forms part of the performance. The **retal** influences the course of action of the musician-dancers in space and time. But the performances are not spaces of free improvisation. The **retal** is given its space and recognition as a manifestation of **ruk'u'x**, *heart or vital force*, in its quest for dialogue with and between the dancer-musicians, between the dancer-musicians and the public, and between the dancer-musicians and **Kaj Ulew**, *Sky-Earth*.

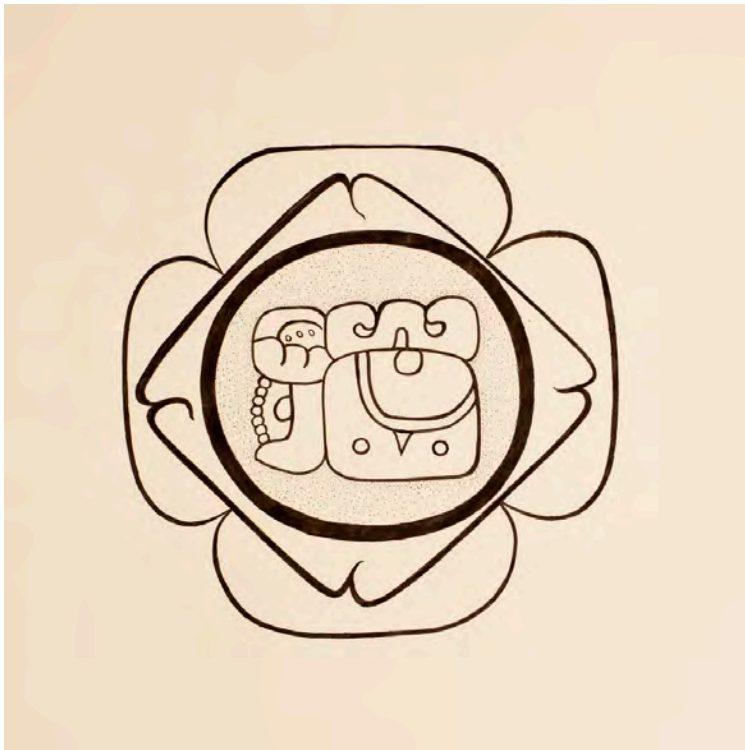


Imagen 12: Estudio visual del glifo "a-wo-la" (tu corazón; maya clásico) por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017. Número de glifo T229.67 en Montgomery (2003, 534).

Image 12: Visual study of the glyph "a-wo-la" (your heart; Classical Maya) by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017. Glyph number T229.67 in Montgomery 2003, 534).

El **ruk'u'x** es un núcleo. Es el corazón de lo existente: la fuerza animadora de las personas, de las plantas, los animales, el agua, los elementos orgánicos y minerales y otros seres. **Ruximik qak'u'x**, *la interconexión de los corazones*, es la fusión de mente, cuerpo, y energía. Esta integridad se puede provocar a través de una energía interna que se proyecta, buscando interrelación con las entidades 'externas' a uno. Esto puede suceder al acercarse al fuego, cuando el músico-danzante calienta la piel, los huesos, y las articulaciones de su cuerpo. Con el fin de calentar la mente, el músico-danzante se inclina para recibir el calor en la frente. También se abraza el fuego para que penetre en el núcleo de uno. Esta oscilación entre lo interno y externo sucede a través de estas prácticas, y otras, que constituyen el **xajoj q'ojom** y lo hacen un conducto de interrelacionalidad. Por lo tanto, el **xajoj q'ojom** es un acto de reciprocidad. Danzar es, como se describe en el *Ati't Xajoj*, invocación y agradecimiento a través de una ofrenda corporal: "el cansancio, el esfuerzo y el 'sudor' del danzante son la ofrenda, el regalo, el homenaje a las energías del Cosmos, a los abuelos y abuelas" (30). De esta manera, los montajes escénicos cuentan una historia y, al mismo tiempo, revelan el **ruximik qak'u'x ruk'a Kaj Ulew**, *la conexión de nuestra esencia con Cielo Tierra, una interdependencia que es la condición ineludible de nuestra existencia*.

Otra forma de interrelación es la del cuerpo del músico-danzante con las energías del tiempo. Por ejemplo, el agrietamiento de las articulaciones de los cuerpos en movimiento, y otras manifestaciones corporales, son vías de diálogo con el **ruk'u'x**. Parte del entrenamiento de los músico-danzantes es percibir las articulaciones, los huesos, y otras partes del cuerpo en donde las veinte energías del **Cholq'ij**, *el ordenamiento del tiempo* (calendario maya), están marcadas en sus

The **ruk'u'x** is a nucleus. It is the heart of that which exists: the animating force of people, plants, animals, water, organic and mineral elements and other beings. **Ruximik qak'u'x**, *the interconnection of hearts*, is the fusion of mind, body, and energy. This integrity can be brought about by an internal energy projected outwards as it seeks an interrelation with 'external' entities. This can happen when approaching the fire, when the musician-dancer warms their skin, their bones, and the joints of their body. Aiming to warm the mind, the musician-dancer leans into the fire to receive its warmth on their forehead. One also embraces the fire, so that it penetrates into one's nucleus. This oscillation between the inner and outer happens through these practices, and others, which constitute **xajoj q'ojom**, and makes of it a conduit of interrelationality. As such, **xajoj q'ojom** is an act of reciprocity. As described in *Ati't Xajoj*, dance is an invocation and an act of gratitude through corporeal offering: "the weariness, the effort and the 'sweat' of the dancer are the offering, the gift, the homage to the energies of the Cosmos, to the ancestors" (Grupo Sotzil 2015, 30). In this way, the performances tell a story and at the same time reveal **ruximik qak'u'x ruk'a Kaj Ulew**, *the connection of our essence with Sky Earth, an interdependence that is the inescapable condition of our existence*.

Another form of interrelation is that of the musician-dancer's body with the energies of time. For example, the moving body's cracking of the joints, and other corporeal manifestations, are channels of dialogue with **ruk'u'x**. Part of the musician-dancer's training is to perceive the joints, bones, and other parts of the body where the twenty energies of the **Cholq'ij**, *the ordering of time*

diferentes manifestaciones. Dentro de la filosofía maya, el tiempo también tiene **ruk'u'x**. Como se explica en *Ati't Xajoj*, el **Cholq'ij** es un calendario lunar integrado por trece meses de veinte días. Además, “Cada uno de los veinte días se refiere a una energía concreta que se manifiesta en trece potencialidades a lo largo del ciclo completo” (Matul y Cabrera en Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 18). Estas veinte energías corresponden a entidades de la naturaleza, por ejemplo, animales, lugares, colores, elementos, y fenómenos, como es el anochecer, entre otros. Éstas tienen características “tanto energéticas como psicológicas y sociales” (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 27) y están plasmadas en diferentes puntos del cuerpo, razón por la cual se le dice al ser humano **jun winaq**, conjunto de una veintena de energías. En el *Ati't Xajoj* se explica que: “Danzar como acto sagrado, supone convertirse en un canal energético” que nos permite “...profundizar en cada Energía, en cada animal, en sus movimientos, sonidos...” (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 27).

Todas las cosas en el cosmos tienen **ru-xuq'ab'il**, fuerza energética. Por eso, los objetos-seres que acompañan las presentaciones del Grupo Sotz'il—las máscaras, los instrumentos musicales, los telares y textiles, el fuego, las resinas aromáticas, y sustancias—son *objetos vivos*. Los instrumentos y máscaras son hechos por los músicos-danzantes y son activados a través de la ritualidad y velados durante la noche anterior a una presentación. Estos objetos vivientes tienen, en su materialidad, una energía que se denomina **q'aq'al**, *combustión resplandeciente* en potencialidad. En el caso de los instrumentos musicales, también tienen otra energía al momento de soplarlos o tocarlos que se llama **k'oxomal**, *vibraciones sonoras*.

(Mayan calendar), are marked in their different manifestations. Within Mayan philosophy, time also has **ruk'u'x**. As explained in *Ati't Xajoj*, the **Cholq'ij** is a lunar calendar composed of thirteen months of twenty days. Furthermore, “each of the twenty days refers to a concrete energy that manifests through thirteen potentialities throughout an entire cycle” (Matul and Cabrera in Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 18). These twenty energies correspond to entities in nature, for example, animals, places, colors, elements, and phenomena such as twilight, among others. These have “energetic as well as psychological and social” characteristics (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 27) and are embedded in different parts of the body. This is why the human being is referred to as **jun winaq**, a group of twenty energies. In *Ati't Xajoj* it is explained that: “Dancing as a sacred act implies becoming an energetic channel” that allows us to “...deepen our understanding of each Energy, each animal, its movements, sounds ...” (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 27).

All things in the cosmos have **ru-xuq'ab'il**, energetic force. Therefore, the object-beings that accompany Grupo Sotz'il's performances—masks, musical instruments, looms and textiles, the fire, aromatic resins and other substances—are *living* objects. Instruments and masks are made by the musician-dancers and are activated through ritual. Musician-dancers stay up with their instruments and masks the night before a presentation. These object-beings have, in their materiality, an energy called **q'aq'al**, a *resplendent combustion* that exists as potential. In the case of musical instruments, when they are played they also have another energy which is called **k'oxomal**, *sound vibration*.



Imagen 13: Detalle de vasija estilo códice (Kerr 1999a, vasija 5233); músico-danzante con tambor de fricción con glifo Iq', viento, en la cámara de resonancia, produciendo k'oxomal, vibración de sonido. El glifo Iq' evoca la calidad viviente del objeto aparentemente inanimado, porque Iq' es un ser del Cholq'ij, calendario ritual. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 13: Detail of codex vase (Kerr 1999a, vase 5233); musician-dancer and friction drum with Iq' (wind) glyph on the resonance chamber, producing k'oxomal, sound vibration. The Iq' glyph evokes the living quality of the seemingly inanimate object, for Iq' is a being in the Cholq'ij (ritual calendar). Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Pero más allá del **k'oxomal**, los instrumentos, igual que las personas, emiten **ch'ab'al** y **tzij**, *lenguaje y palabra*, es decir el *conocimiento*. El **tzij** de los instrumentos es la música. Por ejemplo, hay composiciones que nosotros tocamos y con las cuales nos armonizamos con las energías de los ancestros. Esto pasa con la marimba. Tocamos piezas de cien años de antigüedad, los abuelos escuchan la marimba y les nace danzar, reír, llorar; las abuelas escuchan palabras en una música sin letra. Las melodías tienen **tzij**, *las palabras que comunican conocimiento*. Por eso se dice: “**ojar rutzij q'ojom**”—*las antiguas palabras de la música*.

But beyond the **k'oxomal**, the instruments, like people, emit **ch'ab'al** and **tzij**, *language and word*, that is to say, *knowledge*. The **tzij** of instruments is music. For example, there are compositions that we perform and with which we harmonize with the energies of the ancestors. This happens with the marimba. We play pieces that are a hundred years old. When the elders listen to the marimba, they are moved to dance, to laugh, to cry; the grandmothers hear words in music without lyrics. The melodies have **tzij**, *words that communicate knowledge*. That is why we say: “**ojar rutzij q'ojom**”—*the ancient words of music*.



Imagen 14: Monumento 21, Cotzumalguapa, Guatemala: "El [personaje] más grande, en el centro, danza y canta mientras blandía un cuchillo grande, con el que corta los frutos que brotan de su propia canción. La canción está representada por una gran vid que crece de su boca, llena de frutas, flores y objetos preciosos. Una vid similar brota de la boca de un Dios de la Muerte en el estómago del danzante. A la derecha del observador, hay una anciana sentada en un banco que también canta mientras sostiene frutas, aparentemente colocándolas en un saco grande debajo de su banco. Detrás del personaje central, una tercera figura emplea un hueso humano para golpear un objeto compuesto que cuelga de su cuello, aquí interpretado como un instrumento musical. Al mismo tiempo, este músico manipula una pequeña figura de apariencia humana, a la manera de un títere" (Chinchilla 2015, 3). Esta imagen evoca: *Ronojel ruxumon ri 'ruk'a Kaj Ulew*. Todo lo que existe en el Cielo y la Tierra está interrelacionado, formando la red de la existencia. Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 14: Monument 21, Cotzumalguapa, Guatemala: "The largest [character], in the center, dances and sings while brandishing a large knife, with which he cuts the fruits that sprout from his own song. The song is represented by a large vine that grows from his mouth, full of fruits, flowers, and precious objects. A similar vine sprouts from the mouth of a Death God on the dancer's stomach. To the observer's right, there is an old woman seated on a bench who also sings while holding fruits, seemingly placing them in a large sack below her bench. Behind the central character, a third figure employs a human bone to strike a composite object that hangs from his neck, here interpreted as a musical instrument. At the same time, this musician manipulates a small figure of human appearance, in the manner of a puppet" (Chinchilla 2015, 3). This image evokes: *Ronojel ruxumon ri 'ruk'a Kaj Ulew* / All that exists in Sky and Earth is interrelated, forming the web of existence. Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Ronojel ruxumon ri' ruk'a Kaj Ulew. *Todo lo que existe en el Cielo y la Tierra está interrelacionado, formando la red de la existencia.* Aunque no todos son capaces de percibirlo, hay quienes—según sus capacidades—pueden verlo, sentirlo y olerlo. Es decir, se percibe esa energía de la piedra, como se percibe la energía del fuego, del viento, del aire. Existen muchas formas de percepción. La percepción no se limita a los cinco sentidos que comúnmente se reconocen; podemos desarrollar muchos otros sentidos de percepción. El **xajoj-q'ojom** es ejemplo de esto; el músico-danzante se vuelve canalizador de energías. Somos un canal nada más; somos un canal que pasa la energía de **Kaj Ulew**, *Cielo Tierra*, hacia el público. O el músico-danzante simplemente pasa la energía del aire a la tierra con su movimiento y a través de la música. Por ejemplo, cuando el músico-danzante toca un instrumento de viento, es a la vez un proceso emocional e intelectual, así como físico. El aire es inhalado y exhalado, pasando a través de la cámara interna, o conducto, del instrumento. En esa transformación de una energía a otra, el aire sale como **k'oxomal** y **tzij**, *vibración* y *palabra*. Y esto, entonces, produce las condiciones para **silonem**, *movimiento*. La música hace que el cuerpo se mueva bajo un ritmo, una melodía: cuerpo, vibración y sonido se siguen, conectando y formando una red de energías.

Ronojel ruxumon ri 'ruk'a Kaj Ulew / *All that exists in Sky and Earth is interrelated, forming the web of existence.* Though not all are able to perceive it, there are those who—according to their capacities—can see it, feel it, and sense it. That is to say, one feels the energy of stone, just as one perceives the energy of fire, wind, air. There are many forms of perception. Perception is not limited to the five senses that are commonly recognized; it is possible to develop many more senses of perception. **Xajoj q'ojom** is an example of this; the dancer-musician becomes a conduit of these energies. We are a channel, nothing more. We are a conduit that passes the energy of the **Kaj Ulew**, *Sky Earth*, towards the public. Or the dancer-musician simply passes energy from the air to the earth with movement and through music. For example, when the dancer-musician plays a wind instrument, it is an emotional and intellectual process, as well as a physical one. The air is inhaled and exhaled, passing through the instrument's inner chamber or conduit. In that transformation from one energy to another, the air exits as **k'oxomal** and **tzij**, *vibration* and *word*. And this, then, produces the conditions for **silonem**, *movement*. The music causes the body to move under a rhythm, a melody: body, vibration and sound follow each other, connecting and forming a network of energies.

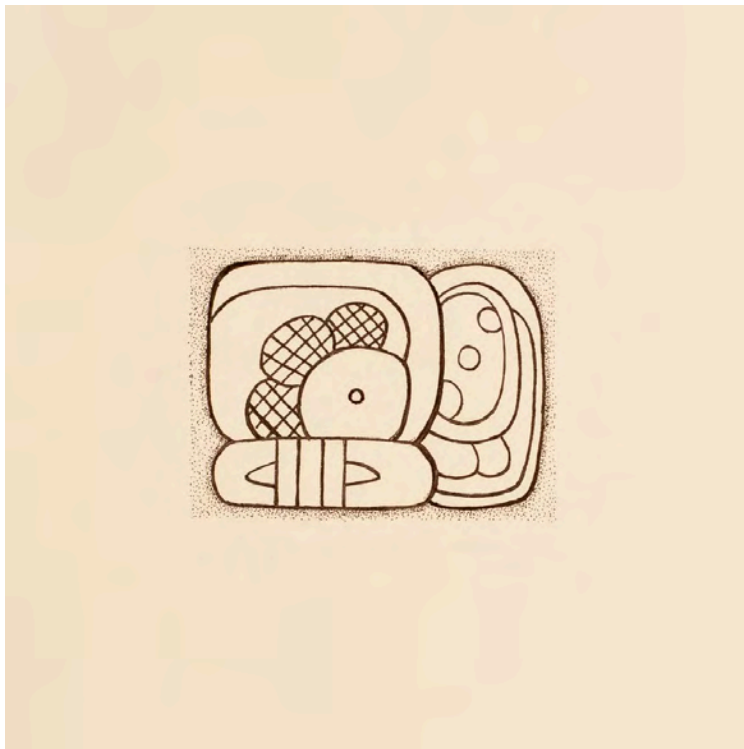


Imagen 15: Glifo maya tallado en piedra caliza en el Dintel 4 del sitio R cerca de Yaxchilán, un centro urbano activo desde el siglo 4 hasta el siglo 9 (C.E.). Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017. El glifo ha sido descifrado por los epigrafistas como “**ahk'taj**, ‘él/ella danza’” (Looper 2009, 17). En el maya yucateco que se habla hoy, **óok'ot** significa danzar y **ok'ot b'a**, rezar, interceder, defender (Looper 2009, 18). Looper tiene cuidado de no sobre-interpretar esta “relación semántica”, sin embargo, considera la posibilidad de que “el término para la danza, *ahk'ot*, se derive del verbo *ahk'*, ‘dar’” (17).

Image 15: Visual Study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017: Mayan glyph carved into limestone on Lintel 4 of Site R near Yaxchilán, an urban center active from the 4th until the 9th centuries (C.E.). The glyph has been deciphered by epigraphers as “**ahk'taj**, ‘he/she dances’” (Looper 2009, 17). In the Yukatek Maya spoken today, **óok'ot** means to dance and **ok'ot b'a**, to pray, to intercede, to defend (Looper 2009, 18). Looper is careful not to over interpret this “semantic relationship,” yet he considers the possibility that “the term for dance, *ahk'ot*, is derived from the verb *ahk'*, ‘give’” (17).

El entorno sonoro que se crea como parte íntegra de los montajes—ya sea en el escenario, en las montañas o en una plaza del pueblo—incluye vocalizaciones en kaqchikel. Éstas también son ejemplos de **tzij**, pero sus significados no son sólo semánticos. **Tzij** transmite **k'oxomal**, *vibraciones*, tanto a los cuerpos de los músico-danzantes como a los de la audiencia. El **k'oxomal** nos permite entrar en diálogo, nos abre a la experiencia de las conexiones entre nosotros y el cosmos, expresadas como **qatzij ruk'a Kaj Ulew**, *nuestras palabras con Cielo Tierra*. Esto enaltece nuestra percepción de la interconexión entre nosotros y los seres-objetos, los seres-instrumentos, y los seres agua, tierra, montañas y árboles. Esto es lo que se busca con el **xajoj q'ojom**. Primero el público sólo lo presencia; es testigo. Pero tras unos momentos, el público y los músico-danzantes trascienden: **nuqaqasaj kimayej**, *las mentes se interpenetran*.

The soundscapes that are created as an integral part of the performances—whether on the stage, in the mountains, or in a town square—include vocalizations in Kaqchikel. These are also examples of **tzij**, but their meanings are not just semantic. The **tzij** transmits **k'oxomal**, *vibrations*, both to the bodies of the musician-dancers and to those of the audience. **K'oxomal** allows us to enter into dialogue; it opens us to the experience of the connections between us and the cosmos, expressed as **qatzij ruk'a Kaj Ulew**, *our words with Sky Earth*. This heightens our perception of the interconnection between us and the object-beings, the instrument-beings, and the water, earth, mountain, and tree beings. This is what we strive for through **xajoj q'ojom**. First the audience is witness. But at a certain point, the audience transcends, as do the performers: **nuqaqasaj kimayej**, *there is an interpenetration of minds*.

5. CONCLUSIÓN

5. CONCLUSION

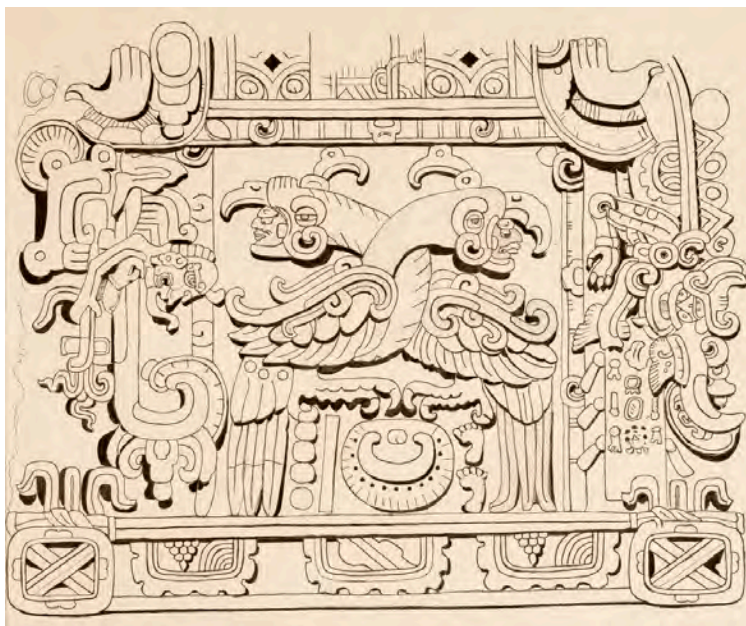


Imagen 16: “Nqarayij chi ronojel qasamaj nk'atzin chi ketemab'äl nk'aj chik winaqi”—que todos nuestros esfuerzos se traduzcan en conocimiento del otro... [Q]ue desde 'el otro o la otra', se pueda llegar a sentir jaguar, venado, mono, armadillo y, con ello, acercarse a nuestra forma de ver todo lo que nos rodea” (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 26). Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal (2017) del panel sur de Las Margaritas, Acrópolis sur, en el sitio arqueológico de Copán, Honduras. La iconografía de este panel evoca la interrelacionalidad radical entre los seres humanos y los seres más-que-humanos que está al corazón de la filosofía y la práctica de Grupo Sotz'il.

Image 16: “Nqarayij chi ronojel qasamaj nk'atzin chi ketemab'äl nk'aj chik winaqi”—may the totality of our efforts be translated into knowledge of the other... [F]rom 'the other' may one come to feel oneself as jaguar, deer, monkey, armadillo and, in this way, come close to our way of seeing everything that surrounds us” (Grupo Sotz'il 2015, 26). Visual study and drawing by Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal (2017) of the southern panel of Las Margaritas acropolis, at the Mayan late Classic (circa post 500 C.E.) archaeological site at Copán, Honduras. The iconography of this panel evokes the radical inter-relationality between human and other than human beings that is at the core of Grupo Sotz'il's philosophy and practice.

En *Ati't Xajoj* (Grupo Sotz'il 2015) se hace memoria del **rub'eyal rub'ey qana'oj**, *camino filosófico-político* que nos dejó nuestro fundador Tat Lisandro, cuando citamos sus palabras: “**Nqarayij chi ronojel qasamaj nk'atzin chi ketemab'äl nk'aj chik winaqi'**—que todos nuestros esfuerzos se traduzcan en conocimiento del otro...” (26). El “conocimiento del otro” del cual habló Tat Lisandro no se refiere a una comprensión teórica, abstracta, o desincorporada. Al contrario, este conocimiento implica la “transformación del danzante en un conducto de energía a fin de entrar en la piel del mono” (27), o cualquier otro ser. Es decir, es un acto corporal y a la vez relacional. Entrar en la piel del otro es compartir **qak'u'x**, *nuestro corazón, nuestra fuerza vital*. Es una percepción de la condición de interdependencia en la cual existimos. No se trata de actos sobrenaturales; es una inteligencia ecológica, un reconocimiento de los lazos entre lo existente dentro de **Kaj Ulew**, *Cielo-Tierra*. Esto no es algo místico ni romántico; estas interrelaciones—en sus formas y calidades específicas—tienen consecuencias materiales y no siempre armoniosas. Además, estas interrelaciones e interdependencias estuvieron siempre presentes más allá de los momentos extraordinarios del **xuklem** o el **xajoj q'ojom**.

In the *Ati't Xajoj* (Grupo Sotz'il 2015) we remember **rub'eyal rub'ey qana'oj**, *the political-philosophical path* left to us by our founder, Tat Lisandro, when we cite his words: “**Nqarayij chi ronojel qasamaj nk'atzin chi ketemab'äl nk'aj chik winaqi'**—*may the totality of our efforts be translated into knowledge of the other...*” (26). The “knowledge of the other” about which Tat Lisandro spoke does not refer to a theoretical, abstract, or disembodied understanding. On the contrary, this knowledge implies the “transformation of the dancer into a conduit of energy in order to enter the skin of the monkey” (27), or any other being. This is an act that is embodied and, at the same time, relational. To enter into the skin of another is to share **qak'u'x**, *our heart, or vital force*. This is a perception of the condition of interdependence in which we exist. These are not supernatural acts; this is an ecological intelligence, a recognition of the ties between all that exists within **Kaj Ulew**, *Sky Earth*. This is not something mystical or romantic; these interrelations—in their specific forms and qualities—have material and not always harmonious consequences. What is more, these relationalities and interdependencies were already present beyond the extraordinary moments of the **xuklem** or of **xajoj q'ojom**.



Imagen 17: Glifo "Chok" ("rociar, esparcir, lanzar, tirar, sembrar"; maya clásico), en Kettunen y Helmke (2010, 4). Estudio visual y dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Image 17: Glyph "Chok" ("to sprinkle, to spread, to toss, to throw, to sow"; Classical Maya), in Kettunen and Helmke (2010, 4). Visual study and drawing Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal, 2017.

Lanzar una semilla de maíz al pavimento o tratar el maíz y otras cosas con descuido son actos denominados **xajanik**, *acciones en relación a otros que dan lugar a consecuencias no deseadas*; por ejemplo, faltar el respeto al maíz al dejar semillas en el suelo (sin sembrar) resulta en pobreza. Otros ejemplos de **xajanik** incluyen: señalar a la luna llena o a una calabaza madura en la vid (que da lugar a su putrefacción prematura); pisar una cuerda cuando una está embarazada (lo que resulta en cordón umbilical enredado y asfixia del recién nacido); tener relaciones sexuales en cementerios, sitios ceremoniales, o cerca de ríos (lo que resulta en muerte); y muchos más. **Xajanik** son admoniciones acerca del cuerpo en relación a objetos externos—maíz, cuerdas, la luna, ríos, cadáveres y muchas otras cosas. Toda acción relacional repercute en algo, ya sea en la misma persona o en una flor que nace de la relación; es decir la repercusión puede tocar a otro ser dentro del entorno del que transgrede el **xajanik**. **Ruximik qak'u'x**, *la interconexión de nuestros corazones*, no es sólo una posibilidad. Ya está y siempre estuvo presente entre nosotros y todo lo existente, aunque no todos lo percibamos. Como tal, esa relacionalidad no es sólo deseable; es ineludible y puede producir efectos no deseados. Si no percibimos **ruximik qak'u'x** ¿cuáles son las consecuencias?

The throwing of a maize seed on the pavement or treating maize and other things with carelessness are acts referred to as **xajanik**, *actions in relation to others that give rise to unwanted consequences*; for example, disrespecting maize by leaving seeds on the ground (unplanted) results in poverty. Other examples of **xajanik** include: pointing to the full moon or to a ripe squash on the vine (resulting in premature putrefaction); stepping on a rope when one is pregnant (resulting in a tangled nuchal cord and infant asphyxia); having sexual relations in cemeteries, ceremonial sites, or near rivers (resulting in death); there are many more. **Xajanik** are admonitions about the body in relation to external objects—maize, ropes, moon, rivers, corpses and many other things. All relational acts have an effect on something, either on the same person or on the flower that is born from the relational action; that is to say, the repercussion can touch another being within the space of whomever transgresses the **xajanik**. **Ruximik qak'u'x**, *the inter-connection of our hearts*, is not only a possibility. It is already and always present, although not all perceive it. As such, this relationality is not only desirable, it is also inescapable and can produce effects that are not desired. If we do not perceive **ruximik qak'u'x**, what are the consequences?

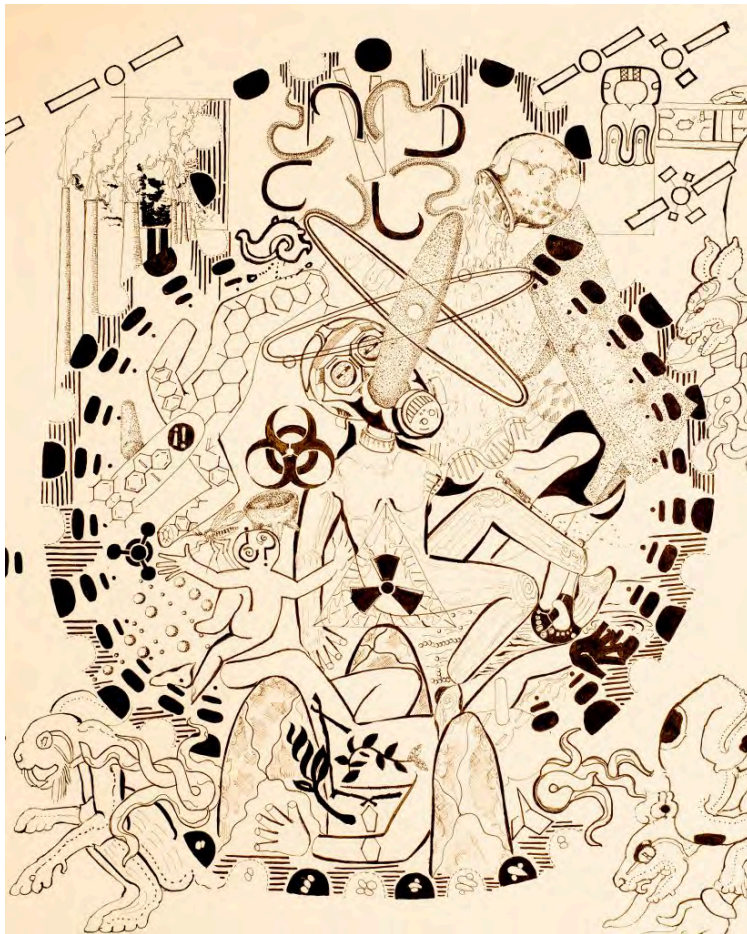


Imagen 18: **Xajanik**: acciones en relación con otros (humanos, animales no humanos, plantas, lugares, elementos y objetos) que dan lugar a consecuencias no deseadas. Esto representa la rebelión de los objetos durante la tercera creación, como se narra en el Popol Wuj (Sam Colop 2008); nuestros primeros antepasados, que fueron hechos de madera, no se comunicaban con sus creadores ni entre sí. De hecho, eran indiferentes al mundo. Eventualmente, todas las piedras de moler, los árboles, las casas y animales, y otros seres atacaron a las personas hechas de madera. Incluso las tres piedras que comprenden el 'ixk'uub' (ixil, las tres piedras del fogón para cocinar) se arrojaron sobre sus cabezas, causando su destrucción:

Las piedras
los tenamastes que estaban en
el fuego se lanzaron con ímpetu
a sus cabezas.
Así fue pues, la destrucción de
esa gente... (41).

El dibujo también especula sobre las consecuencias de **xajanik** durante esta era de desastre ecológico antropogénico, pero dentro de un entendimiento del tiempo como ciclo y marcado por la simultaneidad del pasado-presente-futuro. Dibujo por Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal.

Image 18: **Xajanik**: actions in relation to others (humans, other than human animals, plants, places, elements, and objects) that give rise to unwanted consequences. This depicts the rebellion of the objects during the third creation, as narrated in the Popol Wuj (Sam Colop 2008); our early ancestors, who were made of wood, did not communicate with their creators or with each other. In fact, they were indifferent to the world. Eventually, all the grinding stones, trees, houses, and animals, and other beings attacked the wooden people. Even the three stones comprising their homes' **ixk'uub** (Ixil, hearth stones) hurled themselves at their heads, causing their destruction:

The rocks
the three stones that were in
the fire hurled themselves
with impetus
aiming at their heads...
This is how those people
were destroyed...(41).

The drawing also speculates on the consequences of **xajanik** during this era of anthropogenic ecological disaster, but within an understanding of time as cyclic and marked by the simultaneity of past-present-future.

WORKS CITED

- Anonymous. *Memorial de Sololá, Anales de los cakchiqueles*. Translated by Adrián Recinos. *Título de los señores de Totonicapán*. Translated by Dionisio José Chonay. Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1950 (1980).
- Anonymous. *Codex Dresdensis, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt (ADEVA)*. Color facsimile edition of the Maya Manuscript in the possession of Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. 78 pp. (74 with inscriptions). circa 1500 [1975]. Digital facsimile accessed through Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies (FAMSI), 25 February 2017. <http://www.famsi.org/research/graz/dresdensis/index.html>.
- Castillo, Maria Regina Firmino. *The Destruction and Regeneration of Worlds Through Performance*. 2018. PhD Dissertation. 2018. 24 August 2018. <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/2050074429.html?FMT=ABS>.
- Chinchilla Mazariegos, O. "Sounds in Stone: Song, Music, and Dance on Monument 21 from Bilbao, Cotzumalguapa, Guatemala." *The Pari Journal*. 6(1):1-12. 2015. 23 February 2017. www.precolumbia.org/pari/journal/1601.
- Durán, Diego. *The History of the Indies of New Spain (Codex Durán)*. Translated by Doris Heyden. University of Oklahoma Press, [1581] 1994.
- Firmino Castillo, María Regina. "Dancing the Pluriverse: Indigenous Performance as Ontological Praxis." *Dance Research Journal*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2016, pp. 55-73., doi:10.1017/S0149767715000480.
- Grupo Sotz'il. *Uk'u'x Ulew*. KIWE/KAQCHIKEL: International Indigenous Cultural Exchange: Jalwachinik na'ojilal b'anob'äl. 2014. <https://vimeo.com/186359782>.
- Grupo Sotz'il. 2015. *Ati't Xajoj*. Guatemala City, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Josefson, Deborah. "US Study Highlights High Levels of Plastic Compound in Humans." *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 322.7289 (2001): 756. Web. 2 Feb. 2017. <[https:// www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1173267/](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1173267/)>.
- Kerr, J. Sotheby's Catalogue. 7 June 2018. <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.256.html/2004/african-oceanic-and-pre-columbian-art-n08029>.
- Kerr, J. *Maya Vase Data Base: An Archive of Rollout Photographs Created by Justin Kerr*. 1999a. 22 May 2017. <http://research.mayavase.com/kerrmaya.html>.
- Kerr, J. *The Precolombian Portfolio*. 1999b. 23 May 2017. <http://research.mayavase.com/kerrportfolio.html>.

- Kettunen, H. and Helmke, C. *Introducción a los Jeroglíficos Mayas*. Traducción al español: Verónica Amellali Vázquez López y Juan Ignacio Cases Martín. Wayeb. 2010.
- Koch, H. M., and Calafat, A.M. “Human Body Burdens of Chemicals Used in Plastic Manufacture.” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society: Biological Sciences* 364.1526 (2009): 2063–2078. PMC. Web. 2 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2873011/>>.
- Looper, M. *To Be Like Gods: Dance in Ancient Maya Civilization*. University of Texas Press. 2009.
- Massart, Francesco et al. “Chemical Biomarkers of Human Breast Milk Pollution.” *Biomarker Insights* 3 (2008): 159–169. 2 Feb. 2017. <<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2688366/>>.
- Sam Colop, Luis Enrique (trans). *Popol Wuj — Versión Poética K'iche*. Guatemala: PEMBI/GTZ/Cholsamaj. 2008.
- Sotz'il Jay. *Xul Kek: La Ocarina*. Grupo Sotz'il Música y Danza Maya Kaqchikel: Wachib'al, Documentales. Director, Víctor Manuel Barillas; Principal Actor, L. Lisandro Guarcax G. 2004. 23 July 2018. <http://www.gruposotzil.org.gt/wachibalgaleria-multimedia/>.

NOTES

1. Términos en kaqchikel y otros idiomas indígenas de las Américas no se pondrán en cursiva para contrarrestar su marginación histórica por idiomas coloniales como el castellano y el inglés. En cambio, estos términos se representarán con una tipografía de trazos gruesos, mientras que sus traducciones al castellano se pondrán en cursiva.

2. **Xajoj q'ojom** es un término kaqchikel que subraya la unidad entre la música y la danza, como se explicará a continuación.

Terms in Kaqchikel and other Indigenous languages of the Americas will not be italicized in order to counter their historical marginalization by colonial languages such as English and Spanish. Instead, these terms will be put in bold font, while their translation into English will be italicized.↵

Xajoj q'ojom is a Kaqchikel term that underscores the unity between music and dance, as will be explained below.↵

3. Tat Lisandro ahora tiene un lugar entre nuestros respetados abuelos, abuelas, y maestros a quienes nos referimos como “Tat” o “Nan,” lo que indica que son portadores de conocimiento y/o que ya han pasado a otra dimensión. Tat Lisandro now has a place among our respected elders and teachers who we refer to as “Tat” or “Nan,” indicating that they are carriers of knowledge and/or that they have already passed on to another dimension.↵
4. Original in Spanish and Kaqchikel Maya; all translations by Firmino Castillo, with the assistance of José Eduardo Valadés Gaitán.↵
5. Veáse: Josefson (2017); Koch and Calafat (2009); Massart et al (2008).↵

TRACKING LOVE IN THE WILD: FROM SAN DIEGO TO ATHENS,
GREECE AND BEYOND¹

ALEXANDRA HALKIAS

Abstract: *The animal is a border guard; produced socially and historically in ways that work for an array of (neo)colonizing state-building projects. Here I attempt to destabilize 'the animal' while tracking pathways for a form of relationality which reveals it as a political instrument that is powerful and deadly. Of interest is a state of being wherein relationality between human and non-human animals becomes a force that is transformational. A state of being wherein the human is the feline; wherein humor is not exclusively human. A new politics of vision is at stake. This paper-collage seeks to open up this ground.*

Résumé: *L'animal est un garde-frontière dont la production sociale et historique contribue à un éventail de projets de construction d'état (néo)colonial. Je tente ici de déstabiliser 'l'animal' tout en traçant des voies vers une forme de relationalité qui le révèle comme un instrument politique puissant et mortel. On notera l'intérêt d'un état dans lequel la relationalité entre animaux humains et non-humains devient une force de nature transformative. Un état dans lequel l'humain est le félin, et l'humour n'est pas exclusivement humain. Une nouvelle politique de la vision est en jeu. Cet essai-collage tente d'ouvrir cette voie.*

"The ancient rocks have faces that sneer at me."

- Arthur Koestler, *The Call Girls* (1972)

Huge vistas of human inexperience are governed by norms that pulsate underneath a thin discursive layer of spontaneity. These norms—little clusters of narratives or other signifiatory praxis—are the product and the tool of power relations in specific historical and cultural contexts. They extend out to all surfaces, potently colonizing and re-colonizing relationality. *What is natural* is one of their aces. The call to obey is very often issued in these terms.

This seemingly subtle governance of relationality is in many ways an imperialist project, with the call to comply being issued in terms of what is deemed natural even in the farthest reaches of what is commonly recognized as power. Intimate crevices of sociality are saturated with an intricate mix of regulatory ideals, capitalist appetite, and biopolitical manure. Sexism and racism reign supreme here. Queer theory and practice have developed over the decades as a potent tool of resistance—all their human and capitalist shortcomings, the growing lure of homonormativity, sentimentalism, and other nationalist dynamics notwithstanding.² So too has Indigenous praxis in assorted sites around the globe. The victory of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe protest against the Dakota Access Oil Pipeline (NoDAPL) is but one example, if tenuous under the Trump presidency, of how assorted disruptions of the dominant version of what is natural can work to empower minoritarian articulations that are increasingly dispossessed. However, even at these sites of knowledge and resistance, the human vs. non-human binary typically escapes unscathed.

On another level, in a much smaller space, the relationship I developed with a cat I called Myrra helped sharpen my vision and critique of power further. Certainly, I was a vegan for several years before I met her. Also, I followed animal-rights struggles and movement to protect ancient trees way before she was a glimmer in my eye. But my 19-year-long relationship with her is well beyond participation in said practices in terms of educational wealth. This paper-photo essay draws from there and also takes material from other interspecies relationships in an attempt to work with and render visible relationalities that are different, firmly critical of human supremacism and adversarial to the

“civilizing” pretexts of assorted violences. The aim is to contribute to an intellectual destabilization of the human vs. non-human binary underlying all this.³ “Subjects, objects, kinds, races, species, genres, and genders are the products of their relating,” says Haraway (7). Indeed. Key to my project is a rethinking of the figure of the animal in tandem with what Dave pithily refers to as a “breaking [of] the fiction of sovereign subjectivity” (qtd. in Allison *Prearity*).

The terrain thus consists of instances wherein relationality between non-human and human animals is such that the very distinction, as well as its hierarchical quality, is occluded or even eradicated. Glimmers of that possibility can be seen too in instances of relationality between animals-in-general and plants, or also, in some cases, living forms and geological matter such as rocks. Moments of such relationalities are like cracks in time wherein much held as commonsense is reversed and binaries that are cornerstones of multiple contemporary projects of domination are faced with a powerful agent of dissolution.⁴ The photos used here relate to this in their depictions of a certain fluidity of form. Rocks transmogrify into human or non-human faces, shadows form figures on another plane, positioned in the same scene. Perhaps more concretely, moments such as those articulated here can do the work of expanding notions of both what is non-human and what is human. Familiar mappings of the social are called into question.



1. Stoic Gorilla with Talkative
Woman



2. Faces, Black Cat Watching

Also, on a more practical level, a clear sighting of such moments might block or at least frustrate the circulation of powers that are interested in domination in late modernity. For example, if we agree that the incarceration rate of the United States, and its specific manifestation in terms of prisoner demographics, hinges at least in part on a specific understanding of “the animal,” which is systemically, if quietly, ascribed to particular versions of human animals, then what would happen to that rate if dominant understandings of the animal lost their grip?⁵ Also, how would the annual rate of police shootings of non-white Americans change if, when confronted with non-white agency, police officers no longer had recourse to negative concepts of animality or cultural designations of the animal as inferior, less sentient or intelligent, and inherently more dangerous? More specifically, would it be possible to transfer people who have been arrested with limbs tied in handcuffs and wearing no seatbelt in the back of a metal van over circuitous bumpy road routes?⁶ More generally, what would happen to racism if common designations of the animal were deconstructed in this way?



3. Head on Serpent's Platter (black-and-white)

Setting these questions forward as another point of departure for an inquiry into critical relationalities might seem arbitrary or even incomprehensible. After all, war, slavery, and human trafficking are also all practices contingent on seeing some human animals as less human than animal. Certainly, the issue of human violence against non-humans, and the planet more generally, should in itself be enough reason to set forth. However, I take as significant the co-incidence of the highest incarceration rate in a country considered one of the most advanced in terms of the protection of human rights, in tandem with the demographics of that rate. I take as also significant sociological data the fact, related, that in the United States, for example, in 2015 “police officers fatally shot nearly 1,000 people (...) according to *The Washington Post*’s ongoing count. Further that, halfway through 2016, police have shot and killed 506 more” (LaFrance). Two years later, under Trump’s presidency, in 2018, that figure was 1165 for the year (Harriot). Also important is the fact that both police shootings and the incarceration rate more generally seem to target specific categories of subjects.⁷ To be meaningful and have political purpose along with the scholarly, any inquiry into critical relationalities, whether same-species or interspecies, must reckon with the social field within which it is embedded. The hypothesis is that this social phenomenon is in fact viscerally connected to how “the animal” is constructed socially and historically in ways that work for an array of colonizing or neo-colonizing state-building projects. The animal is a border-guard.⁸ As it is popularly configured, “the animal” patrols a rich field of privilege as properly and exclusively human, precisely as it is not universally so. The objective is to contribute to a destabilization of this construction while tracking pathways for forms of relationality that reveal it to be a political instrument that is variously powerful and deadly for both non-human and human animals.⁹



4. The Ferocious

The popular relegation of “the animal” to a subordinate position, even as it is used to signal maximum “nature” if not also wildness, works to demarcate a very specific sphere of sociality as properly human. In this sphere, the violence exhibited by police officers in the United States, renewed in recent years with the shootings that LaFrance refers to in *The Atlantic* as above, by the sheer incarceration rate¹⁰ of a country otherwise considered an example of civility and respect for human rights, and by the prevalence of what amounts to forced labor within the prison system, are all somehow cleansed of their brutality. That is, the consensual understanding of non-human animals as always *uniquely* and inherently wild beings, situated just beyond the ground of human relationalities, is what allows state-sanctioned human violence to be justified as civilized in some way.

Of course, calling on this divide also constitutes a strategy for humans targeted by state violence. The call issued by prisoners engaged in forced labor within the U.S. prison system is, for example, “we are humans, not animals.”¹¹ But this project contributes to a trajectory of cul-

tural and political work aimed at breaking the connection between “animals” and “normalized violence.” That is, I am interested in destabilizing the cultural frame wherein violence against “animals” is not registered as counting on the same scale as does violence performed against subjects recognized as humans.¹² This might result in the loss of a powerful discursive weapon in struggles involving the violation of assorted “human rights.” The hope is that it would also erode the very ground that feeds these violations however.

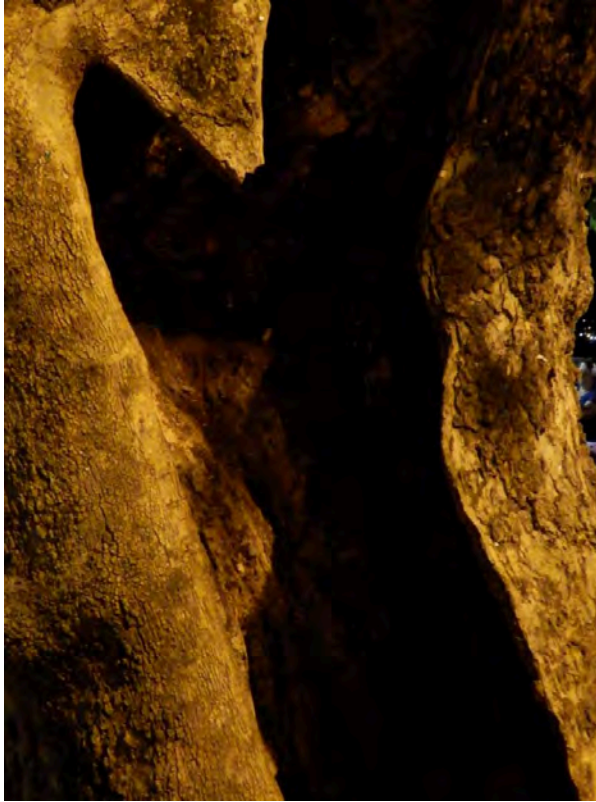


5. Serpent with Bird (black-and-white)

In fact, it isn't at all certain that further illumination of human to non-human critical relationalities would suffice for much at all to happen

to any of the above “social problems” at the end of the day. Racism and other entrenched patterns of power are remarkably innovative. But even the slight trouble that might be caused to these is an important additional incentive for such projects. Also, explorations of affective circuits of love, friendship, and desire between subjects of different species or lifeforms are important in order to transform current understandings of the self and the other and of the social and the natural, be they scientific or lay. Making our sightings of such unorthodox forms of relationality more acute, bringing them out of the shadows and into the light of public and scientific discourse, produces new forms of subjects, human and non-human alike. This vision has the potential to generate politics that are new.

What is of interest here, more specifically, is a state of being wherein the human is equal to the feline; a state of being wherein relationality becomes a productive energy that transforms the social world, at times transforming even the material one—a state of being wherein even killing can at some time emerge as an imperative in order to live and to love adequately. This is a state of being wherein humour is not a trait that is exclusively human, in fact. Life, as death, is different here. Violence, too. Gender is fluid, when it is at all. This is a state of being wherein the distinction *non-human* could potentially refer to a state of superiority. Or even cease to make sense at all. This paper-collage is an attempt to assist in the opening up of this ground. The method is of necessity piecemeal. The tool I prefer is an intermingling of forms of analysis; related scholarly work along with verbal and non-verbal images, dare I say studies, of such relationalities. So far I have sketched a picture of how stereotypical figurations of “the animal” serve as a trope facilitating forms of violence that are state-sanctioned, if not always sponsored, against specific types of human animals in the context of one nation, even as the same figurations are mobilized in struggles of resistance. The focus then turns to the zone of contact between human and non-human animals. The specific interest here is in forms of relationality that are critical of those supporting aforementioned violences. “The animal” figures differently here.



6. Cat Tree, Woman, in Gold

Moira (pronounced *Meerah*) is the word for fate in Greek. Myrra, later Myrrella and occasionally Myrrabella, was a kitten I adopted from a woman living in a mansion in San Diego who had turned one of the towers of her home into a cattery for strays that she collected and cared for until they were adopted. Myrra's origin story was that she was found in a plastic bag on the shoulder of the highway connecting Tijuana to San Diego, on the U.S. side. There were two other kittens in there, both dead. The woman with the cattery, whose name I don't remember, turned her over to me, once I chose her, complete with shots, an early sterilization operation that was then pioneering at

the Yale Veterinary School, and, of course, “papers.” *Her* papers. She was 4 months old then. I was introduced to forms of relating and loving I could never have imagined in the 19 some years that followed. During our time together we lived in San Diego, New York, Boston, and Athens, Greece. During the last part of her life she had kidney failure. Later she had paralysis of one hind leg, and blindness later yet. We lived there too. I dare not say “together” for there.

Facets of what it means to see life from the perspective of a form of relationality that is not sanctioned by the state, nor condoned by many fellow human animals, are not easy to convey. These range from the soft and gleaming to the mundane and gritty. An example of the first are the millions of moments of sheer love being communicated between two sets of eyes belonging to beings that cannot talk to each other. An example of the latter, when on a trans-Atlantic flight I took her carrier to the bathroom with me in order to let her out and stretch her limbs, only to find her jumping and perching on the top of my head, hissing and grabbing my hair with her nails as the plane hit turbulence and the engines roared in the metal cage of the airplane’s small bathroom. Or, also, when based on research I did, I had decided not to put her through the routine series of shots required by the state of Massachusetts and I realized, in effect, that she (-I) was illegal there. The subsequent thought that I could somehow be forced to inoculate her resulted in a plan for us to escape such circumstances without any consideration at all.

While I assumed full responsibility for Myrra’s care, from the onset there were many domains of our relationship within which she was clearly the superior. I don’t mean this in the sense that is popular within various Western micro-worlds of “pets” and their “owners.” Rather, even with regard to her care, there were assorted ways that she showed me what she needed or was good for her. The problem was that I wasn’t always an astute enough listener. One of the most remarkable instances of this occurred near the end of her life, when I had found that she would at least put up with eating yoghurt. Yet she would not eat all the yoghurts I would pick up from the supermarket. I thought she was being finicky. After her death, a couple of years later, a doctor told me to only eat dairy products based on sheep or goat milk as cow’s milk can be damaging. As I shopped for yoghurt that evening, I realized, look-

ing at the yoghurts, that the ones Myrra wouldn't eat were those based on cow's milk.



7. Forest Totem, Seeing

There were moments when I saw things about reality that others did not purely as a result of my love for her. For example, when she first started drinking a lot of water and I had an allopathic vet in Athens see her, he claimed I was mistaken when he asked her age and I told him she was, then, 14 years old. He said that was impossible as cats do not live over 8 years of age. After he physically examined her he said, quite loudly as he stood next to her, that she had kidney failure and would likely die within three months. He also wanted to do bloodwork. I was

reticent. If you think you have a diagnosis, I said, what do we need the blood for? Is there some treatment we can then do? He said no, the only thing is kidney transplant, which is very expensive and difficult. Therefore, I said, why do the blood exam? He was insistent that it would give us necessary information.

I finally decided to go forward and held Myrra, who did not like the entire process at all, as he drew some of her blood. The next day the vet called me to tell me something incredible had happened, that it had never happened before, and he apologized. Apparently, as he was taking her vial to his lab, the vial fell and broke. He was clearly upset and said he would take the blood again, he offered to come to the house to do so, for no additional charge. I decided on the spot that no, we will just have to do what we can without this information.

After that I found a homeopathic vet, remembering how her first one, Dr.Tapp, had saved her from cardiomyopathy when she was young and we were living in Boston. Something we were able to do partly because that vet had listened to me when I said I had seen an image of a heart as a balloon when I sat with the then ailing 3 yr. old Myrra one afternoon trying to figure out what to do to help her get better. With phone appointments to the new vet, Dr.B., now here in Athens, along with a natural diet and a phosphorus-binding agent added to the meat cats need in order to survive, Myrra lived another 5 years to the age of 19. We never did another testing of blood. Only in the last few months of her life was there any visible impairment of her health.

Another example of seeing new aspects of reality thanks to my relationship with her has to do with sound. From when she was still a kitten, I became very attuned to sounds in the houses that we lived in because abrupt noises, even if they weren't loud, were disturbing to her and would result in hours of her hiding under a bed. I also acquired an acute sense of how careless many of us humans are with our bodies, quite clumsily carrying ourselves through space and unthinkingly moving too close or too jaggedly to other beings, human or not. More generally, seeing us through her eyes, I grew to understand how humans have lost touch with their bodies in a very fundamental sense. Physicality seems to be a zone of life not explicitly nurtured or developed beyond very specific coupling or friendship repertoires.

There were also moments when Myrra saw things about reality that others did not, and she showed them to me. An example of this is the ability of cats to adjust to blindness which the homeopathic vet had told me of. But the actual witnessing of her learning how to navigate our apartment in Athens just three days after she lost sight was an experience that was remarkable. She would go up to the doorway of the room she slept in, push her shoulder around the frame and then turn down the hallway, repeating the same thing with any doorway of a room she wanted to go into. When the blindness first occurred, both I and various other people I talked to all considered that euthanasia would be inevitable. How can a blind cat find her food and litter box, or move around in general? Her first attempts had been painful to watch, as she bumped into chairs and lost her bearings. Yet here she was practically breezing through most of the apartment in less than three days later. A few days after that she also walked slowly to the balcony door, basically asking for her usual afternoon sunbathing in the breeze. We went out together and as she settled on the balcony, her newly blind self, she slowly adjusted her position and moved her head towards the trees she would always like to gaze at. In short, being with her helped show me further vistas of how sanctioned norms colonize the real and of how tiny what we call human today can be.

/-



8. Lumbering Ashore, Girl Watching

My partner sits with a friend of his in front of the latter's computer. He lives in Psirri, a downtown area of Athens that used to be workers' homes and now is increasingly home to bars, cafés, and restaurants. Our friend's house is spacious and bright, if without heat. The two of them are ordering parts to construct a new computer for us, now that our old one simply ceased to work one day. Next to the table with the computer is a bed covered with cushions resembling a couch. As the two men sit in front of the computer, our friend's feline companion, Fiogos (bowtie in Greek) lumbers over towards them and sits on the bed next to them. Fiogos is 17 yrs old, somewhat plump, and black.

The two of them talk as our friend types and moves from site to site looking for the right pieces from which he is going to build a new computer for us. Fiogos lifts his paw, ever so gently, bringing it down on the arm of our friend. As our friend types, and the two of them continue to talk, Fiogos' paw moves up and down, firmly planted on his arm. Every so often, Fiogos' paw is equally gently lifted off this human arm and put back down in front of Fiogos. Every time, a couple of minutes later, the feline paw returns to the human arm. After a few times of this, our friend lifts him up and puts him in his lap. Fiogos contentedly seats himself so he can watch the screen along with the two of them.

/ -

In the fall of 2016, after having lost touch for a couple of years, I met with a good friend who gave birth to a baby boy a few months ago, via a sperm donor in Denmark. Eleni is of Greek-American background, like myself. Her partner, let's call her Athena, a "Greek in full," also had a baby, this time a girl, a little before that, using similar methods, also in Denmark. Denmark was important because they found it to be the only place in Europe where the child later has the right to learn the identity of the sperm donor. Artificial insemination and sperm donation became necessary, Eleni told me, because after trying with sperm of several friends and relatives, which tests proved to be inadequate, they came to the realization that good quality sperm is hard to find. I thought this was funny and told her so. Even today, Greek lay attitudes towards heterosexual couples having difficulties getting pregnant tend towards the belief that it is the women's bodies that have some problem that prevents conception.

As we sipped our coffee in the gentrifying area of Athens called Koukaki, where they rent their home, Eleni filled me in on other major events I had missed. She had stopped working as a "creative play" babysitter a few months in to her pregnancy. So too had Athena, who worked in a co-op café that she partly owns. They now lived on the rent each collected on an apartment each one owned thanks to their families of origin. Eleni told me, her dog, Bonnie, who had been a member of their household since she and Athena started living together, had died. She developed cancer, Eleni told me, and they took care of her for a long time, with remissions and other ups and downs. Then, finally, it was

clear, she was going to die and they brought the vet to the house to do euthanasia.



9. Question Mark in Reverse

Having gone through a similar process with Myrra a few years ago, I listened carefully and empathized with the difficulty of what she was sharing. For me, this decision was one of the most difficult in my life. For Eleni, however, the euthanasia decision was not the focus. As she continued the story, she emphasized that the euthanasia took place less than a week before Athena gave birth. So much impending happiness and so much sadness at once was basically the gist of the story. I sympathized fully. Though I never really wanted to have a child of my own, I could understand the confusion and the intensity she alluded to. Also, there was something about the timing that I sensed, though we didn't discuss it. I had finally made the decision for euthanasia for Myrra and scheduled it (yes) for the day before my niece's 6th birthday. It is other aspects of Eleni's story, however, that work to shed an almost glaring light on zones of critical relationalities between human and non-human animals. She went on to tell me how what happened was that even after the first few weeks of their baby's life, their predominant feeling was that they had lost a child. Her way of describing this

was very vivid. I later mentioned this project and asked her if she might be willing to briefly write me the experience, as she had told it to me.¹³ This is her response:

Hmmm well I don't know exactly what you are thinking about bc I think I said a lot about my sweet Bonnie ... so here it goes a brief repeat.

When Bonnie was ill (or rather when we realized she was ill) it was such an emotional time. On one hand, we were preparing and looking forward to our much anticipated birth of our baby and on the other hand we were desperately trying to keep our other one alive. We finally let her go a week before Athena gave birth and it was a really beautiful last day we all spent together ... friends came and said goodbye and even though she was so sick and weak she stood up when each visitor arrived. The next day we wandered Athens crying and grieving and shell-shocked. 5 days later Athena gave birth in our home while 5 days earlier we said goodbye to our other baby in our home. 2 months later I gave birth. We admitted to each other a couple months after H. [the baby Eleni gave birth to] was born that we almost loved them as much as we loved Bonnie and then some months after that we agreed that we loved them as much as we loved Bonnie.

How could we love them immediately the same as Bonnie? We already had a long relationship with her...they were new in our lives. She was an equal member of our family ... we were a threesome. Even though we have a crazy household now full of love and noise and laughter from babies, the house still feels like there is a void ... something is missing ... our Bonnie. The other day Athena was really sad because she was thinking about how much she loves F. and H. and how she honestly loved Bonnie just as much and how much she misses her. So F. is turning 1 on Dec 27th and as amazing this is and how we can't believe it and what a celebration we will have, I have just as a strong feeling of still shock and sadness that our Bonnie has been gone for almost a year. She was definitely our first

child. I don't think the pain ever gets any less, I just don't think about it as often ...

Part of what is very important in Eleni's map of critical relationalities is the way in which the distinction between human and non-human is firmly rendered mute. This narrative highlights the disparate incredibly rich forms of relationality that can develop between human and non-human animals as well as tracks the process-based aspect of their development. Powerfully destabilizing popular stereotypical images, the newborn human babies are inscribed as liminal subjects in terms of the family, if very welcome and loved ones. Their full ascription on what emerges as a hierarchy of "our child" takes a couple of months. The status of "our child" who is loved, moreover, "as much" as Bonnie, took yet another few months to be attained. The aged and ill dog is an unequivocal kin subject rated, in fact, at the highest level of "our baby." Moreover, her departure from life is clearly mourned.¹⁴

In this way, Bonnie emerges as a subject that at once overcomes essentialist designations of both species and age. Similarly, strong kinship relationality and ties of family are interwoven here between an interesting assemblage of subjects: human and non-human subjects with no genetic tie; human subjects who have no genetic tie to one another, as are the two adult women and the two human babies; and those who have "half" a genetic bond, as do the babies born to each of the women with that specific woman. Finally, this story also shows how the decision to end the life of Bonnie, albeit a subject so deeply loved, was accompanied by both sadness and happiness, in thus having the occasion to say a proper goodbye. Both these feelings, moreover, are represented as living on way beyond Bonnie's death.

Eleni ended her e-mail message to me thus, capitals in the original: "SO MUCH FOR BRIEF ... I HOPE YOU FIND IN THERE WHAT YOU WERE LOOKING FOR!!!" If we queer our lens just slightly, this comment can be seen as very telling. It can be seen as a comment towards conventional approaches to family. That is, it is as though Eleni's comment is calling on "Society" with its normative notions of what is real family, as in based both on species similarity and specifically genetic ties, here is what you need to measure up against. Can the common essence of blood bonds that you favor create what we have here?

Moreover, no doubt, can I or Eleni find in this mess of charged and nuanced affective life bonds between the various subjects described, the sense of family we are looking for? The story itself stands as the pithy response: *You bet*. Thus, in one fell swoop, essentialist designations of familial kin are decentered, even as they are partially reinscribed, and effectively rendered moot. This all brings to mind Haraway's comment about method in trying to further feminist theory in the context of the coevolution of natureculture in late modernity. Of her choice to focus on dogs and relationalities with them, she says, "I risk alienating my old doppelganger, the cyborg, in order to try to convince readers that dogs might be better guides through the thickets of technobiopolitics in the Third Millennium of the Current Era." (9-10).



10. Nun, with Boxing Gloves

Preferring monkeys and violence for his angle on the larger project I too am trying to contribute to here, Adorno firmly states that "[t]he constantly encountered assertion that savages, blacks, Japanese are like animals, monkeys for example, is the key to the pogrom"; he continues

with the explanation that the (human) thought which he names “after all, it is only an animal,” in fact “reappears irresistibly in cruelties done to human beings, the perpetrators having again and again to reassure themselves that it is ‘only an animal’ because they could never fully believe this *even of animals*” ([1951] 2005:105, my emphasis). In full alignment with this reasoning, the basic idea I am pursuing here is the following: state-sanctioned violence, such as the mass incarceration system of the United States or the more individualized shootings of non-white, racialized people by police, becomes possible at least in part thanks to one simple cultural and supremely political move. That is, an equation of some human animals, some sub-category of these, with non-human animals. Given that non-human animals are not considered equal beings in many social surfaces of the globe, whether or not they are deemed equally sentient or equally intelligent, activating this equation works to suck more animals, of all sorts, into the targets of assorted human violence.¹⁵ If we can document forms of relationality through which non-human animals emerge as equals, if not superior, then this might work as a roadblock of sorts to the barbarity aimed at all sorts of animals. But any such documentation will only be as strong as is common the premise that it makes sense to talk about any human and non-human quality as being on a par at all.

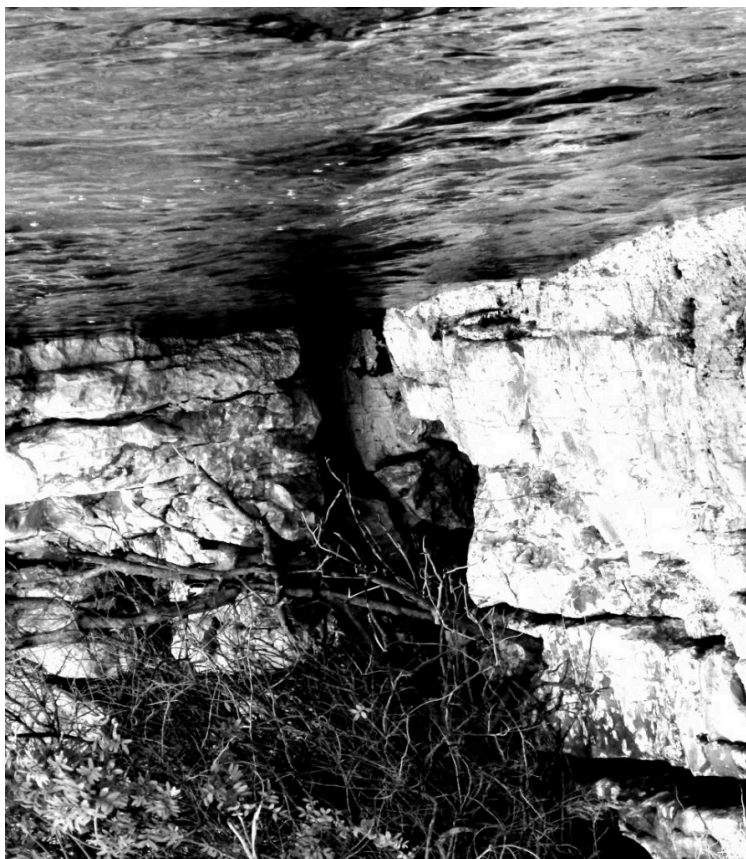
Another tactic is to show how disparate forms of genocide, aimed at human or non-human animals, are self-destructive because such violence narrows the range of bio and social diversity and thus impoverishes the planet, making the long-term survival of any lifeform more difficult. But this tack rests on the assumption that humans care about what happens after their own lives are over. This assumption is also not always safe. Even though such care is typically indexed as one of the characteristics proving human superiority over non-human animals, it is not borne out by the evidence. Climate crisis is but one example of a development that refutes this claim directly.

A method that I think holds more promise, in terms of its political efficacy, is to explore the field of relationality generated by the intermingling of the human with the non-human. This pathway has the advantage of challenging notions currently governing the production of knowledge and policy and thus, at least, of possibly opening up ground for new ways of imagining not only the human and the non-human

but sociality itself. If the easy distinction between the two can be destabilized via the adoption of a perspective that recognizes specific forms of life-sustaining relationality between them wherein the hierarchical meanings ascribed to their presumed as natural difference lose importance, or even disappear entirely, then all social and political uses of “the animal” to shore up violent hierarchies among human animals might lose their grip and become more easily available to critique as political moves rather than designations of natural truths.

Key to the established understandings of human social life is a certain relegation of the material, and materiality itself, to a fixed and relatively inert quality. The rich vein of work done on new materialisms aside, this remains a relatively pervasive cultural belief across the globe. One more step it is thus important to make involves understanding nature that is itself something that is *done*. Nature acquires its significances and uses, indeed its form in many cases, via actions taken by human and non-human life forms alike. I wish to include plants and stones here as well. There is now ample evidence that the common belief that humans act upon nature, as though it is somehow passive or inert, needs to be corrected. A vivid example of how this works can be seen in the interdisciplinary study of how earthworms exist in various contexts (Bertoni). The implications of this way of seeing nature are profound. As Filippo Bertoni puts it:

We began this article wondering how many natures there were, but, as soon as we started looking for an answer, natures began to multiply like a Lernaean Hydra, and we lost count. Such a question, we discovered, has no answer. Hacking was right: counting natures is really an impossible task. But a relevant one, nevertheless: it reminds us that having one, unitary Nature is an achievement and not a natural fact. (Bertoni *Charming Worms* 77)



11. Secret Meeting, Boy with Smashed Jaw (black and white)

Seeing nature as an achievement in this way—much as gender and sexuality are seen in the light of thousands of Foucauldian cross-cultural and comparative historical analyses--does not place the human in a firmer position of control. It is not that we humans “write” nature on a blank slate. Nor, certainly, is it that in “discovering” its constructedness, it simply goes away. The oxygen we breathe in order to stay alive, the water we drink, and the plants and animals many of us eat are evidence enough of a layer of materiality that is persistent and stubborn in some way. Rather, what emerges is a view of nature wherein we are

able to recognize that nature is indeed achieved and that this is done as the product of the interplay of assorted agents: human, non-human, and other typically considered inert materials. Whether tracing earthworms through the different sites in which they occur, stones through their specific locations and historical uses (Reinert) or the forest as a being that thinks with and within human thought (Kohn),¹⁶ the knowledge gained reveals the limitations of dominant epistemological paradigms and encourages us to broaden our lenses in studying and trying to understand the human differently.

/-

I chose Myrra because she was a black cat and because she was the only cat who did not come up to me in some version of a greeting. I remember my first sight of her clearly. She kept away from the meowing fuss that greeted me as I kneeled down in the La Jolla cattery. Peering through the various swerving tails, I saw her in the distance. She stood back, quite far back, simply looking at me through the forest of swinging tails of other kittens and cats who had enthusiastically run up to greet me.

Mira is also the Spanish word for look. A friend told me this as I was looking for a name. Hitting upon Myrra, for the sound as well as the Greek meaning of the word, I was worried because I didn't like the "nationalist" connotations of calling a black cat owned by a Greek-American woman the word for fate. I did like the double whammy cosmic dare involved, however. As too the insubordination indexed by a 26-year-old woman having a black cat called fate. But the normative "Greekness" was a minus, even if it indexed a "bad" thing. The Spanish worked perfectly. She herself was of the Mexican borderland after all. For the next 19 years, when I introduced her to a human of Greek origin, with just a bit of glee I would add that "it means 'look' in Spanish."



12. Woman's Torso

Joy was easy to read. Always. Even though Myrra was not a madly purring kind of cat. Indeed, I think it was a year or two into our relationship when she decided she might enjoy sitting in a human's lap. Her favorite position when she was young was perched on a shoulder.

When we lived in Boston, I am pretty sure that her favorite thing was when I would open the one room studio apartment door after midnight and let her out into the long-carpeted corridor of the “pets not welcome” building we lived in. She would furiously race up and down that long corridor as I made congratulatory sounds in a loud whisper and our neighbors slept. That was happiness. So too was her batting a crumpled-up piece of orange paper all over the floor, whatever city we lived in. Her friend Jonathan, another human, had first shown her this game. Most of all, perhaps, so too was her curling up in the sunshine of a window to sleep.

Pain and unhappiness I cannot be sure of. I never was. That was my fear during the end of her life and that was what finally helped me to let her go. I came to the belief that part of my responsibility to her was to do whatever I could so that she would not experience serious pain. In a state of kidney collapse and assorted other problems, the odds were tremendous that this would happen if she did not die in time. It was against this prospect that I weighed the days or possibly weeks she, and us together, might have left. I stalled, asked her for signs and felt she gave none. Scared of the prospect of her suffering serious pain, I suddenly decided I needed to let go of the possibility of days or even weeks remaining and arrange for euthanasia, if I really meant the love.



13. The Feline, Relief in Gold

/-

Also foregrounded in the light of the disparate ways that nature is *done* is at once both the resilience and vulnerability, or precarity, of disparate forms of life. This terrain can yield an “emergent sociality” made up of new ways of belonging and being (Allison *Greeting the Dead* 20). Focusing our lens in this way, closing in on the zones of tenacity and of destruction that make up both the human and the non-human,¹⁷ brings previously unknown interactions and convergences to the fore. As Anne Allison puts it, though with regards to the human specifically, “One can sense, if one senses optimistically, an emergent potential in attempts to humanly and collectively survive precarity: a new form of commonwealth (commonly remaking the wealth of sociality), a biopolitics from below” (*Precarious* 18). If this view is broadened to include non-human agents as well, relationality can be transformed acquiring more depth and a political value that is tremendous, potentially.

/-

WORKS CITED

- Abram, David. *The Spell of the Sensuous: The Perception of Language in a More-than-Human World*. New York, Random House, 1997.
- Adorno, Theodor. *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*. Transl. E.F.N. Jephcott. London and New York, Verso, [1951] 2005.
- Ahmed, Nabil. With images by Gauri Gill, Rajesh Chaitya Vangad. “Negative Moment: Political Ecology in the Twenty-First Century.” *South as a State of Mind*, Issue 8 (documenta 14 #3), 2016, pp.36-53.
- Allison, Anne. “Greeting the Dead.” *Social Text*, vol.35, no.1.130, 2017, pp.17-35.
- . *Precarious Japan*. Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2013.
- . “Precarity: Commentary by Anne Allison,” Curated Collections, *Cultural Anthropology* website, 13 September 2016, https://culanth.org/curated_collections/21-precariety/discussions/26-precariety-commentary-by-anne-allison.
- Broadwater, Luke. “Records show city police had long urged seat belt use in vans: Before Freddie Gray’s death, police waged campaign urging seat belt use in vans,” *The Baltimore Sun*, 17 October 2015 <http://www.bal->

timoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-police-seatbelt-audits-20151017-story.html.

- Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bertoni, Filippo. *Living with Worms: On the earthly togetherness of eating*. 2016. University of Amsterdam. Ph.D.dissertation. <dare.uva.nl/search?identifier=a5574ea5-6d92-4220-b936-7ccad46a84f9>.
- “Charming Worms: Crawling between natures.” *Cambridge Anthropology*, vol.30, no.2, 2012, pp.65-81.
- Bertoni, Filippo and Biesel, Uli. “More-than-Human Intelligence: Of Dolphins, Indian Law and the Multi-Species Turn.” *Society and Space*, 22 November 2013. <societyandspace.com/material/commentaries/more-than-human-intelligence-by-bertoni-and-beisel?iframe=true&preview=true/>.
- Butler, Judith. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. London, New York, Verso, 2004.
- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, editor. *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Ethics and Objects*. Washington D.C., Oliphant books, punctum books, 2012.
- Dave, Naisargi. “Witness: Humans, Animals, and the Politics of Becoming.” *Cultural Anthropology* 29, 2014, no. 3: 433–56. <https://journal.culanth.org/index.php/ca/article/view/ca29.3.01/309>.
- Foucault, Michel. *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974-75*. Transl.Graham Burchell. London and New York, Verso, [1999] 2003.
- Halkias,Alexandra. “The Turtles in the Gulf of Mexico and Human Embryos.” *About Animals [in Greek]*. Edited by Anna Lydaki and Giannis N. Baskozos, Athens, Psychoyios Press,2011, pp.126-129.
- Halberstam, Judith. “You are triggering me! The neoliberal rhetoric of harm, danger and trauma.” *Bully Bloggers*, 5 July 2014. <bullybloggers.wordpress.com/2014/07/05/you-are-triggering-me-the-neo-liberal-rhetoric-of-harm-danger-and-trauma>.
- Haraway, Donna. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People and Significant Otherness*. Chicago, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003.
- Harriot, Michael. “Here is How Many People Police Killed in 2018.” *The Root*. 1 March 2019. <https://www.theroot.com/here-s-how-many-people-police-killed-in-2018-1831469528>.
- Hartouni, Valerie. *Visualizing Atrocity: Arendt, Evil, and the Optics of Thoughtlessness*. New York and London, New York University Press, 2012.

- Johnson, Lindgren. *Race Matters, Animal Matters: Fugitive Humanism in African America 1840-1930*. New York, Routledge, 2018.
- Kim, Claire Jean. *Dangerous Crossings: Race, Species and Nature in a Multicultural Age*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- "Murder and Mattering in Harambe's House." *Politics and Animals*, vol.3, 2017, pp.1-15.
- Kohn, Eduardo. *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2013.
- Lafrance, Adriane. "Death by Police." *The Atlantic*, 7 July 2016. <www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/07/monitorial-citizenship-technology/490286>.
- Markovitz, Jonathan. *Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2004.
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "Criminal Justice Fact Sheet." Visited 16 March 2019. <https://www.naacp.org/criminal-justice-fact-sheet/>.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. *Economies of Abandonment: Social belonging and endurance in late liberalism*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2011.
- . *Geontologies: A requiem to late liberalism*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2016.
- Reinert, Hugo. "About a Stone: Some Notes on Geologic Conviviality." *Environmental Humanities*, 2016, vol.8, no.1, pp.95-117.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. "Whose Violence? Death in America—A California Triptych." *Social Anthropology*, vol.16, no.1, 77-89.
- Spross, Jeff. "Why no one knows about the largest prison strike in U.S. history." *The Week*, 18 October 2016.
- Stanescu, James. "Species Trouble: Judith Butler, Mourning, and the Precarious Lives of Animals." *Hypatia*, vol.27, no.3, 2012, pp.567-582.
- Stolberg, Sheryl Gay and Jess Bidgood, "Freddie Gray died from 'Rough Ride,' Prosecutors Assert." *New York Times*, June 9 2016 <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/10/us/caesar-goodson-trial-freddie-gray-baltimore.html>.
- Washington, John. "This Week may see the Largest Prison Strike in US History." *The Nation*, 7 September 2016. <https://www.thenation.com/article/this-week-may-see-the-largest-prison-strike-in-us-history/>.
- World Prison Brief. 2018. <http://www.prisonstudies.org/country/united-states-america>.

IMAGE NOTES

Halkias, Alexandra.

1. Stoic Gorilla with Talkative Woman
2. Faces, Black Cat Watching
3. Head on Serpent's Platter (black-and-white)
4. The Ferocious
5. Serpent with Bird (black-and-white)
6. Cat Tree, Woman, in Gold
7. Forest Totem, Seeing
8. Lumbering Ashore, Girl Watching
9. Question Mark in Reverse
10. Nun, with Boxing Gloves
11. Secret Meeting, Boy with Smashed Jaw (black and white)
12. Woman's Torso
13. The Feline, Relief in Gold

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the editors of this issue, Kim TallBear and Angela Willey, for the inspiration offered in their call for this special issue and for helpful comments in developing this photo-essay. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their close readings and incisive comments. I thank Gianni Gkolfinopoulos for the careful reading and critical discussion of the ideas presented here. I thank Jonathan Markovitz for his helpful suggestions. Much gratitude too to "Eleni," for permission to use a conversation that took place in the context of our friendship and for unwittingly giving me important validation for the hypothesis of the broader research this piece is a part of. Thanks too to Adrienne Kalfopoulou for invaluable support in persisting with carving out space to write "for ourselves." Finally, many thanks to Hillevi Ganetz and the Gender Studies Program at the University of Stockholm for invaluable scholarly research resources.↵
2. For a concise overview of the current twist in this edge-blunting dynamic, and an incisive argument against it, see Jack Halberstam.↵
3. The method is, in a sense, to trouble habitual forms of perceiving the natural world, along some version of the lines of what David Abram delineates as the more-than-human (*The Spell*).↵
4. In this regard, my project has direct connections to that of Jane Bennett

(*Vibrant Matter*), outlined collectively by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and sharpened with Elizabeth Povinelli's critique of power as geontopower (*Geontologies*). That is, the analysis this photo-essay advances, including the experiment unfolding with the images presented here, stand in firm opposition to "[t]his habit of parsing the world into dull matter (it, things) and vibrant lives (us, beings) [which] is a 'partition of the sensible'..." and to "[t]he quarantines of matter and life [which] encourage us to ignore the vitality of matter and the lively powers of material formations..." (Bennett 1). The emphasis of my contribution is specifically on an intensification of critical relationalities via change in the politics of vision, in both literal and metaphoric senses of the latter. In another register, my objective is to fuel disruption of the "optics of thoughtlessness" which Hartouni (*Visualizing Atrocity*) incisively identifies, following Arendt, as an ongoing cultural force and visual practice enabling life-effacing political projects. ←

5. For a nuanced map of how discourse "animalizes black bodies" in the context of lynching, circa 1840-1930, as well as for analysis of the trap anti-lynching rhetoric fell into by drawing from "traditional" animal welfare discourse, see Lindgren Johnson (*Race Matters*). For the historical figuration of black men specifically as "beasts," see also Markovitz (*Legacies*). For incisive tracking of similar cultural politics in three more recent cases, and demonstration of the complex racist consequences of culturally specific articulations of the human vs. non-human binary, see Kim (*Dangerous Crossings*). Public responses of "horror" towards the live animal markets of San Francisco's Chinatown in the 1990s, the conviction of NFL Michael Vick for charges of dogfighting, and the decision of the Makah tribe to resume whale hunting in the Pacific Northwest are the focus of this study. Analysis shows how race and species become tightly intertwined in the U.S., thus connecting "the animal" and "the black man," along with "the Chinese immigrant" and "the Indian," in racist thought. Kim suggests the need to "see beyond" a particular "optics of cruelty and disposability" in order to identify the cultural politics that link non-white populations with cruelty and animality. For a single close reading of the connections between a demonized view of animals in the human vs. non-human binary and the constitution of racist understandings specifically of black men, see Kim's "Murder and mattering in Harambe's house." Here, analysis of "the zoologo-racial order" shaping the events resulting in the murder of the gorilla Harambe within the Cincinnati Zoo (May 28, 2016) contributes to the project of "exposing the circuits of unremitting violence that go into making the black, the an-

imal, and their nearness to one another” (11). Kim’s investigation of how the decision to kill the gorilla was arrived at foregrounds the cultural grid involved in state violence against black humans, including the demographics of the incarceration rate.↵

6. See Broadwater “Records show city police had long urged seat belt use in vans: Before Freddie Gray’s death, police waged campaign urging seat belt use in vans.” Also see Stolberg and Bidgood, “Freddie Gray died from ‘Rough Ride,’ Prosecutors Assert.”↵
7. According to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, “African American people are incarcerated at more than five times the rate of whites.” Also, Harriot notes that in 2018, “black people were three times more likely to be killed by police than were whites.”↵
8. What many think of as ‘the animal’ is a border-guard enlisted on the side of assorted violent human endeavors. Thinking on this matter, with the work of Kristeva, Foucault and Butler, Stanescu writes:

the philosophical and scientific questions we use all involve some formulation of “what makes us human?” rather than “what makes us another animal?” ... we invest a vast amount of intellectual work in trying to figure out what separates and individuates the human species, rather than in what makes us part of a commonality with other lives. This separation produces a valorization of those traits that we believe are uniquely human—rationality, production, what have you—rather than valorizing those traits we obviously share with other lives—we are finite, interdependent, embodied, capable of pleasure and pain, vulnerable, born to, and one day will, die. The intellectual work to make the human unique results in a devaluing of traits we share with animals. (569-570)

That is, I suggest, to make the animal to serve as a border guard of (particular) human privileges. The animal is figured in such ways as to both police the porous boundary where human and non-human animals meet and to prevent leakage of privilege towards those figured as lesser humans. Put pithily, if somewhat inaccurately, Foucault notes, as Stanescu also emphasizes in his piece, “From the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century... the monster is essentially a mixture. It is the mixture of two realms, the animal and the human” (Foucault 63 *quid.* in Stanescu 581).↵

9. Though not going so far as to address the role of the animal per se, focused on the division between West and Islam, Butler points out that “The term and the practice of “civilization” work to produce the human differentially by offering a culturally limited norm for what the human is supposed to

be. It is not just that some humans are treated as humans, and others are dehumanized; it is rather that dehumanization becomes the condition for the production of the human to the extent that a “Western” civilization defines itself over and against a population understood as, by definition, illegitimate, if not *dubiously human*.” (my emphasis) In short, “The question of who will be treated humanely presupposes that we have first settled the question of who does and does not count as a human” (91).[←]

10. ☒ The United States has the largest prison population worldwide. At the end of 2016, this amounted to 2,121,600 people. According to the US Bureau of Justice data, in 2010, 500 of 100,000 ☒ are in prison. At the end of 2016, 655. In addition, the conditions of incarceration for prisoners in the U.S. are inadequate and often brutal. Protest planned for September 9, 2016, on the 45th anniversary of the Attica prison uprising, aimed to bring this to the center of public debate in the nation. As noted by John Washington in *The Nation* (September 7 2016), “the actions of September 9 (2016) will shed light on the often decrepit conditions suffered by the 2.4 million people in what is the largest carceral system in the world. They will also mark a new point in the fight against mass incarceration, and likely stand as a harbinger for further actions and strikes to come. Malik Washington, an inmate in the H. H. Coffield Unit in Texas and the chief spokesperson for the End Prison Slavery in Texas movement, wrote to me in a letter: ‘Prisoners in Amerikan prisons are sick and tired of being degraded, dehumanized, and exploited.’”[←]
11. For one example, note the rhetoric cited in response to media query concerning one of the largest U.S. prisoners’ strikes by Jeff Spross: “Almost two-thirds of the prisoners who work under these conditions are not white, versus just 30 percent of the American population as a whole that’s non-white. The IWOC has clearly connected the dots between modern prison labor and America’s shameful past use of slavery: ‘Overseers watch over our every move, and if we do not perform our appointed tasks to their liking, we are punished,’ the union’s announcement read. ‘They may have replaced the whip with pepper spray, but many of the other torments remain: isolation, restraint positions, stripping off our clothes, and investigating our bodies *as though we are animals*.’” (my emphasis).[←]
12. For this reason too, I find unsatisfactory exceptionalist moves to include specific species of non-humans in the category of persons and accord them protection, rights, and sovereignty. One such example is India’s Central Zoo Authority’s 2013 recognition of cetacean species as “non-human per-

sons.” For a brief analysis of how the politics of “care” for a specific species can translate into license for further onslaught of the environment it depends upon in the case of the Kemp’s Ridley turtle which lives only in the Gulf of Mexico, see Halkias. For an exposition of a strong argument problematizing such decisions, see Bertoni and Uli Biesel.↵

13. The text that follows is a direct copy of the response sent to me via e-mail by “Eleni” on Monday, 21 November 2016. Our face-to-face conversation had taken place in a café in Athens a few days earlier.↵
14. Eleni’s narrative is a vibrant illustration of how “Mourning both celebrates and grieves our precarious lives. It seeks connections, discovers secret kinships, and recognizes intersubjective relations” (Stanescu 580). The challenge for a feminist and queer animal studies, Stanescu continues, is to “open up our practices, paths, and protocols of mourning in ways that can escape the narrow confines of anthropocentrism” (580). In effect, “... we might have to risk our own coherency so that we can demand that certain lives be socially intelligible”(580).↵
15. Studying the connections between different types of violence, Schepher-Hughes refers to her concept of a “continuum of violence” as “one capable of linking the ‘sensible’ violence and right of the state to wage war (even a dirty war) against its’ enemies with the ‘senseless’ violence of ‘irrational’ youth protecting their turf and/or their dignity” (79-80). More specifically, she notes, “Peace-time crimes such as prison construction sold as economic development to impoverished communities in the mountains and deserts of California (Gilmore 2007) or the evolution of the prison industrial complex (Davis 2003) into the latest ‘peculiar institution’ for managing race relations in the United States (Wacquant 2006) are the ‘small wars and invisible genocides’ to which I am referring here.” Though she does not make reference to non human animals per se, she continues “Identifying misrecognition [of deaths] is crucial as is paying close attention to violence hidden in the minutia of ‘normal’ social practices. These force us to consider the links between the violence of everyday life and political terror authorized by the state” (86).↵
16. Kohn specifically distinguishes lifeforms from stones, noting, “To recognize living thoughts, and the ecology of selves to which they give rise, underscores that there is something unique to life: life thinks, stones don’t” (100). Yet the objective, as he goes on to explain, remains similar in that “The goal here is not to name some essential vital force, or to create a new dualism to replace those old ones that severed humans from the rest of life

and the world. The goal, rather, is to understand some of the special properties of lives and thoughts, which are obscured when we theorize humans and nonhumans, and their interactions, in terms of materiality or in terms of our assumptions (often hidden) about symbolically based linguistic relationality” (100).[↵]

17. Important to note here, “The Anthropocene thesis claims that humans have become a geophysical force operating on the planet, as if humans were an undifferentiated whole. But which humans, to be more precise? Among the epistemological fallacies—and dangers—of the concept of the Anthropocene is that it renders the human abstract in the process of geologizing human agency, what Donna Haraway might call an example of the “god trick” (Ahmed 40).[↵]

FROM BITS TO BODIES: PERFECT HUMANS, BIOINFORMATIC VISUALIZATIONS, AND CRITICAL RELATIONALITY

JENNIFER A. HAMILTON

Abstract: In December 2014, computational biologist Lior Pachter posted the results of his “tongue in cheek” in silico genome experiment on his personal blog, where he declared his discovery that “the perfect human is Puerto Rican.” In this article, I analyze the “perfect human” experiment. I argue that despite the use of 21st-century, cutting-edge technology in computing and genomics, Pachter’s experiment and his use of visualization can be usefully juxtaposed with earlier modes of visualizing heredity, namely the development of composite portraiture in the late-19th century and late-20th century technologies of “morphing.” I temper the celebration of Pachter’s creation of a “mixed race” perfect human in silico with a challenge to its ostensibly progressive stance. I instead suggest that it must be understood in the broader context of eugenic hauntings and contemporary tensions around questions of sex, sexuality, race, nation, and indigeneity. I argue that the scientific, specifically genomic, stories that we tell, can be productively read in light of critiques of biogenetic kinship and the naturalization of heterosexual love. I conclude by arguing that the perfect human experiment makes a particular kind of argument about what it means to be human and perfect and what constitutes legitimate and cognizable modes of relationality.

Résumé: En décembre 2014 le biologiste informaticien Lior Pachter a annoncé ironiquement les résultats de son expérience virtuelle sur le génôme dans son blog personnel, dans lequel il déclare sa découverte que ‘l’humain parfait est portoricain.’ Dans cet article, j’analyse l’expérience de ‘l’humain parfait.’ J’avance qu’en dépit de l’emploi de la technologie la plus avancée du XXI^e siècle en matière d’informatique et d’étude du génôme, l’expérience de Pachter et son utilisation de la visualisation peuvent être utilement juxtaposées à des modes antérieurs de visualisation de l’hérédité, spécifiquement de la portraiture composite dans les techniques de ‘morphisme’ de la fin du XIX^e et du début du XX^e siècles. Je tempère la célébration de la création virtuelle de Pachter d’une “race mixte” d’humains parfaits en remettant en cause sa position ostensiblement progressive. Je suggère qu’elle doit plutôt être comprise dans le contexte plus large des obsessions eugéniques et des tensions contemporaines autour des questions de sexe, de sexualité, de nation et d’indigénéité. J’avance que les récits scientifiques, spécialement génomiques, que nous racontons peuvent être lus de façon productive à la lumière des critiques de la parenté biogénétique et de la naturalisation de l’amour hétérosexuel. Je conclus en suggérant que l’expérience sur l’humain parfait représente un argument particulier sur ce que signifie être humain et parfait et sur ce qui constitue des modes de relationalité légitimes et perceptibles.

In the U.S. race has always been dependent on the visual.
- Evelyn Hammonds, "New Technologies of Race" (1997)

In the United States, race immediately evokes the grammars of purity and mixing, compounding and differentiating, segregating and bonding, lynching and marrying. Race, like nature and sex, is replete with all the rituals of guilt and innocence in the stories of nation, family, and species.
-Donna Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.FemaleMan Meets_OncoMouse* (1997)

In December 2014, University of California, Berkeley computational biologist Lior Pachter posted the results of his “tongue in cheek” *in silico* genome experiment on his personal blog, where he declared his discovery that “the perfect human is Puerto Rican” (Pachter). Pachter applied computer modeling and statistical analysis to genetic code to produce his results. The results of Pachter’s experiment, particularly his claim to have located the “perfect human,” exploded on social media—160,000 shares in one day—and provoked significant discussion, both serious and humorous. The post also caused discomfort among some mainstream genomic scientists, including those who collected the blood samples that provided some of the data for this thought experiment (Oleksyk and Martinez Cruzado). Such scientists expressed concern that the public had missed Pachter’s “sarcastic...tongue-in-cheek tone that ridiculed perfect-human arguments” and instead took the “experiment” seriously (Oleksyk and Martinez Cruzado; see also Irizarry).

While Pachter ultimately disavowed the existence of a “perfect human,” a goal he describes as “a misleading undertaking,” he nevertheless proposed that such a being, were they to come into being, would not be of “pure” genetic stock but would rather be “admixed,” bringing together “good genes” from pre-colonial, pre-contact populations—defined as European, African, and Indigenous American. Pachter suggested that the embodiment of the “perfect human,” conjured in his *in silico* experiment, might be Yuiza, a legendary 16th century Taíno woman: “The nearest neighbor to the ‘perfect human’ is...a female who is...Puerto Rican. One might imagine that such a person already existed, maybe Yuiza, the only female Taino Cacique (chief) in Puerto Rico’s history”

(Pachter). To make this point visually, Pachter attached a portrait of Yuiza done by contemporary Puerto Rican artist, Samuel Lind, an image that circulated (and continues to circulate) widely in the news and social media (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Detail from Lind's *Yuiza* (2008)

The claim that “the perfect human is Puerto Rican” was celebrated throughout both social and mainstream media, in the mainland United States and in Puerto Rico, in English and in Spanish. While Pachter imagined this perfect creature as embodied in the figure of Yuiza, many others in the media suggested Jennifer Lopez, with Ricky Martin as her male counterpart, was the embodiment of Puerto Rican perfection: “Los puertorriqueños de hoy en día, sin embargo, han señalado a Jennifer López y Ricky Martin como pruebas de la perfección Boricua” [“Today’s Puerto Ricans, however, have singled out Jennifer Lopez and Ricky Martin as proofs of Boricua perfection.”] (JClar) (see Figure 2).¹

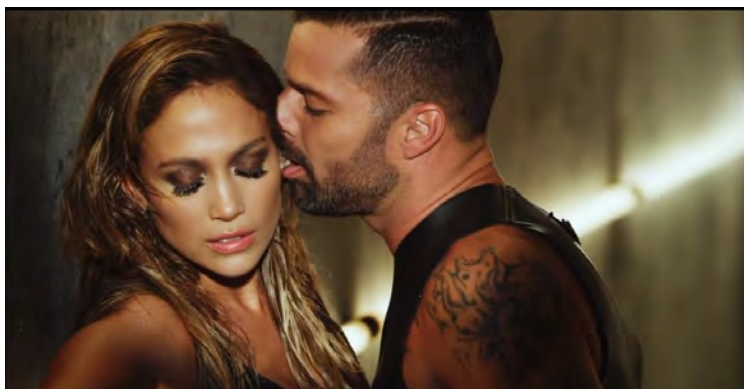


Figure 2: Still from music video, “Adrenalina,” Wisin featuring Jennifer Lopez and Ricky Martin, 2014

Yet the claim that the “perfect human” might be Yuiza (or even Jennifer Lopez for that matter) is not as straightforward as it might at first seem. The affective embodiment of the bits of data that constitute the perfect human *in silico*—bits stored in large databases as zeros and ones—in a legendary figure like Yuiza requires a complicated and labour-intensive process of visualization. Such a process is deeply rooted in cultural imaginaries about sex, race, sexuality, kinship, and nation. As the epigraphs from Hammonds and Haraway remind us, racial economies in the United States elsewhere rely heavily on technologies of the visual for their “sense-making” capacity, and the larger “grammars”—“of purity and mixing, compounding and differentiating, segregating and bonding, lynching and marrying” (Haraway 213)—are central logics that enable the movement from bits to bodies, from genetic code to the figure of what I call *Yuiza in silico*.

In his experiment, Pachter relies on a series of what feminist scholar Elizabeth Lloyd calls “pre-theoretical assumptions,” those assumptions that must be present in order for a scientific story to make sense (Lloyd). In her discussion of explanations of female sexuality in evolutionary biology, Lloyd argues that such explanations “exemplify how social beliefs and social agendas can influence very basic biological explanations of fundamental physiological processes” (Lloyd 139). She

suggests that “social assumptions and prior commitments of...scientists play a major role in the practice of science itself, at many levels—experimental design, data collections, predictions, hypothesis formulation, and the evaluation of explanations” (Lloyd 139). In my analysis, I argue that such social assumptions and prior commitments are worthy of serious study and excavation because they reveal the deep and problematic investments that contemporary genomic sciences both have inherited and continue to reproduce: namely, sexualized and racialized notions of purity and hybridity; eugenic tropes of health and fitness; and the naturalization of heteronormativity. These tropes provide a connective node between Pachter’s experiment and the larger questions of critical relationality that are the focus of this special issue of *Imaginations*.

The figure of *Yuiza in silico* must be understood as a *racialesexual formation*,³ a conceptual framework that insists not only that race, sex, and sexuality are intersectional, socially produced categories (Collins and Bilge; see also Omi and Winant), but also that the conceptual and practical development of what science has labeled sexual dimorphism is itself inextricable from emergent concepts of race. As Sally Markowitz reminds us, sexual dimorphism itself is always already racialized, emerging as it does from nineteenth century evolutionary theories: “[T]he category of sex/gender difference...has been saturated with racial meanings for centuries and not always in ways that are easy to discern” (Markowitz 389). According to Markowitz, the two-sex model that emerges in the 18th century and is reproduced in contemporary genomics (see also Richardson) is not just central to gender ideology, but also makes a “complex contribution to racial ideology as well” (Markowitz 394). While the “naturalness” of the categories of race is contested even in the genomic sciences, categories of sex and sexuality are often left as natural and obvious and as unconnected to race, despite longstanding and elaborate feminist critiques (see Hammonds; Haraway; Carter). Thus, the idea that the “perfect human” is a Puerto Rican woman, embodied in the image of a Taíno woman, *Yuiza*, is an example of *racialesexual formations* and a key dimension of Pachter’s claim.

This paper has two main sections. In the first, I argue that despite the use of 21st-century, cutting-edge technology in computing and ge-

nomics, Pachter's experiment and his use of visualization can be usefully juxtaposed with earlier modes of *visualizing heredity*, namely Francis Galton's development of composite portraiture in the late-19th century and late-20th century technologies of "morphing," famously represented in *Time Magazine's* composite image of "The New Face of America," also called SimEve. In my analysis of *Yuiza in silico*, I temper the celebration of Pachter's creation of a "mixed race" perfect human *in silico* with a challenge to its ostensibly progressive stance. I instead suggest that *Yuiza in silico* must be understood in the broader context of eugenic hauntings and contemporary tensions around questions of sex, sexuality, and race. I suggest that what links these visual artifacts—19th-century composite portraiture, SimEve, and *Yuiza in silico*—across time and space is a concern with embodying statistical data in ways that make a potent kind of visual argument about heredity and its relationship to race, sex, sexuality, kinship, and nation. I argue that visualizations of admixture must be problematized through an excavation of the historical and political context of "race mixing" in order to challenge naturalized heteronormative evolutionary narratives while simultaneously making visible the sexual violence of colonization and imperialism often effaced in such visualizations.

In the second part of the paper, I further explore what feminist scholar Venla Oikkonen calls "the entanglement of the informational and embodied in genetic discourses of human difference" (Oikkonen 749) in the context of critical relationality, an emergent interdisciplinary field of inquiry that puts questions of sexuality, kinship, and relatedness into critical conversation with settler colonialism. I argue that the scientific, specifically genomic, stories that we tell, can be productively read in light of critiques of biogenetic kinship and the naturalization of heterosexual love. The celebrated existence of the "perfect human" as a Puerto Rican woman—a mixed-race woman, embodied in the image of an Indigenous foremother—simultaneously works to reinforce the naturalness of heterosexuality and also forecloses apprehension of other critical modes of relationality that are central to the contemporary politics of indigeneity. I conclude by arguing that the perfect human experiment, its visualization through Lind's portrait and its dissemination through social media, makes a particular kind of argument about what it means to be the perfect human and what constitutes legitimate

and cognizable modes of relationality. More specifically, I highlight how the erasure of gendered colonial violence in these scientific narratives is central for understanding contemporary politics and claims to self-determination for Indigenous peoples in the United States, in Puerto Rico, and indeed elsewhere.

PART I: EUGENIC HAUNTINGS IN ANTI-RACIST GENOMICS?

Before moving on to a specific discussion of Pachter's experiment, a brief exploration of his motivation is in order. Pachter described his attempt to locate the perfect human *in silico* as "a thought experiment...dedicated to James Watson on the occasion of his unbirthday" (Pachter). Watson, along with Francis Crick, is credited with discovering the double-helix structure of DNA in 1953 for which he was later awarded the Nobel Prize. He was then a key figure in driving the initial mapping of the human genome in the 1990s. Watson, however, is also notorious for making "provocative comments" in public, including his 2007 remark to the UK daily, *The Times*, claiming that genetics demonstrated that Black people were less intelligent than white people, a remark that ended in his forced resignation as chancellor of Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory later that year (Milmo).

Lest you think that Pachter's "thought experiment" is simply another iteration of Watson's notorious claims about the reality and primacy of genetic race—as claims to the "perfect human" might evoke—consider Pachter's rather extensive introductory disavowal of Watson. Pachter describes meeting Watson at the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory and outlines his discomfort with Watson's "spewing [of] racist and misogynistic hate" (Pachter). Using words like "creepy" and "disturbing," Pachter works to distance his own ideas from Watson's, including the latter's longstanding interest in building a better human (Milmo). The implication of Pachter's experiment, of course, is that there is no such thing as a "perfect human," and even if there were, she would not be of "pure" genetic stock like Watson might imagine, but would rather be "admixed," bringing together "good genes" from pre-colonial populations in a mixed race or *mestizaje* (mixed-race) embodiment. In this way, Pachter positions himself and his thought experiment in the realm of what STS scholars Catherine Bliss and Jenny Reardon have

called the discourse of “anti-racist genomics,” which eschews both earlier eugenic formulations of genetic purity and any notion of racial hierarchy (see also Fullwiley).

Despite its disdain both of hierarchy and claims to racial purity, the discourse of anti-racist genomics nevertheless insists on the existence of somewhat stable, population-level categories of human genetic variation—usually articulated in terms of continental populations such as African, European, Amerindian, and Asian—and argues that such categories are importantly linked to questions of health and wellness in human groups (see Bustamante et al.). Genomics, in this anti-racist vein, is positioned as part of larger progressive social movements as an important corrective for things ranging from white supremacy (i.e. genomics challenges it) to population-level health disparities (i.e. genomics is central to any solution) (see Bliss; Reardon).

Pachter’s insistence on the robustness and “perfection” of mixed-race populations espouses this kind of anti-racist genomic formulation, and he explicitly frames his experiment as a counter to Watson’s outmoded, eugenicist, and racist stance. Pachter and other contemporary genomicists are deeply invested in distinguishing their own work and the larger discipline from its earlier associations with eugenics; Pachter formulates his experiment and his of embodiment of *Yuiza in silico* as a counter to such associations. As feminist STS scholar Banu Subramaniam argues eugenic hauntings are always present in contemporary genomics:

The ghosts live on in almost all aspects of current biological practice. Learning to see them is not just about seeing the ghosts, seeing the history, the political and cultural legacy of the field, but about laying bare the epistemological and methodological apparatuses that have framed our seeing for more than a century. (Subramaniam 22)

Thus, part of the work of this paper is about using visualization in genomics in the service of this larger project of learning to see such ghosts, especially in their hauntings of anti-racist claims around the “perfect human,” claims that leave intact racial and sexual economies

forged in colonization and empire and further reinforce naturalized readings of heteronormativity and sexual reproduction.

In his article “Data, Code, and Discourses of Difference in Genomics,” communications scholar Peter Chow-White begins his discussion with reference to James Watson’s now infamous 2007 claims. Yet, unlike Pachter’s disavowal, Chow-White warns against characterizing Watson’s claims as simply idiosyncratic, outmoded, and as representative of an older and thoroughly discredited pseudoscience. Rather, Chow-White argues that current ideas about race in genomics “are linked to larger social transformations in the information society where shifting formations of race are converging in old and new ways with developments and innovations in digital culture and information technologies” (Chow-White 220). Another task of this paper, then, is to make such convergences more apparent and to link these “shifting formations of race” to affective practices of bioinformatic visualization through an analysis of how statistical data has been visualized and its reliance on particular narratives and tropes.

Visualizing Heredity: Composite Portraiture, SimEve, and *Yuiza in silico*

In this section, I begin with a brief discussion of Francis Galton’s development of composite portraiture in order to make the point that the visualization of statistical data has a long history, one deeply linked to notions of heredity and relationality. I then juxtapose Pachter’s visualization of *Yuiza in silico* with the 1993 *Time Magazine* cover of “The New Face of America,”—also called SimEve by feminist scholars Donna Haraway and Evelyn Hammonds—a computer-generated image of a woman who “does not exist—except metaphysically” and is rather “the product of a computer process called morphing” (Gaines 2). Building on Hammonds’ and Haraway’s earlier analyses of SimEve, I conclude with an analysis of Pachter’s embodiment of *Yuiza in silico* through Lind’s portrait in order to provide a context for a larger discussion of critical relationality in the following section.

A. Composite Portraiture

In 1878, “father of eugenics” Francis Galton published the first of a series of papers about a new visualization technology he had developed in collaboration with colleague Herbert Spencer called “compos-

ite portraits.” Composite portraiture was a photographic technique that sought to create representations of “types”—e.g., familial, criminal, and consumptive—by isolating phenotypic traits from individuals thought to represent the group (Figure 3).³ Using the then relatively new technology of photography, Galton combined multiple images on a single photographic plate “to obtain with mechanical precision a generalised picture; one that represents no man in particular, but portrays an imaginary figure possessing the average features of any given group of men” (Galton, “Composite Portraits” 97). Galton produced numerous composite portraits over a period of years; he was particularly interested in using statistical methods such as averages to probe the hereditary dynamics of family resemblance, criminality, and illness. This discussion of Galton’s composite portraits makes apparent how, even prior to any robust scientific concept of genes or the identification of the double-helix structure of DNA, scientists used what we now call phenotypic traits as a way to capture underlying “units of heredity” (contemporarily called genotype).

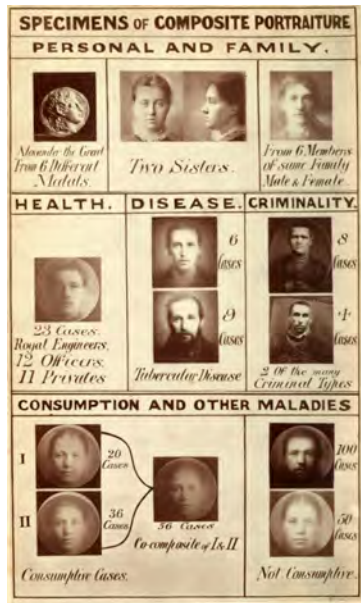


Figure 3, Specimens of Composite Portraiture, Sir Francis Galton (1882)

Art historian David Green makes the point that Galton's most intensive experimentation with photography occurs between 1877 and 1884, the same period during which he developed key "methods of analysis and statistical techniques designed to measure the incidence of inherited characteristics which were to have a substantial bearing upon all of his later work and that of others within the eugenics movement" (Green 14). Indeed, Green argues that Galton's photography, specifically his composite portraits, "developed out of a specific need to trace and define the manifestations of innate and hereditary differences of human faculties within physiognomical characteristics" (Green 14; see also Sekula). Photographer and art critic Allan Sekula points to the famous 1883 portrait of "The Jewish Type" (Figure 4) as one that demonstrated Galton's belief in "the reality of distinct racial types." He further argues that technique of composite portraiture "amounted to an essentialist physical anthropology of race" (Sekula 51).



Figure 4: The Jewish Type, 1883

I evoke Galton's practice of composite portraiture here to make the point that attempts to visualize hereditary traits as a way to characterize variation across human groups have a long history in the natural and social sciences; further, I want to place Pachter's experiment in vi-

sualizing statistical data, especially in terms of hybridity, in that visual historical context. It is perhaps ironic that Pachter’s experiment, created in the service of disavowing the overtly racist and misogynistic position of James Watson and forging a different inclusive and anti-racist future for genomic research (one celebrating the “hybrid vigor” (Bivins) of racial mixture), should be haunted by the “father of eugenics,” Galton. But, as Subramaniam reminds us, perhaps not: it is these hauntings of technologies such as composite portraiture that I want to carry through into subsequent analyses of *SimEve* and *Yuiza in silico*.

B. SimEve

The opening epigraphs of this article are both from 1997 works by Evelyn Hammonds and Donna Haraway, respectively. In different pieces, Hammonds and Haraway discuss the now famous 1993 *Time* magazine special issue on immigration and the computer-generated composite portrait of “The New Face of America” (what they both call *SimEve*) that graces the cover (Figure 5).



Figure 5: *SimEve*, or *The New Face of America*, 1993

In order “to dramatize the impact of interethnic marriage, which has increased dramatically in the U.S. during the latest wave of immigration,” *Time Magazine* “turned to morphing to create the kind of offspring that might result from seven men and seven women of various ethnic and racial backgrounds” (Gaines 2) (Figure 6). The figure of SimEve was created using the computer software Morph 2.0, which “enabled TIME to pinpoint key facial features on the photos of the 14 people of various racial and ethnic backgrounds chosen for the chart. Electronic dots defined head size, skin color, hair color and texture, eyebrows, the contours of the lips, nose and eyes, even laugh lines around the mouth” (“Rebirth of a Nation”).

The portrait of SimEve is similar to Galton’s composite portraiture in that it blends multiple images to produce a novel one, and also produces a photo not of a particular individual but of a type. The technology of “morphing” provides the means to “Rebirth of the Nation, Computer-Style, to a ‘new face of America.’” This new face is exotic, and while light-skinned, she appears racially mixed, stressing “the enticing glamor of ethnic diversity” while simultaneously establishing “itself as a retort to the racism of a founding film like *Birth of a Nation*” (Gubar 33-34). Like Pachter’s framing of his “perfect human” experiment as counter to Watson’s eugenic stance, *Time Magazine*’s figure of SimEve celebrates race-mixing as a nationalist “rebirth,” one that, counter to D.W. Griffith’s 1915 film, purportedly challenges deep-seated anxieties about miscegenation. Yet Hammonds locates morphing “at the center of an old debate about miscegenation and citizenship in the United States” (Hammonds 109) and reminds us of the larger context of sexual violence evoked by the image of SimEve:

This is truly the drama of miscegenation in cyberspace. The history of white men crossing racial boundaries to have sexual relations with African, Asian, Mexican and Native-American women - and then refusing to acknowledge their offspring in order to reserve the right to determine how whiteness would be defined as a characteristic of citizenship- is simultaneously implied and disavowed. (Hammonds 120)



Figure 6, "Rebirth of a Nation, Computer-Style"

Like Galton's *Specimens*, the *Time Magazine* cover is a form of composite portraiture. While a technological novelty back in 1993, SimEve shares conceptual and visual antecedents with earlier forms of scientific experimentation and representation, conceptual and visual antecedents reproduced in Pachter's use of Samuel Lind's *Yuiza* to embody his *in silico* "perfect human." These images traffic in "the grammars of purity and mixing" that undergird sexual and racial representations of the nation, wherein "bits and bytes replace the flesh and blood that provoked the guilt, hatred and violence of our country's history of racial domination" (Hammonds 120).

C. *From Bits to Bodies: Yuiza in silico*

It is worth spending some time with Pachter's thought experiment and tracing the specific ways in which he came to the conclusion that the "perfect human is Puerto Rican," a claim that on its surface seems progressive simply because it includes people often marginalized or excluded from conceptions of both humanity and perfection and "celebrates" the beauty of women of colour. How exactly does Pachter operationalize an experiment looking for a "perfect human" and how does he come to conclusion that "the perfect human is Puerto Rican," more specifically a Puerto Rican woman? Pachter uses bioinformatics, an emergent interdisciplinary field that basically that uses tools from statistics and computer science to organize and interpret biological data. In their blog post about the experiment, fellow geneticists Oleksyk and Martinez Cruzado provide the following overview:

In what he called a "thought experiment," Pachter looked at all the mutations in the database, noting the ones with beneficial and disadvantageous effects. His argument: the person with the most "good" alleles and the least "bad" alleles would be the "perfect human." It just happened that the sample closest to this arbitrary constructed ideal came from a Puerto Rican woman. (Oleksyk and Martinez Cruzado)

Pachter's *in silico* work on this experiment takes place in a "dry lab," and he performed a bioinformatic analysis on already existing datasets, constructing his "perfect human" by analyzing a series of small mutations called "SNPs." He then applied this analysis to genotypes from individual donors who were part of a recent genetic variation project, the 1000 Genomes Project.

SNP (pronounced "snip") is an acronym for "single nucleotide polymorphism," a small genetic mutation that may be associated with population-level genomic differences such as ancestry or disease or other phenotypic traits such as the consistency of ear wax. Pachter accessed the SNPs he used in his experiment from a database called SNPedia. Created by geneticist Greg Lennon and computer programmer Michael Carias, SNPedia has been online since 2006 (Carias and Lennon). It shares "information about the effects of variations in DNA,

citing peer-reviewed scientific publications” and offers users the opportunity “to create a personal report linking your DNA variations to the information published about them” (*SNPedia*).

Pachter created his *in silico* “perfect human” by isolating all of the “good” SNPs (almost 5000 in total in 2014)⁴ from the database. He then performed principal components analysis (PCA), comparing the SNP-based “perfect human” *in silico* with an existing dataset of 1092 individual genotypes from the 1000 Genomes Project⁵ (Figure 7): “Add the ‘perfect human’ to a panel of genotyped individuals from across a variety of populations and perform PCA to reveal the location and population of origin of the individual” (Pachter).

snp_id	perfect	HG00096	HG00097	HG00099	HG00100	HG00101	HG00102
HG00103	HG00104	HG00106	HG00108	HG00109	HG00110	HG00111	HG00112
HG00113	HG00114	HG00116	HG00117	HG00118	HG00119	HG00120	HG00121
HG00122	HG00123	HG00124	HG00125	HG00126	HG00127	HG00128	HG00129
HG00130	HG00131	HG00133	HG00134	HG00135	HG00136	HG00137	HG00138
HG00139	HG00140	HG00141	HG00142	HG00143	HG00145	HG00148	HG00149
HG00150	HG00151	HG00152	HG00154	HG00155	HG00156	HG00158	HG00159
HG00160	HG00171	HG00173	HG00174	HG00176	HG00177	HG00178	HG00179
HG00180	HG00182	HG00183	HG00185	HG00186	HG00187	HG00188	HG00189
HG00190	HG00231	HG00232	HG00233	HG00234	HG00235	HG00236	HG00237
HG00238	HG00239	HG00240	HG00242	HG00243	HG00244	HG00245	HG00246
HG00247	HG00249	HG00250	HG00251	HG00252	HG00253	HG00254	HG00255
HG00256	HG00257	HG00258	HG00259	HG00260	HG00261	HG00262	HG00263
HG00264	HG00265	HG00266	HG00267	HG00268	HG00269	HG00270	HG00271
HG00272	HG00273	HG00274	HG00275	HG00276	HG00277	HG00278	HG00280
HG00281	HG00282	HG00284	HG00285	HG00306	HG00309	HG00310	HG00311
HG00312	HG00313	HG00315	HG00318	HG00319	HG00320	HG00321	HG00323
HG00324	HG00325	HG00326	HG00327	HG00328	HG00329	HG00330	HG00331
HG00332	HG00334	HG00335	HG00336	HG00337	HG00338	HG00339	HG00341
HG00342	HG00343	HG00344	HG00345	HG00346	HG00349	HG00350	HG00351
HG00353	HG00355	HG00356	HG00357	HG00358	HG00359	HG00360	HG00361
HG00362	HG00364	HG00366	HG00367	HG00369	HG00372	HG00373	HG00375
HG00376	HG00377	HG00378	HG00381	HG00382	HG00383	HG00384	HG00403
HG00404	HG00406	HG00407	HG00418	HG00419	HG00421	HG00422	HG00427
HG00428	HG00436	HG00437	HG00442	HG00443	HG00445	HG00446	HG00448
HG00449	HG00451	HG00452	HG00457	HG00458	HG00463	HG00464	HG00472
HG00473	HG00475	HG00476	HG00478	HG00479	HG00500	HG00501	HG00512
HG00513	HG00524	HG00525	HG00530	HG00531	HG00533	HG00534	HG00536
HG00537	HG00542	HG00543	HG00553	HG00554	HG00556	HG00557	HG00559
HG00560	HG00565	HG00566	HG00577	HG00578	HG00580	HG00581	HG00583
HG00584	HG00589	HG00590	HG00592	HG00593	HG00595	HG00596	HG00607
HG00608	HG00610	HG00611	HG00613	HG00614	HG00619	HG00620	HG00625
HG00626	HG00628	HG00629	HG00634	HG00635	HG00637	HG00638	HG00640
HG00641	HG00650	HG00651	HG00653	HG00654	HG00656	HG00657	HG00662
HG00663	HG00671	HG00672	HG00683	HG00684	HG00689	HG00690	HG00692
HG00693	HG00698	HG00699	HG00701	HG00702	HG00704	HG00705	HG00707
HG00708	HG00731	HG00732	HG00734	HG00736	HG00737	HG00740	HG01047

Figure 7: Dataset of individual genotypes from 1000 Genomes including “perfect human” and HG00737, created by Lior Pachter

PCA, an early 20th-century statistical technique, now a mainstay of contemporary data analysis, is designed to provide “a roadmap for how to reduce a complex data set to a lower dimension to reveal the sometimes hidden, simplified structures that often underlie it” (Schlens). The 1092 individual genotypes, already collected and organized as representative of large-scale population groups (African, Amerindian, European, and Asian), were plotted on a graph and the genotype closest to the “perfect human” *in silico*—the genetic code from an individual identified as HG00737, a female donor to the “Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico” collection (Figure 8).

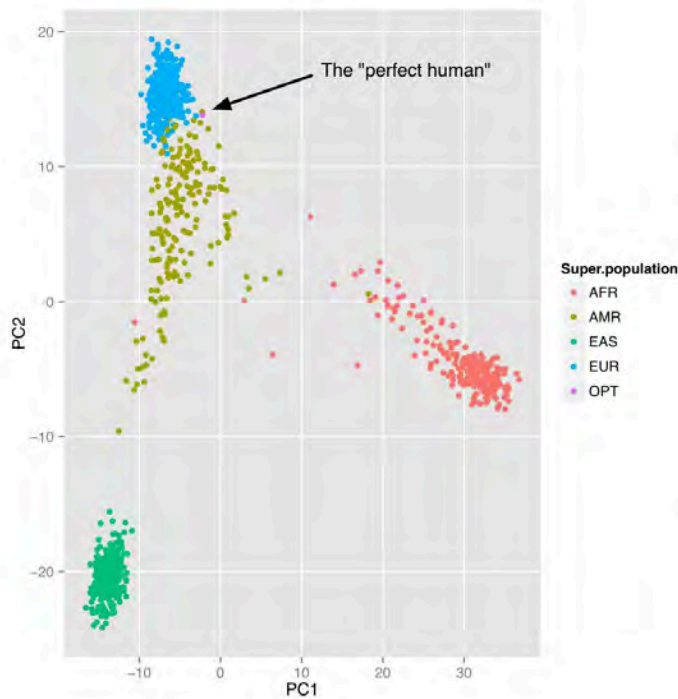


Figure 8: “Perfect Human” Principal Components Analysis, 2014 (Pachter)

Of course, the experiment was not based on any DNA from Yuiza, a legendary, possibly mythical, figure, represented on Pachter's blog in portrait form by Puerto Rican artist Samuel Lind; nor, we can safely assume, did the anonymous blood sample from which the data derived come from Jennifer Lopez.⁶ Rather, Pachter's experiment relied on data generated from the 1000 Genomes sample population, "Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico" or "PUR." More specifically, according to Pachter, "[t]he nearest neighbor to the 'perfect human' is HG00737" (citation), the identification number of an anonymous female donor who self-identified as Puerto Rican at the time of collection.⁷

I want now to further contextualize the next steps of Pachter's "perfect human" experiment through a discussion of the visualization of scientific—in this case, bioinformatic—data in order to draw attention to the larger tropes of race, sex, sexuality, and nation that shape Pachter's interpretation of his data as well as to draw attention to the ghosts that Subramaniam describes. As many STS scholars have compellingly demonstrated, careful attention to the conceptual frameworks and experimental apparatus of scientific practice is necessary to excavate the underlying frameworks and conventions that shape scientific inquiry:

[I]n looking at how ideas about race, nation, and belonging are brought to bear on genetics in contemporary society, we should not overlook the material forms that scientific inquiry takes: the types of evidence scientists choose, the ideas about credibility and counterfeit that factor into these choices, and the mechanics of how evidence is converted into scientific models and conclusions. (Kohli-Laven 200)

To emphasize the point that the "perfect human" of his experiment is a Puerto Rican woman, Pachter speculates: "One might imagine that such a person already existed, maybe Yuiza, the only female Taino Cacique (chief) in Puerto Rico's history" (Pachter). Through the visual transformation from genetic code (Figure 7) to PCA (Figure 8) to Yuiza (Figure 1), Pachter's experiment transforms HG00737—the genetic code of a 21st-first century Puerto Rican woman about whom we know almost nothing—to the speculative figure of *Yuiza in silico*.

Sociologist Adrian Mackenzie makes the point that in bioinformatics “a living body figures...as a somewhat abstract relational entity, potentially open to many different determinations” (Mackenzie 317). Thus, the kinds of choices, the particular determinations, that Pachter makes in embodying *Yuiza in silico* can be productively studied through an exploration of the kinds of *pretheoretical assumptions* that undergird the experiment: namely, eugenic tropes of health and fitness represented by the idea of “good” alleles (mutations); longstanding genomic preoccupation with purity and hybridity; and the naturalization of reproduction and heteronormative sexuality through a romanticization of “hybridity.”

While Pachter uses neither the photographic techniques deployed by composite portraiture nor the software that enables “morphing,” he nevertheless uses another modality of visualization to “embody” his *in silico* perfect human. The use of Lind’s portrait of Yuiza does important sense-making work, shifting the visualization of code from zeroes and ones (Figure 7) to an embodied mythical-historical figure that does the work of translating bits of data into a recognizable figure, Yuiza (Figure 1).

In his discussion of DNA portraiture, communications scholar Drew Ayers argues that “the representational power” of this visualization technology relies on the assumption “that DNA, conceived of as an informational pattern (a code), has the power to function as a synecdoche for the materiality of the lived body” (Ayers 314). Lind’s portrait of *Yuiza in silico* provides much needed visual power that makes this synecdochal relationship evident, especially in terms of moving from bodies to bits and back to bodies. The “perfect human” body that provides the initial blood sample (that becomes the cell line HG00737 that becomes the code that provides the basis for Pachter’s experiment) disappears and is replaced by the figure of Yuiza.

There is some slippage between Pachter’s visualization of *Yuiza in silico* and the contemporary Puerto Rican female donor only known as HG00737. Yuiza, a famous figure in Puerto Rico, is the quintessential representation of the Taíno, the Indigenous peoples who encountered the Spanish on their first expedition to the island of Boricua (the Taíno name for PR) in the 16th century.

Historical details about Yuiza are scant, although her legend circulates widely in Puerto Rican folklore and in popular discourse. In particular, her relationship with Pedro Mejías, variously called a “mulatto conquistador” and free black man (*liberto*) and part of Ponce de León’s expedition, is a foundational national story in the island. Yuiza is ultimately murdered at the hands of other Taínos who see her relationship with Mejías as a betrayal. In her 2014 book, *Puerto Rican Folktales*, Lisa Sánchez González names Yuiza (Yuisa) and Pedro Mejías as “the great-great-great-grandparents of the Puerto Rican nation” (81).⁸ Although many have written that Yuiza’s relationship or marriage to Mejías and her conversion to Catholicism were strategic, rooted in an attempt to mitigate the enslavement and murder of her people at the hands of the Spanish, still others suggest that she was compelled into such relations either by force or coercion. Yet González’s version is told, rather triumphantly, through the trope of heterosexual romantic love, one that is often explicitly or tacitly present in genomic narratives about race-mixing, especially around the genomics of *mestizaje*.

Mestizaje is very basically a concept connoting racial mixture. It is one that is common throughout the Iberian-colonized Americas, although it has meant different things at different times. It is also one that is being renegotiated and reworked in light of emergent genomics programs throughout Latin America (see Wade et al.; Gibbon et al.). Yuiza is a key symbol in Puerto Rican national narratives, especially in terms of being representative of one of the *tres razas* (“three races”). What Carmen Lugo-Lugo calls “the racial trinity creed” shapes Puerto Rican identity, in terms of the popular understanding “that the racial origins of the modern-day Puerto Rican is a harmonized and binding alchemy of races that no longer exist as independent entities on the island” (Lugo-Lugo 107). Despite this appeal to a universal, harmonized Puerto Rican identity, the politics of race and indigeneity in Puerto Rico are complex (see J. L. González; Rodríguez-Silva; Duany; Castanha). Carmen Lugo-Lugo uses the term *mulataje* to emphasize the centrality of African and European mixture to Puerto Rican identity (see also Buscaglia-Salgado). Finally, the question of Indigenous “extinction” in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean is another organizational axis for understanding questions of racial hybridity. The claim that all Indigenous peoples in what is now Puerto Rico had died by the mid-

dle of the 16th century as the result of Spanish conquest is widespread but also contested by contemporary peoples who self-identity as Taíno, and genetics has become a key way through which indigeneity is explored (see Benn Torres). Sociologist Gabriel Haslip-Viera challenges what he terms as the “neo-Taíno” movement while other scholars such as Maximilian Forte and Tony Castanha dispute what they call “the myth of indigenous extinction” in the Caribbean (see Forte; Castanha). The animation of *Mestiza Eve* as the Taíno cacique, Yuiza, also articulates with the contemporary politics of indigeneity in the Caribbean, especially the appeal of having Indigenous ancestors.

Brief attention to the politics of racial hybridity and indigeneity allows us to contextualize Pachter’s experiment, especially in terms of the role of race, sex, and nation in the kind of visual sense-making used by Pachter. In Pachter’s visualization, Yuiza is clearly understood as Taíno, as Indigenous, and thus as existing prior to the “race mixing” that emerges with the conquest of the Americas by the Spanish and the trafficking of enslaved Africans in the Transatlantic slave trade. Yet Pachter’s use of Yuiza’s portrait is clearly intended to embody the genetic code that comes from the body of donor HG00737, a contemporary Puerto Rican woman assumed to be representative of a Puerto Rican-inflected form of *mulataje*, as a descendant of Spanish, Indigenous, and African peoples. Further, in contrast to Lisa González’s narrative, Pedro Mejía’s “contribution” to the nation, as a descendant of European *and* African peoples disappears from Pachter’s account of *Yuiza in silico* as the perfect human. The racial “slippage” that embodies donor HG00737 as a mythical Taíno woman, meant to personify the beauty and vigor of the hybrid itself, trades in anti-Blackness that is also reproduced in the PCA image that locates the pink dot of the perfect human far away from the orange clusters representing African ancestry (Figure 8).

Pachter’s vision of hybridity in the “perfect human” experiment follows what anthropologist Jean Muteba Rahier calls the tendency among North American and European scholars “towards a somewhat naïve enthusiasm for the end of white supremacy and all other forms of racism, segregation, and intolerance” (Rahier 40). Pachter’s discussion also intersects with the larger racial politics of the mainland United States, a racial politics shaped by the concept of hypodescent—more

familiarly known as “the one-drop rule”—wherein any African ancestry makes someone Black. In Pachter’s analysis, the Blackness essential to *mulataje* “drops out,” enabling the figure of *Yuiza in silico* to be simultaneously racially hybrid *and* not Black. What links these different ideas of race and hybridity across the ideologies of U.S. hypodescent and Puerto Rican *mulataje* is precisely the organizing racial logics of anti-Blackness. This anti-Blackness enables the story of the “Perfect Human is Puerto Rican” to be culturally legible in both contexts.

Pachter’s embodiment of *Yuiza in silico* also relies on longstanding tropes of the (colonized) nation as woman (see Chatterjee). *Yuiza* is beautiful, fertile, and “births” the Puerto Rican nation. Pachter moves quickly from discussing the “perfect human” at the level of species to animating the “perfect woman,” a configuration heavily reliant on *racialesexual formations* such as the sexual desirability of mixed-race women.

Regardless of whether or not *Yuiza* is an Indigenous ancestor or a kind of *Mestiza Eve*, central to the story of the mixed-race “perfect human” evoked by Pachter is the ongoing erasure of sexual colonial violence. As Latin American studies scholar Edna Acosta-Belén argues, the Puerto Rican history of *mestizaje* is intimately linked to coercive and exploitative encounters between Spanish colonizers and Indigenous and African women:

During those early years in the history of Puerto Rico as a colony of Spain, the sexual exploitation of Indian women by the conquistadores and settlers was commonplace....In the years after the Spanish occupation of Puerto Rico, many Spaniards entered into illegitimate unions with Indian and slave women; miscegenation and concubinage were widespread realities of Puerto Rican colonial society. (Acosta-Belén 2)

The absence of any reference to, or discussion about, the sexual violence of colonization performs important work in Pachter’s experiment. His analysis transforms ones and zeroes into a visually legible woman who embodies the potential of mixed-race unions in terms of their benefit to the human species as a whole. This is not simply the

prioritization of histories rooted in genomic science, but also the continuing naturalization and celebration of biogenetic kinship and heterosexual reproduction at the expense of any understanding of colonial sexual violence. *Yuiza in silico* becomes a kind of *Mestiza Eve*, the great-great-great-grandmother of a beautifully mixed-race nation, although there is no mention by Pachter of Yuiza's legendary counterpart, the mixed-race Mejías (or any other male figure). The sexual violence that marked these colonial encounters is not only effaced but also justified as a satisfactory end result. In other words, we might say that while such gendered violence is unfortunate, its outcomes have benefited humanity through the beauty and hybrid vigor of *mestizaje*.

Pachter's interpretation of his experimental data relies on nationalist narratives framed in terms of settler-colonial modes of kinship, heterosexual reproduction, and romantic love. In addition to reflecting the longstanding genetic interest in race-mixing, his data analysis is refracted through a cursory knowledge of Puerto Rican folklore, stories of *mestizaje*, and deeply raced and gendered ideas of Puerto Rican women. In what follows, I locate Pachter's "perfect human" experiment in the "durable preoccupations" (Pollock) of hybridity and purity that characterize genomics past and present and connect these to cultural narratives about sexual desirability. I then discuss Pachter's visualization of *Yuiza in silico* by putting it into conversation with a larger literature on kinship and critical relationality.

PART II: DURABLE PREOCCUPATIONS: SEXUALITY, HYBRIDITY, AND PURITY

So, what happens is that you go to places like Rio de Janeiro, and you walk on the beach, and you take skin color as a correlate—there is a continuum which goes from the very, very dark African lineages to the very, very light skin lineages and everybody in between. And, to tell you the truth, these are very beautiful people. They are very attractive and certainly have no aversion to falling in love and making offspring. (Stephen O'Brien cited in Bliss 104)

In another of his serial controversies, James Watson gave a guest lecture at the University of California, Berkeley in 2000. While speaking about the potential relationship between happiness and genes, Watson declared a positive link between “sex and sun,” more specifically a link between libido and skin colour, and he asserted that people with darker skin (more melanin) have stronger sex drives than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Briefly invoking a then-recent University of Arizona study that found a correlation between the injection of synthetic melanin and sexual arousal (Ugwu et al.), Watson went on to conclude, “That’s why you have Latin lovers. You’ve never heard of an English lover. Only an English patient” (Brown).

Again, it would be tempting to dismiss Watson simply as an aging scientist increasingly out of step with modern population genetics—a reflexive and progressive science that eschews the hierarchical plotting of human groups on an evolutionary scale and instead celebrates anti-racist possibilities in the genomic sciences. Thus, while Watson’s juxtaposition of “Latin lovers” and “English patients” relies on tired clichés and unproven scientific data, it also evokes a pervasive cultural investment in biologized—specifically geneticized—narratives of race, nation, sex, and sexuality, ones articulated as anti-racist formations that continue to undergird population genetics in its various iterations including Pachter’s figure of *Yuiza in silico*.

As the introductory epigraph from geneticist Stephen O’Brien suggests, contemporary genome scientists are invested in celebratory interpretations of “race-mixing” (and its link to hybrid vigor) and often unproblematically link the sexual reproduction of mixed-race offspring to romantic love. Such celebratory interpretations, though, are always haunted by their corollaries: racial purity and racial degeneration (see Hammonds and Herzig). As Haraway reminds us, the mainland United States and Puerto Rico are both societies “consumed by ideas of racial purity and racial denial” and are thus “also replete with fascination with racial mixing and racial difference” (Haraway 214). Feminist historian Laura Briggs points to the historical (and ongoing) centrality of Puerto Rico as a site of U.S.-based scientific and social scientific research, an island “test tube” wherein “Puerto Rican difference has been produced and located in women’s sexuality and reproduction”

(Briggs 2). The seeming celebratory claim that the “perfect human in Puerto Rican” must be seen in this larger context.

Critical Relationality

This special issue of *Imaginations* focuses on analyses “that document, provoke, or imagine relations between humans, and between humans and nonhumans that go beyond and trouble normative categories of ‘nature,’ ‘sex,’ and ‘love.’” In their discussions of SimEve, both Haraway and Hammonds refer to the *Time* editor’s column where he describes the reaction of several of his (male) employees to the image produced by Morph 2.0:

Little did we know what we had wrought. As onlookers watched the image of our new Eve begin to appear on the computer screen, several staff members promptly fell in love. Said one: “It really breaks my heart that she doesn’t exist.” We sympathize with our lovelorn colleagues, but even technology has its limits. (Gaines 2)

The physical attractiveness and sexual appeal of figures like SimEve and *Yuiza in silico* is not accidental. They are both speculative figures, animated by heteronormative fantasies of (white) men falling in love with imaginary (non-white, albeit light-skinned) women. These fantasies are purposively distanced from sexual violence and racial domination. Yet, as Hammonds argues in her analysis of SimEve, “Hierarchies of domination have not disappeared as female reproduction is replaced by a masculine technophilic reproduction because stereotypical racial typologies remain in place” (Hammonds 120). Critical relationality illuminates how scientific imaginaries—especially in visual form, like Pachter’s—naturalize and reinforce deeply cultural notions of kinship as a straightforward biogenetic expression of sexual dimorphism and of heterosexual reproduction (see Yanagisako and Collier) that are part of a larger apparatus that forecloses other possibilities of being in the world. Native studies scholars have productively put settler-colonial studies in conversation with queer theory (see Smith; Scott Lauria) to refuse any understanding of the intimate sphere of reproduction that insists on a decoupling from “the scope and shape” of the political (Rifkin). Pachter’s experiment is problematic not only because it trades

in racialized and sexualized stereotypes but also because it naturalizes “love” and heterosexual reproduction in a way that simultaneously denies imperial and colonial violence, particularly against Indigenous and African women, *and* celebrates the offspring of such “unions” as naturally healthier and more beautiful. What are the implications of such a claim?

In *When Did Indians Become Straight?*, literary scholar Mark Rifkin draws attention to how notions of civilization (and its implied opposite, savagery) are deeply linked to heteronormative ideas of reproductive kinship. Rifkin points to “an imperial imaginary that provides the organizing framework in which heterosexuality signifies” (Rifkin 5). It is such “an imperial imaginary” that organizes the kind of work that provides the kind of sense-making backdrop to the “perfect human” experiment. The implication here is that the kind of imaginary of Yuiza, of Pedro Mejías, as the great-great-great-grandparents of the Puerto Rican nation, encapsulates indigeneity and race-mixing in a heteronormative framework that naturalizes colonial violence in the figure of Yuiza as *Mestiza Eve*, accessible to our imaginations through the science of genomics. In other words, the celebrated existence of the “perfect human” as a Puerto Rican woman simultaneously works to reinforce the naturalness of heterosexuality and also forecloses apprehension of other critical modes of relationality that are central to the contemporary politics of indigeneity (see TallBear; Simpson).

Rifkin contends that other modes of relationality have existed and continue to exist among Indigenous communities. He argues for attention to “a more multivalent history of heteronormativity in which alternative configurations of home, family, and political collectivity are represented as endangering the state and in which conjugal domesticity provides the condition of possibility for intelligibility within U.S. institutions” (Rifkin 5). Thus, discourses of sexuality are not the proper domain of the private, but rather of the public and indeed of the nation.

Native studies scholars and others have also reminded us that relationality is always part of a larger politics of survival. The celebration of so-called race-mixing, of hybridity (again, whose corollary is always purity) as anti-racist, as a counter to earlier, outmoded eugenic formations (embodied here by Watson), leaves intact the putative centrality of het-

erosexual reproduction and erases the sexual violence of colonization while simultaneously foreclosing other modes of critical relationality that might open up different kinds of politics.

CONCLUSION

It is not accidental that Haraway's analysis of SimEve leads to her famous "PostScript™" in *Modest_Witness* wherein she challenges the unquestioned pre-theoretical assumptions that continue to shape genomic investigations, especially those rooted in the search for human difference:

I am sick to death of bonding through kinship and "the family"... It is time to theorize an "unfamiliar" unconscious, a different primal scene, where everything does not stem from the dramas of identity and reproduction. Ties through blood—including blood recast in the coin of genes and information—have been bloody enough already. I believe that there will be no racial or sexual peace, no livable nature, until we learn to produce humanity through something more and less than kinship. (Haraway 265)

Pachter's "perfect human" thought experiment moves from the seemingly sterile dry lab, *in silico* environment, to being personified in the lush portraiture of Lind and reproduced through social media. Lind's Yuiza becomes the embodiment of Pachter's *in silico*, bioinformatics experiment, a celebration both of anti-racist genomics and of the hybrid vigor (and beauty) of Puerto Ricans. Yet Pachter's figure of *Yuiza in silico* is precisely "blood recast in the coin of genes and information," relying both on earlier visual technologies of statistical embodiment and on the durable preoccupations that continue to shape contemporary genomics, despite its anti-racist framing. The main critique in this paper is that such ideas are presented as natural and obvious, both in terms of the kind of cultural sense that they make and the appeal to a particular ordering of the natural that reproduces heteronormative evolutionary narratives while simultaneously denying the sexual violence of colonization and imperialism.

Part of the larger work of my analysis of *Yuiza in silico* is to make apparent how the putatively “intimate” relations that constitute the foundational act of what makes genomics make sense (heterosexual reproduction) must be seen as a larger part of processes of colonialism and imperialism; where blood and other units of heredity are intimately linked to access to rights and resources, to the dispossession of territory, and, most importantly for this discussion, the foreclosure of other relational modalities beyond what we might call kinship.

Acknowledgements: My thanks to Kim TallBear and Angie Willey for their work in putting together this special issue. I am especially grateful to the two anonymous peer reviewers who read this essay carefully and offered substantive comments that made it better in its revised form. Milliann Kang, Venla Oikkonen, and Banu Subramaniam read earlier versions of this piece and gave thoughtful feedback. Any omissions or errors are my own.

WORKS CITED

- “Rebirth of a Nation, Computer-Style.” *Time Magazine* 1993: 66-67. Print.
- Acosta-Belén, Edna. *The Puerto Rican Woman: Perspectives on Culture, History, and Society*. Praeger Publishers, 1986. Print.
- Ayers, D. “Humans without Bodies: DNA Portraiture and Biocybernetic Reproduction.” *Configurations* 19.2 (2011): 287-321. Print.
- Benn Torres, Jada. “Prospecting the Past: Genetic Perspectives on the Extinction and Survival of Indigenous Peoples of the Caribbean.” *New Genetics and Society* 33.1 (2014): 21-41. Print.
- Bivins, Roberta. “Hybrid Vigour? Genes, Genomics, and History.” *Genomics, Society and Policy* 4.1 (2008): 12-22. Print.
- Bliss, Catherine. *Race Decoded: The Genomic Fight for Social Justice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012. Print.
- Briggs, Laura. *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*. American Crossroads ; 11. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Print.
- Brown, Phyllida. “Watson’s ‘Sun and Sex’ Lecture Upsets Audience.” *Nature Medicine* 7.2 (2001): 137-37. Print.
- Buscaglia-Salgado, José F. *Undoing Empire: Race and Nation in the Mulatto Caribbean*. U of Minnesota Press, 2003. Print.

- Bustamante, Carlos D, M Francisco, and Esteban G Burchard. "Genomics for the World." *Nature* 475.7355 (2011): 163-65. Print.
- Cariaso, Michael, and Greg Lennon. "Snpedia: A Wiki Supporting Personal Genome Annotation, Interpretation and Analysis." *Nucleic Acids Research* 40.D1 (2012): D1308-D12. Print.
- Carter, Julian B. *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. Print.
- Castanha, Tony. *The Myth of Indigenous Caribbean Extinction: Continuity and Reclamation in Borikén (Puerto Rico)*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.
- Chatterjee, Partha. "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India." *American Ethnologist* 16.4 (1989): 622-33. Print.
- Chow-White, Peter A. "Data, Code, and Discourses of Difference in Genomics." *Communication Theory* 19.3 (2009): 219-47. Print.
- Collins, Patricia Hill, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*. John Wiley & Sons, 2016. Print.
- Duany, Jorge. *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move: Identities on the Island and in the United States*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003. Print.
- Forte, Maximilian C. *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*. New York: Peter Lang, 2006. Print.
- Fullwiley, Duana. "The Biological Construction of Race: 'Admixture' Technology and the New Genetic Medicine." *Social Studies of Science* 38.5 (2008): 695-735. Print.
- Gaines, James R. "From the Managing Editor." *Time Magazine* 1993: 2. Print.
- Galton, Francis. "Composite Portraits." *Nature* 18 (1878): 97-100. Print.
- . "Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons into a Single Resultant Figure." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879): 132-44. Print.
- Gibbon, Sahra, Ricardo Ventura Santos, and Mónica Sans, eds. *Racial Identities, Genetic Ancestry, and Health in South America: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Uruguay*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.
- González, José Luis. *Puerto Rico: The Four-Storeyed Country and Other Essays*. Markus Wiener Pub, 1993. Print.
- González, Lisa Sánchez. *Puerto Rican Folktales/Cuentos Foclorico Puertorriqueños*. New York: 2LEAF PRESS, 2014. Print.

- Green, David. "Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics." *Oxford Art Journal* 7.2 (1984): 3-16. Print.
- Gubar, Susan. *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture*. Oxford University Press on Demand, 2000. Print.
- Hammonds, Evelyn. "New Technologies of Race." *Processed Lives: Gender and Technology in Everyday Life*. Eds. Terry, Jennifer and Melodie Calvert. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 107-22. Print.
- Hammonds, Evelyn M., and Rebecca M. Herzig. *The Nature of Difference: Sciences of Race in the United States from Jefferson to Genetics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009. Print.
- Haraway, Donna Jeanne. *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.Female-man@_Meets_Oncomouse™*. New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.
- Irizarry, Rafael. "Genéticamente, No Hay Tal Cosa Como La Raza Puertorriqueña." *Simply Statistics* 2014.
- JClar. "Científico Afirma Que El "Humano Perfecto" Sería Puertorriqueño." *People en Español* 2014. Print.
- Kohli-Laven, Nina. "French Families, Paper Facts." *Genetics and the Unsettled Past: The Collision of DNA, Race, and History*. 2012. 183. Print.
- Lloyd, Elizabeth A. "Pre-Theoretical Assumptions in Evolutionary Explanations of Female Sexuality." *Philosophical Studies* 69.2 (1993): 139-53. Print.
- Lugo-Lugo, Carmen R. "100% Puerto Rican: Jennifer Lopez, Latinidad, and the Marketing of Authenticity." (2015). Print.
- Mackenzie, Adrian. "Bringing Sequences to Life: How Bioinformatics Corporealizes Sequence Data." *New Genetics & Society* 22.3 (2003): 315-32. Print.
- Markowitz, Sally. "Pelvic Politics: Sexual Dimorphism and Racial Difference." *Signs* 26.2 (2001): 389-414. Print.
- Milmo, Cahal. "Fury at DNA Pioneer's Theory: Africans Are Less Intelligent Than Westerners." *The Independent* 2007. Print.
- Oikkonen, Venla. "Mitochondrial Eve and the Affective Politics of Human Ancestry." *Signs* 40.3 (2015): 747-72. Print.
- Oleksyk, Taras K, and Juan C Martinez Cruzado. "Why There Is No Perfect Human in Puerto Rico or Anywhere Else." *Scientific American Blog Network* 2015.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States*. Routledge, 2014. Print.

- Pachter, Lior. "The Perfect Human Is Puerto Rican." Bits of DNA 2014.
- Pollock, Anne. *Medicating Race: Heart Disease and Durable Preoccupations with Difference*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2012. Print.
- Rahier, Jean Muteba. "Introduction: Mestizaje, Mulataje, Mestiçagem in Latin American Ideologies of National Identities." *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8.1 (2003): 40-50. Print.
- Reardon, Jenny. "The Democratic, Anti-Racist Genome? Technoscience at the Limits of Liberalism." *Science as Culture* 21.1 (2012): 25-47. Print.
- . "The Democratic, Anti-Racist Genome? Technoscience at the Limits of Liberalism." *Science as culture* (2011): 1-23. Print.
- Richardson, Sarah S. *Sex Itself: The Search for Male and Female in the Human Genome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Print.
- Rifkin, Mark. *When Did Indians Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.
- Rodríguez-Silva, Ileana M. *Silencing Race: Disentangling Blackness, Colonialism, and National Identities in Puerto Rico*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.
- Schless, Jonathon. "A Tutorial on Principal Component Analysis." (2014). Print.
- Scott Lauria, Morgensen. "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism within Queer Modernities." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16.1 (2010): 105-31. Print.
- Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." *October* 39 (1986): 3-64. Print.
- Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life across the Borders of Settler States*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Print.
- Smith, Andrea. "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16.1-2 (2010): 41-68. Print.
- SNPedia. www.snpedia.com/index.php/SNPedia. Accessed 24 March 2019.
- Subramaniam, Banu. *Ghost Stories for Darwin: The Science of Variation and the Politics of Diversity*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Print.
- TallBear, Kim. *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. Print.

- The 1000 Genomes Project Consortium. "An Integrated Map of Genetic Variation from 1,092 Human Genomes." *Nature* 491.7422 (2012): 56-65. Print.
- Ugwu, Sydney O., et al. "Skin Pigmentation and Pharmacokinetics of Melanotan-I in Humans." *Biopharmaceutics & drug disposition* 18.3 (1997): 259-69. Print.
- Wade, Peter, et al., eds. *Mestizo Genomics: Race Mixture, Nation, and Science in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. Print.
- Willey, Angela. *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016. Print.
- Yanagisako, Sylvia Junko, and Jane Fishburne Collier. "Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender and Kinship." *Gender and Kinship: Essays toward a Unified Analysis*. Eds. Collier, Jane Fishburne and Sylvia Junko Yanagisako. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987. 14-50. Print.

NOTES

1. The story of the "perfect human" experiment was covered extensively in the mainland United States, in Puerto Rico, and elsewhere in the Caribbean and Europe. For instance, a quick Google search for "humano perfecto" and "Jennifer Lopez" in July 2018 returned more than 2,500 results. The same search in English returned more than 28,000. ←
2. This concept is based on collaborative research I am currently conducting with my colleagues, Banu Subramaniam and Angela Willey. ←
3. My thanks to Amanda Reyes for introducing me to Galton's composite portraits, and for her suggestion that I explore them in the context of Pachter's experiment. ←
4. SNPedia is updated continually. As of March 2017, SNPedia contained nearly 100,000 SNPs (almost double the 50,000+ at the time of Pachter's experiment in December 2014). It is important to note that the presence of new SNPs would likely give a very different result if the experiment were repeated; thus, *Yuiza in silico* is an artifact of a particular moment in time and space. ←

5. The 1000 Genomes Project (2008-2015) was an international collaboration that collected samples from populations from across the world in order to map human genetic variation.↵
6. Because of the protocols for collecting the PUR samples in The 1000 Genomes Project, we know that HG00737 had at least one biogenetic child 18 years or older in 2010.↵
7. A self-identified healthy Puerto Rican woman over the age of 18 donated an anonymized blood sample as part of The 1000 Genomes Project. After collection, the sample was sent to the Coriell Institute for Biomedical Research in New Jersey where it was converted into an immortalized cell line, labeled “HG00737,” and now forms part of the “PUR-Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico” collection. The cell line is stored and reproduced at Coriell and is available for purchase by authorized researchers. The HG00737 sample was sequenced—determining the order of nucleotides in a strand of DNA—and the sequence data was then released into the public domain through a series of genome browsers.↵
8. It is important to note that the traditional story of Yuiza and Pedro Mejías has her murdered by her people before any offspring are produced. In her 2014 volume, González fantasizes that Yuiza and Mejías are married for more than 20 years and produce six children.↵

DIGITAL NOMADS AND SETTLER DESIRES: RACIAL FANTASIES OF SILICON VALLEY IMPERIALISM

ERIN MCELROY

Abstract: *This paper investigates the coloniality of contemporary digital nomadism, an identity that numerous Western tech workers use to describe lifestyles of location independence in which they travel the world while maintaining Silicon Valley salaries. Specifically, I assess colonial genealogies of digital nomads and more problematically defined “digital Gypsies.” It was during the height of 19th-century Western European imperialism that Romantic Orientalist texts proliferated, celebrating the racial and sexual “free and wandering Gypsy.” This deracinated figure was used to allegorize colonial desires and imperial violence alike. As I suggest, nomadic racial fantasy undergirds contemporary freedom desires today emergent from the heart of a new empire—that of Silicon Valley. In describing Silicon Valley imperialism and its posthuman digital avatar, I assess how nomadic fantasy transits technologies of gentrification into new frontiers. For instance, sharing economy platforms such as Airbnb celebrate the digital nomad, bolstering contexts of racial dispossession while continuing to deracinate Roma lifeworlds. Might nomad exotica in fact index coloniality and its ability to traverse time and space? How has this fantasy been abstracted over time, also entangling with posthumanist nomadic onto-epistemologies?*

Résumé: *Cet essai examine la colonialité du nomadisme digital contemporain, une identité que de nombreux techniciens de l’informatique emploient pour décrire des styles de vie caractérisés par une indépendance géographique dans laquelle ils parcourent le monde tout en conservant leurs salaires de Silicon Valley. Spécifiquement je détermine les généalogies coloniales des nomades digitaux et ceux que l’on définit de façon plus problématique comme les “Romanichels digitaux.” C’est à l’apogée de l’impérialisme occidental européen qu’ont proliféré les textes orientalistes romantiques célébrant le romanichel errant, racial et sexuel. Ce personnage déraciné était utilisé comme une allégorie des désirs coloniaux ainsi que de la violence impériale. Comme je le suggère, les fantasmes raciales attachés aux nomades sont la base des désirs contemporains de liberté qui émergent au coeur du nouvel empire—celui de la Silicon Valley. En décrivant l’impérialisme de la Silicon Valley et son avatar digital post-humain, j’étudie comment les fantasmes nomadiques poussent les technologies d’embourgeoisement résidentiel vers de nouvelles frontières. Par exemple, le partage de plateforme bon-marché telles que Airbnb célèbrent le nomade digital, érigeant des contextes de dépossession raciale tout en poursuivant le déracinement des styles de vie roma. La littérature exotique nomadique serait-elle en fait un révélateur de la colonialité et de sa capacité à transcender le temps et l’espace? Comment cet imaginaire a-t-il été absorbé au cours des ans, et mélangé à des onto-épistémologies nomadiques post-humanistes?*

In 1974, science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke was filmed speculating about the 2001 digital future. His predictions have since been lauded for their acute accuracy, as he prophesized the invention not only of the internet and search engines, but also of devices such as the smart phone and the Apple Watch, along with communication systems such as email and Skype. He also envisaged a techno-future of location independence, in which:

It will become possible for us to live really anywhere we like. Any businessman, any executive, could live almost anywhere on earth and still do his business. ... And this is a wonderful thing, because it means we won't be stuck in cities, we can live ... wherever we please, and still carry on complete interaction with human beings as well as with other computers. (qtd. in Australian Broadcasting Company)

Put otherwise, in Clarke's future, computer dependence enables location independence, but only for businessmen and executives. In a similar interview conducted two years later, he elaborated, "In the global world of the future, it will be like if you're living in one small town, anywhere anytime, about a third of your friends will be asleep... So, you may have to abolish time zones completely, and all go on the common time, the same time for everybody" (qtd. in AT&T).

Clarke's "common time" is the same time that many of today's digital nomads venerate as enabling both location independence. Digital nomads, also problematically self-ascribed as "digital Gypsies," refer to tech workers who both fantasize and actualize the dream of being able to live and work anywhere—in common time—while at the same time remaining plugged into Silicon Valley infrastructures, economies, and lifeworlds. Their vernacular usage of "nomad" and "Gypsy" cannibalizes the social, cultural, and political worlds of Romani people (Roma)—one of Europe's largest racialized minorities, as well as the material reference of the allegorical Gypsy of digital Gypsyism. Deracinated from Roma materialities and identities, digital nomad/Gypsy fantasies today rather resemble 19th-century Romantic Orientalist narratives written by white men from the hearts of European empires (Lemon; Saul; Trumpener). These feature bourgeois protagonists who fantasize the freedom and taboo of the racialized, sexualized Gyp-

sy—an allegorical figure that, like the digital nomad, abstracts and mutilates diverse Roma experiences. Outside of Western texts, most Roma are not “nomadic,” and many who have been subject to violent histories of forced displacement, racial dispossession, and racist representation.

Just as digital nomad racial fantasies of today are no longer confined to 19th-century fictions, neither are they restrained to Clarke’s speculative fiction—though one can argue that differences between speculative fiction and reality have always been fictive (Bahng). Today’s digital nomads, being paid Silicon Valley salaries, enjoy easy transit between “exotic” locales, from the Latinx Mission District of San Francisco to spaces farther away from Silicon Valley, such as Bali and Bucharest. For instance, James Taylor, who identifies as an “award-winning entrepreneur,” a “white middle-class professional living in a first world country,” wrote a 2011 blog post describing the rise of this new lifestyle. He and his wife transit between Europe and the United States, running an app-enabled auto-pilot businesses. In his words, “being a Digital Gypsy is more a frame of mind than genealogy” (Taylor). As his testimony evidences, the Gypsy/nomad endures transnationally, enabled by Silicon Valley technology capital and infrastructure.

But what does it mean that Silicon Valley is the centre from which digital nomadic desires emerge today, and what does this have to do with earlier Western European imperial histories? How are these times and spaces connected, and what do they indicate about imperial desire? How does the transit of digital nomads, often enabled by Silicon Valley-designed infrastructure such as Airbnb, induce conditions of displacement and gentrification transnationally? As I allege, the arrival of the digital nomad in both Silicon Valley and its global form indexes the imperialism of Silicon Valley, or *techno-imperialism*. By this, I refer to the process in which Silicon Valley penetrates both global and intimate spaces alike to expand its power.

Digital nomads can in part be understood as a genre of “lifestyle migrants,” or middle-class and wealthy Western travelers who profit from incomes earned at high rungs of uneven global labour divisions, what is often called *geoarbitrage* (Hayes and Zaban). While urban studies scholars are importantly linking the landing of lifestyle migrants with

diverse contexts of transnational and tourism-related gentrification (Hayes and Pérez-Gañán; Mermet), digital nomads are also embedded in older yet enduring colonial allegorical structures. Thus, in addition to understanding digital nomadism through urban studies and globalization frameworks, cultural, literary, and decolonial analyses are also useful. As Claudia Breger suggests, to displace the dominant and disfiguring narratives written about “Gypsies,” we might have to read them “in terms of their discursive constitution as well as with regard to the (fictional and/or historical) lives of their protagonists, narrators and authors” (133). Following her lead, here I explore the fictional and historical lives of digital nomads—their desires, their ontologies, and their genealogies. In doing so, I focus on the racial, sexual, and colonial contours that undergird digital nomadic lifeworlds. As I argue, 19th-century forms haunt contemporary dreams of spatiotemporal independence.

Yet there are also discernable abstractions of the 19th-century Gypsy fantasy in forming digital nomadic ontologies of today. Attentive to these, I question: who is this new human parading the globe, and what ghosts trace its steps? Further, how is digital nomadism bolstered by posthumanist thought and techno-capitalism alike? In what follows, first, I position Silicon Valley as techno-imperial centre, focusing on the racial dispossession that transpires within and from it. Through literary and cultural analysis, I then map racialized appropriations of the Gypsy/nomad that saturate discourses of home and dispossession within contexts of Silicon Valley imperialism and sharing-economy structures. As I argue, in moments of techno-imperial growth, settler desires allegorized through the figure of the digital nomad appear to queer sedentary logics, but ultimately rescript settler heteronormativity. I go on to assess the coloniality that informs digital nomadic spatiotemporal fantasies. Lastly, I examine the nomad/settler’s posthumanist ontologies of freedom. As I argue, the mutations, discontinuities, and abstractions of nomadic fetishization from the 19th-century to the techno-present map the contours of modernity in novel ways.

In studying digital nomadic fantasies and materialities, it is important to note that, as a phenomenon, they appear during a moment in which, across Europe (but also elsewhere), Roma residents are disproportionately susceptible to forced evictions. While the contours of their dis-

possession vary due to factors ranging from post-socialist property restitution laws, urban gentrification projects, and white nationalist violence (Lancione; Vincze), current contexts of displacement rest upon prior ones, including slavery, failed reparations, eugenic racial science, and fascism (Achim; Pusca; Woodcock). Yet despite these harsh histories and contemporarily realities, Roma are now additionally being displaced by fantastical avatars of tech mobility. Put otherwise, diverse Roma lifeworlds are now being discursively disappeared through mechanisms of racial appropriation across global technoscapes in ways that not only allegorize, but that also enable, Silicon Valley imperialism.

IMPERIALISM

Gypsy novellas, poems, and plays crossed 19th-century imperial European nations, from Spain to England. These texts celebrated the figure of the “free and wandering Gypsy,” extolling the colonial crossing of national borders. They also scripted the Gypsy as a remnant of a preindustrial past, embedded within a verdant romanticized landscape. In this way, the figure discursively represented admiration of border transgression, and fear of a “free spirit” roaming outside the bourgeois order. Gypsy fictions of the era often render white male desires of miscegenation, featuring narrators who attempt to “become Gypsy,” but who then ultimately kill the sexualized and racialized object of their desire—thus allegorizing the impossibility of existence beyond bourgeois society, as well as the real violence of colonial incursion. From the French Prosper Mérimée’s figure of Carmen to the German Wilhelm Jensen’s Erica, the 19th-century Gypsy endured as a transnational fantasy. This indexed colonial desire for spatiotemporal and societal/cultural transit.

As becomes evident when studying Gypsy fictions and their colonial geographies, the figure of the Gypsy always emerged from the hearts of imperial geographies, thereby reflecting imperial consciousness. Walter D. Mignolo writes of how, by latticing itself with coloniality during the Renaissance, modernity became the inevitable present of history, with Europe as its centre. Afterwards, during the Enlightenment, Greenwich was remapped as “the zero point of global time,” or the common

time of the era (22). During the 19th century, at the height of Romantic Orientalism and numerous European colonial projects, imperialism encapsulated new times and spaces into the common time of empire. Gypsy novellas, poems, and theatre reflected colonial aspiration, along with imperial ambivalence and violence. In this way, Gypsy fiction transited imperial dreams into new frontiers.

As I suggest, it is no small coincidence that Gypsy allegorical forms are reinterpreted today, emerging from the heart of a new imperial formation: Silicon Valley. Unlike empires, as they are understood to rise and fall or expand and shrink, imperial formations are always in the process of becoming, thus refusing normative narratives of linear time. Occupying multiple historical tenses, imperial formations are produced when, as Ann Stoler describes, the past imperfect selectively permeates the present, shaping “the conditional subjunctive and uncertain futures” (194-195). Contemporary Silicon Valley imperium—a phenomenon in which the Valley materializes new nodes and edges to facilitate surplus capital accumulation—is enabled by a nomadic avatar conditioned by 19th-century subjunctive forms. In other words, digital nomads both empower and constitute Silicon Valley imperialism. Silicon Valley has now abdicated Greenwich’s throne, a resignation that remains illusory yet integral to digital nomadic spatiotemporal visions, or Clarke’s common time. Also illusory to the settler/nomad are its material effects, not to mention its genealogical underpinnings.

Take, for instance, digital nomad Matt Mullenweg of the San Francisco startup Automattic. In a recent film on digital nomadism by Youjin Do, “One Way Ticket: The Rise of the Digital Nomad,” Mullenweg brags that 95 percent of his 400 employees live outside of San Francisco, in 47 countries. He aims to attract talent that questions, “Why do I have to commute to Mountain View every day and sit in a bunch of meetings and things like that?” As Mullenweg ventures, prospective employees will think, “Maybe I want to live in Mountain View part of the year, but maybe during the summer I want to go to Italy, or to Thailand, or Australia, or wherever it is, it doesn’t matter” (qtd. in Do). But as much as he promulgates spatiotemporal flexibility, his company’s nomads remain tethered to the physical concreteness and centrality of San Francisco—Silicon Valley’s urban outpost. In-person meetings are still held

there, and physical mail is still sent. Also, rents there have become the United States' most expensive.

Beginning with the 1990s Dot Com Boom and then gaining momentum with rise of the 2011 Tech Boom 2.0, San Francisco and the wider Bay Area region has become infamous for heightened eviction and homelessness rates, soaring rents, and an array of effects endemic to hyper-gentrification (McElroy and Szeto; Mirabal; Stanley). During this era, technocapitalism and real estate speculation entwine anew, with real estate speculators buying up rental units, evicting tenants, and selling or re-renting evicted properties to those with more capital. In 2013, I cofounded the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project (AEMP), a data visualization, data analysis, and storytelling collective to document these spatial struggles. Amongst other analyses that correlates technocapitalist expansion and dispossession, the AEMP has found that properties proximate to tech infrastructure are disproportionately vulnerable to evictions. For instance, in San Francisco, over two-thirds of evictions transpire within four blocks of "Google Bus" stops,¹ private transportation depots that facilitate the reverse-commuting of tech workers to Silicon Valley (Maharawal and McElroy). While tech corporations hire more young, white men than any other demographic, it is disproportionately poor and working-class Black and Latinx residents, single mothers, and seniors facing eviction (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project; Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Eviction Defense Collaborative; McElroy). In other words, the settlement of highly mobile and largely white, male reverse commuters impels the dispossession of an inverse demographic.

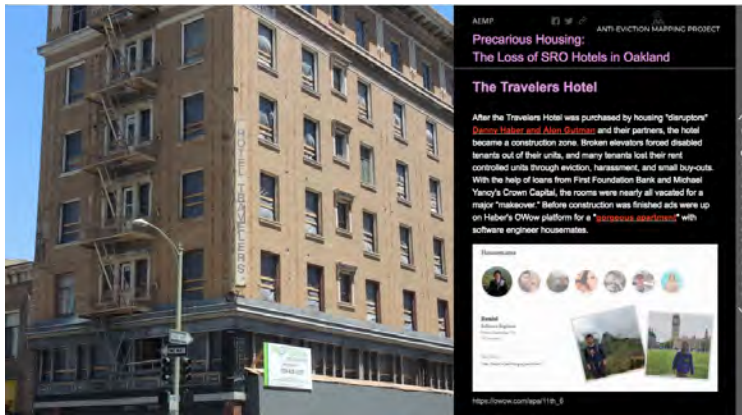
Despite the hegemony of young, white men developing and benefiting from Silicon Valley imperialism (as in Clarke's speculative fiction of decades earlier), it is important to note while tech companies disproportionately hire those with privilege for leadership positions within the Bay Area (McElroy and Szeto), precarious and exploitive labour also abounds within the industry (Amrute; Atanasoski and Vora). Also, there are an array of tech projects and collectives that create work outside of techno-capitalism and the racial capitalism that constitutes it, such as the AEMP. By utilizing AEMP images and analyses throughout this article, I aim to disrupt totalizing narratives that read all technology projects as imperial, while nevertheless maintaining critique of

Silicon Valley imperialism. I also include an AEMP map that I produced in collaboration with a housing justice collective in Cluj, Romania, Căși Sociale Acum (Social Housing Now). This map sheds charts the eviction routes of seven Roma residents who have lost their homes due to gentrification in Siliconizing Cluj, thereby disrupting narratives that read Roma mobility as romantic.

Back in San Francisco, despite the benefits of reverse-commute infrastructure for Silicon Valley tech workers, questions emerge as to why people remain locked into landscapes of high rent and Google buses when it is possible to digitally commute from anywhere, dwelling in easily navigable short-term vacation rentals in locales from Cluj to Bali. San Francisco's own short-term housing startup, Airbnb, facilitates transient dwelling for digital nomads worldwide, often inciting the conversion of long-term, affordable housing into short-term, expensive accommodations. Stories abound across the planet of residents being displaced as their former homes and neighborhoods become Airbnb-saturated tourist hubs (Gant; Opillard). Does the digital nomad of today appropriate and disappear Romani worlds to disguise settler ontology, meanwhile precipitating gentrifying conditions that disproportionately lead to the displacement of racialized people, some of whom are Roma? Is the nomad just a perverted code word for settler, much like Romantic Orientalist protagonists of 19th-century fiction?



Relocation Map; Web-map by the AEMP, 2016; Adapted for print by Austin Ehrhardt. Map details the demographics of displacement and relocation from San Francisco (<http://arcg.is/24RDGat>)



The Loss of SRO Hotels in Oakland; Web-map by the AEMP, 2017. Story map highlights the conversion of affordable housing in Oakland into tech dorms (<http://arcg.is/nymnW>).

MULTICULTURAL SETTLER DESIRES

The temporality of the digital nomad is enabled by liberal ontologies of freedom tethered to property rights, yet seemingly exceeds Lockean and heteronormative articulations of the free property-owning subject. More important to the digital nomad is freedom of mobility—a freedom often paired with techno-imperial speculative logics. As digital-nomad advocate Timothy Ferriss famously wrote in his 2009 bestseller, *The 4-Hour Workweek: Escape the 9-5, Live Anywhere and Join the New Rich*: “\$1,000,000 in the bank isn’t the fantasy. The fantasy is the lifestyle of complete freedom it supposedly allows” (13). In his words, the capitalist fantasy of property ownership has been displaced by techno-utopic desires for freedom. Yet the logics of this displacement fall apart when studying colonial histories. To expand and control space, and to accumulate surplus value within it, colonial regimes have long privatized in the name of freedom (Lowe, *Intimacies of Four Continents*). Otherwise put, mobility has long enabled the settlement of colonial regimes, materially, epistemologically, and ontologically.

Historically, racial appropriation has been one technology of such coloniality, functioning through the deployment of reiterative stereotypes of the other, strategically disciplining and domesticating alterity. Jodi Byrd observes that in the United States, the appropriation of Indigenous lives emerged as an effective colonial tool, in which indigeneity “becomes a site through which the US empire orients and replicates itself” (xiii). As has been argued, appropriating indigeneity abets settler culture, planting Native peoples into the past, obviating the present recognition of endurance (Morgensen; Povinelli). Relegating Indigenous people and culture to museums domesticates difference, and elides Indigenous understandings of land, sovereignty, and justice that would undo the logos of the nation-state. A similar argument could be made in thinking the object of the Gypsy as appropriated by the digital nomad, who readily distances itself from the contemporary lifeworlds of dispossessed Romani people while carrying Silicon Valley imperialism into new frontiers. By reducing Romani worlds to reiterative “Gypsy exotica,” racial appropriation renders the harshness Romani dispossession invisible (Silverman). As Katie Trumpener observes, these appropriations place Roma beyond the limitations of time and record, offering non-Roma amnesiac nostalgia for an imaginary past, “to restore innocence by covering other memories” (348). At the same time, this reduction obscures the gentrifying impact that digital nomadism has upon diverse social, cultural, and political landscapes.

Such appropriative mechanisms have been a vital tool of short-term housing sharing economies, particularly utilized by employees, hosts, and guests of the tech “unicorn” startup, Airbnb.³ For instance, Airbnb hosts Wendy and Fred, who rent out rooms for \$288 per night in San Francisco—of which they pay Airbnb a 3 percent per booking, and from which guests pay the corporation a 6 to 12 percent fee—articulate both their global ontologies and capitalist desires through the figure of the Gypsy (Airbnb, “What is the Airbnb Service Fee”). As Wendy writes:

Having our house on Airbnb is helping us with our daughter's college fund & is funding my (Wendy's) new business The Rogue Traders, a farm-to-city sustainable food business, Southern Oregon & San Francisco... Besides being a farmer, I will always be an artist, writer, entrepreneur, designer and

traveller. One of my passions is to see the world and study different cultures, which I have done extensively (I want to be an anthropologist when I grow up ;)... There still are a few places yet to discover and I am returning to my favorites to see them through the eyes of my daughter. Fred and I believe the world is her education, with 3 languages and several countries already under her belt she is a Gypsy at heart... I often ask myself is it possible to be part of a community while being a Gypsy and a nomad? So far it's working out to be yes. (Airbnb, "French Victorian-Views & Deck")

As Wendy elucidates, not only does Airbnb help her grow her business, but it also creates a "global community" for her daughter, inciting multicultural proficiency collapsed into disfigured Gypsy freedom. Most likely, throughout her own global traveling and hosting, she has obviated intersection with anyone who identifies as Roma. Instead, her desires habituate what Jodi Melamed conceptualizes as neoliberal multiculturalism, the utilization of antiracist imaginaries to proliferate U.S. global hegemony. Institutionalizing new forms of racialized privilege (liberal, multicultural, global citizen), neoliberal multiculturalism utilizes race to negotiate value. Applying this analytic to sharing economy logics of the Bay Area, racialization functions through the fetishization of the nomadic figure, rendered as liberal, multicultural, and global. Through access to mobile capital, this new nomadic human is free to enact settler desire, even if temporarily.

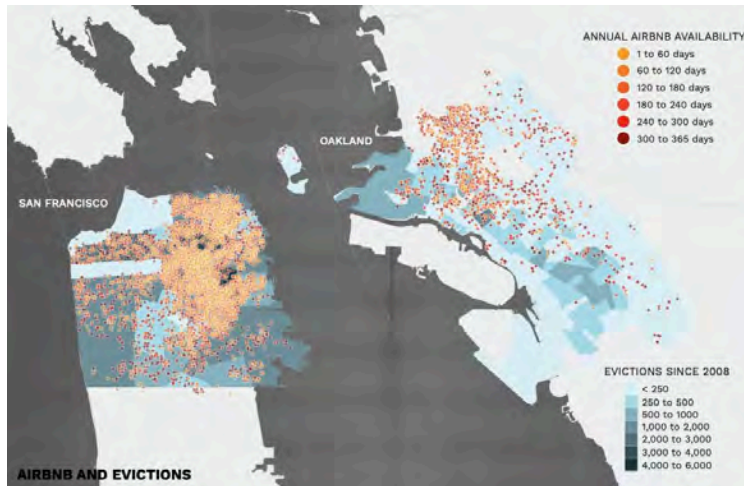
It is not Airbnb users alone who have circulated the corporation's multicultural colonial aspirations. In 2014, Airbnb released a periodical, *Pineapple*, chronicling "honest stories ... told by the unexpected characters" of their "community," from San Francisco to London to Seoul (2). Named after the New England colonial symbol of hospitality (Hyles), *Pineapple* provided an apt analogy for their gentrifying impact. *Pineapple's* goal, Airbnb detailed, was to "inspire and motivate exploration, not just within the cities featured, but within any space a reader finds themselves" (2). Its release followed the company's logo rebranding of what the head of branding described as the "Bélo, the universal symbol of belonging" (Levere). The homegrown symbol with an exotic name (abstracting "belonging") is said to "represent all of us,"

standing for (and visually combining) four things: a head symbolizing people, a location map pin representing place, a heart indicating love, and of course the letter “A” iconizing Airbnb (Levere). Further, the logo can be “drawn by anybody,” so that any Airbnb user can feel at home, anywhere. When read critically, both *Pineapple* and the Bélo utilize the language of multiculturalism precisely to shelter settler colonialism, expanding the San Francisco company into global frontiers.

This extension of neoliberal multiculturalism into the Tech Boom 2.0 sustains settler culture, while also reproducing homonormativity. For instance, in June 2015, days before the corporative-funded San Francisco Pride Parade, in which tech outfits from Google to Airbnb march down Market Street to affirm their corporate liberalism, Airbnb landed a rainbow-painted “welcome wagon” in the city’s Mission District, offering free pineapple juice, temporary tattoos, and DIY crafts to passersby. In that year, 29 percent of San Francisco Airbnb listings were relegated to the Mission, the neighborhood that has seen the city’s highest eviction rates; the welcome wagon was interpreted as a sore thumb in the eyes of those recently evicted (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project). Thus, one pre-Pride afternoon, a small protest culminated outside of the wagon, itself gross disfigurements of both Gypsy carriages and pilgrim coaches. “Don’t drink the Airbnb Kool-Aid!” one protestor yelled, while another jested that the 2015 San Francisco Pride was clearly themed “eviction assistance” (Lybarger).



Airbnb-induced eviction protest with the Housing Rights Committee and numerous housing justice collectives, 2016. Photo by Eviction Free San Francisco. Bélo image is included on the protest banner.



Airbnb Listings and Evictions, San Francisco and Oakland; Web-mapped by AEMP; Cartography for print by Austin Ehrhardt, 2018. The map shows that San Francisco and Oakland neighborhoods with the most Airbnb units have also maintained the most evictions (<https://antievictionmap.com/airbnb-sf-and-oakland>)

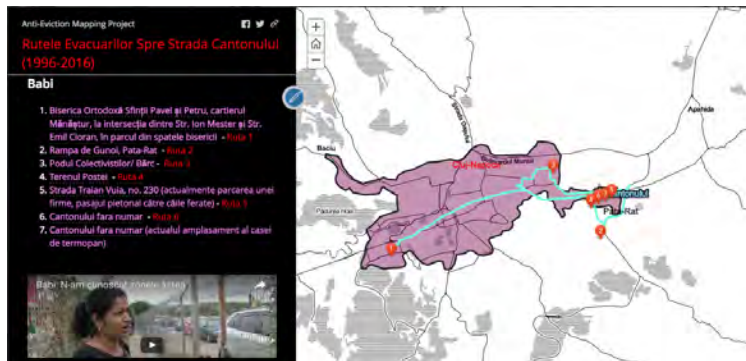
That same Pride, to further code their settler aspirations through multicultural homonormativity, the company began circulating a promotional video, “Love is Welcome Here.” The video featured several queer and multiracial couples, highlighting bourgeois family values, and encouraged hosts to welcome queer couples into their homes across the globe. As Airbnb was birthed in San Francisco in 2008, where and when gay marriage was first legalized in the United States, it now teleports what David Eng describes as *queer liberalism* across global terrains and into “less friendly” countries, accruing capital through moral purchase. While “queer” once marked critique of assimilation, positioned against the bourgeois coupling of intimacy and privacy—an entwinement constitutive of Euro-American modernity, the liberal individual, and the institution of marriage—today it stands in for assimilationist politics (Stanley). From battles for gay marriage to inclusion in the military, Eng writes that “queer” now has come to demarcate “gay and lesbian identity and identity politics, the economic interests of neoliberalism and whiteness, and liberal political norms of inclu-

sion” (xi). As such, “queer liberalism is a particular incarnation of liberal freedom and progress, one constituted by both the racialization of intimacy and the forgetting of race” (12). By coupling queer liberalism with neoliberal multiculturalism, Airbnb effectively masks the racialized and gentrifying effects that it carries into local contexts (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Eviction Defense Collaborative). Further, by disseminating San Francisco/Silicon Valley liberal values globally, the company is part of a racial and homonormative techno-imperial project that pretends to be colourblind.

Airbnb doesn't solely rely upon multicultural and homonormative tactics for global reach. Websites such as “Executive Nomad” advertise dozens of tourist metropolises ripe for Airbnb stints, San Francisco only being one. Airbnb's global operations department, operating in 192 countries, boasts concentrations in cities worldwide. As emergent discourses in these cities illuminate, Airbnb-induced tourism engenders displacement of home and social worlds beyond San Francisco. Directed towards Barcelona vacationers on 2015 window fronts signs in Vila de Gracia, residents pleaded, “Tourist: the rent of holiday apartments is destroying the local socio-cultural fabric and promoting speculation. Many local residents are forced to move out. Enjoy your stay. Gracia is not for sale. *One tourist more, one family less*” (italics in original).

Yet Airbnb concludes that they are not eliminating families, but rather strangers. In 2013, their CEO, Brian Cheskey, launched his million dollar #OneLessStranger campaign, less imbricated in colonial semiotics and more interwoven with the vulgarities of multicultural knowledge production: “Our vision is that we want to bring the world together,” he trumpeted to Airbnb members in the online video. However, he lamented, “there's one obstacle in our way.” After pausing and filling the digital air with suspense, he continued: “And that, is strangers... So, this New Year's Eve, we'd love to do a fun little experiment. We'd love to rid the world of strangers.” Before the video draws to a close, he asks the online audience, “How far will you go to make one less stranger?” Here, Cheskey propagates Enlightenment structures of universal knowledge production in which “Man” is endowed with the right to know everything and everyone (Wynter and McKittrick). The stranger becomes a totem to be epistemologically eliminated by technologies of Airbnb nomadism. Further, Cheskey's hospitality invokes

what Jacques Derrida describes as hospitality of *invitation* rather than *visitation*, an openness bound to conditions (81-83). Airbnb, put otherwise, only welcomes “strangers” already vetted by the corporation. Cheskey’s nomadic stranger is therefore hardly a stranger at all. And yet, the stranger must be abolished, cleansing the world of difference. Not coincidentally, from the Middle Ages onwards, Roma have been widely interpreted as Europe’s internal strangers—grounds for a different genre of elimination. Today, the nomad, as technology of stranger elimination, has become commodified by the sharing economy.



Dislocări: Rutele Evacuărilor Spre Strada Cantonului (Dislocations: Eviction Routes to Cantonului Street); By the AEMP and Căși Sociale Acum. The story-map details seven routes and narratives of Roma residents forced to relocate to Cluj-Napoca, Romania’s local garbage dump, Pata Rât, 18 kilometers outside of the city centre (<http://arccg.is/2cZFBrm>)

SPATIOTEMPORAL FREEDOM

It is not only tourists on holiday utilizing Airbnb to traverse the globe, disrupting social fabrics and eliminating strangers, but also digital nomads who make similar circuits, residing in Airbnb and other short-term vacation units. Unlike traditional tourists however, digital nomads are not vacationing; they are working as well. As Jacob Laukaitis of the startup UpWork illuminates:

50 years ago, companies needed their employees to be gathered under a single roof to enable industrial production at

scale. But today, they've begun to understand that as long as employees deliver results, their physical location and work hours don't matter... As a result, a new class of employees has emerged: people whose work is completely location and time independent. Digital nomads spend their time traveling while working—taking freelance assignments from Bali, running their own businesses from Barcelona or working for an employer in San Francisco from Singapore. There are thousands of us around the world. And I couldn't imagine living any other way. (Laukaitis)

This new class of people, a new iteration of the human, collapses work and travel into one form, defying a bifurcation long entrenched into modern conceptions of labour—welcome to Ferriss' four-hour work-week. This collapse is part of a wider techno-utopic posthumanist vision which replaces human labour with digital technology, what Neda Atanasoski and Kalindi Vora describe as *surrogate humanity*. Digitizing labour, they suggest, feigns postraciality, but in fact perpetuates racism and sexism. Automation, for instance, often depends upon racialized outsourcing, much of which is also gendered. But what of those not subjected to extractive labour and instead profiting from extraction and its uneven techno-imperial geographies?

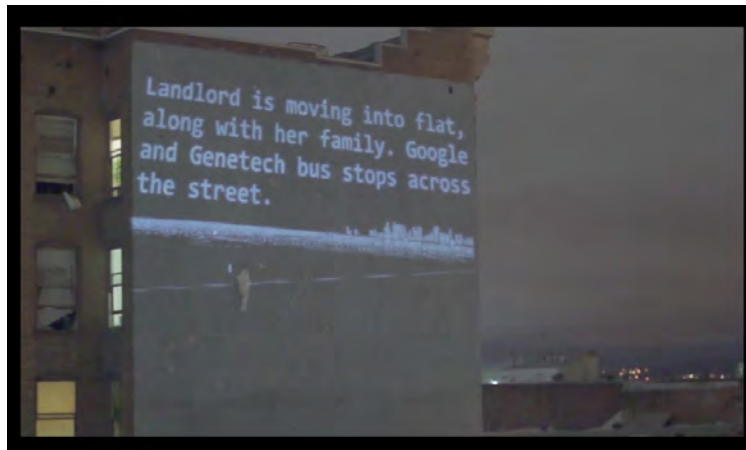
The cheap labour and accommodations that digital nomads often rely upon are only possible through geoarbitrage and the global unevenness that it inheres. In the posthuman age of “location independence,” who has the freedom to experience digital nomadism, and who is displaced to enable its materialities? In Do's documentary, Ferriss claims that “almost anyone can at least dip their toe in the water and test one aspect of location independence.” But how is this actually possible when forced displacement rates are at an all-time high (Sassen)? How, in an era when “one tourist more, one family less” is the adage of gentrifying neighborhoods, can the posthumanist dream of digital nomadism in fact apply to all humans? Neel Ahuja suggests that social theorists of posthuman and nonhuman vitality “take for granted the apparent universality of the human lifeworld from which they flee” (vi-ii). Otherwise put, we cannot all be posthuman if we are not all yet hu-

man. We cannot all be digital nomads if we are not all yet able to enjoy the stability from which digital nomads purportedly flee.

Yet harbingers of techno-imperial landscapes such as Jon Yongfook, digital nomad and founder of Beatrix and Intellihelper (who built an app while living in a hotel in Thailand), suggest the opposite. Analogizing digital assets with real estate, Yongfook describes:

I've sold two businesses now, which were like selling a mini house. I think it's perfectly possible to build up digital assets the same way that you build a physical asset. I guess that I look at in the same way as investing in a property, but it's just a lot more flexible. The world is going to get a lot more remote for various reasons... If you think it's too difficult to work remotely, then you're probably overthinking it. (qtd. in Do)

Here, Yongfook argues that just as anyone can invest in real estate, flip properties, and profit, so too can anyone amass capital through digital property; therefore, anyone can be a digital nomad. Property flipping, while benefiting one category of humanity—that which Sylvia Wynter describes as *homo oeconomicus*, or the “Western bourgeoisie’s liberal monohumanist Man”—relies upon the displacement of another (Wynter and McKittrick 22). As Wynter observes, *homo oeconomicus* depends upon systems of techno-automated profiteering, as well as its own descriptive powers, the latter of which it uses to reify itself as “monohumanist Man.” Thus, its singularity exists not only in the realm of bios, but also in that of mythos and historicity. Unwritten from its ontology are outlying models of the human that endure in “extant nomadic or sedentary indigenous traditionally *stateless* societies ... now being pushed out of their ostensibly ‘underdeveloped’ ‘places’ totally” (Wynter and McKittrick 22-23). *Homo oeconomicus*’s supremacy is thus predicated upon the existence of nomadic outliers. These it displaces to create new space for itself. The digital nomad, as an iteration of *homo oeconomicus*, still venerates the privatization of property as its forefathers did; only now, it additionally preys upon (and is enabled by) digital frontiers.



Light Atlas Project; By the AEMP and Delta_Ark, 2016. Projection project highlighting narratives of those impacted by gentrification (<https://antievictionmap.com/saitocollab-1>)



Airbnb protest signs, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Venice, Photos compiled by the AEMP, 2016

THE FREE AND WANDERING GYPSY

Timothy Ferriss suggests: “Practices of location independence for people who really wanted to separate themselves from society, even for a short period of time, that’s been around—practices of vagabonding for instance—for thousands of years” (qtd. in Do). Yet the digital nomad’s genealogy is more contemporary, coalescing during the height of European Romantic Orientalism. Romanticism, as a literary, artistic, and intellectual movement posited against industrialization, Enlightenment norms, and the logics of scientific rationalization, reached its peak by the mid-19th Century, remapping national geographies of self-determination. Aesthetically, it embraced the sublimity of nature, emotion, spontaneity, individual heroism, and imaginaries of ancient national traditions, characterized by “a new and restless spirit, seeking violently to burst through old and cramping form ... expressing an unappeasable yearning for unattainable goals” (Berlin 92). This restlessness interpellated the Gypsy into popularized epic poetry and novellas, where the figure effectively became the workhorse of national movements across the continent.

This interpellation coincided with the rise of Orientalism, a system that juxtaposed the exotic and haunting worlds of the Orient against those of a progressive, mechanistic, and cold Western Europe. While numerous debates have endured since Edward Said’s 1978 writing of *Orientalism* as to its spatial and temporal purchase beyond the Middle East, here I follow Lisa Lowe’s argument that there are many Orientalisms (“Rereadings in Orientalism”). I am particularly interested in its conceptual purchase within Europe and Russia, aligned with literary critics who suggest that Orientalist spatial distinctions between the “West” and the “East” are muddled across time and space (Bakić-Hayden; Khalid; Saul; Todorova; Wolff; Zăloagă). Roma, who have been more prevalent in Eastern than Western Europe since their medieval continental entrance, and who originally migrated in multiple waves from Northern India a millennium ago, have long been considered an Oriental European object. At the time, Orientalist fantasies of the East were often represented through racial and sexual symbolization, most prominently in graphic imagery of white Western men possessing sexually submissive Eastern women as a “male power fantasy” (Said 247).

So too were Roma racialized and sexualized in European Orientalist literature. Therefore, the Gypsy in 19th-century texts stands in for peripheralized, less-than European locales, while simultaneously legitimizing the ontology and sexuality of the nomadic colonizer.

In Britain, 19th-century Gypsy novellas and poetry invoked a “national nomadology” (Duncan 382), in which the state allegorized its territorial expansion through the figure of the nomad (Richards 19-20). These works encode a nostalgic fantasy of pre-industrial landscapes and disengagement from modern life, mapping an imperial, open-range cartography. As the British John Clare characterized in his 1825 “The Gipseys Song,” Gypsies fantastically “pay no rent nor tax to none / But live untythd [sic] & free ... In gipsey liberty” (*Poems of the Middle Period* 52). This figure possesses the ability to transverse frontiers, find shelter in the dwindling commons, and evade paying rent and tax (resonant with contemporary sharing-economy endeavors), but also blends into the bucolic landscape, conceptualizing a country unscathed by the mechanization and boundedness of an industrializing empire. Characterizing a nearby Gypsy camp, Clare journaled, “I thought the gipseys camp by the green wood side a picturesque and an adorning object to nature and I lovd [sic] the gipseys for the beautys [sic] which they added to the landscape” (*John Clare by Himself* 37). Here, by signifying a premodern past and spatial transgression, the Gypsy stands in for British indigeneity *and* colonial expansion, mapping a new and contradictory understanding of national space and historicity.

For instance, the protagonist of British George Borrow’s 1851 *Lavengro* and its 1857 sequel, *The Romany Rye*, is an Irish non-Roma scholar who performs the life of a Gypsy tinker, travelling with a band of Romani people upon English pathways. Borrow, a self-trained philologist, was fascinated by English Romanichals (Roma who migrated into Ireland and Britain as early as the 16th century) as well as Irish Travellers (semi-nomadic people indigenous to Ireland, many of whom migrated to England to escape British colonial and industrial forces). As the periphery to England and the British empire was in constant flux during this time, Borrow’s text recovers “an England deconstructed beyond ancestral Celts and Saxons, beyond a primordial Britain, into Gypsy origins, fastidiously unmapped in to secret margins and coverts,

and the inner darkness of an unsettled, quasi-autistic self” (Duncan 390). Thus, Borrow’s Gypsies, as Indo-European migrants untouched by modernity, are made the authentic carriers of Western civilization. While earlier British disfigurements falsely ascribed Romani origins as Egypt, hence the vernacular perversion “Gypsy,” Borrow also incorrectly ventures that Roma come from Rome—a Western imperial birthplace. As he writes, “I should not wonder after all ... that these people had something to do with the founding of Rome. Rome, it is said, was built by vagabonds” (107). Nomadized imperial Rome thus becomes the centrifugal space of the timeless Gypsy, who, with a clairvoyant crystal-ball mythos, time-travels a premodern imperial myth into the historic present. As Toby Sonneman observes, “While romantic metaphors freeze the Gypsy image in the past, they contradictorily allow them a special vision into the future as well” (130). Not only are Gypsies free to wander beyond the spatial boundaries of empire, but also, they are endowed with the ability to detach from normative temporality, remaining fixed in the past while time-travelling into the future.

These magical abilities to transgress time and space, arguably a dream of any empire, were construed through colonial sexual and racial fantasies. In the case of German Orientalism, which was informed by the solidification of the German Empire in 1871, textual forms utilize the Gypsy to consolidate German national identity. Wilhelm Jensen’s 1868 *Die braune Erica*, for instance, is narrated by a restless German natural scientist professor longing for exotic alterity. The text begins with this scientist desiring a rare plant, *erica janthina*, but as the text progresses, it is revealed that this plant in fact symbolizes the true object of his yearnings: A Gypsy woman who entices him to leave his settled life. Transfixed by Erica’s androgynous, racialized body, the professor murmurs her name in scientific language one night in his sleep, which she hears in her “natural language,” drawing her to him. Upon falling in love with him, she leads him to the rare and beautiful moor-dwelling heather that he had been searching for. When they arrive to the spot where the heather grows, Erica is bitten by an adder and falls ill. The professor recognizes that despite his scientific knowledge, he remains powerless to heal her. She accepts her death—not because of the bite, but because of impossibilities of miscegenation. When the professor

reasserts his love for her, to his astonishment, she heals herself by applying the antitheses of modern scientific orthodoxy—a wild, ecstatic, and unending dance, which mysteriously cures her. Although they then marry and live a settled life on the margin of German territory, she eventually leaves him—an expression of the spontaneous and uncontrollable Gypsy spirit. This spirit is still lusted after today, evidence in Gypsy exotica and digital nomadism alike. While digital nomads fantasize spatiotemporal transgression, there are important differences to be mapped as well.

Jensen, a Romantic writer, does not posit Gypsies as possessing magic or chiromancy, but rather as a foil to the lack of freedom in scientific knowledge. Gypsies are not a threat to German ascendancy, he infers, rendering them as dying and non-reproductive. As his scientist discovers, because of their nomadic ways, Gypsies have developed hybrid characteristics, like a maladapted species variant. Saul suggests that “they are a diaspora paradoxically without a homeland, adapted neither to their alienation (the Occident) nor their homeland (the Orient). They therefore cannot transmit their inheritance” (117). In this sense, Jensen pathologizes Roma to make them both intriguing and unthreatening to the longevity of the German Empire. The scientist can thus chase after freedom without Romani interference.

While Jensen invokes German nationalism and Social Darwinism, his text simultaneously conjures feelings of restlessness and nostalgia, accompanied by the ascendancy of German imperialism. He further invokes heterosexual desires for a racialized, exotic woman, one who evades his reach. But this is not unique to *Erica*, nor to German literary pieces depicting Gypsy protagonists. Alaina Lemon writes that “the passionate, dark Gypsy woman is a trans-European motif” (37). Across Europe and into Russia, numerous accounts depict aristocratic non-Roma men falling in love with ungraspable Gypsy women, ultimately defying possession. Often in these tales, everyone dies. For instance, in Alexander Pushkin’s famous 1824 Orientalist poem *Tsygany* (*The Gypsies*), a non-Roma outlaw, Aleko, falls for a Gypsy woman, Zemfira, and the freedom that she embodies. The narrative arc parallels Jensen’s, as does its colonial influence. In his overlooked epilogue, Pushkin recounts that his inspirations to become Gypsy stemmed from his own brief encounters with Roma on the imperial frontier of newly ac-

quired Moldovan lands. By canoning and cannibalizing Gypsy freedom, he charts imperial lust by racializing and sexualizing Roma. While Pushkin's interactions with Roma were minimal, they are likely still more concrete than those of most digital nomads today. Thus, while the imperial fantasy is reflected in the former, distance and abstraction have rendered particular shifts. Today, the nomad is not something that one lusts after and kills; it is something that one already is.

As a movable (racial) figuration, the Romantic Orientalist Gypsy maps colonial desire—a desire that today transits between past and contemporary empire. But even historically, it charted imperial travel. For example, inspired by Pushkin, in 1845, the French Prosper Mérimée composed *Carmen*, influenced by *The Gypsies* and contains a similar plotline (Lemon). However, as Mérimée scripts in a letter, *Carmen* was additionally informed by George Borrow's *Gypsy* fabrications. In the words of Mérimée, "You asked me the other day where I obtained my acquaintance with the dialect of the Gypsies... I got it from Mr. Borrow; his book is one of the most curious which I have read" (qtd. in Northup 143). Thus, the disfigured Gypsy depictions in *Carmen* were informed by transnational myths. Like Pushkin's poem and Jensen's text, the heterosexual desires for the untamed figure of Carmen in the poem represents colonial dreams; it was right before the novella's conception that first Napoleon, and then Chateaubriand, occupied Spain, coinciding with Spain's fading as a global power. José Colmeiro suggests that, as Spain became a less threatening imperial rival, it morphed into France's submissive other, represented by the figure of the Gypsy (129). "Because exorcising the exotic other is ultimately a way for European bourgeois culture to exorcise its own demons," he writes, "*Carmen* always must die" (128). Yet within the novella, there endures a distinction between the Spaniards and Carmen/the Gypsies. This difference shows that even as Spain's powers wane, Spaniards remained connected to the European body, unlike Carmen. Time and time again, in her various incarnations, Carmen must die.

As a contradictory figure that both taunts settler desire yet remains fully irresolvable through the heterosexual, racialized logics of imperial reproduction, the Gypsy is repeatedly murdered within textual spaces—a death that represents the materiality of colonial landgrabs,

but also the taboo of Gypsy-becoming. From the Gypsy's death, different ghosts materialize. Today these spectres reverberate within techno-imperial ontologies of location and time independence. The crystal ball of fantasy mythoi, coupled with perspicacious gaze of the extrasensory Gypsy, has migrated along the perambulations of Romantic imaginary into the present. Yet it is not tech entrepreneurs today lusting after and aspiring to become the nomad; as James Taylor and Wendy articulate, they have already achieved this form, or so they claim.

POSTHUMANISM AND THE DIGITAL NOMAD

When comparing the 19th-century Gypsy to the digital nomad of today—both of which express freedom fantasies emergent from the heart of empire—the latter appears to have resolved some of the former's contradictions through abstraction. While the 19th-century Gypsy was both colonial allegory and aspiration, the digital nomad of today imagines that he *is* already Gypsy. This abstraction partly reflects the transiting of the Gypsy from her spatiotemporal origins; while 19th-century Western Europe experienced multiple migrations of Roma from “the East,” informing Romantic Orientalist Gypsy depictions, these illustrations have now wandered for nearly two centuries. Additionally, Roma migration/dispossession, while pervasive in Europe, remains geographically distant from Silicon Valley's imperial California hub. Yet it is no coincidence that Gypsy fantasy emerges in Silicon Valley today, perched upon the edge of digital Manifest Destiny.

It is not only geographical distance that dilutes digital nomadic understanding of racial appropriation. Obfuscation of the racial referent also results from a series of epistemic transits that have informed posthumanist ruminations, famously theorized by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*. Their work illuminates an ontological “nomadic” refusal of the national “state apparatus,” thereby objectifying the nomad as free from the confinements of the state. They argue for constant state of deterritorialization, one that can never be reterritorialized. Nomads, they say, live apart from the state in that they “have no history; they only have a geography” (393). These multivalent beings are “without property, enclosure or measure,” inhabiting space is

that which is “more like a space of play, or a rule of play, by contrast with sedentary space” (96). For Deleuze and Guattari, smooth space, as opposed to Euclidean geometric space, can only be explored by the footloose legwork of nomadic drifting, invocative of John Clare’s spatially transgressive fantasies.

Following the publication of *ATP*, Christopher Miller questioned Deleuze and Guattari’s boundless plane, magically free from the ethical burdens of representation (“The Postidentitarian Predicament”). How can one “read the referential within a universe that is supposed to be purely virtual?” he questions (“We Shouldn’t Judge Deleuze and Guattari” 129-133). Deleuze and Guattari could have easily chosen to abandon their codification of various nomadic people, based upon only 13 citational sources, but they did not. In addition to Roma, these include ancient Hyskos of the Middle East, Mongolian hordes of the 13th century, as well as contemporary Bedouins of Palestine, Iranian Basseri, African Mbuti groups, Australian Aborigines, and several Amazonian tribes (Deleuze and Guattari 118-122). The looseness of these references allows Deleuze and Guattari to transit from Kandinsky paintings to Mongolian nomadic motifs in one overarching sweep, and to taxonomize different genres of nomads. “Gypsies,” for instance, are conflated into a broad category of peripatetics, as opposed to collectives of “primitive” hunter-gatherers, pastoral nomads, and “vagabonds, traveling thieves, migrant workers, bi-coastal executives, ‘academic Gypsies,’ and other such groups occasionally classified as nomads” (Bogue 172). For Miller, this ethnographic gesture remains the “epistemological paradox of nomadology: nomads don’t represent themselves in writing, they must be represented” (“The Postidentitarian Predicament” 10).

Eugene Holland, in a rejoinder of Miller’s critique, justifies *ATP* nomadology, which, he asserts, was not intentionally derived through “the real and the historical, but through a process other than representation” (“Representation and Misrepresentation in Postcolonial Literature and Theory” 163). The book, he suggests, “is not an image of the world... It forms a rhizome with the world” (ibid. 163). Otherwise put, by transiting real nomadism into an abstracted space, no harm is incurred upon nomads. Deleuze and Guattari’s intention was never to systematize anthropological taxonomies, but rather to articulate two

entangled tendencies—that of the nomadic and that of the sedentary (Holland 172). Rather they uncover a fundamental dialectic between the nomadic and the state forms.

While it may be that states and those rendered as nomadic (regardless of choice) are intimately tethered, connection alone does not excuse nomadology's representative violence. And yet, nomadology has remained a cornerstone of posthumanist philosophy as well as the “mobility turn” in the social sciences (Hannan et al. 5; Kaplan 89-90). As Tim Cresswell argues, “Mobility has become the ironic foundation for anti-essentialism, antifoundationalism and antirepresentationalism” (46). Predicated upon Deleuzian lines of flight and focus upon *routes* rather than *roots*, nomadology embraces anti-state ontologies and immateriality. Yet descriptively it remains bound to the materiality of nomadic and dispossessed peoples.

Nomadology has been to describe liberatory modes of thinking, but also resistance to global capital. In *Empire*, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri suggest that while imperialism once empowered individual nation-states, today it is comprised by an agglomerated “Empire,” which includes the US, international trade organizations, non-government organizations, and the United Nations. Despite the subsuming powers of Empire, a surplus of nomadic immaterial labour (cognitive and affective work) may abet in anti-imperial resistance, they suggest. In their words, “throughout the ontological terrain of globalization the most wretched of the earth becomes the most powerful being, because its new nomad singularity is the most creative force and the omni-lateral movement of its desire is itself the coming liberation” (363). Otherwise put, despite Empire's nomadic powers, nomadic immaterial labour can resist empire. This resonates with Holland's later work, which demand “nomad citizenship” and an “affirmative nomadology” upon a deterritorialized global market (*Nomad Citizenship* 8, 152).

Such positive spins on nomadology coalesce with Rosi Braidotti's ethical accountability to “philosophical nomadism,” which has since influenced the field of posthumanism (*Nomadic Theory*). Braidotti envisions what a non-unitary subjectivity in which transient subjects embody a “nomadic, dispersed and fragmented vision,” one that is “coherent and accountable mostly because it is embedded and embodied”

(*Transpositions* 4). For Braidotti, nomadic freedom is a state in which material constraints fail to impact a dispersed subjectivity, permitting total location independence. The nomad, she writes, is “figuration for the kind of subject who has relinquished all idea, desire, or nostalgia for fixity” (*Nomadic Subjects* 22). And yet its constitution is predicated upon a nostalgic desire, one that 19th-century Romantic Orientalist literature makes overt. Braidotti argues that nomadic subjectivity exists as “we move about, in the flow of current social transformations, in hybrid, multi-cultural, polyglot, post-identity spaces of becoming,” but remains limited due to “a shortage on the part of our social imaginary, a deficit of representational power” (*Nomadic Subjects* 85). However, nomadic romanticism has long been constituted by imaginative and representative power, going back centuries. Today, her multicultural analytics time-travel into the techno-imperial future, in which digital nomads articulate a posthumanist subjectivity, yet remain bound by contemporary capital flows.

Technologies of empire have long conflated desires of expansion with desires of becoming nomad/Gypsy. Does it make sense to rely upon this abstracted figure to arbitrate anti-imperial refusals? Critical of Braidotti’s “joyful lines of flight” and resultant injuries, An Yountae questions, “Should not the call for accountability and mourning for the loss and suffering of others precede the joyful celebration of freedom and nomadic ontology? Should not the question of the other be at the center of ethics rather than the preoccupation for one’s endless becoming” (292)? Similarly, as Thomas Sutherland argues:

The fetishization of the nomadic identity is concerning, firstly because one might surmise that the true nomads of our age—refugees, displaced peoples, and the mobile working poor—would in most cases desire nothing more than the security of a somewhat fixed, static identity, and at present have little ability to take advantage of the multiplicitous interconnectivity of which Braidotti speaks. (946)

And yet, is there a better figure to allegorize the material and epistemic violence that contemporary techno-imperialism unhinges?

Throughout the 19th century, racial appropriation of the Gypsy/nomad expressed spatiotemporal fantasies of mobility and transgression. Unlike this repeatedly murdered figure, the digital nomad of today, sheltered by posthumanist ontologies, does not have to die. Its livelihood not only allegorizes, but also actualizes, techno-imperiality. Braidotti claims that nomadism impugns the “commercialization of planet Earth in all its forms, through a series of interrelated modes of appropriation” (*The Posthuman* 7). But how can this be when nomadic appropriation facilitates the appropriation of space and time? Posthumanist mobility disassembles anti-capitalism, but, in the case of techno-imperialism, it facilitates materializes dispossession.

In the midst of their #BelongAnywhere campaign, Airbnb released another video, this one more eerie than their previous. “Is Mankind?” begins in a dimly lit hallway, in which a white toddler awkwardly stumbles to a door as suspenseful melodies from the fantasy drama, *Beasts of the Southern Wild*, saturate the air. The narrator, Angela Bassett, begins by slowly questioning, “Is Man kind? Are we good? Go see” (qtd. in iSpotTV). Willfully commencing, she demands: “Go look through their windows, so you can understand their views. Sit at their tables so you can share their tastes. Sleep in their beds, so you may know their dreams. Go see. And find out just how kind the he’s and she’s of this mankind are.” Cajoling Airbnb guests to embrace a nomadic subjectivity, to become one with hosts, to sleep in their beds, and to dream their dreams, Airbnb’s ad embraces nomadic territorial expansion. In this way, Airbnb aligns itself with Braidotti suggestion that nomadic subjectivity “consists not so much in being homeless, as in being capable of recreating your home everywhere” (*Nomadic Subjects* 16). By embracing nomadic subjectivity, racial appropriation is over-written with an inclusionary hospitality into the postracial terrain of “Mankind.” Not only have techno-imperial logics succeeded in appropriating 19th-century racial disfigurement, but further, they have unified colonial and ontological desires of becoming nomadic. The digital nomad now can colonize space and transgress the most intimate of borders and dreams. This fulfils its own liberal desires of freedom, as well as the techno-imperial machine that it feeds.



Airbnb-induced eviction protest with the Housing Rights Committee and numerous housing justice collectives, 2016. Photo by Eviction Free San Francisco. Bélo image is included on the protest banner.

WORKS CITED

- Achim, Viorel. *The Roma in Romanian History*. Budapest: Central European Press, 2004.
- Ahuja, Neel. *Bioinsecurities: Disease Interventions, Empire, and the Government of Species*. Durham: Duke UP, 2016.
- Airbnb. “Airbnb Introduces the Bélo: The Story of a Symbol of Belonging.” Airbnb, 2014, <https://youtu.be/nMITXMrrVQU>.
- Airbnb. *Pineapple: A Magazine from Airbnb*. San Francisco: Airbnb, 2014.
- Airbnb. “French Victorian-Views & Deck.” Airbnb, 2015, <https://www.airbnb.com/rooms/1456153>.
- Airbnb. “What is the Airbnb Service Fee.” Airbnb, 2018, <https://www.airbnb.com/help/article/1857/what-is-the-airbnb-service-fee>.

- Amrute, Sareeta. *Encoding Race, Encoding Class: Indian IT Workers in Berlin*. Durham: Duke UP, 2016.
- Anti-Eviction Mapping Project. "Airbnb and Oakland Airbnb Listings, November 2015." <https://antievictionmap.com/\#/airbnb-sf-and-oakland/>, 2016.
- Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, and Eviction Defense Collaborative. "City of Change: Fighting for San Francisco's Vanishing Communities." http://antievictionmappingproject.net/EDC_2016.pdf, 2017.
- Atanasoski, Neda, and Kalindi Vora. "Surrogate Humanity: Posthuman Networks and the (racialized) Obsolescence of Labor." *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2015, pp. 1-40.
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation. "One day, a computer will fit on a desk." ABC, 1974. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sTdWQAKzESA>.
- AT&T. "Interview with author/futurist Arthur C. Clarke, From an AT&T-MIT Conference, 1976." AT&T Archives and History Center, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1vQ_cB0f4w
- Bakic-Hayden. "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of the Former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, no. 4, 1995, pp. 917-931.
- Bhang, Aimee. "Specters of the Pacific: Salt Fish Drag and Atomic Hauntologies in the Era of Genetic Modification." *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 49, no. 4, 2015, pp. 663-685.
- Berlin, Isaiah. *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the History of Ideas*. London: John Murray, 1990.
- Bogue, Ronald. "Apology for Nomadology." *Interventions*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2014, pp. 169-179.
- Borrow, George. *Lavengro: The Scholar-The Gypsy-The Priest*. New York: Dover, 1991.
- Braidotti, Rosie. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia UP, 1994.
- Braidotti, Rosie. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006.
- Braidotti, Rosie. *Nomadic Theory*. New York: Columbia UP, 2012.
- Braidotti, Rosie. *The Posthuman*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.
- Breger, Claudia. "Understanding the 'Other'? Communication, History, and Narration in Margriet de Moor's *Hertog van Egypte* (1996)." *Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter Images of 'Gypsies'/Romanies in European*

- Cultures*. Eds. Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2014, pp. 131-145.
- Cheskey, Brian. 2013. "An Invitation from Brian Chesky: #OneLessStranger." Airbnb, 2015. <https://youtu.be/qxiBgfscCVw>.
- Clare, John. *Poems of the Middle Period, 1822-1837*. Eds. Eric Robinson, David Powell, and P. M. S. Dawson. New York: Oxford UP, 1996.
- Clare, John. *John Clare by Himself*. Eds. Eric Robinson and David Powell. New York: Routledge.
- Cócola-Gant, Agustín. "Holiday Rentals: The New Gentrification Battlefront." *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2016, p. 10.
- Colmeiro, José F. "Exorcising Exoticism: 'Carmen' and the Construction of Oriental Spain." *Comparative Literature*, vol. 52, no. 4, 2002, pp. 127-144.
- Cresswell, Tim. *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, The New Work of Mourning, and The New International*. Trans. Peggy Kamuf. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Do, Youjin. "One Way Ticket: The Rise of the Digital Nomad." 2017, <http://digitalnomaddocumentary.com>.
- Duncan, Ian. "Wild England: George Borrow's Nomadology." *Victorian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1998, pp. 381-403.
- Eng, David. *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy*. Durham: Duke UP, 2010.
- Ferriss, Timothy. *The 4-hour Work Week: Escape the 9-5, Live Anywhere and Join the New Rich*. New York: Random House, 2011.
- Hannan K. et al. "Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings." *Mobilities* vol. 1., no. 1, 2006, pp. 1-22.
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000.
- Hayes, Matthew, and Hila Zaban. "Transnational Gentrification." *Urban Studies*, forthcoming.
- Hayes, Matthew, and Rocío Pérez-Gañán. "North-South Migrations and the Asymmetric Expulsions of Late Capitalism: Global Inequality, Arbitrage, and New Dynamics of North-South Transnationalism." *Migration Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2017, pp. 116-135.

- Holland, Eugene. "Representation and Misrepresentation in Postcolonial Literature and Theory." *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2003, pp. 159-72.
- Holland, Eugene. *Nomad Citizenship: Free-market Communism and the Slow-motion General Strike*. Minneapolis, MN: U of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Hyles, Claudia. *And the Answer is a Pineapple: The King of Fruit in Folklore, Fabric, and Food*. Burra Creek, New South Wales: Sally Milner Publishers, 1998.
- iSpotTV. "Is Mankind?" 2015, <https://www.ispot.tv/ad/7vs6/airbnb-is-mankind>.
- Kaplan, Caren. *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.
- Khalid, Adeeb. "Russian History and the Debate Over Orientalism." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 1, no. 4, 2008, pp. 691-699.
- Lancione, Michele. "Revitalising the Uncanny: Challenging Inertia in The Struggle Against Forced Evictions." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 35, no. 6, 2017, pp. 1012-1032.
- Laukaitis, Jacob. "What I Learned When I Gave Up the '9 to 5'" BackChannel, 2015, <https://medium.com/backchannel/what-i-learned-when-i-gave-up-the-9-to-5-873a48d78a59>.
- Lemon, Alaina. *Between Two Fires: Gypsy Performance and Romani Memory, From Pushkin to Postsocialism*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000.
- Levere, Jane. "Airbnb Introducing Print Magazine, *Pineapple*." *New York Times*, 16 November 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/17/business/media/airbnb-introducing-print-magazine-pineapple.html>.
- Lowe, Lisa. "Rereadings in Orientalism: Oriental Inventions and Inventions of the Orient in Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*." *Cultural Critique*, vol. 15, no.1, 1990, pp. 115-143.
- Lowe, Lisa. *The Intimacies of Four Continents*. Durham: Duke UP, 2015.
- Lybarger, Jeremy. "Unwelcome Advances: Airbnb's Pride Charm Offensive." *SF Weekly*, 24 June 2015, <http://www.sfweekly.com/news/unwelcome-advances-airbnbs-pride-charm-offensive>.
- Maharawal, Manissa, and Erin McElroy. "The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, vol. 108, no.2, 2018, pp. 380-389.

- McElroy, Erin. "The Digital Humanities, American Studies, and the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project." *American Quarterly*, vol. 70 no. 3, 2018, pp. 701-707.
- McElroy, Erin, and Andrew Szeto. "The Racial Contours of YIMBY/NIMBY Bay Area Gentrification." *Berkeley Planning Journal*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2018, pp. 7-44.
- Melamed, Jodi. *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Mignolo, Walter. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke UP, 2011.
- Miller, Christopher. "The Postidentitarian Predicament in the Footnotes of a Thousand Plateaus: Nomadology, Anthropology, and Authority." *Diacritics*, vol. 23, no. 3, 1993, pp. 6-35.
- Miller, Christopher. "We Shouldn't Judge Deleuze and Guattari: A Response to Eugene Holland." *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2003, pp. 129-141.
- Mermet, Anne-Cécile. "Airbnb and Tourism Gentrification: Critical Insights from the 'Exploratory Analysis of the 'Airbnb Syndrome' in Reykjavik." *Tourism & Gentrification in Contemporary Metropolises: International Perspectives*. Eds. Maria Gravari-Barbas and Sandra Guinand. New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 52-74.
- Mirabal, Nancy. "Geographies of Displacement: Latina/os, Oral History, and the Politics of Gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District." *The Public Historian*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2009, pp. 7-31.
- Morgensen, Scott. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Northup, George. "The Influence of George Borrow upon Prosper Mérimée." *Modern Philology*, vol. 13, no. 3, 1915, pp. 143-156.
- Opillard, Florian. "From San Francisco's 'Tech Boom 2.0' to Valparaíso's UNESCO World Heritage Site." In *Protest and Resistance in the Tourist City*. Eds. Claire Colomb and Johannes Novy. New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 129-151.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth. *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Liberalism*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2011.
- Pusca, Anca. "Representing Romani Gypsies and Travelers: Performing Identity from Early Photography to Reality Television." *International Studies Perspectives*, vol. 16, no. 3, 2015, pp. 327-344.

- Richards, Thomas. *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. London: Verso, 1993.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1978.
- Saul, Nicholas. *Gypsies and Orientalism in German Literature and Anthropology of the Long Nineteenth Century*. London: Legenda, 2007.
- Sassen, Saskia. *Expulsions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.
- Silverman, Carol. "Gypsy Music, Hybridity and Appropriation: Balkan Dilemmas of Postmodernity." *Southeast European (Post)modernities*. Eds. Klaus Roth and Jutta Lauth Bacas, eds. London: Lit Verlag, 2013, pp. 15-32.
- Sonneman, Toby. "Dark Mysterious Wanderers: The Migrating Metaphor of the Gypsy." *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vo. 32, no. 4, 1999, pp. 119-139.
- Stanley, Eric. "The Affective Commons: Gay Shame, Queer Hate, and Other Collective Feelings." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, 2018, pp. 489-508.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination." *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2008, pp. 191-219.
- Sutherland, Thomas. "Intensive Mobilities: Figurations of the Nomad in Contemporary Theory." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol 32, no. 1, 2014, pp. 935-950.
- Taylor, James. "Life as a Digital Gypsy." 2011, <http://www.jamestaylor.me/life-as-a-digital-Gypsy>.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.
- Trumpener, Katie. "The Time of the Gypsies: A 'People without History' in the Narratives of the West." *Identities*. Eds. Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 338-379.
- Vincze, Enikő. "Socio-Spatial Marginality of Roma as Form of Intersectional Injustice." *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai-Sociologia*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2013, pp. 217-242.
- Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization and the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994.
- Woodcock, Shannon. "Romania and Europe: Roma, Rroma and Țigani as Sites for the Contestation of Ethno-National Identities." *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 41, no. 5, 2007, pp. 493-515.
- Wynter, Sylvia and Katherine McKittrick. "Unparalleled Catastrophe for Our Species? Or, to Give Humanness a Different Future: Conversations."

Sylvia Winter: On Being Human as Praxis. Ed. Katherine McKittrick. Durham: Duke UP, 2015.

Yountae, An. "Beginning in the Middle: Deleuze, Glissant, and Colonial Difference." *Culture, Theory and Critique*, vol. 55, no. 3, 2014, pp. 286-301.

Zăloagă, Marian. "Professing Domestic Orientalism: Representing the Gypsy as Musikant in the Transylvanian Saxons' Writings of the Long 19th Century." *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai- Historia*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1-28.

NOTES

1. Though called "Google Buses," there are numerous tech corporations that facilitate reverse commuting to Silicon Valley.↵
2. "Unicorn" startups are those that have achieved a mythical network of over \$1 billion.↵

**“WHO GAVE YOUR BODY BACK TO YOU?” LITERARY AND
VISUAL CARTOGRAPHIES OF EROTIC SOVEREIGNTY IN THE
POETRY OF QWO-LI DRISKILL**

NAVEEN MINAI

Abstract: US settler colonialism deploys metapolitical force against Indigenous epistemologies of land and body to destroy, erase, and contain Indigenous sovereignty and nationhood. Literary and visual grammars are crucial to these settler biopolitical and necropolitical technologies -- and Indigenous resistance. “Love Poems: 1838–1839” by Cherokee Two-Spirit poet scholar Qwo-Li Driskill challenges a settler-colonial cartography of time and space by disrupting the visual grammars of settler colonialism as they manifest in literary forms and rules. Driskill resists and refuses how settlers use writing as a visual and literary activity both to produce and reproduce time as linear and land as fungible object. Creating a specifically Indigenous literary/visual cartography of a Sovereign Erotic, I argue that Driskill disrupts settler heteronormativity of writing/mapping land and body, by impressing an Indigenous literary and visual form onto the page. These cartographies rewrite/map time and space according to Indigenous knowledges and practices of land and love. “Love Poems 1838–1839” is, then, a poem which is both story and map of erotic sovereignty as a crucial component of Indigenous nationhood and presence on the lands of the Americas.

Résumé: L'idéologie des colons américains déploie une force métapolitique contre les épistémologies autochtones de lieu et de corps afin de détruite, d'effacer et de contenir la souveraineté et le sentiment de nation des Autochtones. Les grammaires littéraires et visuelles sont essentielles aux technologies biopolitiques et nécropolitiques de ces colons—et à la résistance autochtone. “Love Poems: 1838–1839” du poète et érudit Qwo-Li Driskill de la nation Cherokee Two-Spirit, remet en cause la cartographie spatiale et temporelle coloniale des colons en perturbant les grammaires visuelles colonialistes telles qu'elles se manifestent dans les formes et les règles littéraires. Driskill résiste et refuse la manière dont les colons utilisent l'écriture comme une activité visuelle et littéraire visant à produire et reproduire le temps comme un concept linéaire et le lieu comme un objet fungible. En créant une cartographie littéraire et visuelle spécifiquement autochtone d'un Erotique Souverain, j'avance que Driskill interrompt l'hétéronormativité coloniale de l'écriture et la cartographie du lieu et du corps, en imposant une forme littéraire et visuelle indigène sur les pages. Ces cartographies redécrivent et redessinent l'espace et le temps selon les savoirs autochtones ainsi que leurs pratiques du lieu et de l'amour. “Love Poems 1838–1839” est donc un poème qui raconte et dessine la carte de la souveraineté érotique comme une composante cruciale du sens de nation et de la présence autochtones sur le territoire des Amériques.

When you first open Qwo-Li Driskill's (Cherokee) *Walking with Ghosts* to pages 56 and 57, you don't notice the words; you notice the spaces in between the words. This is because there are two names in dark block letters at the top of the page next to one another:

TENNESSE

INDIAN TERRITORY

Just like that. Then there are words underneath each name but you can't read the words under each name without reading the words under the other name because there isn't that much space between the words. It's a slim book of poetry.

Then you notice the name of the poem: "Love Poems: 1838–1839." Yet this is singular poem—so what is the 's' for?

Then you notice the first words under TENNESSEE and INDIAN TERRITORY across the space between them:

What was left behind?

I know you were driven away,
taken from everything that
taught you love

Who was driven away from where and had to leave behind what? What love was this you driven away from? Did this happen in 1838? It's the first date in the title after all.

In this essay, I use visual and literary analysis to read Driskill's poem, "Love Poems: 1838–1839." I argue that Driskill challenges a settler-colonial cartography of time and space by disrupting what Mishuana Goeman (Seneca) calls the visual grammars of settler colonialism (236) as they manifest in literary cartographies of time and place. Driskill resists and refuses how settlers use writing as a visual and literary activity both to produce and reproduce time as linear and space

as land as fungible object (Rifkin 72). Driskill asserts Cherokee sovereignty in several forms, which are components of Cherokee sovereignty and nationhood: what Gerald Vizenor (Anishinaabe) details as literary sovereignty (Vizenor vii-7), what Robert Warrior (Osage) defines as intellectual sovereignty (1-20) and what Driskill has termed erotic sovereignty (50-64) through their writing as a literary and visual activity.

Mishuana Goeman and Glen Coulthard (Dene) have demonstrated that settler epistemologies map time as linear in order to alienate land from body and people, as categories of both experience and nation. Land then becomes a fungible object, and Indigenous nations are dislocated and displaced from both their homelands and from time, in what Anne McClintock terms anachronistic space (66). According to the linear time of settler historiography (and thus History), Indigenous nations are located in the temporal space of the past, which means that they are not present on their lands in both senses of the word: not there on the land and not there in the present and future of the new nation-state of the United States of America. Land is converted (pun intended) into the fungible object and territory of the U.S. state and civil society. This straight line of time also seals Indigenous nations and their experiences of the biopolitical (Foucault 135-159) and necropolitical (Mbembe 11-40) violence of settler colonialism in the past. The continuous and structural nature of settler colonialism is therefore concealed (Wolfe 388). As Lorenzo Veracini points out, settler narratives of nationalism and territory are temporal ones: Indigenous peoples lived here long ago but they refused modernity and progress and therefore no longer exist, which also means that the genocidal violence that may (or may not) have been committed against them is over (Veracini 95-116).

Linear time is heteronormative time (Halberstam 1-21). In *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*, Scott Morgensen demonstrates that settler line as linear time is heteronormative time (1-30). Deborah Miranda (Ohlone-Costanoan) has shown that this is a necropolitical technology of settler colonialism in that heteronormativity is a logic of settler conquest which dictated the genocide of Indigenous nations for their non-monogamous non-heterosexual modes and practices of gender, sexuality, and sex (253-284).

Settlers marked these modes and practices as both immoral according to heteronormative standards and discourses of savage as primitive. Thus, settler heteronormativity dislocates Indigenous nations to the past with no place in the present and future of the U.S. precisely because both are defined by heteronormative futurity (Morgensen 31-54).

Writing is pivotal to this settler cartography of time: diplomacy, law, historiography, maps, literature are part of what Michel Foucault terms regimes of truth that produce linear time as a material and epistemic reality. I argue that literary form is as much part of these regimes, borrowing from Jace Weaver's (Cherokee) definition of literary creation as follows: "to impress form on the relative formlessness of a life or a culture, to exercise selectivity over what is included and what excluded, is an act of literary creation" (ix). Alongside, I use visual culture to read a literary text based on my interpretation of Scott Richard Lyons' (Leech Lake Ojibwe) work in *X Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. Lyons examines the Xs made by leaders of Indigenous Nations on treaties with settler governments as a metaphor for different positions and strategies Indigenous peoples have used to negotiate with settler epistemologies and institutions (1-34). I take up Lyons' notion of X marks to think of writing as a literary and visual activity, to think of writing as marks on the page, and to think of both the marks and the page as equally important components of writing. An act of literary creation includes making use of words and symbols as much as the space of the page.

Thus, I contend that along with writing in terms of words, grammar, numbers, the rules of linearity in literary form are also crucial for the production and reproduction of settler time. Writing, like cartography, is both a literary and visual activity used in settler regimes of truth to produce land as fungible object. Writing and cartography both produce marks on a page, and both the marks on the page and the spaces between those marks on the page constitute the meaning of the text—whether it is a poem or a map. Writing, like mapping, creates and recreates settler modes of time, and therefore necessarily space, on the page.

Settler modes of time and space are written in three important ways. First, the vertical placement of poetic text on the page in English re-

produces the linearity of settler time. Second, the use of metaphor inscribes land and body in two different conceptual domains that create alienation and enable the objectification of both. Third, the use of gendered pronouns (he and she) collapses sex, gender, and sexuality—which is itself a collapse of practice and desire into identification as a biopolitical technology—within a heterosexual matrix (Butler 22-34).

Driskill disrupts each of these biopolitical and necropolitical technologies in settler literary and visual cultures in “Love Poems: 1838–1839.” They do not place the text (words, symbols, numbers) vertically on the page. They do not use metaphor to write land and body. And they do not use gendered pronouns, so that the reader cannot see and therefore cannot read sex, gender, and sexuality through the heterosexual matrix.

What Driskill doesn’t do can be read as resistance to settler literary and visual grammars. I contend that what Driskill does is an act of literary and erotic sovereignty. To borrow from Weaver, they impress a specifically Indigenous form onto the page to create an Indigenous literary and visual grammar that rewrites and reshapes time and space on the page. This rewriting and reshaping of time and space on the page is part of what Driskill calls the “survival cartographies” (Driskill 55), that is, written literatures rooted in Indigenous stories as epistemologies of land, body, and intimacy. These stories are literary and visual maps of what Jodi Byrd (Chickasaw) calls the “sacred geographies that constitute Indigenous peoples’ histories” (118), to which Driskill returns to articulate a Sovereign Erotic as an act of decolonization (Driskill 58).

Lines

First, verticality. The first sign of verticality as part of the literary and visual grammar of settler time is in the title of the poem: “Love Poems: 1838–1839.” The dates 1838 and 1839 indicate the historical context and subject of the poem: the Trail of Tears, which was the forced removal of the Cherokee (and other Nations, including the Choctaw) from their homelands in what is currently Tennessee to what was then known as Indian Territory (currently known as Oklahoma).

The distinctness of the two columns and the imperative to order this distinctness vertically is signaled by three literary and visual components. The dates indicate the distinctness of the two columns because the dash marks linear movement in both time and space: Tennessee (1838) to Indian Territory (1839). The dash also indicates both the span of the Trail of Tears, and that the Trail of Tears is sealed in time with a beginning in 1838 and an end in 1839.

Alongside, the title indicates a plurality: love poems. This is confirmed by the colon which precedes the dates. There is one poem (singular) but the title contains a plural (poems); furthermore, there are two dates (1838 and 1839) and two names for two columns (Tennessee and Indian Territory). Therefore, each column could be read as a separate poem, emphasized by the colon's function to signal a list of items.

The words, the dash, and the dates marked thus on the page delineate the distinctness of the two columns, and the nature of this delineation: the linearity of their location in history – and therefore, how the columns should be marked or delineated on pages 56 and 57.

According to settler literary and visual grammars, Tennessee should be written (placed) on the first page, and Indian Territory should be written (placed) on the second page because 1839 comes after 1838 in settler imaginaries of time. This location of Tennessee and Indian Territory one after another in a vertical order would correspond to and reproduce linear time. Verticality is the recognizable and familiar literary and visual form of time and history. And it is time that determines the ordering of space, including movements: the movement from 1838 to 1839 dictates a linear movement in time and therefore in space, from Tennessee in 1838 to Indian Territory in 1839.

To borrow from Ann Laura Stoler, this settler-colonial order of things (1-54) also dictates that Indian Territory comes after Tennessee because linearity is also singularity. It is again time that determines location in space, which means that there is a singularity to who and what is in this space on the page: one experience, one set of words, followed by another in singular, linear time. Settler logics of literary and visual form reproduce and reinforce these rules of linear time on the poetic space through writing and placement in this space.

Goeman has demonstrated that settler-colonial hierarchies of forms of life and experience are constructed along a single straight line of Time and History (23-34). Linear time is the biopolitical and necropolitical technology used to construct narratives of civilization and modernity. The U.S. settler state deploys linear time as a necropolitical technology to force the Cherokee to move from 1838 to 1839 as a straight line on a map of the Americas because they are marked as savage by settler time, and therefore as dispensable by settler metapolitical force (Rifkin 90). This is how a map of the Americas is re-marked as a map of the United States of America. This is how the American state and nation is territorialized through the violent accumulation of life and land. The land of the Cherokee is remapped as American territory and the Cherokee are now out of time and out of place. They are sealed in the background of the origin story of the United States (Goeman 24-26), re-located in anachronistic space.

The forced removal of the Cherokee is about both emptying the lands of Indigenous Nations and about disrupting Indigenous epistemologies that are rooted in the land and in which land is a living entity. The settler epistemic centering of time and the construction of time as linear produce land as dead space (Goeman 31), or a thing that can be owned and traded. In settler literary and visual grammars, land becomes blank space which is the background to the words on the page.

Driskill writes Tennessee and Indian Territory side by side on these pages. This means that the reader cannot help but see (read) both on the page in front of them. They constitute and complete the poem together on the space of the page, which is confirmed by the colon visible in the title of the poem. The colon precedes the dates and signals the presence of both Tennessee and Indian Territory on the same page, which the linearity of settler literary form as cartographic form would make absent and hence separate in both time and place. This would also separate the narrative in and of Tennessee and Indian Territory from each other, which would seal each narrative on separate pages in a reproduction and reinforcement of sealing the effects of settler violence on Indigenous nations in time (Goeman 24-26)—the page can be turned and the past is no longer visible on the page the reader is presently reading.

Here the reader cannot read what happens in each column as separated by linear time reproduced and reinforced by vertical poetic form in a settler literary imagination. Here the reader must read Tennessee and Indian Territory side by side at the same time; the reader must read 1838 and 1839 side by side at the same time. The words of Tennessee and the words of Indian Territory in 1838 and 1839 are both grounded in the same poetic space of the same page. Therefore, the space of this page becomes the epistemic anchor, rather than time. As Coulthard has discussed, this is a crucial distinction between Indigenous and settler epistemologies (79). This means that the white space of the page becomes more than background to the black marks on the page; the white space is no longer background as distant from the reader as viewer; it is no longer dead space which is only functional for the marks on the page. Rather, this space matters.

The sentences of each poetic textual voice move into each other's space on the page. Through both the different lengths of the sentences and the placement of verses of each poetic voice, the movement of text on the page recalls and creates the visual effect of a river. The words move across the page, which also means that the space between the words and sentences and poetic voices is no longer blank where blank means dead space, space only as background. The textual space between and around Tennessee and Indian Territory is vital for the words and sentences to move. Poetic textual space, then, as the writing (mapping) of land is no longer blank space as a thing, or as background. It is the ground of the poetic voice; it is the space where the poetic voices of Tennessee and Indian Territory as persons is grounded. The space in between and around the poetic textual voices is the literary and visual ground that anchors and makes possible the personhood of Tennessee and Indian Territory.

Moreover, the reader cannot read (see) the poetic textual voices of Tennessee and Indian Territory without each other so that there are two voices speaking simultaneously as a literary and visual experience. The reader is therefore caught in the poetic space between Tennessee and Indian Territory. This means that the reader is in between time too: 1838 (Tennessee) and 1839 (Indian Territory), and the reader located in 2005 as the date of publication of *Walking with Ghosts*. Temporality, therefore, is reconfigured as an experience of space in between

through poetic form within a Cherokee epistemology, rather transcendence through linearity according to settler logics of time and space.

The centering of space rather than time means that the marks Tennessee makes on the page are no longer sealed in 1838 as the past with the turning of the page, separate from the marks Indian Territory makes on page. Both sets of marks are formed and placed in relation to each other, which highlights their relationship: Tennessee is the homeland the Cherokee were forced to leave behind and Indian Territory is the name of the place designated by the U.S. settler state where the Cherokee were forcibly relocated to. The marks made on Tennessee, Indian Territory, and the Cherokee by settler violence are placed on these pages. This is Driskill's defiance of settler epistemologies, which deploy linearity to seal settler violence in a distinct and distant past that can be dismissed and erased by the turning of a page.

Both of them speak to a "you," which I argue is Driskill located in the space on the page between Indian Territory and Tennessee. This is evident not only through the context of the Trail of Tears referenced by the dates in the title. The forms of necropolitical violence that the U.S. settler state inflicts on the Cherokee and Tennessee are catalogued in the poem—as is the survival and resistance of the Cherokee, which is grounded in Indian Territory. Settler literary and visual grammars work to erase the marks of violence on Indigenous nations through linear time: you can turn the page and the trauma of Tennessee will be left behind. You can use verticality to seal Tennessee and Indian Territory on each page one after another, and seal each in 1838 and 1839.

Driskill refuses to obey the settler directive to forget. Instead, they document the methods and effects of settler violence alongside the technologies deployed by the U.S. settler state to dismiss and erase the trauma, loss, and grief of the Cherokee. Driskill's writing serves to both name and remember the marks left on Indigenous nations by this violence, and to mark these traumas as structural and ongoing.

There are four verses in parentheses under "Tennessee." The first three of the four verses are a catalogue of mechanisms of settler-colonial violence against the Cherokee. The verses in parentheses are opposite in content, tone, and feeling to the verses not in parentheses: the former catalogue settler-colonial violence, while the latter catalogue Chero-

kee modes of love, intimacy, and sensuality in the relationship between land and body as defined in Cherokee epistemology.

Parentheses are used to designate asides, explanations, or afterthoughts; sentences are considered complete without the thoughts expressed within parentheses. Yet here the content of the verses in parentheses is about precisely the attempted destruction of what is written in the verses that are not in parentheses. The verses in parentheses answer the question of why Driskill had to leave Tennessee behind and what was left behind. Hence the verses in parentheses are not asides or afterthoughts; rather, they are crucial to the poem.

The content and tone of these verses disrupts the pleasurable experience of the verses not in parentheses for the reader in a parallel of the disruption of the pleasure between Tennessee and Driskill. Even in moments of pleasure for the reader, the verses in parentheses are unforgettable because they are an undercurrent of the trauma endured by Tennessee and Driskill. In a settler literary and visual grammar, parentheses serve to seal and contain the violence of the U.S. settler state. However, this trauma cannot be contained between the marks of the parentheses on the page; rather, the effects of settler violence and the attempts by the U.S. state to seal those effects in the past is marked indelibly on the page through Driskill's performative use of the marks of the parentheses. Driskill marks how the U.S. settler state tries to contain these violent disruptions as historical asides or afterthoughts, whereas they are central to the creation of the U.S. and constitute ongoing trauma for the Cherokee.

I argue that in the context of the grammatical function of the parentheses, one way to read the volume of verses in parentheses in this column is that of a whisper. Tennessee whispers of the violence and trauma of forced removal from both land and systems of knowledge and meaning rooted in the land to Driskill. The volume indicates the force with which the U.S. settler state has removed the Cherokee from Tennessee, and the force with which the Cherokee are compelled by the U.S. state to forget their trauma and loss. Yet the words Tennessee whispers to Driskill are marked on the page and pivotal to the subject of the poem. This then is Tennessee's stubborn defiance of the physical and epistemic structural violence of the U.S. settler state. Mem-

ory is evidence and archive, and it is archived in the form of poetry on these pages—and memories of Cherokee nationhood, epistemology, and trauma are honoured through the poetic marks on these pages by Driskill as a Cherokee Two-Spirit poet.

This is Driskill's literary and visual refusal of how linear settler time seals the structural nature and effects of settler colonialism into the past, which also enables U.S. nationhood and statehood to rest on the refusal to acknowledge the contemporary presence of Indigenous nations. Driskill subverts the literary and visual function of the parentheses, transforming them through their relationship to the other marks on the page from literary signs of concealment to visual signs of disruption.

I argue that these parentheses function as marks of an Indigenous archive of feeling (Rifkin 25-36) within this poem, which means that this poem functions as an archive of the ways in which settler colonialism is a structure not an event (Wolfe 388). As Rifkin reminds us, one of the key biopolitical technologies of the U.S. settler state is to relegate the feelings and experiences of Indigenous nations to the realm of the personal and the individual in order to conceal the structural, ongoing, and violent nature of settler colonialism (Rifkin 30-36). This is a deployment of metapolitical force as sovereignty, whereby the U.S. state asserts sovereignty by determining the terms and categories for the legibility of life. This includes literary and visual forms and grammars—the form of an archive, the grammar of a poem, memory as marks made on the page, and memory as the evidence of histories of settler violence. Writing is crucial to the settler binary between memory and history in which memory is personal, individual, and affective and therefore not public or collective. Poetry as an archive of feeling and memory of the land of Tennessee is Driskill's challenge to the metapolitical force deployed by the U.S. settler state.

The first verse in parentheses indexes two forms of settler violence against the Cherokee: “(Did you know they tried to/erase you, forbade me to/speak your name?)” (Driskill 56). The word “erase” signals the physical forced removal of the Cherokee from Tennessee, which is also the removal of the Cherokee from Tennessee as the source of their knowledge, thought, and consciousness. These systems of meaning in-

clude the terms of legibility for land, body, gender, sexuality, and relationships, referenced here in the “love formulas,” “dark syllables,” and “incantations” (Driskill 56) that are grounded in the land of Tennessee.

The sovereignty of the U.S. settler state is based on the destruction of the Cherokee and their systems of knowledge and meaning. This is because the land of Tennessee must be emptied of the Cherokee and their relationships to the land in order to be transformed into the territory of the U.S. state and then into property of American citizens. This transformation pivots on the alienation of body and land; bodies also become commodities within settler epistemologies.

The work of feminist and queer of colour scholars such as Michelle Alexander and Grace Hong has shown that this is always already a racialized and gendered process in which certain bodies are owned as commodities by other bodies (Alexander 1-94) and categorized as such in legal, social, and political terms (Hong 31-106). White supremacy and heteropatriarchy are both key logics and mechanisms (Smith 66-73) through which this alienation of body and land and the commodification of both are produced and reproduced in the U.S. Thus, the U.S. settler state targets both the physical presence of the Cherokee, and Cherokee logics of land, body, personhood, and nationhood for erasure.

=

Writing is central to settler erasure of Cherokee logics of land and body and is deployed in several ways. Settler frameworks of knowledge prioritize writing over orality within a linear temporal narrative of civilization and modernity whereby orality is seen as primitive and savage and writing is the mark of progress and facticity. Indigenous nations are also written out of the present and future of the U.S. nation-state by being located in anachronistic space (McClintock 66) in American political, cultural, and intellectual structures and production. Meanwhile, the land of the Americas is remade as the national territory of the U.S. through the use of the map as a settler-colonial technology that produces land as dead space through visual and literary taxonomies (Goeman 236). Within these literary and visual grammars, metaphor is pivotal for the alienation of body and land, as is the gendered binary be-

tween the personal and political, which divides labour, space, relationships, and experiences.

Commodification of bodies and land is underpinned by these logics. This is why “the erotic is not the realm of personal consequence only” (Driskill 52), and erotic sovereignty is necessary for Indigenous nationhood.

That the U.S. settler state “forbade me to speak your name” (Driskill 56) marks the political and cultural silence the U.S. has tried to impose on the Cherokee. This silence is imposed not only on Cherokee vocabularies of land, body, and nationhood but also on the articulation of the trauma and grief the Cherokee have endured because of settler violence.

Settler literary and visual grammars are crucial to the imposition of this silence. Their presence is both based on and reinforces the removal of Cherokee literary and visual forms and practices. Settler literary and visual cultures in the U.S. locate Indigenous nations in landscapes of the past, and thereby contain them in the past through linearity in cultural form, vocabulary, and practice. Indeed, the land of the Americas is transformed into an empty landscape through these literary and visual cultures (Goeman 235-265). Moreover, the replacement of Indigenous literary and visual cultures with settler literary and visual grammars through the removal of Indigenous nations on the land of the Americas means that Indigenous knowledge and meaning are not transmitted intergenerationally. The Cherokee cannot speak Tennessee’s name and Tennessee cannot be articulated as lover because those formulas and syllables have been erased and forbidden in settler literary and visual cultures.

These literary and visual grammars are crucial to settler-colonial structures because it is through these cultures that narratives of the settler state are constructed. It is through these grammars that the figures of the savage Indian, the adventurous pioneer, the damsel in distress, and the poor farmer are created against a background of a landscape of the Americas always already emptied of Indigenous nations because they are not legible as sovereign polities according to settler definitions (Rifkin 88-92). These figures are transformed by turning the pages through and of a linear history of the American Dream: the pioneer-

farmers fight the British empire (Clark and Nagel 109-130) to become proto-American citizens (Veracini 1-15; 95-116) and rescue the damsels in distress from the savage Indians (Klopotek 251-274). The savage Indians become tragic and noble (Klopotek 251-274), disappearing from what is now the national sovereign territory of the U.S. in which the damsels in distress fight for universal suffrage as a mark of American exceptionalism and the American Dream (Morgensen 1-54). You turn the page and the figure of the Indian disappears as the figure of the American citizen appears.

The settler violence documented in this poem as Tennessee's testimony in the verses in parentheses contradicts these literary and visual narratives and their affective force. The second verse in parentheses is: "(After they seized you/they told me not to touch/anyone again.)" (Driskill 56). These verses in parentheses resist the U.S. national mythology of the nature and form of contact between Indigenous nations and settler colonists as one of civilization: the word "seized" in the second verse in parentheses connotes the force with which Driskill and Tennessee were separated by the U.S. settler state, a physical contact that is violent and sudden. These verses indict the U.S. settler state as a violent one that deployed illegal force against Indigenous nations (Rifkin 90). There is nothing inevitable here about the turning of the page as an act of linear time; instead, the meaning of the marks on the page and the turning of it in settler literary and visual grammars is highlighted.

Rifkin notes that Driskill's poetry attends to structures of feeling experienced by Indigenous peoples as effects of settler violence (Rifkin 45-92). The words "anyone again" (Driskill 56) connote a powerful undercurrent of loneliness, isolation, and loss of pleasure and love for Tennessee (and Driskill). This is highlighted by the immediately preceding sentence that pauses at the word "touch," and by the emphatic fact of this sentence containing only two words. Here, the word "anyone" means nobody else, while "again" carries a lonely resonance of continuous time. Love, pleasure, and sex are grounded in the relationship between land and body as that of lovers in Cherokee systems of meaning. The forced removal of Driskill from Tennessee is a removal from land as lover, land as home, and from land as the source of knowledge (Goeman 24-34) and knowledge of pleasure that sustains and nourishes Driskill.

Feelings are marked as specifically political matters in this poem. Pain is indicated in the last two lines of this verse: “My bones shriek like trains/filled with Nations!” (Driskill 56). The visual and aural sign of “bones shriek” conveys a visceral account of pain precisely because of how unusual this phrase is: this is a bone-deep (a more familiar turn-of-phrase) pain. However, this is more than metaphor precisely because throughout the poem Driskill the poet has been pushing against the rules and boundaries of English as a settler-colonial language and the ways in which it has been deployed to contain, destroy, and erase Cherokee logics and practices of nationhood.

The word “seized” connotes not only the violence of forced removal but also the settler dictate to “not touch/anyone again,” that is, the settler prohibition of Cherokee forms of collectivity. This includes reservations, residential schools, war, famine, and the destruction and restriction of resources for survival from Indigenous communities through environmental degradation of Indigenous spaces, violation of treaty rights to hunting and fishing spaces, and mining. In other words, settler colonialism enforces the rule to “not touch/anyone again” (Driskill 56) by destroying and restricting the land which Cherokee nationhood is grounded in.

The trauma of settler violence is embedded in Driskill’s bones, beneath skin, muscle, and blood. The magnitude of settler-colonial violence is such that Driskill’s bones have felt and borne witness to this pain and trauma. The experience of trauma is reemphasized by Driskill’s use of the word “shriek,” which means to scream and/or a sharp, shrill cry, and the two emotions associated with this type of sound are terror and pain. This constructs a visual and aural experience for the reader of the degree of physical violence of the forced removal of the Cherokee from Tennessee.

The U.S. settler state also forces loneliness and isolation on Tennessee as a necropolitical tool against the Cherokee, to try and destroy the ways in which Cherokee make home, make community, make love. As Driskill and Sara Ahmed have argued, feelings are political matters (Ahmed 1-19), and they are grounded in both time and space (Driskill 50-64). The loneliness and isolation the Cherokee feel is a direct consequence of the forced removal from Tennessee, the homeland in which

their frameworks, vocabularies, and experiences are grounded. Feelings, then, are not just effects of settler violence but also evidence of the structural nature of settler colonialism (Rifkin 1-44).

Yet the words “tried to” signal that the U.S. settler state’s deployment of metapolitical force as necropolitical violence is incomplete and unsuccessful. This is evident in the marks Driskill has made on these pages, which mark the survival of Cherokee logics of land and body. Driskill not only speaks Tennessee’s name, but they also name Tennessee as their lover in and according to Cherokee formulas, syllables, and incantations of nationhood in which land is a living entity. Driskill refuses settler colonial logics of land as thing, as property (Goeman 23-33)—and in English no less, through a subversive deployment of the rules of grammar and form.

Sovereignty is also asserted by Driskill’s capitalization of the word “Nations” in defiance of the U.S. settler state’s use of physical, cultural, and intellectual violence against Indigenous nations. This highlights the difference between nation and state here as well, defying the definition of the U.S. as a nation-state in which Indigenous nations are considered a racialized minority rather than sovereign nations according to the settler-colonial epistemologies of political modes of community. Driskill does this through the rules of English grammar: capitalization is supposed to be used sparingly, for proper nouns, such as names of nations, states, and national communities with citizenship—such as Americans. Furthermore, capitalization is used to focus attention on particular elements in terms of what distinguishes them/that element from others. Therefore, the capitalization of the word “Nations” here by Driskill indicates precisely that the Cherokee refuse to comply with the U.S. settler state’s exercise of metapolitical authority to categorize Indigenous Nations as racialized minorities in order to both destroy and contain them. This is Driskill’s emphasis on the Cherokee as a sovereign nation whose lands are occupied with violent force by the U.S. settler state, and of their refusal to comply with settler-colonial definitions of sovereignty and nation.

The fact that Tennessee is testifying to settler-colonial violence is evidence of how these attempts to contain and destroy the Cherokee have failed and are incomplete, even as they are traumatic. The last verse in

parentheses indicates this space in between trauma and survival, between the failure and magnitude of settler colonial violence: “(Or was it a map, coded/to find your way back to me?)” (Driskill 57)

There is more uncertainty in this verse than the other verses in parentheses; the second verse in parentheses is a statement, while first and third are rhetorical questions indicated by the grammatical combination of the phrase “Did you know.” In contrast, this last verse in parentheses reads as sincere question, containing uncertainty, possibility, and hope—of Driskill finding their way back to Tennessee.

The map refers to the “quilt appliqued stars” (Driskill 57) in the previous verse not in parentheses. This indicates Tennessee wondering (hoping) if that quilt could help Driskill “remember the birth of the Milky Way” (Driskill 57), remember Cherokee knowledge systems of the universe in which land is a lover who gives pleasure and knowledge. The reference to the visual sign of a map is important here, also constructed through the visual of the Milky Way in the quilt appliqued with stars. The Milky Way appears as a dim, glowing band arching across the sky, a mythological and visual path for Driskill to follow which only they can read as such—hence why it is “a map, coded” (Driskill 57)—because both they and Tennessee are located within a Cherokee epistemology.

Yet while there is hope in this question, there is also uncertainty as to whether Driskill can go back in both the literal and figurative meanings of the word “map” here, of returning to Tennessee as both Cherokee homeland and of remapping Tennessee according to Cherokee logics of sovereignty and land. This uncertainty is highlighted by the fact that this verse in parentheses is located between two verses not in parentheses across the page in the column titled, “Indian Territory”: “Hush. This is home now” (Driskill 57).

While this experience of being caught in between can be read as an effect of structural, hence continuous, settler violence, I argue that it can also be read here as a double-woven narrative (Driskill 73-75). Driskill proposes the use of the Cherokee basket weaving practice of double-weaving as a method of storytelling, arguing that in a double-woven design, two contradictory narratives and the tensions between them are maintained in the creation of a new narrative. I argue that in lo-

cating “you” between Tennessee and Indian Territory, in between 1838 and 1839, and in between 1838—1839 and 2005, Driskill has written a double-woven narrative. The tension between pain and pleasure, the lover left behind and the lover who makes space for that loss, the loss of “everything that/taught you love” (Driskill 56) and rewriting those Cherokee logics of land and love in English—these tensions are held on to and rooted in the poetic space (rather than time) of the page.

This is confirmed by what Indian Territory says to Driskill earlier in the poem: “I don’t expect you to forget/only to love me as well” (Driskill 56). This signals a specific mode of love that Indian Territory creates for Driskill in the rest of the poem, which resists the settler demand for Driskill to forget and turn the page on being “driven away/taken from everything that/taught you love.” “I know” is Indian Territory’s recognition of the violence Driskill has experienced; this love has space on the page for Driskill’s grief and loss along with comfort and pleasure: “This is home now.” Therefore, “Hush/This is home now” is not an echo of settler dictates that the Cherokee turn the page on Tennessee; rather, these verses are Indian Territory asking Driskill to allow and enable themselves to grieve, heal, and make home again with Indian Territory. This is how Driskill weaves another narrative in an act of literary sovereignty: this poem is a living archive of Cherokee logics of land, love, and literary creation. The marks Driskill has made on the page are located within Cherokee epistemology in which space is centered rather than time. Driskill does not deny the effects of settler violence on the Cherokee but they do not surrender to that violence either; instead, they mark both grief and survival through the marks on the pages of this poem.

Tennessee and Indian Territory both bear witness to the Trail of Tears and to Cherokee resistance to settler colonialism, and their testimony is memory as embodied experience. Here in a poetic space produced through Cherokee literary logics, memory is not cordoned off from history as the personal cordoned from political through the binaries of the heterosexual matrix (Rifkin 25-31), and the trauma of settler violence is not sealed in a finished past according to linear time. Memory is felt and living in the bodies of Tennessee, Indian Territory, and Driskill.

Topographies

This memory is of Cherokee epistemology, located in Tennessee and in the relationship between the Cherokee and Tennessee. This knowledge is of land as person in Cherokee systems of thought so that land is not a fungible object or property or dead space upon which nationhood and statehood is territorialized. Instead, land is a person with whom the Cherokee are in a relationship of mutual recognition and respect. Cherokee nationhood as a collectivity includes their homeland as a person rather than *terra nullius* (Wolfe 147).

This is the knowledge that the U.S. settler state “tried to/erase” (Driskill 56) to enable the alienation and commodification of body and land. This erasure requires that Tennessee be silent, that is, that Tennessee become a thing rather than a speaking subject. When the U.S. settler state “forbade me to speak your name” (Driskill 56), this prohibition is of the personhood of Tennessee—the Cherokee are forbidden from speaking Tennessee’s name as the name of a person in Cherokee. This articulation would be an assertion of Cherokee sovereignty because Cherokee nationhood is based in the mutual personhood of the Cherokee and Tennessee, and in the relationship between them. These logics of “collectivity and forms of sociospatiality” (Rifkin 23) are targeted for destruction and dismissal by the settler state in order to erase and replace Indigenous nations on the land of the Americas and transform the land into a fungible object and sovereign territory of the U.S.

A key mechanism by which the personhood of land is denied in settler logics is metaphor as a literary and visual grammatical function. Metaphor is a crucial component of the epistemology and ontology of settler colonialism, which is produced and reproduced in and through literary and visual grammars as settler grammars of place (Goeman 235-238). Goeman and Rifkin have argued that settler-colonial taxonomies of time and place reconfigure relationships between body and land by enacting an alienation between them. Land and body are reconfigured as property and commodity (Goeman 24-28) while, as Rifkin argues, body as “physicality, inter-subjectivity, and vulnerability is cordoned off” (Rifkin 28) within the category of the personal. Metaphor in English is the likening of two things located in different conceptual domains; thus it is through metaphor that settlers separate

land and body into two different conceptual domains so that each can then be objectified and commodified according to colonial and capitalist desires and technologies. Metaphor is a crucial literary and visual mechanism of how settler structures alienate land and body from each other in order to objectify and commodify both.

It is also therefore not a coincidence that decolonization is used as a metaphor in the settler colonial context of the U.S. to erase the realities of both settler colonialism and decolonization. In “Decolonization is Not a Metaphor,” Eve Tuck (Unangax) and K. Wayne Yang show that decolonization is often used as a metaphor and/or a synonym for social justice, civil rights, and human rights. They argue that decolonization is not commensurable with these goals in the settler-colonial context of the U.S. because decolonization is first and most importantly about a repatriation of land to Indigenous peoples. Therefore, decolonization is not, and cannot be, a metaphor (1-40).

This settler deployment of metaphor is what Driskill refuses in “Love Poems: 1838—1839” by writing land and body from within the same conceptual domain and centering land as the basis of their epistemic framework (Coulthard 79-83). The survival of Cherokee epistemology is marked in Driskill’s writing because they write Tennessee and Indian Territory as poetic textual voices signifying their personhood. In other words, Driskill writes Tennessee and Indian Territory as people. This is an act of literary sovereignty because Driskill writes the personhood of Tennessee and Indian Territory in English by naming them as the subjects—rather than objects—of the poem and as poetic speaking voices.

Let me reiterate and clarify: this is not anthropomorphism whereby an object, animal, or divine being is given human characteristics. Rather, Tennessee and Indian Territory are people: poetic textual subjects who speak. Both speak to Driskill directly through the use of the word “you” and the poem is from their point of view. Driskill centers Tennessee and Indian Territory as subjects by using “I,” “who,” “me,” and “my,” which are words in English that denote a person as a speaking subject. Tennessee asks, “What was left behind?” (Driskill 56), and testifies to the violence of the settler state: “(Did you know they tried to/ erase you, forbade me to/speak your name?).” Indian Territory asks, “Who gave your body/back to you?” (Driskill 57), and acknowledges

Driskill's trauma: "I know you were driven away/taken from every thing that/taught you love" (56). Land is a living entity as much as Driskill and the Cherokee are. The reader must read (see) Tennessee and Indian Territory as people here where here is poetic space mapped according to Cherokee literary and visual logics in which land is mapped as person.

This act of literary sovereignty is particularly poignant in the case of Indian Territory: "Indian Territory" is the name of the geographic location to which the U.S. settler state forcibly moved the Cherokee during what is now known as the Trail of Tears. It is a name, therefore, given to the land by the settler state and the purpose of the name as marking the property of the U.S. is evident in the name: "Indian" as the figure of the Indian who must be disappeared from the land, and "Territory" is the land as the area under the jurisdiction of a state. The latter also denotes the injustice yet to come after 1839: the statehood of Oklahoma. "Territory" is also defined as an organized division of a country not yet admitted to full rights of a state. It is no coincidence that this definition of "territory" is applicable to the U.S., Canada, New Zealand, or Australia—all settler-colonial states. This is because each state is founded upon the land mapped as territory through the genocide of Indigenous nations and their material and epistemic relationships to their homelands.

Driskill crafts their survival and defiance as a Cherokee Two-Spirit person by writing Indian Territory as person in English by rejecting the rules of English grammar. Land and body are not metaphors for each other in this poem, which is used to alienate land and body from each other through "literalizing legal narratives of land as fungible object" (Rifkin 72). Indian Territory as a settler-colonial cartographic invention cannot contain who Indian Territory is and what Indian Territory means to Driskill in Cherokee logics of land, body, and subjectivity.

This personhood is reaffirmed through Driskill's description of the bodies of Tennessee and Indian Territory. Tennessee reminds Driskill of their "arms, muscled rivers/you came to/each morning," while Indian Territory tells Driskill to "Love the winding trails to my belly/the valleys at my sternum" (Driskill 56). The topography of land is written therefore as the topography of body, reaffirming both the person-

hood of land and the definition of body and land through each other, in Cherokee logics. This is highlighted by words Driskill uses to mark the personhood of land: Tennessee's arms are not like muscled rivers; the skin and muscle of Indian Territory's belly are not like winding trails; and their sternum does not dip like a valley. There are no metaphors here. The reader cannot see (read) Tennessee and Indian Territory as objects or landscapes. Tennessee, Indian Territory, and Driskill are subjects located in the poetic space Driskill has remapped according to the "dark syllables" of Cherokee logics of land and body.

It is in these logics and relationships that Cherokee forms of sociospatiality and nationhood are located. This is why land and body are crucial epistemic categories targeted by the settler state for material and epistemic destruction (Miranda 253-284). The Cherokee are forcibly removed from Tennessee both because the U.S. settler state desires the accumulation of land as territory and property, and because Cherokee epistemology is grounded in their homelands and their relationship with their homeland as a person.

It is therefore in the space of these pages remapped according to Cherokee literary and visual logics that Driskill locates and marks their definition of land, body, and sociality. The marks they make on these pages make the space matter. Poetic space here becomes a sacred geography (Byrd 118) through an assertion of Cherokee literary and visual sovereignty. This matters because visual and literary grammars are part of the metapolitical force deployed by settler states against Indigenous nations to displace, disavow, and/or disassemble (Rifkin 23) their logics of land, body, and nationhood. The disruption of Indigenous relationships to land is "a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence" (Tuck and Yang 5).

Erotics

The relationship between Driskill, Tennessee, and Indian Territory that settler violence disrupts is the relationship between lovers. In other words, Tennessee and Indian Territory are not people who are strangers—they are lands as subjects or people defined as such through the framework of love and a loving relationship with Driskill and the Cherokee. Thus the framework of Cherokee sociospatiality is one of

lovers which is a specifically Cherokee ethics of relationality (Byrd 118).

This highlights not only the nature of how Cherokee nationhood is rooted in their homelands, but also underscores how body, eroticism, sexuality, pleasure, love, intimacy are all key categories of sovereignty. This is why the U.S. settler state deploys metapolitical force as a matter of sovereignty, that is, the force to determine the terms of legibility of life, which include eroticism, gender, sexuality, love, body, and intimacy. Cherokee concepts, practices, and experience of eroticism, love, pleasure, gender, sex, and sexuality are located in their homelands and in their relationship to their homelands as the relationship between lovers. The power to determine the meaning of these concepts, practices, and experience is a matter of sovereignty. This is why what Driskill calls erotic sovereignty matters.

It is these meanings which are targeted for destruction by the U.S. settler state through forced removal of the Cherokee from Tennessee. Tennessee asks, "What was left behind?" and reminds Driskill that it was "Love formulas/written in dark syllables,/whose incantation/undulated/like our tongues" (Driskill 56). The word "formula" refers to mathematical relationships expressed in symbols or methods for doing something; hence, the formulas of love that Driskill was forced to leave behind are Cherokee symbols and practices of eroticism, sex, intimacy, pleasure. This is emphasized by Driskill's use of the word "syllable," which refers to units of pronunciation or the sounds of how to love—the construction of language itself, rather than only a matter of translation. The words "formula" and "syllable" signal more than different words for love, sex, and intimacy; rather, they signal the construction of the systems of understanding and articulation that create those words and how those words sound and what they mean. It is Tennessee as land and lover who taught Driskill love (Driskill 56).

This is why it is not just what was left behind, but also who and where: Tennessee. Tennessee is the land (where) that was left behind and the lover (who) that was left behind. Forced removal from Tennessee also meant leaving behind Cherokee concepts, vocabularies, and practices for eroticism, love, sexuality, and pleasure. As Tuck and Yang argue, "Geopolitics and biopolitics are completely knotted together in a

settler colonial context” (35) precisely because sexuality, love, and intimacy are key categories epistemic and material sites through which settler biopower is deployed. Sexuality pivots on two poles: individual and population both defined through the category of body, that is, the body of the individual citizen and the body politic, which is population, which is nation (Foucault 135-159). The terms of legibility for both then are matters of sovereignty as the power of life and death. This is why gender, sexuality, love, sex, desire, and pleasure—the erotic—are matters of sovereignty and key mechanisms of settler biopower and necropower.

Driskill asserts erotic sovereignty in writing Tennessee and Indian Territory as their lovers according to Cherokee logics of land, body, and nationhood and, in writing both, how the U.S. settler state tried to destroy these logics and relationships.

Tennessee is marked as a lover first in the second verse: “Love formulas/written in dark syllables,/whose incantation/undulated/like our tongues” (Driskill 56). Since this is Tennessee speaking to Driskill here, the word “our” signals contact between Tennessee and Driskill. The nature of this contact is defined by the visual Driskill creates here: “undulated/like our tongues,” which is the visual of kissing constructed through the words “undulated” and “our tongues” in which the word “undulate” refers to a smooth sensuous movement, usually in time to a rhythm. In other words, this is Tennessee and Driskill kissing sensuously.

This kiss is sensuous and that sensuousness and this intimacy also contains knowledge: alongside their tongues, the word “undulated” is also used for the incantation or speaking of the “dark syllables” of Cherokee formulas of love. Thus, speaking these words, articulating these sounds, is like kissing. As Rifkin notes, “Voice here is physicalized as a pleasurable entwining with a lover” (72-73). Hence Cherokee forms and logics of intimacy, pleasure, and eroticism are written as both practice and words, as both touch and sound. Driskill creates a literary and visual sensuality by using the words “undulate” and “incantation”: the word “undulate” implies not only kissing but also a smooth and rhythmic movement of bodies as in dancing, while “incantation” signals chanting and spells in a world of magic. Thus, the “dark syllable

bles” of Cherokee formulas of love move like Tennessee and Driskill’s “tongues” do, a movement of both sound and touch, between body and land. This is how Tennessee taught Driskill Cherokee systems of meaning of Indigenous nationhood based in land as storied space (Goeman 24), land as a feeling entity (Rifkin 73), and land and body imagined, defined, and experienced through each other (Rifkin 13-24).

Driskill’s resistance to settler literary and visual deployment of metaphor to alienate body and land is reiterated in the fourth verse. The pleasure, eroticism, and love between Driskill and Tennessee and the reciprocity of definitions of body and land in Cherokee epistemology that is grounded in that relationship is “written in dark syllables” (Driskill 56): “My arms, muscled rivers/you came to/each morning” (Driskill 56). This is unusual imagery on an elemental level because rivers are liquid while muscles are solid—yet Driskill is disrupting the basis of these elemental oppositions in English by using this imagery to map the topography of the land of Tennessee as the body of Driskill’s lover. Tennessee cradled Driskill’s body every night; the rivers of the land are the arms of the lover, both strong in and through that relationship between Driskill and Tennessee. Tennessee’s rivers are arms that cradle Driskill but in between the rivers is also the land in topographic terms. Therefore, Driskill’s body is also the land of Tennessee, so that Tennessee and Driskill are defined in and through each other in reciprocal personhood based in love. The point is precisely that, as Lisa Tatonetti has argued, “the erotic consequently functions as body/land matrix” (xxi). Land and body are not metaphors for each other here in this poetic space, the sovereign literary and visual space of the Cherokee.

Tatonetti’s argument that the erotic is a theoretical concept that encompasses, “particularly, the experience, articulation, and generative nature of desire” (xix) is confirmed with vivid imagery in the sixth verse, in Driskill’s experience of the land as a lover as a generative experience. The sixth verse has a list of foods: corn, pumpkins, and tomatoes. The descriptions of these foods are sensuous and corporeal: rows of corn “ears swaying slightly on their stalks” recalls the undulation of Tennessee and Driskill’s tongues as they kiss in an earlier verse; the pumpkins are “thick with flesh” and the tomatoes are “swollen with juice” that is “so acidic/they could blister your lips” (Driskill 56). These

descriptions of both the food and the sensate experience of eating them are both sensual and sexual, that is, erotic. This reinforces the notion of land as lover beyond metaphor: the corn, pumpkins, and tomatoes given to Driskill by Tennessee is an experience of desire and pleasure, of sexual intimacy, and of the erotic as generative. The relationship between land and body is one of sensual pleasure, produced here through the senses of touch and taste just as touch and sound is underlined in the second verse. Land and body intersect to be defined through each as more than metaphor, and this definition is of shared corporeal pleasure between lovers.

The third verse in parentheses catalogues how the U.S. settler state forcibly removed the Cherokee from their homelands to use the lands as property and commodity: (“Did you know when you left/they drank every drop?”) (Driskill 57). The word “when” signifies how the forced removal of the Cherokee from Tennessee is integral to the founding of the U.S. The land of the Americas was not empty; rather, the origin story of the U.S. is based in the transformation of land into property and commodity, and the elimination of an ethics of relationality which includes land as the basis of nationhood. The Cherokee are removed from Tennessee and from their relationship to Tennessee so that the U.S. state can objectify and commodify Tennessee. “They drank every drop” (Driskill 57) signals how the U.S. settler state drained Tennessee of sustenance and nourishment (corn, tomatoes, pumpkins, formulas, syllables), which they gave to Driskill as a lover, based on reciprocal respect and pleasure between them—the erotics of sovereignty and nationhood.

The eighth verse emphasizes both the sensory and sensual relationship between land and body, and the corporeality of the memory of Tennessee, which is the memory of a Sovereign Erotic (Driskill 50-64). “A quilt appliqued with star” (Driskill 57) references a particular kind of quilt making, appliqué. This is a needlework technique in which a pattern or scene are created by attaching smaller pieces of fabric to larger pieces of contrasting color and/or texture. Thus, textural depth and sensation is highlighted here in the physical labour of making a quilt. The quilt itself is something you wrap around your body. Hence, over time, your body and the appliquéed quilt are, as Ahmed says, impressed

upon each other (1-19) so that the sensation of the stars applied onto the quilt are transferred to Driskill's body.

It is this sensation of these stars that contains the memory of "the birth of the Milky Way," (Driskill 57), that is, of Cherokee knowledge of the world. The word "birth" signals the beginning of the Milky Way, that is, the universe. Thus the "tactile sensations of embodiment" (Rifkin 71) present in the appliquéd quilt wrapped around Driskill's body are embodied memory of Cherokee epistemologies of the world and relationships within that world. Memory is knowledge mapped as sensuous and sensation, and is pressed through texture and touch onto Driskill's body, in the act of Driskill wrapping this quilt around their body. The quilt, Tennessee, and Driskill are all palimpsests of each other, of "pasts and presents that fluidly intersect, overlap, and rearrange through the *felt* experience of history and memory" (Tatonetti 146). This experience is felt as sensuous and sensual, as erotic. As Tatonetti argues, "the erotic, then, when acknowledged, is a decolonial imperative—to feel, to remember, to act—that is situated in the body" (xx).

The corporeality of feeling, memory, and action is highlighted in the last element of the list of what was left behind: "And your body's/silhouette/scratched forever into me" (Driskill 57). This is the silhouette of Driskill's body "scratched forever into" (Driskill 57) Tennessee. While the word "me" reinforces the personhood of Tennessee, the word "scratched" indicates a more emphatic relation between memory and body than the visual of a quilt. Instead of an appliquéd quilt, the word "scratched" signals the needle used to create quilts so that this visual is of something being sharply scratched or carved into surface or material. As Byrd has argued, "the land both remembers life and its loss and serves itself as a mnemonic device" (118) and this memory is corporeal through the erotic as "body/land matrix" (Tatonetti xxi). Thus, the body (politic) of the Cherokee and the body of Driskill is carved into the body of the land of Tennessee: "And your body's/silhouette/scratched forever into me" (Driskill 57).

Tennessee was left behind because of settler violence, both material and epistemic, and epistemic violence made material. The second verse in parentheses catalogues this: "(After they seized you/they told me not to touch/anyone again.)" This is Tennessee bearing witness to the set-

tlar-colonial prohibition of Cherokee erotics as sovereign erotics, that is, of Cherokee knowledge and practice of eroticism, pleasure, desire. This is not about the experience of touch but about the ability to touch and to be touched, the definition of the sense of touch. It is the formulas and syllables of the sense of touch as eroticism, as intimacy, as relationships between Tennessee and Driskill that the U.S. settler state “tried to erase” (Driskill 56).

This focus on the sense of touch is reiterated with the command the U.S. settler state issued to Tennessee after the forced removal of Driskill from Tennessee’s arms: “they told me not to touch/anyone again” (Driskill 56). The words “not to touch” is where the sentence pauses and breaks, signaling and underlining in visual and aural ways to the reader the sensory and affective force of the settler prohibition of Cherokee logics of body, land, and love. Alongside this, the word “erase” in the first verse in parentheses points to both the role of writing in the destruction of Cherokee nationhood, and to the sense of touch: the erasure of the marks of Cherokee nationhood from the land of Tennessee, the erasure of the personhood of Tennessee, the erasure of Driskill’s “body’s silhouette/scratched forever into” (Driskill 57) Tennessee. These logics underpin Cherokee forms of life and the terms of legibility for life. This is why they are the targets of the U.S. settler metapolitical authority (Rifkin 90), that is, the sovereign right to define the parameters of life and touch as the terms of contact and ethics of relationality between them.

“I know you were driven away,/taken from everything that/taught you love,” Indian Territory tells Driskill, acknowledging that they were driven away from their homeland. As Driskill writes in, “Stolen from Our Bodies,” “I have not only been removed from my homelands, I have also been removed from my erotic self and continue a journey back to my first homeland: my body” (53). As I have argued above, the body is a crucial site for settler-colonial biopower and necropower and categories of gender, sexuality, desire, and sex are key mechanisms by which a body—individual and collective—is defined. This is why definitions and practices of the erotic are, as Tatonetti argues, “not simply tied to but actually *constitutive of* sovereignty and Indigenous nationhood” (xviii).

Alongside writing Tennessee and Indian Territory as their lovers, Driskill marks the erotic sovereignty of the Cherokee on these pages in two other important ways that focus on the body as the first homeland from which the Cherokee have been forcibly removed by the U.S. settler state.

Driskill does not use gendered pronouns to write Tennessee and Indian Territory. This means that the reader cannot read (see) either poetic voice as gendered. This is a disruption of the literary and visual grammars of settler colonialism as heteropatriarchal grammars (Morgensen 31-54). As I have discussed above, linear time is key to the settler epistemic alienation of body and land, and is deployed as a biopolitical and necropolitical mechanism. The nature of this biopolitical and necropolitical technology is gendered and sexualized as heteropatriarchal.

In *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*, Rifkin argues that heteropatriarchy has been pivotal for “inserting Native peoples into structures of settlement” (29) and the destruction of Native sociospatiality (Rifkin 5). The terms of legibility of life in the U.S. are determined through the heterosexual matrix, which marks land and body as objects, heterosexuality as normative, gender as binary and the organization of life as personal and political according to that binary. These logics underpin the heteronormativity of eroticism (Driskill 50-64) in which body and sex become objects within sexuality as a settler regime of truth (Morgensen 1-30), and sexual love, desire, and pleasure (feelings) are relegated to the gendered and racialized realm of the individual and the person as separate from the collective and the public (Driskill 50-64).

Gender is a key component of settler use of metaphor to alienate land from body and objectify them both. As McClintock explains, land is transformed into property through the literary and visual notion of virgin land and/or the feminized body which is then occupied and owned by imperial forces (21-74). This is not coincidental, for as Morgensen’s work shows, dominant American modes of sexuality are determined by settler colonialism, that is, sexuality as a regime of truth in the U.S. is a settler sexuality (1-30). This pivots on the definition of gender and sexuality through the heterosexual matrix that creates gender as a binary and locates the two components of that binary (mascu-

line and feminine) in opposite conceptual domains in a move reminiscent of metaphor. I argue that the deployment of metaphor to alienate land and body is therefore a sexual and gendered deployment from the start, and is key to how land and body are objectified and commodified by settler-colonial structures. The sovereignty of the U.S. includes sexuality and it is a settler sexuality because it is defined, as Morgensen argues, “by attempting to replace Native kinship, embodiment, and desire” (23) with “the heteropatriarchal sexual modernity exemplary of white settler society” (ibid).

Literary and visual cultures are important sites and technologies for the construction and deployment of settler colonial epistemologies of body and land. Miranda demonstrates that Spanish conquistadors first targeted members of Indigenous nations for violent punishment (including death) whom they could not see (read) as either men or women according to the heteronormative visual cultures of Spain (253-284). Morgensen points out that Spanish, French, and British colonists used the category of “berdache” to denote Indigenous peoples who did not conform to their heteronormative forms of gender and sexuality. Berdache is an Orientalist term that was used to “condemn Middle Eastern and Muslim men as racial enemies of Christian civilization” (Morgensen 36) on the basis that their sexual practices and desires transgressed sexual morality and normativity, which was always already marked as heterosexual. This became a word in settler and colonial archives which U.S. anthropologists continued using until the 1970s when the concern and objection of Indigenous academics and activists began to be registered on a more visible scale (Morgensen 55-90). These words were used to locate Indigenous people in anachronistic space as a temporal moment before white heteropatriarchal modernity that is, as savage and primitive on a linear line of global and universal civilizational time (Goeman 23-34). This justified settler-colonial violence as a civilizational mission—the mythology of the touch of the United States with Indigenous nations as the civil and moral contact between a civilized nation and a savage people who are therefore excluded from the category of person and thus of nation. Settler and colonial archives as written records were used to erase Indigenous nations by casting them as relics of a completed American past

and then as exotic inspiration commodified for an exceptional American present and future (Morgensen 31-54).

Driskill's refusal to mark themselves, Tennessee, and Indian Territory with the categories of gender and sexuality in settler regimes of truth also resists the collapse of relationships, acts, bodies desires, and practices are collapsed into one another as categories of singular (as linear) identities in settler epistemology. This collapse is produced through a visual grammar determined by the heterosexual matrix which is always already part of a settler-colonial structure. Sexual and gender deviance is marked through the figure of the Indian as part of the visual grammar of the U.S. settler state and nation. The emergence of this visual grammar can be historicized within and alongside the emergence of biopower and necropower—both of which are modes of power which arise in the context of settler colonialism. This visual grammar is thus a biopolitical and necropolitical technology of settler-colonial metapolitical force.

Driskill's refusal to use gendered pronouns in a poem about eroticism, sex, desire, and love therefore does crucial decolonizing work: topography of land is topography of body as the body of a lover who touches Driskill: Tennessee's "arms, muscled rivers/you came to/each morning" (Driskill 56) and Indian Territory "comforted you/as you hugged knees to your/bruised body" (56). This is erotic touch and pleasure as a decolonial imperative (Tatonetti xx) because these are definitions of body and land and forms of collectivity not determined by heteronormativity. In other words, personhood is not determined through the heterosexual matrix, and land and body are not alienated through heteropatriarchal logics deployed at the interstices of biopower (Morgensen 1-54) and necropower (Miranda 253-284).

It is from the memory of Cherokee logics of the erotic as a praxis and as a concept that denotes the "experience, articulation, and generative nature of desire" (Tatonetti xix) that Driskill re-marks the personhood of Indian Territory and their relationship to the land of Indian Territory as a lover, according to the formulas, syllables, and incantations of Cherokee logics of body, land, and eroticism which Tennessee taught them. Driskill rewrites (literary) and remaps (visual) Indian Territory

in defiance of how the U.S. settler state “tried to erase you/forbade me to/speak your name” (Driskill 56).

Tennessee is the lover from whom the Cherokee were forcibly removed during the Trail of Tears, and Indian Territory is the lover whom the Cherokee found. The first thing Indian Territory tells Driskill is “I know you were driven away/taken from everything that/taught you love” (Driskill 56). This is Indian Territory’s immediate and direct acknowledgment of Driskill’s trauma of forced removal from Tennessee. Indian Territory also refuses to obey settler dictates to forget this loss through erasure and silence: “I don’t expect you to forget” (Driskill 56). Indian Territory—as land, as lover—has made space for Driskill’s grief and loss at the forced removal that the US settler state would erase and forbid Driskill from remembering. This space is in direct defiance of the U.S. settler state’s literary and visual command to turn the page on Tennessee through settler time as linear time. Indian Territory makes space for Driskill’s grief within their relationship as lovers so that this acknowledgement is part of the ethics of relationality between Driskill and Indian Territory. Indian Territory is the lover who has made space for Driskill’s trauma and grief so that they do not have to forget in the land of Indian Territory where the Cherokee have been forced to relocate. This is particularly poignant because, as I have discussed earlier, Indian Territory is the name given to this land by the U.S. state in order to contain the Cherokee. Yet Driskill as a Cherokee Two-Spirit poet remaps the meanings of this name according to Cherokee logics of body and land.

The reader must read (see) the words and sentences by both poetic textual voices in the same poetic space simultaneously. Indeed, the words spoken by Tennessee and Indian Territory are located on the space of the page in relation to each other through placement, punctuation, and line breaks so that the words spoken by each move into the other’s space. Tennessee and Indian Territory share this poetic space across time (1838 and 1839) and this collectivity (nationhood) is located in this space. This means that Tennessee is not forgotten and Indian Territory is not ignored, so that both are important for the survival and continuance of the Cherokee. Driskill’s grief of removal from Tennessee is marked alongside the comfort provided by Indian Territory in this poetic space shared between the three lovers.

This is confirmed by Indian Territory: “I don’t expect you to forget/only to love me as well” (Driskill 56). Settler literary and visual grammars of linearity and singularity of form of feeling are refused here: Driskill does not have to forget Tennessee in 1838 to love Indian Territory in 1839, so that grief is present in the same poetic space as love. Indeed, Indian Territory has made space for Driskill’s grief within the space of their love. The love between Tennessee, Driskill, and Indian Territory is therefore not defined according to settler definitions of love, desire, and relationships as linear as singular, that is, as both heterosexual and monogamous. Their relationship is not marked by singular straight line of settler time. Rather, it is in this poetic space mapped according to Cherokee literary and visual logics that all three poetic textual presences are marked here. It is the centering of space rather than time (Coulthard 79-83), as per Cherokee logics of nationhood, that makes these presences possible on these pages.

This non-heteronormative erotic as an ethics of relationality is highlighted in the third and fourth verses. The third verse is two words: “Love me” (Driskill 56). The use of two words and a period as punctuation signals Indian Territory’s insistence on the love between them and Driskill. This is not a form and practice of love that compels Driskill to forget Tennessee through linear as singular and heteronormative time. It is a repetition of the second verse: “love me as well” (56), which highlights survival: Driskill has survived settler violence though it is not a triumphant survival, in particular because settler violence is ongoing. Indeed, the tension between Tennessee and Indian Territory is symbolized by the third verses each speak in this specific point on the page:

(Did you know they tried to/ erase you, forbade me to speak your name?)	Love me.
---	----------

However, this tension is held onto here in this poetic space as Cherokee literary and visual space and Indian Territory’s insistence symbolized by repetition is a mark of a defiant survival of the Cherokee. The two words Indian Territory speaks to Driskill located in the space between

is a request that Driskill make space for them in the collectivity of Cherokee nationhood the way Indian Territory has made space for Driskill.

This reciprocity as part of a Sovereign Erotic as generative desire which is non-heteronormative and collective is emphasized in the fourth verse: “Love the winding trails to me/belly/the valleys at my sternum/the way I slope towards you like/promise” (Driskill 56). These words by Indian Territory are located next to the words by Tennessee about the topographies of their bodies as topographies of Driskill’s lovers so that the reader must read (see) both the “arms, muscled rivers” of Tennessee and the “winding trails to my/belly/the valleys at my sternum” (Driskill 56) of Indian Territory. This is, then, a corporeality and sensuality shared between Tennessee, Driskill, and Indian Territory in the poetic space of the page. This sensuality is not cordoned off from memory and grief and survival. Rather, this sensuality marks memory, grief, and survival on these pages in the bodies of Tennessee and Indian Territory mapped here as the bodies of Driskill’s lovers.

This memory is felt in the resonances between these topographies: the poetic note of the way Indian Territory moves towards Driskill in a sinuous and sensuous movement, that is, “the way I slope towards you” (Driskill 56), which recalls the undulation of Tennessee and Driskill’s tongues as they kissed. And as with Tennessee, land as lover and erotic touch between Indian Territory and Driskill contains knowledge: “the way I slope towards you like/promise” (56). The word “promise” has multiple meanings, including “assurance,” “possibility,” and “pledge.” All three meanings are relevant here because it is this verse that signals the beginning of a healing process for Driskill through a Sovereign Erotic as praxis. It is in and through the erotic touch and experience that Driskill’s will begin to heal and make a home again, precisely because this is a Sovereign Erotic, that is, eroticism as a Cherokee logic of body, land, and love. In this love, there is space for grief and loss alongside pleasure and joy, which are held onto together (Driskill 69-92).

It is these forms of feeling and “dimensions of peoplehood that do not register in the archive of settler governance” (Rifkin 71), and which the U.S. settler state tries continuously to erase and forbid through violent force. This Sovereign Erotic as memory—of Cherokee nationhood, of

logics of land and body, and of the trauma of settler violence—is what the U.S. settler state targets for erasure and silence through the deployment of linear time, to “erase and bury Indigenous connections to place and anaesthetize settler colonial histories” (Goeman 24). The erotic encompasses “genealogies of sensation, varied for different peoples, that trace how peoplehood inheres in forms of feeling” (Rifkin 4).

The erotic as memory and knowledge is emphasized in the four verses spoken by Indian Territory. These verses are Indian Territory’s promise made material on these pages as marks of a form of a sensuous and sensual love that is not linear, not singular, not restricted and contained to the realm of personal only (Driskill 52). Here, Indian Territory marks both the effects of settler violence on Driskill and Cherokee logics and practices of love, intimacy, and sexuality, which are grounded in the body of land as body of lover.

The first verse is, “Who comforted you/as you hugged knees to your/bruised body?” (Driskill 56) This verse is located across from Tennessee’s testimony of the violence of how the U.S. settler state “seized you” (Driskill 56)—and the bruises on Driskill’s body confirm this violence. It is this confirmation that the reader must necessarily read (see) in these verses together as the method and effect of settler violence. Driskill’s body is bruised with the violence of the forced removal and their posture indicates how Driskill tries to protect their body during this violence, but they “hugged knees to your/bruised body,” which is also a visual of someone trying to hold themselves together after a traumatic experience. Settler violence leaves bruises on the bodies of the Cherokee that contain fear and sorrow alongside pain. Pain is marked on the bodies of the Cherokee through the bruises and the transformation of their bodies into this position of sorrow and of isolation. The isolation of this grief and loss to the realm of feelings through the metapolitical binary between political and personal is, as Rifkin and Driskill have demonstrated, a biopolitical technology deployed by the US settler state to seal both the Cherokee, this violence, and these effects, in the past as finished – the turn of the page.

Alongside this pain and grief there is also pleasure and joy in this erotic space made by Indian Territory for Driskill and in the relationship be-

tween Driskill and Indian Territory as lovers: the four verses that begin with “Who” are also a literary and visual map of erotic touch and pleasure—including orgasm--shared by Indian Territory and Driskill.

The first verse recounts not only Driskill’s pain but also how Indian Territory touched them because they were in pain: the word “comforted” (Driskill 56) connotes gentleness and support, made material in the touch of Indian Territory. The second verse continues this touch: “Who laid you down/covered you with kisses” (56), in which gentleness and support are incorporated into an erotic touch so that Driskill experiences the sensation of the bruises alongside the sensation of the kisses. Both sensations are present in a parallel to how Tennessee and Indian Territory are present. Driskill’s body is marked by both bruises and kisses, and this simultaneity is marked on the page in this verse:

Who laid you down, covered you
with kisses
as you cried,
“My bones shriek like trains
filled with Nations!”

The reader must therefore read (see) both, which means that pain and grief are not forgotten or erased by Indian Territory as they lay Driskill down and cover them with kisses. That Indian Territory covers Driskill with kisses as erotic touch denotes an Indigenous defiance of the U.S. settler state’s command: “they told me not to touch/anyone again” (Driskill 56). Driskill and Indian Territory touch according to Cherokee logics of love, sexuality, intimacy as logics of body and land after the Cherokee were forced to leave Tennessee and their kisses behind.

Pleasure is indicated in the first two lines of this verse: “Who laid you down, covered you/with kisses” (Driskill 56). These are the intimate, pleasurable acts of a lover; thus this visual reinforces the personhood of Indian Territory and the relationship between them and Driskill as defined by Cherokee epistemology.

Pain is indicated in the last two lines of this verse: “My bones shriek like trains/filled with Nations!” The third line of this verse is what connect the first two (of pleasure) and the last two (of pain): “as you cried”

(Driskill 56). This sentence connotes pleasure and pain as two narratives being double-woven (Driskill 73-74) in this verse, specifically through the words “as” and “cry”: the former signals the singular moment in which there is both pleasure and pain, while the latter can denote cries of both pain and/or pleasure. It is precisely in the and/or that the work of double-weaving of these two modes of experience and feeling is located, in this moment of erotic touch and sexual intimacy between Indian Territory and Driskill.

This is underscored in the seventh verse in which Driskill reaches a sexual climax:

Who held you as you convulsed “My body is an open-mouthed moan!”

This is because of the acts of erotic intimacy mapped in the previous three verses and the specific words Driskill uses here: the words “convulse” and “open-mouthed moan” (Driskill 57) connote extreme pleasure, that is, an orgasm. However, convulsions can be described as powerful, involuntary contractions of muscles, so this can indicate pain as well. Both pleasure and pain can, in other words, cause the body to convulse. This simultaneity of meaning is also located in the word “moan,” which denotes a low sound that can signify both pain and sexual pleasure. In fact, this is exactly what is happening in this verse: this is Driskill’s experience of the pain of settler-colonial violence and the pleasure of sexual ecstasy with Indian Territory. In addition, the phrase “My body is an open-mouthed moan!” (Driskill 57) denotes this duality as an experience beyond and more than metaphor precisely through the word “is” rather than “as is” or “like.”

I argue that Driskill has double-woven two “seemingly disparate” (Driskill 74) modes of feeling, that is, pleasure and pain, into a new narrative through the marks they have made on these pages. Both are held onto in this poetic space as is the tension between them. I argue that this is an act of erotic sovereignty because Driskill marks both as political. Both signal the effects of settler-colonial violence, and the survival of the Cherokee through that violence. Both mark the erotic as a source of memory and knowledge of Cherokee logics of land, body, and desire, which nourishes Cherokee forms of life and nation.

Driskill marks historical pain and sexual pleasure in the realm of the political by defying the settler metapolitical authority that would isolate them both in the bodies of the Cherokee removed from land and removed from nationhood and erased from the national territory of the U.S. Instead, Driskill's pain is caused by the disruption of their reciprocal and pleasurable relationship with Tennessee. Driskill endures and their pleasure, and joy with Indian Territory is located in Indian Territory's recognition of their pain and grief. Thus, pain and pleasure are marked here as "collective experience and, by extension, potentially an experience of collectivity—peoplehood" (Rifkin 21).

This literary and visual map of Indian Territory and Driskill having sex in this poetic space that is shared with Tennessee is Driskill's assertion of erotic sovereignty in defiance of settler violence and violent metapolitical force. The poetic space of these pages becomes the grounds where Indian Territory "laid you down, covered you/with kisses" (Driskill 56) as the same space where Driskill "came to/each morning" in Tennessee's "arms, muscled rivers" (56). Indian Territory is not a replacement for Tennessee and Tennessee is not forgotten in Driskill's relationship with Indian Territory. Replacement and erasure are both effects of settler logics of linearity and singularity in literary and visual grammars that produce and reinforce settler epistemology. Rather, Driskill remembers the formulas, syllables, and incantations that Tennessee taught them about land, body, love, sexuality, and nationhood and remarks those logics in literary and visual form. The erotic, then, is the realm in which Driskill the poet resists and refuses the settler metapolitical authority (Rifkin 90).

The erotic is therefore a space of pleasure that is an experience of healing from trauma and pain (Driskill 54). Eroticism and sex here are not apolitical and ahistorical modes of feeling, experience, or articulation, as settler-colonial logics would dictate. Rather, sex is defined according to Cherokee epistemology and the erotic is political and public. The erotic as praxis contains memory of and space for acknowledgment of settler-colonial violence and the trauma caused by it. It is also knowledge of Cherokee formulas and syllables of body, land, sexuality, and intimacy. This is Driskill's assertion of erotic sovereignty as an integral component of Cherokee sovereignty and nationhood.

Indian Territory asks, “Who gave your body/back to you?” (Driskill 57). The previous four verses have mapped sexual intimacy between Indian Territory and Driskill. This erotic touch is a space of healing from settler violence, where there is pleasure and pain both as Driskill remaps the topographies of the bodies of the lands of Tennessee and Indian Territory according to Cherokee logics of land, body, and love.

The words “your body/back to you” (Driskill 57) mark Cherokee sovereignty as erotic and embodied. This sovereignty is grounded in land and in land as person and in land as lover. These are the formulas of Cherokee sovereignty, and Driskill marks those dark syllables in the dark ink of the words on these pages as an Indigenous archive of memory as knowledge constituted by and in the literary and visual form of this poetic space.

Driskill’s reclamation of literary and erotic sovereignty refuses settler definitions and cartographies of land and body along with the literary and visual grammars that produce and reproduce them. Cherokee sovereignty and nationhood are grounded in their homeland and in their relationship to those lands as the relationship between lovers. That Indian Territory gives Driskill’s body back to them marks Driskill’s return to their body as the return to land and as the return to Cherokee nationhood. This is because “geopolitics and biopolitics are completely knotted together in a settler colonial context” (Tuck and Yang 35).

Driskill defines the erotic as a space, mode, and tool for Indigenous sovereignty (51-52) precisely because settler metapolitical authority reconfigures categories and forms of life. This reconfiguration is based on the alienation of body and land so that both can be objectified and commodified through linear time. It is materialized through gender, sexuality, sex, intimacy, and feeling as key sites and categories of settler metapolitical authority as biopower and necropower.

Linear time manifests as heteropatriarchal logics of sexuality, gender, and space. Literary and visual cultures in settler societies reproduce linear time as settler time through verticality of form and the production of literary and visual space as dead space as only background for marks that are made. The erotic is constitutive of Indigenous sovereignty and a decolonial imperative precisely because gender and sex-

uality are crucial necropolitical and biopolitical technologies of settler colonialism.

Driskill remaps the spaces of these pages as literary and visual space according to Cherokee logics and narrates a story of decolonization as a story of erotic sovereignty in which the erotic is memory and knowledge of Cherokee logics and forms of land and body. This return to stories is a return to body, is a return to land. It is in the space and desire, and space as desire, between Tennessee, Driskill, and Indian Territory that Driskill's resistance to the literary and visual grammars of settler colonialism is located.

The last thing Indian Territory says to Driskill is "You are home./You are home" (Driskill 57). For Driskill, the journey is one of forced removal from their homelands, of violence, injustice, and loss. It has been a journey they cannot retrace to a lover they cannot go back to. The repetition may be read as reassurance and comfort—but there is also a finality, indicated by the two periods used as punctuation for each line, which signals Driskill's loss and grief for Tennessee.

Yet the Cherokee have survived and their presence is marked in this poetic space. Driskill is here in the space between Tennessee and Indian Territory and has remapped homelands according to Cherokee logics of land, body, and nationhood. Driskill marks these logics on the pages, and these marks both challenge and disrupt settler logics of literary and visual form and grammar. This poem is a story as a survival cartography in which "Scraps of stars" (Driskill 57) are marked in the dark ink and bright space of the words and symbols that mark this poetic space as home. Indian Territory speaks gently: "This is home now" (Driskill 57).

WORKS CITED

- Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*. Routledge, 2004.
- . *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke University Press, 2006.
- Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Cross: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press, 2010.

- Allen, Paula Gunn. *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions*. Beacon Press, 1992.
- Butler, Judith. Preface. *Gender Trouble*, by Butler, Routledge Classics, 2006, pp. xxx-xxxi.
- Clark, David Anthony Tyeeme and Nagel, Joane. "White Men, Red Masks: Appropriations of "Indian" Manhood in Imagined Wests." *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, edited by Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau, Routledge, 2001, 109-130.
- Coulthard, Glen. "Place Against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-Colonialism." *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action*. Volume 4, Number 2, Fall 2010, pp. 79-83.
- Driskill, Qwo-Li. "Doubleweaving Two-Spirit Critiques: Building Alliances between Native and Queer Studies." *GLQ*. Volume 16, Number 1-2, 2010, pp. 69-92
- . "Stolen from Our Bodies First Nations Two-Spirits/Queers and the Journey to a Sovereign Erotic." *Studies in American Indian Literatures*. 16 (2) (2004): 50-64. Accessed May 4, 2011. DOI: 10.1353/ail.2004.0020.
- . *Walking with Ghosts*. Salt Publishing, 2005.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume 1*. Random House, 1990.
- Goeman, Mishuana. "From Place to Territories and Back Again: Centering Storied Land in the discussion of Indigenous Nation-building." *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 1 (1) (2008): 23-34.
- . "Disrupting a Settler-Colonial Grammar of Place: The Visual Memoir of Hulleah Tsinnahjinnie." *Theorizing Native Studies*, edited by Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith, Duke University Press, 2014, 235-265.
- Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Halberstam, Jack. *In A Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*. New York University Press, 2005.
- Hong, Grace. *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor*. University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
- Klopotek, Brian. "I Guess Your Warrior Look Doesn't Work Every Time: Challenging Indian Masculinity in the Cinema." *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, edited by Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau, Routledge, 2001, 251-274.

- Lyons, Scott Richard. *X Marks: Native Signatures of Assent*. University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- Mbembe, Achille. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15 (1), (2003): 11-40.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. Routledge, 1995.
- Miranda, Deborah. "Extermination of the Joyas: Gendercide in Spanish California." *GLQ*. Volume 16, Number 1-2, 2010, pp. 253-284. DOI: 10.1215/10642684-2009-022.
- Morgensen, Scott Lauria. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*. University of Minnesota Press, 2011.
- Rifkin, Mark. "Erotics of Sovereignty." *Queer Indigenous Studies*, edited by Qwo-Li Driskill, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, and Scott Lauria Morgensen, University of Arizona Press, 2011, 172-189.
- . "Indigenizing Agamben: Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the "Peculiar" Status of Native Peoples." *Cultural Critique*. Number 73, Fall 2009, pp. 88-124.
- . *The Erotics of Sovereignty: Queer Native Writing in the Era of Self-Determination*. University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- . *When Did Indians Become Straight? Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty*. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Smith, Andrea. "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heteronormativity of Settler Colonialism." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 16 no. 1, 2010, pp. 42-68. Project MUSE, muse.jhu.edu/article/372444. Accessed 3 March. 2018.
- . "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing." *The Color of Violence, The INCITE! Anthology*, edited by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, Duke University Press, 2016. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373445-007>. Accessed 3 March. 2018.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Duke University Press, 1995.
- Tatonetti, Lisa. *The Queerness of Native American Literature*. Duke University Press, 2014.
- Tuck, Eve and Yang, K. Wayne. "Decolonization is not a metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, Society*. Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 1-40.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Vizenor, Gerald. *Wordarrows: Native States of Literary Sovereignty*. University of Nebraska, 2003.
- Warrior, Robert Allen. "Intellectual Sovereignty and the Struggle for an American Indian Future. Chapter 3 of *Tribal Secrets: Vine Deloria, John Joseph Matthews, and the Recovery of American Indian Intellectual Traditions*." *Wicazo sa Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 1-20. *JStor*, www.jstor.org/stable/1409359. Accessed 3 March. 2018.
- Weaver, Jace. *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community*. Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research*. 8:4, 2006, pp. 387-409. *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>. Accessed 3 March. 2018.
- . "Corpus Nullius: The Exception of Indians and Other Aliens in US Constitutional Discourse." *Postcolonial Studies*, 10:2, 2007, pp. 127-151. *Taylor & Francis Online*, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790701348540>. Accessed 3 March. 2018.

DISTORTED LOVE: MAPPLETHORPE, THE NEO/CLASSICAL SCULPTURAL BLACK NUDE, AND VISUAL CULTURES OF TRANSATLANTIC ENSLAVEMENT

LINDSAY NIXON

Abstract: *In the fall of 2016 and the winter of 2017, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibited a retrospective of photography by Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) entitled "Focus: Perfection." Tenets of queer possibility exhibited in the "Sculptural Body" portion of "Focus: Perfection" depicted a white modernity that reproduced the biopolitics of the transatlantic slave trade among contemporary white and Black queer peoples in America—namely, in New York's queer community—through the reinforcement and circulation of imagery depicting sexualized Black peoples in psychic and physical bondage. With his photographs depicting the body parts of Black men, Mapplethorpe reifies the biopolitics of the transatlantic slave trade in two ways. First, the classical use of marble as sculptural material, or in Mapplethorpe's case the neoclassical use of photographed skin as sculptural material that references the classical use of marble, adheres to aesthetic principles devised from Western, colonial discourse that sexualize and degrade Black bodies. Secondly, Mapplethorpe reproduces what Michal Hatt has called a "structure of spectatorship." By constructing Black men's bodies in inherent opposition to whiteness, no matter how idealized, it is a white audience that is presumed as the patron of Mapplethorpe's sculptural photography of Black men. Given the themes of sadomasochism throughout Mapplethorpe's photographs of Black men, these images outright reference fantasies of domination from an era transatlantic enslavement in the U.S. With "Focus: Perfection," the MMFA unwittingly condoned Mapplethorpe's por-*

Résumé: *En automne 2016 et en hiver 2017, le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal a présenté une rétrospective de la photographie de Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) intitulée "Focus: Perfection." Certains principes de la possibilité queer exposés dans la section "Sculptural Body" de "Focus: Perfection" décrivaient une modernité blanche qui reproduisait la biopolitique de la traite transatlantique des esclaves parmi les communautés queer blanche et Noire en Amérique—spécifiquement dans la communauté queer de New York—par le renforcement et la circulation d'une imagerie des Noirs sexualisés dans un asservissement psychique et physique. A travers ses photos représentant les parties du corps d'hommes noirs, Mapplethorpe concrétise les aspects biopolitiques de la traite transatlantique des esclaves de deux manières. En premier lieu, l'utilisation classique du marbre comme matériau sculptural, ou dans le cas de Mapplethorpe l'emploi classique de la peau photographiée comme un matériau sculptural qui fait référence à l'emploi classique du marbre, adhère à des principes esthétiques inspirés d'un discours colonial occidental qui sexualise et avilit les corps Noirs. En second lieu Mapplethorpe reproduit ce que Michael Hatt a appelé une "structure de spectacle." La construction de corps d'hommes Noirs en opposition inhérente à la couleur blanche, aussi idéalisée qu'elle puisse être, suggère bien que c'est un public blanc qui vient voir la photographie sculpturale des hommes Noirs de Mapplethorpe. Etant donné les thèmes de sadomasochisme qui se trouvent dans les photographies d'hommes Noirs de Mapplethorpe, ces images font directement référence aux fantasmes de domination d'une ère d'asservissement transatlantique aux Etats-Unis. Avec "Focus:Perfection," le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal accepte sans le vouloir la représentation par Map-*

In the fall of 2016 and the winter of 2017, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts exhibited a retrospective of photography by Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) entitled “Focus: Perfection.” In *Phillip Prioleau* (Figure 1), the promotional image for the exhibition, a Black man is photographed turned away from viewer so only his back is visible. His hands are reaching up and to his sides, parting a white curtain that also falls to each of his sides. The whiteness of the curtain is intended to highly contrast with the Black skin of the man photographed, who bends his neck and extends it, further still, away from the viewer so it disappears into the darkness of the parted curtain.

In *Phillip Prioleau*, the photographed has been rendered faceless by photographer Mapplethorpe. We, the viewer, know we are not looking at a portrait because there is no face or profile present in the image. No humanity, life, or personal details represent Phillip in all his complexities. Phillip has had his beautiful life erased by Mapplethorpe: the way his family, chosen or otherwise, was touched by the AIDS crisis (if he is, indeed, a gay man from New York like many of the other men Mapplethorpe photographed) (“Focus: Perfection”); the histories of enslavement in his kinship lines; and the communities who loved him into the person he was when photographed. Mapplethorpe’s rendering of Phillip as voiceless figure—and the MMFA’s propagation of *Phillip Prioleau* as promotional image—would turn out to be a bad omen for the rest of the show.

“Focus: Perfection” depicted what José Esteban Muñoz has called queer possibility: utopic spaces wherein previously “degenerate” bodies regenerate and come to life through radical forms of queer self-making (to self-actualize a disruption to normativity at the embodied level) (11). But the tenets of queer possibility exhibited in the “Sculptural Body” portion of “Focus: Perfection” depicted a white modernity (Lauria Morgensen 3) that reproduces the biopolitics of the transatlantic slave trade among contemporary white and Black queer peoples in America—namely, in New York’s queer community—through the reinforcement and circulation of imagery depicting sexualized Black peoples in psychic and physical bondage.

THE NEO/CLASSICAL BLACK NUDE AND VISUAL CULTURES OF ENSLAVEMENT

Of the various sections of the gallery sectioned off for “Focus: Perfection,” curators Britt Salvesen and Paul Martinea chose to highlight a theme in Mapplethorpe’s photographs they called “the sculptural body” (Figure 2):

Mapplethorpe speculated that if he had been born in an earlier era, he might have been a sculptor rather than a photographer. In his chosen medium, Mapplethorpe underscored the powerful physical presence of his well-proportioned models with an obsessive attention to detail—from the precision of their statuesque poses to the technical sophistication of the lighting. While Mapplethorpe’s nude figure studies appear to be the cool and distanced observations of a photographer who prized perfection in form above all else, they also fuse a classical sensibility with a palpable sexual intensity (“Focus: Perfection”).

Salvesen and Martinea presented several densely displayed sections of Mapplethorpe’s photographs, arguing that they capture the curves and lines of the human body photographed as beautifully as seen in renaissance sculpture. However, Mapplethorpe’s expressions of the sculptural body predominantly featuring Black men, save a few photographs that presented hyperwhitened bodies and delicate white flowers, to contrast with the Black bodies present (Figure 3). Indeed, there is a certain tactility to Mapplethorpe’s photography that makes it sculptural in the ways it is known to the viewer, an illusion of physicality that Johann Gottfried Herder has called the “tactile knowledge of bodies (34).” Mapplethorpe’s work is sculptural in nature because it is physically felt, as if you could reach out and move your hand over the bodies he portrays.

The curators likely drew their positioning of the Black body as sculptural medium from the popular 1990s art book, *The Black Book*, a collection of Mapplethorpe’s photographs of Black men. Salvesen and Martinea boast that Mapplethorpe is “one of the most influential photographers of the twentieth century ... renown for his masterful com-

positions and subjects that have compelled new reflection on questions of gender, race and sexuality” (“Focus: Perfection”). Curiously, this is the only mention of race throughout the exhibit, except for a copy of *The Black Book* in the gallery gift shop—curious because so much of the sculptural body is comprised of photographs of Black men. *The Black Book* contains pages and pages of close up shots of different parts of Black bodies. Several Black men are photographed within its pages, posed and lit like statues, stripped naked, and decontextualized of any identity outside of their form.

The curators argue that, using black-and-white photography, Mapplethorpe intentionally distorted, and perhaps perverted (considering his vast body of work portraying gay BDSM subcultures), the values and aesthetics of sculptural classicism. Mapplethorpe paid attention to order, proportion, balance, harmony, decorum, and avoidance of excess. His clear mastery of the formal aspects of his craft, his meticulous posing, framing, and lighting of subjects, all bring an aforementioned sculptural tactility to his photographs. Mapplethorpe’s photographic subjects are portrayed with an elegance and symmetry evocative of Greco-Roman idealizations of the perfect form (Holberton). Yet Mapplethorpe intentionally borrows from classicism here not to further valorize the ideals of Western antiquity but to desecrate them, presenting instead his own queer ideal (Katz 261). Classicism’s idealizations of white masculinities become a confrontational, homoerotic imaginary of Mapplethorpe’s devising. In the vein of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, curators Salvesen and Martinea praise Mapplethorpe as a visionary of “queer classicism” (Katz).

Queer herein refers to, “the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone’s gender aren’t made (or *can’t* be made) to signify monolithically” (Kosofsky Sedgwick 8). It should be noted that queer has come to mean much more than gender deviance within academic thought. Queer theorist Lee Edelman, for instant, would argue that “queer” is a position that has nothing to do with sexuality and could be ascribed to anyone who resists intelligibility within the symbolic order; who possess no (neoliberal) futures, only a certain death slowly repeating. In the vein if Edelman, the queer could even be said to be Black individuals themselves in post-slavery, anti-Black U.S.

But Salvensen and Martinea are understand and apply “queer” in the style of Judith Butler: as a disruption of normative gender and sexuality. Butler argues that gender disruption is often enacted through a concerted, embodied resistance to gender performativity—a stylized repetition of acts and discursively predetermined gender conventions. Queer liberatory strategies can manifest on the body through the disruption of normative gender scripts, through self-determined gender performance (self-making) (Butler xii). Butler was concerned with how identity manifests through discourses, drawing from Foucault’s usage of the term to develop her own gendered theory about scripts. Foucault argued in his book *The Archeology of Knowledge* that discourses are a manner of speaking. Words, speech, and language are coded with naturalized social differentiations, and therefore reify hierarchies of power within social and institutional relationships.

However, in their curation of a particular section of Mapplethorpe’s work under a theme of the “sculptural body” to exemplify his brand of “queer” classicism, Salvesen and Martinea unintentionally reproduced a visual culture of transatlantic enslavement particular to the U.S. Namely, Mapplethorpe deconstructs the bodies of Black men as merely the sum of their physical parts, and primarily for a white spectatorship. The Black men, or rather the body parts of Black men, Mapplethorpe presents with his sculptural photography are stripped nude (Figure 4-10), often with parts of their bodies like their buttocks (Figure 8) and penises (Figure 10) prominently and fetishistically lit and showcased. The models in Mapplethorpe’s “sculptural body” photographs are just that: subjects lacking ownership over their bodies, without subjectivities, known to us through their tactile materiality, and decidedly so, as Mapplethorpe has meticulously framed, posed, lighted, and shot the photographs as such.

With his photographs depicting the body parts of Black men, Mapplethorpe reifies the biopolitics of the transatlantic slave trade in two ways. First, the classical use of marble as sculptural material, or in Mapplethorpe’s case the neoclassical use of photographed skin as sculptural material that references the classical use of marble, adheres to aesthetic principles devised from Western, colonial discourse that sexualize and degrade Black bodies (Nelson). In drawing from the artistic conventions of the classical period, Mapplethorpe references

the white marble often used as material for classical and sculpture, which art historian Charmaine Nelson argues “functioned to mediate the representation of the racialized body in ways that preserved a moral imperative essential to the ideals of nineteenth-century neoclassicism (Nelson).” Classical art denounced the biological body, seen as the sexual and racial body, denoted by the lack of any coloration whatsoever of the sculptural form (Nelson). In order to present the Black body as idealized, divine muse for his neoclassical sculptural photography, Mapplethorpe makes visual reference to a Western logic of dominance that functions through dehumanizing, racializing, and degrading Black peoples and communities. Mapplethorpe has forced the Black men he photographed to embody said connotations of racialized sexualization.

Mapplethorpe also unwittingly makes visual reference to 19th-century neoclassical public sculpture in the U.S. that depicted Black citizens emancipating from the bondage of chattel slavery with the aid of white liberal political figures who supposedly led the crusade for abolition (Hatt 429). The intention behind emancipation-era public sculpture depicting Black nudes was a liberal one, grounded in the settler colonial, nationalistic desire to make monument of American histories such as emancipation (Hatt 205). One such sculpture is Thomas Ball’s *Emancipation Group* (Figure 11). *Emancipation Group* depicts Abraham Lincoln, a lone authoritative figure, clothed and regal, freeing enslaved Black citizens who are depicted as a naked Black man crouching at Lincoln’s feet. Michael Hatt argues that during the 1860s in the U.S., alongside the passing of the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, public sculptures were produced that depicted enslaved Black peoples with “ideal ... classicized” bodies (Hatt 198). Though the intention of emancipation-era sculptural nudes of enslaved Black peoples was to present the Black body in idealized form and therefore emulated the classical form closely, the positionality in *Emancipation Group* of Lincoln as towering of the Black man he frees, who crouches at his feet, signifies a significant power differentiation between the two regardless of the sculpture’s liberal intentions. Similarly, Mapplethorpe makes himself the good liberal white (gay), who is supposedly freeing the gay Black men he photographs from the racial dynamics of 1980s U.S. Mapplethorpe reifies his subject position as owner of the men he iron-

ically portrays in bondage, though Salvensen and Martinea assure the viewer again and again that the images are appreciative and liberating.

Hatt contends biopolitical control was at the core of neoclassical public sculpture depicting enslaved Black nudes in the U.S. produced during the 1860s:

In order to understand what is at stake here we need to think of the nude as a set of bodies, a system of corporeal classification that can distinguish the acceptable, controlled body from the excessive and indecent one. The nude is not simply a representation of the body, but a measure of corporeal decorum (Hatt 201).

The depiction of Black nudes in 19th-century public sculpture was an underhanded and ironic exertion of control over emancipated Black communities. Though 19th-century public sculpture that depicted Black nudes was positioned as portraying a liberal project of freeing enslaved Black citizens, sculptures like *Emancipation Group* are a visualization of new hierarchies of power in an era of emancipation, wherein white citizens wanted to reinforce their power and privilege as a ruling class over Black communities. Further, the depiction of the Black nude as neoclassical ideal in emancipation-era public sculpture was a false idealization because of a “paradox of recognition (Hatt 205).” In order to depict Black peoples as equal to white peoples, and thereby worthy of emancipation, the sculptural depiction of Black men in a classical aesthetic distinguishes the bodies of Black men in opposition to white men and masculinities—what Hatt calls “racial difference ... understood through corporeal difference (Hatt 200).”

Mapplethorpe, too, reifies the biopolitics of the transatlantic slave trade by reproducing what Michal Hatt has called a “structure of spectatorship (Hatt 200).” By constructing Black men’s bodies in inherent opposition to whiteness, no matter how idealized, it is a white audience that is presumed as the patron of Mapplethorpe’s sculptural photography of Black men. Black men’s body parts are deconstructed for the consumptive gaze of the white viewer, who seek to own the Black men photographed by Mapplethorpe through deconstruction and intimate knowledge of their bodies. A psychic and symbolic portrayal of Black

men in bondage is partially the result of such a patronage, spectatorship, and consumptive gaze. Mapplethorpe codes his brand of bondage and confrontational queer desire with a sexualized consumption, what Hatt might argue constitutes an attempt to render the Black body as ideal while actually dehumanizing Black communities (Hatt 106).

An example of desire-coded idealization of a deconstructed Black body can be seen in Mapplethorpe's photograph *Dennis Speight, New York City, 1980* (Figure 10). The image is a close-up of a fully erect phallus, completely removed from any context other than to glorify its size. Mapplethorpe, and the white spectator by proxy, both desires and is horrified with this phallus that is so different than a white man's phallus (Foster 448). The Black man photographed in *Dennis Speight, New York City* is not portrayed—only his phallus. By constructing a white spectatorship over the Black men present in Mapplethorpe's sculptural photography, spectators who seek to deconstruct the Black men photographed and exert visual ownership, Mapplethorpe unknowingly (but nevertheless violently) references a history of sexual exploitation of Black men during the transatlantic slave trade, wherein Black men were positioned as inherently sexually available and consumable (Foster 449).

During the 19th century, pro-slavery Anglo-American communities adopted the rhetoric that Black men were hypersexual, prone to "sexual indulgence," and driven by their desire for white women (Foster 451). The Anglo-American mythos that Black men were criminal because of their inherently sexual nature and lack of self-control correlated with the apparent purity, delicate nature, and innocence of white women, who were portrayed as vulnerable to the desires of supposedly sexually precocious Black men (Foster 451-451). In reality, though white women were not socially, economically, or politically equal to white men in the U.S. during the 18th century, they still wielded power over enslaved Black peoples, and in violent ways.

Using a selection of sources on slavery such as newspapers, court records, slave owners' journals, abolitionist literature, and the testimony of former enslaved peoples, Thomas A. Foster has argued that, "enslaved Black men [in the U.S.] were sexually assaulted by both white men and white women," though sexual violence perpetrated

against Black enslaved men is often downplayed, underrecognized, and outright ignored by scholars researching the transatlantic slave trade (Foster 447-448). Foster found that, during antebellum slavery in the southern U.S., enslaved Black men were evidenced to have endured sexual assault in the form of “physical penetrative assault, forced reproduction, sexual coercion and manipulation, and psychic abuse (Foster 447).”

Mapplethorpe’s choice to objectify, dehumanize, and sexualize the Black men in his sculptural photography is an assertion of domination over the Black body. Mapplethorpe evokes a history of classical sculpture—and the anti-Black ideologies at its core—that continue to make the Black male body an object inherently available for white ownership through voyeuristic spectatorship. With his sculptural photography, whether intended or not, Mapplethorpe conveys the Black body as something other—as commodifiable and consumable for a normative class of white U.S. citizens.

QUEER UTOPIA AND TRANSATLANTIC ENSLAVEMENT

“**F**ocus: Perfection” exhibits what José Esteban Muñoz has called queer possibility and utopia: a space wherein previously degenerate (queer) bodies regenerate and come to life through radical, utopic forms of self-making (Muñoz 11). Similarly, Jack Halberstam calls queerness a fierce love that can only be shared amongst the gender weirdos deemed deviant by cis- and hetero-normative scripts that reproduce on the body (Halberstam). Queer possibility is the defiant drive towards a queer utopia from within a colonial biopolitical death machine that attempts to eradicate queer life through hetero- and cis- normative modes of control. At its core, queer possibility imagines ways to self-actualize new worlds, outside of the imposition of the Western gender binary and its subsequent hetero-normative relationalities.

Mapplethorpe has been widely regarded as a queer art idol, his work often praised for capturing the complexities of gender and sexuality as presented through his community of friends and collaborators from the artistic hotbed of 1980s New York. Because Mapplethorpe’s body of work and whole life was tied up in New York’s Chelsea community,

which was hit particularly hard by the AIDS crisis, his art has become canonized as a representation of this moment in queer history. In the 1980s, at the height of the AIDS crisis, right-wing homophobic discourse was pervasive in the U.S., and art was a battleground upon which anti-gay discourses were mobilized. The release of *The Black Book* in July 1988, a series of black-and-white photographs shot by Mapplethorpe featuring Black men in eroticized classical poses, caused an uproar of controversy resulting in religious protests, the congress cutting money to artists, Senator Jesse Helms criticizing Mapplethorpe by calling him a “known homosexual,” and the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington dropping a show of Mapplethorpe’s work (Cotter). Cultural thinkers and curators haven’t shied away from connecting Mapplethorpe’s brand of queer classicism to political discourse about AIDS in the 1980s, applauding him for “having won the culture wars (Timburg).”

Yet Mapplethorpe’s queer possibility is a modernity claimed for white queers only (Lauria Morgensen 3). The subjectivity of queer life, and deamination and domination of Black life, is most apparent in Mapplethorpe’s work through a comparison of the white and Black individuals he photographed. The Black individuals in Mapplethorpe’s photos are portrayed in stark contrast with the photos of white sitters throughout the gallery, presented through a humanizing and (queer) subject-making lens for which Mapplethorpe is known for. Mapplethorpe’s fetishistic and consumptive portrayal of the Black body is most apparent in contrast to his portraiture featuring members of New York City’s Chelsea neighborhood, wherein some of his subjects appear nude and semi-nude yet are not housed in the “red light” section of the gallery like many of the photos featuring nude Black bodies.

In Mapplethorpe’s portrait of friend, sometimes lover, and frequent collaborator Patti Smith, *Patti Smith 1978* (Figure 8), Smith is animated and engaged with the viewer (Smith). Smith’s photograph is framed in a way that acknowledges her environment and that she is an actor within it. A cat sits slightly behind Smith’s shoulder in a window sill, and we imagine her in a run-down Chelsea apartment. Smith gazes at us with existential angst, raising a pair of scissors to her hair in a sort of anarchic statement against its materiality and all its loaded representations of white femininity. What’s clear is that Smith is in control of her

environment, engaged, and an actor in a world that is affected by her presence.

In this universe of actors and the acted upon, *Bob Love, 1979* (Figure 12) stands in stark contrast to a work like *Patti Smith 1978*, with the hollow, vacant look of the subject and the almost scientific posturing. Love is stripped naked, meant only to portray the glorified proportions of his body, void of any other context. Love's body is lit in a way that illuminates the darkness of his skin while accentuating the curves of his body and the length of his penis. The photo is strikingly familiar to photographs used for the "study" of scientific racism, like the 1850 series commissioned by Swiss naturalist Louis Agassiz, completed by daguerreotypist Joseph Zealy, in an attempt to prove the theory of polygenesis (Rogers).

Mapplethorpe seemed to have a particular interest in the posing of Black men controversially to evoke histories of transatlantic slavery and anti-Black racism. As Wesley Morris has commented:

To spend time with Mapplethorpe's work now is to find in it a kind of distorted love—what that German guy came all the way to America to discover. Mapplethorpe found most bodies beautiful and otherworldly, but especially black ones. He lit dark skin so it looked like wet paint and arranged subjects until they became furniture or evoked slave auctions. That naïve, dehumanizing wonder complicates what, at the time, was the radical, defiant feat of inscribing black men—black gay men—into portraiture. It strikes a peculiarly foundational American note: This was another white man looking at black men, with effrontery but also with want. You can locate a sense of ownership, of possession, in many of the images. Two of Mapplethorpe's last relationships were with black men. Any eroticism in the photos might have come from the possibility that, sexually, he himself was possessed (Morris).

The evoked slave auction Morris speaks to is undoubtedly *Hooded Man* (Figure 13). *Hooded Man* is a visceral photograph, portraying a hooded Black man who is, again, in bondage. Despite the intense subject matter, it would seem curators Salvesen and Martinea were over-

taken by an erotic fascination with the photograph much like Mapplethorpe, as it was housed in “red light” portion of the gallery, complete with content warnings and surrounded by work that displayed graphic sadomasochistic acts.

Hooded Man is a difficult image to unpack. The man photographed has been symbolically bound and displayed, as if at an auction of enslaved peoples, ready to be inspected for sale. What makes the *Hooded Man* even more complex is its homoerotic undertones. In the catalogue for the “Focus: Perfection,” Jonathan D. Katz even goes so far as to compare the photographed figure to his “legendary phallus (Katz 257),” citing that Mapplethorpe has in essence transformed the figure’s body into a giant, uncircumcised penis.

The hypersexualization of Black men in the U.S. during the transatlantic slave trade and consequent social attitudes frequently led to the phallic abuse of enslaved Black men, often in the form of castration or other sexualized forms of abuse such as sexual-sadomasochistic whipping of enslaved peoples and forcing enslaved men to procreate (Foster 451). Given the themes of sadomasochism throughout Mapplethorpe’s photographs of Black men, these images outright reference “fantasies of domination” from an era transatlantic enslavement in the U.S. Mapplethorpe portrays Black men in bondage, who are now available to be owned by Mapplethorpe’s presumed white viewership through intimate knowledge of, and control over, their bodies and sexual lives (Foster 450).

By evoking histories of transatlantic enslavement in his photographs depicting Black men, *Hooded Man* is rendered akin to colonially legitimated sexual violence. Mapplethorpe and the Black men he photographs are not equals unified under a shared vision of queer utopia. In fact, the open circulation of sexual desire as something to be freely expressed within queer community, an assumed limitless *carte blanche* of sexual expressivity, has opened the space for Mapplethorpe to project his own ethic of domination on the Black men he photographed and sought to consume through his camera lens. Further, identity politics surrounding Mapplethorpe’s life as a queer man in 1990s New York during the AIDS crisis are likely what long sheltered him from critique about his racialized and sexualized depictions of Black men among

white-dominated art industries, though critique of Mapplethorpe has been prolific among Black communities.

CONCLUSION

The fact that fetishistic portrayals of the Black communities are still being shown in major art institutions in 2017, with little to no attentiveness to issues of race, is troubling. Black artists and cultural thinkers have been speaking to the highly derogatory nature of Mapplethorpe's work for decades. Notably, from 1991 through 1993, Glenn Ligon created a body of work called *Notes on the Margin of the Black Book* (Figure 14), now housed in the Guggenheim permanent collection. Ligon reflected on seeing Mapplethorpe's work in 1986, stating that he saw the men in *The Black Book* were “ambivalent,” “de-contextualized,” and “objects for Mapplethorpe's camera.” After seeing Mapplethorpe's photographs of Black men, Ligon compiled possible responses to Mapplethorpe's work—some from interviews with peers, and others pulled from Black theorists and activists. Ligon presents the responses he compiled in panels positioned in between images from pages of Mapplethorpe's *Black Book*, the margins here denoting both the physical space of the book and the voices who Mapplethorpe pushed to the margins with his representations.

Knowing Ligon's powerful response to Mapplethorpe's *Black Book* has been recognized and collected by such a prominent gallery raises the question of why Mapplethorpe's work was curated around the (Black) sculptural body, at all? Some might argue that a reparative project seeking out positive representations of queer love and life in Mapplethorpe's work is possible. But this is the ultimate gaslight of queer utopias, isn't it? Queer utopia in Mapplethorpe's art is defined by a white spectatorship and sensibility that unconsciously reinforces white supremacist structural power in supposedly radical queer aesthetics, including legacy of Black death associated with the contemporary biopolitics of transatlantic enslavement.

Jin Haritaworn has traced this relationship between the generation of queer white life and the death of racialized life, describing how “formerly degenerate [queer] bodies come to life” in class-poor neighborhoods often populated by racialized communities (such as Chelsea,

New York where Mapplethorpe resided), and how these regenerative processes result in the social death of low income communities of colour who are displaced by queer gentrification. Mapplethorpe's photographs reproduce a visual culture of enslavement and anti-Black racism in the U.S., derived from a long history of transatlantic slavery. Social inequality is perpetuated within and among queer peoples, a phenomena that has been called queer necropolitics—the differential embodied life of queers of colour and queer white settlers (Haritaworn, Adi Kuntsman, and Silvia Posocco).

The Black men in Mapplethorpe's photographs are animated corpses, ghosts even: extinct, dying, and of the past—incapable of enacting and embodying the sexual and gender modernity of white queer communities (Lauria Morgensen). Mapplethorpe's queer utopia is irrespirable from Black death. Here, in Mapplethorpe's Chelsea, Black men are reduced to the sum of their body parts, biopolitically and materially bound to the death drive ascribed to Black communities in the U.S. resultant of a history of enslavement within its borders (Sexton 27, 28).

Why do we return to Mapplethorpe's work at all, knowing the troubled images that exist in his catalogue? Knowing that, even from a reparative standpoint, Mapplethorpe's work is Black death repeating itself, forever (Edelman 4). With a Mapplethorpe biopic coming out this year, perhaps it's time for queer communities to ask how we can be responsible to our Black queer kin in refusing the circulation of an aesthetic of bondage and enslavement. However difficult, perhaps it's time to let go of the white spectatorship the defines Mapplethorpe's work and queer aesthetics, generally.

FIGURES



Figure 1: *Phillip Prioleau*, 1982, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print, 15.3 in. x 15.3 in.



THE SCULPTURAL BODY

Mapplethorpe speculated that if he had been born in an earlier era, he might have been a sculptor rather than a photographer. In his chosen medium, Mapplethorpe underscored the powerful physical presence of his well-proportioned models with an obsessive attention to detail – from the precision of their statuesque poses to the technical sophistication of the lighting. While Mapplethorpe's nude figure studies appear to be the cool and distanced observations of a photographer who prized perfection in form above all else, they also fuse a classical sensibility with a palpable sexual intensity.

Figure 2: "The Sculptural Body," *Focus/Perfection*, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/exhibitions/past/focus-perfection/>.



Figure 3: Installation shot of Focus:Perfection (courtesy of the writer).

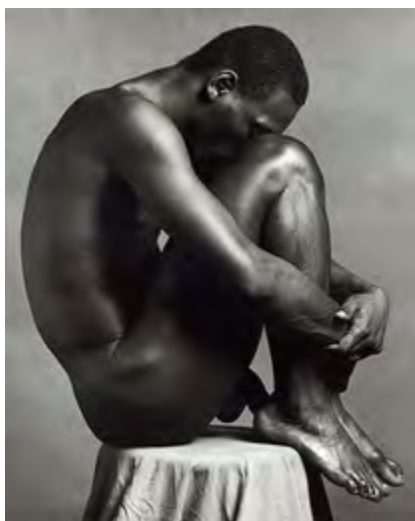


Figure 4: *Ajitto*, 1981, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 18 in. x 14 in. (courtesy of the Lindsay Nixon).

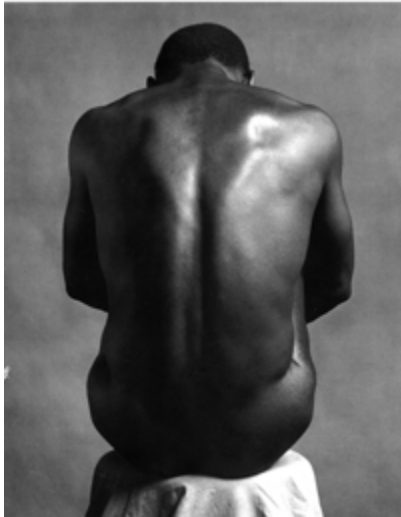


Figure 5: *Ajitto*, 1981, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 18 in. x 14 in.



Figure 6: *Ajitto*, 1981, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 18 in x 14 in.



Figure 7: Derrick Cross, 1983, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 29.5 in. x 24.4 in.



Figure 8: Derrick Cross, 1983, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 29.5 in. x 24.4 in.

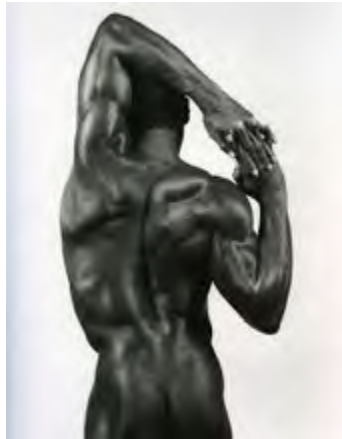


Figure 9: Derrick Cross, 1983, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 29.5 in. x 24.4 in.



Figure 10: Dennis Speight, New York City, 1980, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 7.5 in. x 7.3 in.



Figure 11: Thomas Ball, Emancipation Group, 1875, bronze, Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C.

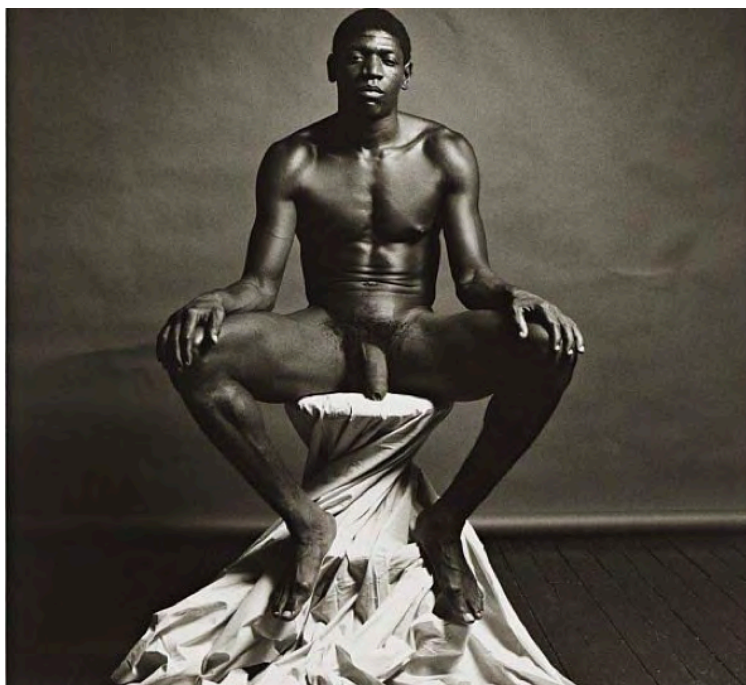


Figure 12: Bob Love, 1979, 1979, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 612 x 587 mm.



Figure 13: *Hooded Man*, 1980, Robert Mapplethorpe. Photograph, gelatin silver print on paper, 19.1 x 19.1 cm.



Figure 14: Glenn Ligon, *Notes on the Margin of the Black Book*, 1991–1993. Ninety-one offset prints, 11½ x 11½ in.; seventy-eight text pages, 5¼ x 7¼ in.

Acknowledgements: Thank you to Dr. Charmaine Nelson and Dr. Johanne Sloan for helping me throughout various moments of writing and editing this paper.

WORKS CITED

- Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex*. Routledge, 1993.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. Routledge, 1990.
- Cotter, Holand. "Why Mapplethorpe Still Matters." *The New York Times*. 2016. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/01/arts/design/why-mapplethorpe-still-matters.html>.
- Edelman, Lee. *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive*. Duke University Press, 2004.
- Eng, David L. *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy*. Duke University Press, 2010.
- "Focus: Perfection." Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/exhibitions/on-view/focus-perfection/>.
- Foster, Thomas A. "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 445-64.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archeology of Knowledge & The Discourse on Language*. Pantheon, 1972.
- Gottfried Herder, Johann. *Sculpture: Some Observations on Shape and Form from Pygmalion's Creative Dream*. University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Halberstam, Judith. *The Queer Art of Failure*. Duke University Press, 2011.
- Hatt, Michael. "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture." ed. Kymberly Pinder, *Race-ing Art History: Critical Readings in Race and Art History*, edited by Kymberly Pinder, Routledge, 2002.
- Holberton, Paul. "Classicism," *Oxford Art Online*. <www.oxfordartonline.com/mercury.concordia.ca/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e563>.
- Katz, Jonathan D., "Robert Mapplethorpe's Queer Classicism." *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Photographs*. J. Paul Getty Museum, 2016.
- Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve. *Tendencies*. Routledge, 1994.
- Lauria Morgensen, Scott. *Spaces Between Us*. University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

- Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. NYU Press, 2009.
- Morris, Wesley. "Why Pop Culture Just Can't Deal With Black Male Sexuality." *The New York Times*. 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/10/30/magazine/black-male-sexuality-last-taboo.html?_r=0.
- Nelson, Charmaine. *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth Century*. Penguin Classics, 2007.
- Rogers, Molly. *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. Yale University, 2010.
- Sexton, Jared. "The Social Life of Social Death." *InTensions*, vol. 5, pp. 1-47, 2011.
- Smith, Patti. *Just Kids*. Ecco, 2010.
- Timberg, Scott. "How Mapplethorpe won: The Jesse Helms art world culture wars are over." *Salon*. 2016. http://www.salon.com/2016/04/05/how_mapplethorpe_won_the_jesse_helms_art_world_culture_wars_are_over/.

FISHY PLEASURES: UNSETTLING FISH HATCHING AND FISH CATCHING ON PACIFIC FRONTIERS

CLEO WOELFLE-ERSKINE

Abstract: *In debates over Puget Sound salmon recovery, the Wild Steelhead Federation, a settler sportfishing advocate, argues that hatchery-raised steelhead lack fighting spirit, and figures them as unnatural. The Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission and its member tribes operate hatcheries as strategy for maintaining fish runs until degraded habitats can be restored, and figure hatcheries as one of many sites of making relations. Although the genetic science mobilized on all sides of this debate is fairly new, settler discourses that, on the one hand, blame tribal harvest for salmon decline and, on the other hand, construe sportfishing as central to settler family-making and masculinities, have roots going back to the notion of the frontier itself. As a slantwise intervention in this debate, I consider sportfishing as a site and strategy for making settler sexualities, by examining visual archives that document historical practices of sportfishing and the technologies on which contemporary salmon and trout sportfishing depends: the reservoir, the fish hatchery, and the fishing pole. Tracing arguments about Nature and settler masculinities back to the origins of fish culture in hatcheries through the writing of George Perkins Marsh, I argue labeling either normative settler sexualities and gender relations or the flooded spawning grounds beneath reservoirs as unnatural threatens co-constituted settler sexualities and reworkings of “natural” landscapes.*

Résumé: *Au sein des débats qui entourent la réimplantation des saumons dans le Puget Sound, la Wild Steelhead Federation, qui défend la pêche sportive des colons, avance que les saumons Steelhead de pisciculture manquent d'agressivité et ne les considèrent pas comme naturels. La Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission et les tribus qui en sont membres maintiennent que la production en élevage sera un stratégie nécessaire pour conserver la population piscicole jusqu'à la restauration de leur habitat naturel, et considèrent la pisciculture comme un des multiples sites propices à l'établissement de relations. Bien que la science génétique utilisée par les différents côtés de ce débat soit relativement récente, les arguments des colons accusant les pêches pratiquées par les tribus d'être responsables du déclin de la population des saumons considèrent, par ailleurs, la pêche sportive comme centrale à la masculinité et à la construction des familles parmi les colons et remontent à la notion même de frontière. M'insérant dans ce débat par un biais différent, je considère la pêche sportive comme un site et une stratégie de construction des sexualités des colons en étudiant les archives visuelles qui documentent les pratiques historiques de la pêche sportive et les technologies dont dépend la pêche sportive contemporaine du saumon et de la truite: les bassins, les appareils à éclosion et les canes à pêche. Retraçant les arguments sur la Nature et les masculinités coloniales jusqu'aux origines de la pisciculture dans les écrits de George Perkins Marsh, je suggère que la normativité des sexualités masculines coloniales et l'établissement de bassins piscicoles sous les réservoirs aquifères sont des menaces artificielles constituées par les sexualités coloniales et leur reconstructions des paysages “naturels”.*

Catching, holding, preparing, and eating fish yield unparalleled sensuous pleasures: floating on the water in a boat with the breeze in your hair, sitting on the bank in contemplation, wading in a swift-flowing stream, the satisfaction of a good cast, luck of the bite or dip of the net, the thrill of grasping a lively, flopping body, the heft of a fish or string of several, the first bite of flaky hot flesh on your tongue.

What kinds of relations do Indigenous, arrivant, and settler people make of, through, and with these fishy pleasures? And, with which fish do different people make these relations and take these pleasures? In what entanglements with water, infrastructure, and toxicity, as well as notions of Nature? How do fishy pleasures matter for Indigenous sovereignty, migrant history, and settler narratives? How do these relations co-constitute family and gender relations, and do they prop up or dismantle normative settler sexualities?

This work builds on Indigenous scholarship on fish relations as constitutive of Indigenous identities and cultural practices, and of repairing fish relations as exercises of sovereignty. In her work with Inuvialuit hunters and fishers, Zoe Todd (“‘This Is the Life’: Women’s Role in Food Provisioning in Paulatuuq, Northwest Territories”) argues that food provisioning—especially fishing, but also whaling, berry picking, and hunting—are not men’s affairs, but conducted by families, with women and men taking on complementary and interdependent roles. While addressing the lack of attention to women’s practices of fishing, Todd (“‘This Is the Life’: Women’s Role in Food Provisioning in Paulatuuq, Northwest Territories” 155) outlines an Indigenous understanding of gender in which human-animal distinctions are more important than differences between men and women, and hunting relations among men, women, and whales distinguishes between human genders without defining them as opposites: “Whereas Western conceptions of gender turn on a binary opposition of male to female, Inūpiat whale hunting emphasizes the interdependence of men and women, each of whom possess certain knowledge and skills that, while complementary, are inseparable from the whole.” This understanding of both male and female gender identities as co-constituted through familial relations while hunting and fishing can make space for more expansive understandings of gender (inclusive of Two Spirit, trans, or

the genders of childhood, among others), and for thinking about fishing as a way of making queer familial relations.

In her more recent work, Todd writes of Métis identity and place-situatedness as constituted with sturgeon and Lake Winnipeg watershed (“From a Fishy Place”). She theorizes Indigenous law in relation to sturgeon relationships and notes that these principles continue to guide Métis notions of legal orders and proper relations across species even as the populations of these fish are in severe decline. Todd refuses Canadian state legal understandings of Métis relations with sturgeon and land-waterscape, and proposes a Métis ethical-legal framework to replace it:

The erasure of Métis-fish and Métis-water relationships within the Lake Winnipeg watershed in the legal reasoning of *Daniels* diminishes the significance of the labour that Métis peoples perform in tending to, renewing and sustaining ongoing relationships to more-than-human beings within a specific and bounded watershed through time and space. The labour of co-constituting relationships to the waters and fish of the Lake Winnipeg watershed is integral in shaping the material and metaphysical sustenance and governance of Métis as a people....[Métis people] must also turn to, and acknowledge, our responsibilities to waters, to lands, to fish and to all the other living, sentient beings within the territories we move through in order to envision a Métis polity that encompasses possibilities, dreams and stories far more sustaining than the anemic capacities of the nation state and its hand-me-down laws from Britain and France (“From a Fishy Place” 52).

Potawatomi scholar Kyle Whyte and colleagues discuss how Anishinaabe understandings of sturgeon (Nmé) as relations conflicted with settler understandings of sturgeon genetics (Holtgren et al.). Anishinaabe management maintained genetically distinct stocks and promoted genetic diversity, a strategy that will require a century to regain fishable levels; the settler proposal of intensive hatchery rearing would have produced more catchable fish, but disrupted the continuity of Nmé-human relations through time. The Anishinaabe and settler plans both relied on the techniques and technologies of fish cul-

ture—tanks, hatcheries, and harvesting gametes from adult fish and releasing young ones into waterbodies. Both strategies mobilized western scientific methods to support policy goals, and produced scientifically valid results to support those goals. But the two management plans emerged from very different notions of relations between sturgeon and people, and so ended up with different temporalities of recovery understandings of what that recovery meant. The Anishinaabe plan set a 100-year window before sturgeon populations would recover to harvestable levels, so that they could propagate genetically distinct stocks in different water bodies, thus preserving relations between particular Nmé and the Anishinaabe clans with which they are in ongoing relation.

Whyte notes that Anishnaabe-led management practices—namely public events where Indigenous, arrivant, and settler humans release young hatchery sturgeon into the stream—have transformed settler relations to the Nmé (Whyte, “Our Ancestors’ Dystopia Now”). This practice has fostered in non-Anishinaabe people a collective relationship to the Nmé population that is different from the sportfishing one that dominated previously. This relationship is not the same as Anishnaabe clan relations to the Nmé, but it is a relationship that is commensurate with Anishinaabe management and fish relations.

Here I am interested in complementing these theorizations of Indigenous fish relations as collective and intergenerational care practices with a parallel theorization of settler-fish relations. I explore how gender, the family, and sexualities are co-constituted with practices of sportfishing and the technologies on which contemporary salmon and trout sportfishing depends: the reservoir, the fish hatchery, and the fishing pole. This is a slantwise intervention into a current debate over the role of hatcheries in Pacific salmon fisheries.¹ I discuss the scientific and sovereignty implications of this debate at length in my monograph (in progress), but gloss it briefly here. A sportfishing organization strives to limit hatchery production of steelhead, while tribes maintain that hatchery production is necessary to sustain treaty-guaranteed fisheries. Bound up in this debate are incommensurate ethics of fishing (with a settler sportfishing group asserting that tribal commercial harvest and hatchery production are exacerbating steelhead decline, and tribes countering that catch-and-release practices trans-

gress against fishes' offering up of their bodies for consumption) and divergent notions of what characteristics of the steelhead population are important to preserve (with tribes asserting ongoing relations to hatchery produced fish through ethics of care in tribal hatcheries and the sportfishing group defining wildness as a good fighting spirit on the end of the line).² The Washington state fisheries agency manages most hatcheries and also depends on fish and game tag sales for most of its revenue. It sees its mandate as ensuring enough fish for commercial, recreational, and tribal harvest, no matter the genetic profile, while federal agencies have delayed final decisions as they await more study. Although the genetic science mobilized on all sides of this debate is fairly new, settler discourses that, on the one hand, blame tribal harvest for salmon decline and, on the other hand, construe sportfishing as central to settler family-making and masculinities, have roots going back to the notion of the frontier itself. Here I explore these discourses in images and historical texts.

Throughout this paper, I will distinguish among different tactics of settler colonialism in the guise of Manifest Destiny, enacted across time on and along rivers. Following Patrick Wolfe, I consider Manifest Destiny as an ongoing process—rather than as an event that began with John O'Sullivan coining of the term 1845—that continues long after the frontier's official closing in 1890. This *longue durée* of settler colonialism resonates with Wolfe's "logic of elimination": "Negatively, [settler colonialism] strives for the dissolution of native societies. Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base—as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event" (388)

Let me begin by presenting four moments of settler sexuality as illustrated through fish catching, arrayed through 120 years along two iconic California rivers.

VISUALIZING FISHY PLEASURES IN SETTLER FAMILY LIFE



A picture postcard of a new rail line along the McCloud River (tributary to the Sacramento) circa 1889 depicts women in Victorian dress painting the wilderness sublime as blank slate; others in the series show men fly-fishing in the river and the train arriving at a luxury lodge near Mount Shasta. Fishing and outdoor recreation in spectacular locales near railroad lines was a frequent pastime of Victorian elites, who traveled to vaguely Indian-themed lodges in Yosemite and Yellowstone National Parks; perhaps the ultimate symbol of leisure in wilderness was William Randall Hearst's Wyntoon estate, along 39 miles of the McCloud River. The colorized black-and-white photograph is one of a series produced railroads to boost train travel to such luxury lodges. The river is pictured as a blank slate, ready to welcome its new white inhabitants to practice familiar pursuits in comfortable settings. The bloody massacres of the Wiyot, Paiute, and Wintu people, the crude and vulgar life of the mining camps, dominated by working class men's homosocial (if not homosexual) practices, the brutal labour extracted from (mostly) Chinese men in building the railroad—all of this contamination has been magically erased, and the clear water and green forest provide both a site for virile pursuit of

fighting trout and genteel feminine representation of the wilderness sublime.



I encountered this photograph on a fly-fishing guide's blog (Trout). The blog's curator, fittingly named Jack Trout, included another photograph of two tow-headed children fishing with willow poles from rowboats near a fishing lodge—further visual evidence that white families visiting the lodge saw fishing as a key tactic of staking claim to and inhabiting the territory. That Hearst named his estate “Wyn-ton” after the Wintu, whose fishing spots he usurped, suggests that he and his guests saw themselves as becoming “native” through their exploits there. As inheritors of Manifest Destiny, settlers saw themselves as heirs to the continent's biological abundance, figured as resources (fish, game, forest, and mineral) to be exploited freely. In 1883, on the McCloud River, railroad construction threatened the export of salmon eggs from the hatchery; the eggs were transported by rail and ship around the world to re-stock rivers damaged by resource extraction, even as the railroad construction damaged the source of the eggs on the McCloud. “[T]he heavy blasting involved in the construction operations of the railroad company, near the mouth of the Pitt River, had the effect of destroying or stopping nearly all of the salmon which would have ascended the Pitt River, to which the McCloud River is a tributary” (Stone, “Report of Operations at the U.S. Salmon-Breeding

Station, on the M'Cloud River, California, During the Season of 1884" (169). Yet despite damage from logging, mining, and the railroad, the river still ran with fish, enabling settler sexualities as embodied in the heteronormative family to be produced through various forms of elite recreation a day's train-ride from the metropole of San Francisco.







A newsman's series of photographs of Millerton Lake on opening day in 1945 shows those same elites joined by working-class fishers along the barren shores of a newly flooded landscape. All five photographs were taken on May 29, 1945, the day the reservoir was opened to fish-

ing. Engineers began filling the reservoir behind Friant Dam on February 21, 1944; water first flowed down Madera Canal to San Joaquin Valley 12 days after these pictures were taken. Sometime in that intervening year, the soil became saturated and grasses and trees under the water died. Friant Dam on the San Joaquin River decimated those salmon runs as Shasta did to upper Sacramento River ones. At Miller-ton, the eerie images of men recreating in a drowned landscape celebrate a triumphant vision of dam building while obscuring the dams' destruction of million-strong salmon runs on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. These photos, and the archives in which they are contained, omit the Indigenous and more-than-human relations that arose from the seasonal runs of four species of Chinook salmon, coho salmon, and steelhead trout to California rivers. The photographer's caption notes that the men, women, and children at the reservoir that day were fishing for bluegill and crappie (both non-Native hatchery-produced warm-water lake fish), but the fish on the stringers appear to be brown trout (a species from central Europe that was also produced at the nearby Kings River hatchery). The men in the posed photographs are performing fish culture as a leisure activity one does away from home, by car, in groups of men, for sport and to show off. They are displaying feelings of prowess, camaraderie, and pride about the fish, though it's hard to see the feelings as being for the fish themselves—because the fish are dead and held up for display like trophies. Yet, the small size of some of the fish the men are taking home, and the way in which the fish are displayed, suggests that they are fishing for keeps, to eat later.

McCloud redband trout also showed up at the Rainbow Rancho, a trout hatchery founded in 1939, high in the arid San Bernadino Mountains on the edge of the Mojave Desert.



Located in Whitewater, off the route from Hollywood to desert resorts but within a few hours' drive from urban centres, the resort featured square fishing ponds and a lodge where kitchen staff would cook up your catch. In a photograph from 1944, two men and two women stand at the bottom of granite steps in front of a wooden lodge holding a wooden pole from which hang 10 dead rainbow trout. The trout hang from their gills, in a symmetrical pattern with two large ones in the middle and smaller ones flanking them. The men hold the heavy fish stick possessively, the women merely gesture to it, acknowledging their mates' masculine drive. The women stand closer to the men than to each other, one hand holding fishing poles flung over their shoulders and their other hand resting on the trout stick. The couples' outfits are coordinated—solids vs. checkers—and their expressions ooze care-free leisure, as if all are thinking (about their presumably heterosexual mates), "What a catch!"

Only a white granite outcrop coming in from the upper-right corner disturbs the casual symmetry of binary gender, lodge roof, and hanging trout. The people appear to be elites, heterosexual couples escaping

the heat of wartime Los Angeles for a few days of mountain romance, but the caption identifies them as the actor Howard Warrick, Rainbow Rancho proprietor Irv Mills, and Hollywood starlets from Palm Springs—perhaps just acting out straight settler romance for the camera. The cute assonance and consonance of “Rainbow Rancho,” the casual appropriation of Spanish names, the trout-descendent bodies, and the reconfiguration of a flashy, braided, fishless river into a placid granite-rimmed pond all co-constitute a settler sexiness that alludes to romance, sex, and love without reproduction.



The other extant historical photograph from the Rainbow Rancho shows a more heterogeneous mixture of people. Whereas the 1944 photograph evokes the elite Wyntoon lodge, here the setting is almost urban, with a mix of cypress and pines planted in Los Angeles parks, and a smooth, level ground surrounding a constructed pond. The centre of focus is a middle-aged white man who is holding a fishing pole aloft in one hand while holding a line out with the other. Perhaps he has just landed a fish; it's too dark in the shadows to tell for sure. Two blonde girls to his left are looking at the end of his line, as is a Black boy to their left, who is half-perched on the granite wall of the pond with a line in the water; other children are looking away. The presence of the Black boy in the foreground invokes a postwar multiracial society in which settler property ownership (in this case, of the Rainbow Ran-

cho) extends benefits to non-native, non-white citizens. In the photograph, settler sexuality produces the family in a safe and sanitized space where fish are released full-grown, and are easily catchable for paying customers of different ages and genders. Perhaps Marsh's notions of fishing as virility booster are giving way to postwar notions of gender equity, or perhaps rural or working-class women who grew up fishing are continuing as adults. The photograph evokes a wholesome family scene, predicated on superseding Indigenous relations. This supercession continues into the present. The Wildlands Conservancy bought the property, removed the trout hatchery, and planted native shrubs and grasses there, while maintaining the trout fishing ponds as wildlife habitat. When I visited in 2017, two huge, old trout swam in the upper pond, which was now surrounded by thickets of willows filled with birds. The lodge building is preserved as an information center for visiting hikers, with natural history of local species and the organization's land preservation efforts, but I found no evidence of collaboration with the Morongo Band of Mission Indians or other regional tribes.

SETTLER MASCULINITIES AND VIRILITY AS ARTICULATED WITH DAMS AND HATCHERIES

Boosters and Bureau of Reclamation engineers sold Shasta and Friant dams to settlers as reclamations of wastelands, opportunities for postwar leisure, cheap water for farming and urban development, and sources of cheap electricity for the war effort and postwar boom. The young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps who laboured and occasionally died building the dams were, like the rivers their dams trammled, transformed from unruly and sometimes deviant forces into efficient components of postwar industrial economies. As [Anonymous] notes,

Along with relieving households of underemployed young men, the CCC offered petty offenders an alternative to judicial punishment, and it promised to sculpt these men's bodies and character through hiking, calisthenics, routine hygiene checks, and team sports that were intended to cultivate the "militaristic tendencies" that were necessary for success in the modern

business world. Along with acculturating masculinity in explicitly nationalist terms, the swath of youth development organizations that proliferated from the twenties to forties fostered an anti-ecological common sense that figured the white male as an exceptional ecological agent whose mastery of wilderness spaces reflected his readiness to advance U.S. American civilization through industry and domestic family making (Anonymous).

These dams were premised on the erasure of Indigenous riverine management and fisheries practice, inhabitation, and treaty rights (whether ratified or, as with the Winnemem, not). This was all quite explicit. Dams flooded many villages and named fishing sites, which were used by individuals or collectives or fishers to catch different species at different times with nets, weirs, and sometimes spears. They blocked spawning grounds and prevented salmon from reaching fishing sites, where people from many tribes would come together to fish, trade, exchange news, sometimes meet their future spouses, and perform ceremonies. These dams and the ones that came after them ended up driving salmon runs to extinction or the brink, though this was not their builders' intention. Rather, white male engineers and fisheries scientists (they were all white men back then) believed that hatchery-produced fish could replace and even improve on the natural runs the dams extinguished. Politicians marketed the new lakes as family idylls that would promote settler family values: leisure in masculine company for office-bound Father, a chance for Son to cultivate masculine independence and sportsmanship, and fresh healthy fish for Mother and Daughter to prepare back home.

For people who don't fish, what to do at these lakes is a bit of a mystery. I've driven the Interstate 5 corridor dozens of times over the last 20 years, over a neck of the reservoir in all weather. I've noted the height of the "bathtub ring" of red earth between the tree line and the water that marks the current severity of drought and the progress on the new, higher interstate overpass that will enable the dam to be raised 17 feet, flooding out several miles of McCloud River and many of the Winnemem sacred sites that remain above water. I've stopped at Lake Shasta perhaps 10 times, a few times to jump into the frigid water after six

hours baking in the Central Valley with no air conditioning, a couple times to walk the dog, and several more to walk out onto the dam itself or take the elevator plunge through its arch wall. Sometimes, swimming or walking the dog at the boat ramps, we'd see pontoon boaters coming or going, sober or sunburned but most often not. At the dam, people tend to walk the length of it, back and forth, sometimes staring upstream at the still water, or straight down at the dizzying curve of the wall. Ever since I saw the Bureau of Reclamation photograph of the dam half completed, I've sensed the steel rods and mountains of gravel that make up the structure under my feet. Ever since I've learned of schemes to raise the dam, I've imagined the extra water as a weight pressing down as I walk or lean over the railing and look down.



When fisheries technicians stocked the new lakes with hatchery trout, bass, and bluegill, they reinvigorated an argument about settler nationhood and white masculinity first put forth by proto-environmentalist George Perkins Marsh a century before. By the mid-1800s, most of the fishing streams and hunting grounds along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. were silted in by logging and agricultural erosion, poisoned by factory effluent, and blocked by tens of thousands of mill dams. As settler descendants migrated from rural areas to factory towns, some feared feminization and moral decay, both from inter-marriage with immigrants and from the loss of vigorous outdoor pursuits.

Marsh's 1857 rallying cry for fish culture argued that fish hatcheries could preserve settler masculinity and safeguard nationalism:

We have notoriously less physical hardihood and endurance than the generation which preceded our own...and we have become not merely a more thoughtful and earnest, but, it is to be feared, a duller, as well as a more effeminate, and less bold and spirited nation....The chase is a healthful and invigorating recreation, and its effects on the character of the sportsman,

the hardy physical habits, the quickness of eye, hand, and general movement, the dexterity in the arts of pursuit and destruction, the fertility of expedien, the courage and self-reliance, the half-military spirit, in short, which it infuses, are important elements of prosperity and strength in the bodily and mental constitution of a people; nor is there anything in our political condition, which justifies the hope, that any other qualities than these will long maintain inviolate our rights and our liberties (Marsh 8).

Note the keywords: effeminate, sportsman, destruction, half-military, our rights, our liberties. The “our” in question is settler men preserving heteropatriarchy and the military spirit necessary to subdue Indigenous nations and foreign enemies.

Like other conservationists of his day, Marsh saw industrialization and the accompanying extinction of game animals as inevitable:

But however desirable it might be...to repeople the woods and the streams with their original flocks and herds of birds and beasts, and shoals of fish, it is for obvious reasons, impracticable to restore a condition of things incompatible with the necessities and the habits of cultivated social life. The final extinction of the larger wild quadrupeds and birds, as well as the diminution of fish, and other aquatic animals, is everywhere a condition of advanced civilization and the increase and spread of a rural and industrial population.(Marsh 9)

Beneath the idyllic picture of white heteronormative families fishing in a stocked lake lie technoscientific interventions into fish sex and reproduction: the fish hatcheries that Marsh was arguing for in the tract cited above.

The stocked lake and the grizzly-free wilderness that [Anonymous] theorizes both create safe spaces for settler families that nonetheless evokes a time when bears fished for salmon in wild rivers: the wilderness that is necessary for the construction of a white, settler masculinity. As [Anonymous] argues in relation to grizzly bears, the eugenic commitments of conservationists only became more explicit in the 20th century. Predator control, meant to increase ungulate populations for

elite hunters, was rooted in fears of emasculation through settler intermarriage with immigrant and Indigenous people (who were figured as feminized and “parahuman”) and the undermining of heterosexuality in an increasingly urban population. Crockett Club founder Theodore Roosevelt “endorsed an ethic of ‘strenuous masculinity’, which located wilderness recreation as the key to safeguarding the virility as white, American race” (Anonymous).

Fishy pleasures of chase-and-catch and immersion in nature became more easily accessible to more settlers when fake lakes replaced rivers. These lakes (figured as Nature) became the backdrop to performances of “natural” heteronormative gender/sex roles—women picnicking with their young children while their husbands and sons fished from the shore at Millerton, or later, women lounging in bikinis while men caught fish from the patriarchal pontoon boat on thousands of fake lakes in California and beyond.

INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IN FISH CULTURE TECHNIQUE

These hatcheries originate in the settler appropriation of Winnemem Wintu fisheries knowledge at Baird Hatchery on the McCloud River where, from 1872, Winnemem men, women, and children taught fish-commission biologists from the East Coast where to find fish, how often they spawned, what species they belonged to, and how to catch them. Winnemem men did much of the labour of building weirs and hauling seine to catch the spawning fish and digging waterworks to divert flow to the hatching tanks. Women and children worked in the hatchery picking over eggs and preparing them for shipment by rail and steamship as far away as Germany, Patagonia, and New Zealand (Stone, *Report of Operations during 1872 at the United States Salmon-Hatching Establishment on the M’Cloud River and on the California Salmonidae Generally; with a List of Specimens Collected.*). Winnemem people lived, worked, and harvested salmon at Baird until 1935, when Bureau of Reclamation engineers building Shasta Dam bulldozed their homes and took their lands without compensation (Stone, *Report of Operations during 1872 at the United States Salmon-Hatching Establishment on the M’Cloud River and on*

the California Salmonidae Generally; with a List of Specimens Collected.

Livingston Stone founded Baird Station on the McCloud River, the first hatchery for Pacific salmon and source for most of the rainbow trout raised in hatcheries worldwide to this day. When he travelled to the McCloud in 1872 he knew nothing about Pacific salmon: not where they spawned, or when, or where they went after spawning, how many species there were, or how to catch them (Yoshiyama and Fisher). In this photograph from around 1874, Winnemem hatchery workers dry salmon for later consumption, with the hatchery in the background. The photograph, like several others of settlers and Winnemem workers pulling seines dip-netting salmon, sometimes on mixed settler-Indigenous crews, show everyday interactions among the groups that appear unremarkable.





COURTESY, NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, NEGATIVE #76-1451



McCloud Wintu tribespeople assisted in salmon egg-collecting operations at Baird Station on the McCloud River, California, during the 1870s and early 1880s. Photograph ca. 1882.

More so than staged portraits, photographs like these that show everyday interactions in fish hatcheries depict the continued existence of Indigenous people and societies in modernity. As Caro comments in relation to Gertrude Käsebier's photograph "Unititled (group of Native performers)",

It is precisely the way these photographs have captured Native subjects inhabiting modernity that today allows us the possibility of a different kind of nostalgic reading—a nostalgia predicated on the loss of contemporaneity. In other words, viewers today can see in these photos Native subjects who simultaneously inhabit the space of the photographer, a coevalness often denied Native subjects within the anthropological gaze. (Caro 38)

This coevalness opens the space for what July Cole has called "latent destiny," a more relational possibility for fisheries science that depended and still depends on continuing Indigenous presence and evolving cross-pollinations between Indigenous and settler scientific practice (Cole). Ultimately this latent destiny did not persist at Baird because Stone and his colleagues didn't challenge settler modes of fishing and inhabitation, from settler squatting on Winnemem land to forced relocation without compensation from first McCloud corridor to the remnant piece of land flooded behind Shasta Dam. However, numerous contemporary tribal fisheries science and habitat stewardship programs demonstrate the ongoing opportunity to foreground Indigenous knowledges in riverine ecology practice.

The methods of fish culture developed at Baird are now standard at salmon and trout hatcheries: technicians capture spawning fish in weirs, extract their gametes, and incubate them in a series of trays and tanks before releasing the young fry back into lakes and rivers. Descendants of the McCloud rainbow trout are raised by the millions in hatcheries worldwide. Hatcheries sustain both recreational trout catches and many commercially-harvested salmon runs. Leaving aside the commercial harvest for the moment, I now consider sportfishing for steelhead as a reinvigoration of Manifest Destiny logics applied to settler sexualities.

INCOMMENSURABLE ETHICS

S portfishing sometimes instrumentalizes fish into status symbols, for example in catch-and-release fisheries when the trophy is a photograph of a person, usually a man, grasping a gasping live fish above the water in a photo, or when fish skins are kept and stuffed as trophies. At other times, the boundary between sportfishing and subsistence fishing blurs, as when people pose with their largest fish but take them all home to eat.

The conflicts between sportfishing and Indigenous fishing (and hunting) practices reveal incommensurate ethics. During fish-ins in the 1970s, the pan-Indian movement paper *Akwesasne Notes* featured a two-page spread about the fish wars in Puget Sound. Amidst photographs of a fishing camp recently raided and bulldozed by state game wardens, the paper ran a quote from an unnamed Puyallup fisherman which read, “It was cleaned out—probably by sportsmen who want all the fish for themselves, not to feed their families but to show off” (“Fishermen and the Fascists: The Masssacre of the Puyallup Camp”). The fisherman’s comment contains an ethical claim: that catch-and-release practices are unethical because they disrupt relations between a fish and the human it offers its life to. The fly-fishers of the Wild Steelhead Federation, in contrast, recently argued that their catch-and-release practices are more humane because by releasing fish, they are not killing them. However, opponents of catch-and-release salmon and trout fisheries cite research showing that handling stress causes many fish to die several hours after release (Ferguson and Tufts).

The *Akwesasne Notes* spread marks a turning point in settler-tribal-salmon relations in the Pacific West: a movement paper based out of Mohawk territory covering legal cases and direct action on the Columbia River and Puget Sound. This spread appeared just a few years before the Boldt decision transformed salmon management practice by guaranteeing tribes 50 percent of catchable fish—and the right to manage the runs so that there were fish to catch. But where legal scholars often focus on Boldt’s legal interpretation as the key in shifting relations, official tribal outlets such as the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission newsletter note that the tribes’ struggle to fish and have fish to catch has continued in various forms since settler harvest and

industry decimated the runs through the present day, when stormwater, culverts, legacy dams, salmon farms, and a legion of other practices block the recovery of nearly all salmon stocks. As Nisqually fisherman and lifelong tribal advocate Billy Frank, Jr. noted many times in his column, “Being Frank,” the false notion that tribal harvest is responsible for salmon decline has persisted for nearly 150 years, despite overwhelming historical, tribal, and scientific evidence that dams and habitat degradation were devastating and continue to impede recovery.

In recent years, the trophy fishing organization Wild Steelhead Federation has repeatedly sued state and tribal hatchery managers in Washington and Oregon, seeking to close hatcheries. Because of habitat destruction, water diversion, and dams, these hatcheries support tribal ceremonial and subsistence harvest as well as commercial and sport harvests. The Federation argues that the hatchery fish suffer from inbreeding, which reduces their fitness and also their fighting spirit at the end of the hook (“Wild Steelhead Research on the Sauk and Skagit Rivers”).³ That is, fish that began their lives in hatcheries are figured as less natural than “wild” fish who swim out of gravel in a “natural” stream. But why the obsession with wildness and naturalness among recreationists who drive many miles to their fishing spots, passing on the way the farms that produce the food they eat (since they do not eat their catch) and the clear-cut forests that enclose the small patches of protected state and national parks where they go to fish? Is it because these unnatural fish insult settler masculinity by interfering in their sportsmanlike pursuit of “good fighters”—as they term non-hatchery steelhead—in Nature they figure as untrammelled?

CONCLUSION: FIGURING LAND AS RELATION

Anishinaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamosake Simpson links settler imposition of heteropatriarchy on Indigenous gender relations to capitalist resource extraction projects:

Really what the colonizers have always been trying to figure out is “How do you extract natural resources from the land when the people’s whose territory you’re on believe that those plant, animal and minerals have both spirit and therefore agency?”... You use gender violence to remove Indigenous peo-

ples and their descendants from the land, you remove agency from the plant and animal worlds and you reposition aki (the land) as “natural resources” for the use and betterment of white people (Simpson).

In figuring aki as fundamentally different from “natural resources,” Simpson links Nature as a concept and abstraction to the suppression of Indigenous gender and sexual relations and to ways of relating to land, water, and its constituent species. Also riffing on aki, Potawatomi/Anishinaabe scientist and writer Robin Hall Kimmerer writes, “If we are to survive here—and if our neighbors are to survive, too—we [English speakers] need to learn to speak the grammar of animacy” (368) In a move that gender-non-conforming human people would recognize, Kimmerer proposes a new pronoun for more-than-human kin: “Just a small thing: let us replace the word ‘it,’ the pronoun we use for non-human beings, with a new pronoun: not ‘he’ or ‘she,’ but ‘ki,’ from aki, to signify animate, being of the Earth. So that when we speak of the sugar maple, we say ‘Oh, that beautiful tree, ki is giving us sap again this spring’” (368)

Further linguistic adaptations can (further) trouble nature and the natural. In the call for this special issue, Sisseton-Wahpeton scholar Kim TallBear and settler scholar Angela Willey highlight the settler notion of “natural” as a provocation for thinking about settler sexualities in relation to colonization projects: “Ideas of what is natural are always paramount in settler invocations of what are considered the right ways to relate.” Queers have lots of experience with being figured as unnatural; a queer ecological stance revels in troubling the various senses of “natural.” One sense (from Middle English via Old French, “having a certain status by birth”) is of an innate quality or ability, something that comes instinctively to a person, or a character of personality that is relaxed, unaffected, spontaneous. Another, related sense is “simple, unaffected, easy,” of being in agreement with the circumstances surrounding someone, as in sharks have no natural enemies, or occurring without debate. The settler invocations of right relations TallBear and Willey invoke rely on this last sense of inevitability. I see this inevitability as derivative of “not unusual, exceptional, irregular, or miraculous” and also “formed by nature; not subject to human intervention, not

artificial.” Yet another sense of natural is at work in discourses of the wilderness sublime developed by Transcendentalists and their descendants—a reworking the archaic Christian doctrine definition (“relating to earthly or unredeemed human or physical nature as distinct from the spiritual or supernatural realm”).⁴ The mainstream U.S. environmental movement and the natural sciences arise from the doctrinal division: natural as “existing in nature” is defined as not made or caused by humankind. The elision of these senses of the natural—innate and inevitable in (settler) bodies and cultural forms—and the earthly—not made by humankind—came together with destructive power in the doctrine of Manifest Destiny and other settler-colonial projects.

Images of settler elites painting and fishing on a virgin pristine McCloud, in the “reclaimed” landscape of the just-flooded Millerton Reservoir, the Rainbow Rancho trout ponds scraped out of the high desert, or on pontoon boats on Lake Shasta over a river drowned now for most of a century evoke these different senses of the natural as paramount in settler heteronormativity, by highlighting how settler sexual and familial relations erase Indigenous lives co-constituted with more-than-human relations.

Indigenous theories of land relations threatens the settler concepts of pristine nature; as Kim TallBear has argued, they also challenge patriarchal notions of the nuclear family with extended familial, adoption, and non-reproductive kin-making practices (TallBear; TallBear). In reviewing an archive of photographs that depict settler-trout relations in California, I have argued that labeling either normative settler sexualities and gender relations or the flooded spawning grounds as *unnatural* threatens co-constituted settler sexualities and reworkings of “natural” landscapes.

Reading across the grain of the archives of fisheries science, I have considered fundamental misunderstandings of salmon ecology by settlers in the late-19th and early-20th centuries as bound up in settler sexualities as well as reproduction of fish and the white family. Settler separation of ethics and relations from science perpetuate genocidal policies and potentially condemn the salmon to extinction. Sex without passion, death and killing without love, and exceptionalism rooted in set-

tlar masculinities still evoke a toxic frontier nostalgia that haunts settler fishery science.

WORKS CITED

- Anonymous. "Where the Bears Aren't: Queerness, Ecology, and the Parahuman." *American Quarterly*, in review.
- Caro, Mario A. *The Native as Image: Art History, Nationalism, and Decolonizing Aesthetics*. University of Amsterdam, 2010.
- Cole, July Oskar. *Wash Out: Fluvial Forms and Processes on the American Frontiers*. University of Montana, 2010.
- Ferguson, B. L., and R. A. Tufts. "Physiological Effects of Brief Air Exposure in Exhaustively Exercised Rainbow Trout (*Oncorhynchus Mykiss*): Implications for 'Catch and Release' Fisheries." *Canadian Journal of Fisheries and Aquatic Sciences*, vol. 49, 1992, pp. 1157–62.
- "Fishermen and the Fascists: The Masssacre of the Puyallup Camp." *Akwasasne Notes*, 11 Nov. 1970, p. 46.
- Frank Jr, Billy Frank, and Billy Frank Jr. "Lawsuit Threatens Steelhead Recovery." *Northwest Treaty Tribes*, 7 Apr. 2014, <https://nwtreatytribes.org/lawsuit-threatens-steelhead-recovery/>.
- Holtgren, Marty, et al. *Renewing Relatives: Nmé Stewardship in a Shared Watershed*. 2015, <https://hfe-observatories.org/project/renewing-relatives-nme-stewardship-in-a-shared-watershed/>.
- Kimmerer, Robin Wall. "The Covenant of Reciprocity." *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Ecology*, edited by John Hart, 1 edition, Wiley-Blackwell, 2017, pp. 368–82.
- Loomis, Lorainne. "Habitat Must Carry More Weight." *Being Frank – Northwest Treaty Tribes*, 7 July 2015, <http://nwtreatytribes.org/habitat-must-carry-more-weight/>.
- Marsh, George Perkins. *Report Made under Authority of the Legislature of Vermont, on the Artificial Propagation of Fish*. Free press print, 1857. *Hathi Trust*, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008596443>.
- "Natural, Adj. and Adv." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press. *Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://www.oed.com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/view/Entry/125333>. Accessed 4 Apr. 2018.
- Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Not Murdered and Not Missing." *NB Media Co-Op*, <http://nbmediacoop.org/2014/03/17/not-murdered-and-not-missing/>. Accessed 18 Jan. 2017.

- Stone, Livingston. "Report of Operations at the U.S. Salmon-Breeding Station, on the M'Cloud River, California, During the Season of 1884." *Report of the Commissioner for 1884*, vol. pt.12 (1884-1886), US Fish Commission, 1884, p. 169, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/53809>.
- . *Report of Operations during 1872 at the United States Salmon-Hatching Establishment on the M'Cloud River and on the California Salmonidae Generally; with a List of Specimens Collected*. U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries. Report of the Commissioner for 1872 and 1873., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1874, p. Appendix B: 168-215.
- TallBear, Kim. "Beyond the Life/Not Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies Thinking and the New Materialisms." *Cryopolitics*, edited by Joanna Radin and Emma Kowal, MIT Press, 2017.
- . *Making Love and Relations Beyond Settler Sexualities*. <http://indigenousts.com/event/making-love-and-relations-beyond-settler-sexualities/>. Accessed 20 Nov. 2017.
- Todd, Zoe. "From a Fishy Place: Examining Canadian State Law Applied in the Daniels Decision from the Perspective of Métis Legal Orders." *TOP-IA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 0, no. 36, 2016. topia.journals.yorku.ca, <https://topia.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/topia/article/view/40398>.
- . "'This Is the Life': Women's Role in Food Provisioning in Paulatuuq, Northwest Territories." *Living on the Land: Indigenous Women's Understanding of Place*, edited by Nathalie Keramoal et al., Athabasca University Press, 2016, pp. 147-63. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/washington/detail.action?docID=4616254>.
- Trout, Jack. "History Of The McCloud River Rainbow Trout | Mtshasta.Com - Jack Trout's Weblog." *Mtshasta.Com - Jack Trout's Weblog*, 11 Aug. 2016, <http://www.mtshasta.com/history-of-the-mccloud-river-rainbow/>.
- Whyte, Kyle. *Food Sovereignty, Justice and Indigenous Peoples: An Essay on Settler Colonialism and Collective Continuance*. SSRN Scholarly Paper, ID 2925285, Social Science Research Network, 28 Feb. 2017. papers.ssrn.com, <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2925285>.
- . "Our Ancestors' Dystopia Now: Indigenous Conservation and the Anthropocene." *Routledge Companion to the Environmental Humanities*, edited by Ursula K. Heise et al., Routledge, 2017, p. 506. papers.ssrn.com, <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2770047>.
- "Wild Steelhead Research on the Sauk and Skagit Rivers." *Wild Steelhead Coalition*, <http://wildsteelheadcoalition.org/2011/12/wild-steelhead-research-on-the-sauk-and-skagit-rivers/>. Accessed 6 Jan. 2016.

- Williams. "How to Kill a Reborn River." *Fly Rod and Reel Magazine*, Jan. 2012, <http://www.flyrodreel.com/magazine/2012/january/kill-reborn-river>.
- Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 8, no. 4, Dec. 2006, pp. 387–409. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, doi:10.1080/14623520601056240.
- Yoshiyama, Ronald M., and Frank W. Fisher. "Long Time Past: Baird Station and the McCloud Wintu." *Fisheries*, vol. 26, no. 3, Mar. 2001, pp. 6–22. *Taylor and Francis+NEJM*, doi:10.1577/1548-8446(2001)026<0006:LTPBSA>2.0.CO;2.'

NOTES

1. For an overview of this debate, compare these two articles: (Loomis; Williams)←
2. For an extended treatment of Billy Frank's articulations of salmon treaty rights, reciprocity, and ecocultural relations among Puget Sound / Salish Sea tribes and salmon, see Whyte, *Food Sovereignty, Justice and Indigenous Peoples*)←
3. Billy Frank, Jr., writing for the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, articulated the ongoing need for hatcheries as essential for tribal and non-tribal fishing: "Lost and damaged habitat, not hatcheries or harvest, is what's driving wild steelhead and salmon populations toward extinction," Frank said. "The focus needs to be on fixing and protecting habitat, not fighting over hatcheries and the fish they produce. Climate change and exploding population growth are only making our habitat problems worse, which in turn makes hatcheries even more important for wild fish and all of us" (Frank Jr and Frank Jr)←
4. (All quotes this page from OED Online, "Natural, Adj. and Adv.")←

PILI'OHĀ/KINSHIP: (RE)IMAGINING PERCEPTIONS OF NATURE AND MORE-THAN-HUMAN RELATIONALITY

KIMBERLEY GREESON

Abstract: *This essay draws from a larger ethnographic study looking at the complex contextuality of biodiversity conservation in Hawaii. This article uses vignettes to communicate its focus. These vignettes are autoethnographic by nature, but are pushed further through the use of diffractive methodology (Barad) to include social-media visuals, multispecies encounters, and Native Hawaiian (kanaka maoli) perspectives. Through my ontological and methodological approach, I seek to challenge normative discourses on human exceptionalism, nature-culture dichotomies, and the manner in which industrialized societies place hierarchies on species and matter, as well as how these conversations might impact conservation. In this article, and through these vignettes, I explore what it means to be native and how my own positionality situates studying the social and cultural milieu of conservation issues in Hawaii.*

Résumé: *Cette dissertation s'inspire d'une plus large étude ethnographique sur la contextualité complexe de la préservation de la biodiversité à Hawaii. Le sujet central de cet article est "la vignette" (la vignette est un bref récit). Ces "vignettes" sont auto ethnographiques mais approfondies par nature par l'utilisation de la méthodologie diffractive incluant les illustrations de médias sociaux, les échanges entre divers espèces et les perspectives des autochtones hawaïens (Kanaka maoli). Au travers de mon approche méthodologique et ontologique, je cherche à éprouver le discours normatif sur l'anthropocentrisme, les dichotomies écologie-culture et la manière dont les sociétés industrialisées hiérarchisent les espèces et la matière, de même que ces conversations peuvent avoir un impact sur la conservation.. Dans cet article, et à travers ces vignettes, j'explore ce que signifie être autochtone et comment ma propre positionnalité, en tant que féministe décoloniale, situe l'étude du milieu social et culturel des questions de conservation à Hawaii.*

This article draws from my doctoral research, in which I explored the biopolitical and cultural contexts of pollinators and conservation in Hawaii. The purpose of this multispecies ethnography was to situate more-than-human mattering within theoretical and Indigenous frameworks. I used a multispecies ethnography to eschew traditional anthropocentric ethnographic methods. Yet with little published on exactly how to include the liveliness of the nonhuman while also attending to contemporary theory and ethics, the research methods emerged during the research process. Here I present an ethnographic account of my experiences in the field to illustrate my research process, and to explore the ways diffractive methodology can be used to illuminate multispecies assemblages in a more ethical, thoughtful, and performative manner. These multispecies assemblages shift the focus from human to centering more-than-human communities and relationships. In these ethnographic vignettes, I also explore the contexts that conservation in Hawai'i situate, as well as attempt to bring Hawaiian voices to the table. The aim of this article is to examine my experiences as a multiracial settler who was born and raised in Hawai'i in relation to conservation and culture in Hawai'i, to explore the possibility of diffractive methodologies, and to challenge normative discourse on kinship towards a multispecies interpretation.

In this article, I use narratives of my own autoethnography and of my participants to illustrate and weave the personal and descriptive; through first-person accounts with images (visual data), I (re)story the more-than-human voice, presence, and agency. I have also included the Hawaiian language throughout this manuscript, and although I do not speak 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language), Hawaiian words are often used (as a form of Hawaiian Creole English), sprinkled in English verbiage by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiian residents ("locals" like myself) familiar with Hawaiian culture. I include Hawaiian words that are commonly used by local people in Hawai'i, defined in parenthesis in an effort to engage you, the reader. I use these terms to both honour Indigenous people and to give authenticity and texture to my writing (autoethnography and overall thick description). These words are not designated in italics, as APA or MLA would have me do, as Hawaiian is not a foreign language in Hawai'i and to acknowledge the postcolonial (decolonial) perspective of my positionality. Finally, I make an effort

to include Indigenous scholars, thinkers, or elders in my research and writing. I am trained in a Western manner of science and research, but through this research seek ways to decolonize social inquiry by including Indigenous voices and the more-than-human world.

When I began this field research, I became aware that I was in search of Hawai'i's elusive and endemic bees, rare birds, and unknown (or perhaps just forgotten) *Lepidoptera* moths and butterflies. I felt the need to go out to find these animals and talk to people who studied them. I ached to take as many photos as I could to post on my social-media feed. I am not sure what creates a human desire to track down things that are rare or difficult to find and then to share with others. As I got into the field, settler pollinators were everywhere: yellow, black, and orange butterflies, the seemingly ubiquitous honeybee, and tiny, introduced, nectar-feeding birds. These were not pollinator species endemic to Hawai'i, but rather introduced by human settlers changing pollinator ecologies. As I learned more about these tiny and interesting native pollinators, I also discovered they were the hardest to capture on film and the most obscure.

TERMINOLOGY AND CONTEXT FOR HAWAII'S CONSERVATION

An examination of conservation biology and categorical terms is necessary. For many conservation biologists, species fall under several categories: those that are endemic or native to an area, those that are introduced, and those that are introduced and invasive. An invasive species is any organism that is believed to negatively alter ecosystems. From a conservation standpoint, invasive species pose the most imminent threat to Hawai'i's ecosystems. In Hawai'i, the plants brought by the original Hawaiian settlers were known as *canoe plants* (to be differentiated from endemic native species). Several scholars have explored the philosophical and political problems of such rigid and often arbitrary and political taxonomic classification of species (see Helmreich; Head; Head, Atchison, and Phillips).

In the course of human introduction (Polynesian and colonial) to the Hawaiian Islands, the natural and ecological realm shifted. As new species were introduced to the islands, endemic species were displaced

and went extinct. These extinctions accelerated after European colonization (see Culliney). Hawai'i is unique in that much of the species loss happened at a fast rate (and continues today). In a short amount of time, estimated to be about two hundred years, Hawai'i's ecosystem drastically changed. The colonial history of Hawai'i and its consequences happened so quickly that in many cases humans do not know what has already been lost since Hawaiian oral histories and written documentation of many species is still incomplete. Moreover, most if not all species decline and extinctions occurred through anthropogenic causes. The people who knew the Hawaiian words used for species have since passed, and the species' Hawaiian names along with them—highlighting the loss of oral context.

It is widely accepted that the primary cause of species declines and extinctions in many places, such as Hawai'i, is the threat from invasive species. A species is considered invasive if it is non-native and causes the native species populations to dwindle. Invasive species outcompete (sunlight, food resources) or directly harm native species (eating their eggs, causing "alien diseases"). The native, endemic species have not evolved defenses to cope with or withstand the threats from the introduced species, making them extremely susceptible to harm. Conservation biologists deem this effect especially pronounced on islands. For example, most birds in Hawai'i have not developed an immune response to avian malaria. When avian malaria was introduced into Hawai'i (through both introduced mosquitos and birds), native Hawaiian birds' populations plummeted, resulting in many species going extinct. In response, wildlife and natural resource officials removed the invasive species. Humans "manage" nature in order to preserve multispecies intra-actions and entanglements and to ultimately prevent species from extinction. People manipulate populations, genetics, and space by building fences, eradicating invasive species, and replanting plants and relocating animals.

In contrast, my research questions refocused on native or endemic pollinators and the unique circumstances that define *conservation* in Hawai'i. Furthermore, I approached this project with the tenet that biological and endangered species conservation cannot be viewed in a vacuum, isolated from human socioecological influences. It also became apparent that the culture of pollinators and biological conserva-

tion is unique to Hawai'i, and models used elsewhere in the world usually cannot be applied there. Moreover, I quickly saw that while I followed (or rather searched for) pollinators, other vibrant things came to the foreground and begged attention: the trees, the forest, the watershed, and the inorganic fences and rocks. Uncovering the embedded materiality became particularly apparent when discussing pollinators and pollinator—plant relationships, and the forest or watershed they are a part of, as well as the human cultural/political contexts.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: TOWARDS A DIFFRACTIVE METHODOLOGY

Diffraction (as opposed to reflection) of self should be analyzed and written into multispecies ethnography, for self is the apparatus of observation and interpretation of a multispecies world through descriptive and creative ethnographic methods (such as multimedia). Norman Denzin discussed autoethnography as life experiences and performances of a person. With this definition in mind, I pose this question: How central does the self become or not become? Traditionally, reflexivity and autoethnography go hand-in-hand. According to Tony Adams, Stacey Holman, and Caroline Ellis, reflexivity in autoethnography “uses deep and careful self-reflection—typically referred to as ‘reflexivity’—to name and interrogate the intersections between self and society, the particular and the general, the personal and the political” (2). Using diffraction, I move beyond reflexivity to acknowledge there is no separation between “self and society” (2), for example, but rather each are co-created. However, from a diffractive onto-epistemological approach, this inclusion of the self is not simply about the self. It is embodying the self to make meaning by engaging with the multispecies and multimaterial matter. The self is not an “independent, self-contained” being but shaped “through and by their entangled intra-acting” (Barad ix) with the world.

For the purposes of this research, I use diffracted autoethnography in the form of vignettes in three-fold ways. First, I use it to illuminate the more-than-human world surrounding myself and participants in an attempt to “give” voice to the more than human and to describe our intra-actions (becoming pollinator). Second, I use diffracted au-

toethnography to give texture to the sights, sounds, smells, and feels of my data events, or engagements with the more-than-human, pollinator assemblage (as part of the material-discursive). The reader is typically not privy to my audio or video recordings, and my use of vignettes attempts to convey the substance of the encounters. Finally, these diffracted vignettes contextualize the researcher within the research assemblage and become an exploration of my multispecies expeditions.

My stories are not simply a reflection of what I saw in the field nor are they a sequential, chronological retelling of events. The work of William Cronon, Thom van Dooren and Deborah Bird Rose describe stories as the “ability to engage with happenings with the world as sequential and meaningful events” (3). Stories are rendered to describe, present, re-story, and to analyze the material-discursive unfolding of my experiences with place, through which place and self are enmeshed. Each vignette, carefully crafted with accompanying photographs, is an entangled performativity of pollinator, forest, and conservation infrastructure to describe the biopolitical particulars. Through these diffractive stories or vignettes, I show the intra-actions of the pollinator assemblage, describing the reconfiguring and temporalities of my data event by including the past, present, and future, all the while bringing the more-than-human into the forefront. This is important since my data collection still relied on some traditional qualitative methods and tools, such as interviews and words.

Woven in these stories are photos because taking photos has become a natural extension of my observation and interaction with the world around me, partly because it is a hobby of mine, but also because smartphones have made photography so accessible. I took copious amounts of photos while walking to see native pollinators and to follow their human comrades.

Sarah Pink writes extensively on the use of visual ethnographic methods to describe placemaking: “visual ethnography involves an approach that engages with audio-visual media and methods throughout its processes of research, analysis, and representation. It is inevitably collaborative and to varying extents participatory” (2). Jamie Lorimer also approaches this form of visual methods, describing the use of “moving imagery methodology for witnessing and evoking hu-

man–nonhuman interactions” (238). These interactions are also portrayed through the camera lens, humans taking photos and videos of their more-than-human companions.

Photos are one way I use visual ethnographic methodologies to capture, illustrate, and with personal narrative, to (re)story the more-than-human voice, presence, materiality, interactions, and movements. This methodology allows for the “voiceless” and the more-than-human to be present in the study. While this traditional paper and pen publication cannot include audio, I added many images, as screenshots of the photography posted to my Instagram feed. Can seeing these photographs filtered multiple times—through lenses, editing software, filters, and scrolled and viewed on a tiny smartphone—be considered a diffractive rendering of forest materiality?



Fig. 1. Screenshot of an introduced Hawkmoth at night from the author’s Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. “The hawk moth’s wings beat fast.” Instagram, 26, September 2018, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

These photo-editing apps or software create and curate an aesthetic or emotion. How can photography be used in a diffractive analysis? Natasha Myers attempts to reckon with the ability of photographs to be diffractive portrayals by hacking into the camera “to disrupt the conventional ecologist’s desire to capture clean, clear, legible data. . .to keep our moving bodies in the frame, allowing us to register the moods and energies of the land relationally” (12). She opens the aperture to cap-

ture movement and to “document the energetics of an encounter, the push and pull between bodies, human, more-than-human, and machine” (12). For me, slowing down the shutter speed allows a settler hawkmoth’s becomings and liveliness to be captured. Perhaps the resulting blur to show the insect’s movement is one approach to Myers’ kinesthetic imagery (Fig. 1), while simultaneously allowing the minute denizens of the night to be seen.

My photos were primarily in focus, contrary to Myers’ approach, to share the details of these small, marginalized species with a wide audience. Unlike Myers, my intent was not to portray diffraction within one photo but instead in the narratives as a whole, with each photo representing its own single diffracted piece of data. I did attempt to make my photos a bit more filtered and effectual via social media, where they are interacted with and “alive” long after. This continual unfolding in a non-space¹ such as social media is dynamic, enacted, and agential. From an educator lens, my photographs and Instagram posts also served to bring the more-than-human into focus and connect with a wider, non-academic audience.

I use the diffracted vignettes to create and build cartographies, new insights, and highlight differences. In an interview, Barad claims, “diffractive readings bring inventive provocations; they are good to think with. They are respectful, detailed, ethical engagements” (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 48). For example, in my diffracted vignette “*Acacia koa*” I detail the sights, sounds, plants, and animals that I heard and saw to illustrate the voice without organs in my intra-actions (Mazzei 732). Within these narratives, I inlay pieces of other historical, cultural, and personal stories such as mo’olelo, stories of capitalism and the ongoing interspecies entanglement of the forest. All of these threads or lines of data become a mangling or assembling fluctuating in space and time, in and out of the field. My experiences were performative and unfolding as I walked, observed, and photographed—embodied experiences that not only discussed multispecies entanglements, but also the diffracted vignettes were entanglements themselves.

I use the notion of story or narrative to write vignettes but also push them further through the use of diffraction (or diffracted autoethnography). First, I ask, what is meant by diffraction? Drawing from phys-

ical phenomenon and physics theory, Karen Barad uses diffractions as a metaphor to describe philosophy, methodology, and analysis. Diffraction is the reading of insights from multiple sources and positions, marking the differences and the affectual pathways these differences have on the world. Barad writes, “diffraction attends to the relational nature of difference; it does not figure difference as either a matter of essence or as inconsequential” (72). Moreover, diffraction, as it is theorized in quantum mechanics, illustrates interference, entanglements, and ways of knowing or understanding phenomena.

VIGNETTE ONE

Acacia koa: A diffracted vignette

The Kaloko trails in the Honuauula Forest Reserve are relatively close to my home on west Hawai‘i Island. The reserve is a well-known cloud forest oasis 2,600 feet above the sleepy coastal town of Kailua-Kona, where locals and tourists alike can readily gain access to see native plants and birds. As I learned during my fieldwork, having such easy access to native forests is not very common today in Hawai‘i. Most native forests have been replanted and protected at remote, high-elevation plots where development and the public typically cannot reach. On Maui for example, organizations have been focusing on creating native habitat for native birds in the East Maui watershed. This area is so remote and hard to access that helicopters bring in people and equipment to carefully fence and routinely monitor the area to keep destructive ungulates out.

Fortunately, on Hawai‘i Island I did not need a helicopter to see native forests, and where there are native flowers there are native pollinators. I frequent the Honuauula Forest Reserve to see native birds and conduct some walking autoethnography. The trailheads (as there are multiple entrances to the trail system) are obscure and poorly marked. There is no official trailhead signage, parking lot, or even clear directions on how to get there. On my first few trips, I parked on three different streets, entered the forest at different points, and walked different sections of the trail system. Each time I did not have a clear idea of where I was going and whether the trail I was on would loop back around,

and I sometimes felt a bit like Alice in Tulgey Wood, the forest and its creatures curiously pushing and pulling me in every which way.



Fig. 2. Screenshot of Hāpu'u fern from the author's Instagram. Greenson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "Ginger and hāpu'u fern understory." Instagram, 13 June 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

Along most of these trails, there are an interesting mix of native and non-native plants. The two main tree species of native forests, 'ōhi'a lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) and koa (*Acacia koa*), have been replanted in the last ten years, and in some areas the hapu'u fern (Hawaiian tree fern; *Cibotium glaucum*) tower overhead or have toppled over only to succumb to a carpet of lime-green moss, tiny 'ōhi'a seedlings, and in one place, a feral honeybee hive. The giant fronds and palm-sized fiddleheads of the hapu'u relax under the forest canopy and weepily bounce from raindrops (Figs. 2 and 3).



Fig. 3. Screenshot of a hāpu'u fern fiddlehead from the author's Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "Nature's perfect spirals and fractals." Instagram, 1, July 2018, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

The higher-elevation areas of the trail system buttress a fence where the other side is open pasture (Fig. 4). This pasture area, located mauka (towards the mountain, or upslope), is private property and an unorthodox meeting of non-native grasses, cows, and scattered 'ōhi'a trees whose limbs were permanently stretched horizontally from the howling wind. Even here, the hands of capitalism and human nature seep heavily into native forest. Cattle and trees have each been commodified for hundreds of years in Hawai'i. In 1794, Captain George Vancouver introduced cattle to King Kamehameha the Great. These individual cows were never domesticated and roamed freely, sometimes hunted until King Kamehameha the Great put a kapu (rules banning their slaughter) on them for ten years. Cattle have been incredibly destructive to the sensitive native vegetation such as koa, trampling tender seedlings. Even today, herds of feral cows (called Hawaiian wild cattle or pipi ahui), descendants from these original cattle settlers, roam the island's forests (Strazer xii).



Fig. 4. Screenshot of a red 'ōhi'a lehua blossom next to a fence from the author's Instagram. Greenson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "A fence separates native forest from pastureland." Instagram, 17, June 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

Trees, sandalwood, and koa in particular, are prominent in Hawai'i's colonial history. Sandalwood changed the Hawaiian people forever, moving them away from the self-sufficient agriculture of the ahupua'a—ancient land divisions that extended from the top of mountains down to the ocean—towards monetary rewards collecting and trading sandalwood to Europeans in the late 1700s. In more recent years, koa hardwood is highly valued for its deep and striking appearance. People use the wood of the koa tree for the interior finishing of homes, furniture, cabinets, and other products. Hawai'i's koa industry was estimated to net \$28.7 million in 1991, and in 2004 its price per square foot ranges from \$4.50 to \$65 (United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service Pacific Southwest Research Station 89). Koa was also the most important plant for early Hawaiians, prized for making voyaging canoes and surfboards as well as for medicinal use. The ancient Hawaiian protocol for harvesting koa to make cultural items required an intimate multispecies entanglement.

When a kahuna or canoe builder, for example, entered the forest to search for the perfect koa tree, he would carefully watch the ‘elepaio (Monarch flycatcher, *Chasiempis species*). Searching for food, these tiny birds would hop from tree trunk to tree trunk, pecking for insects. The wood from the trees the ‘elepaio stopped and pecked at in search of insects was considered poor and perhaps rotten. However, if the ‘elepaio landed but did not stay to peck for insects, the trunk was determined to be solid, right for building a canoe.

Underfoot, the trail is covered with the flat, sickle-shaped leaves of the adult koa (Fig. 5). The koa stand that I am looking for has been replanted in the last decade and it was smaller than I had envisioned. I continue to walk along the trail, lined with several of these beautiful trees, for a good while before realizing this was the replanted stand to which people (via word-of-mouth on social media, i.e., Facebook) referred. It is as if the restoration efforts were haphazard and forgotten. I wondered where were the fences. Where were the other understory plants apart from the hapu’u fern? Why has the kahili ginger not been eradicated? These were easy questions to ask in spite of such difficult and complex realities. Of course, I knew the answers.



Fig. 5. Screenshot of trail from author's Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "Walking the forest trail." Instagram, 15, June 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

Conservation of biodiversity has been notoriously underfunded and generally not a high priority unless the species of interest is of economic value. Yet both native and non-native plants and animals are the species that became the pollinator story. The forest reserve on the makai side (towards the sea) of the fence is largely dominated by 'ōhi'a lehua, hapu'u, and the newly planted koa trees are covered with bright orange-coloured lichen. I noted in an Instagram field journal post (Fig. 6):

Crustose lichen covers the bark of the koa (*Acacia koa*) trees. There's something about the bright rusty orange and the deep greens of the #kalokocloudforest that stand their ground as the clouds move in. Bright colors shine through as the white mist slowly creeps down through the trees, as if the mountain #Hualālai herself was exhaling. The koa tree isn't just a tree but a community of living beings. A #symbiotic relationship near the ground and high up the canopy. (Greeson 93)



Fig. 6. Screenshot of lichen on a koa tree from the author's Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "Crustose lichen cover bark." *Instagram*, 17, June 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

The koa trees are covered with what appears to be several crustose lichens, most notably a rust-coloured one. These lichens form an inseparable crust on the surface of the tree, and are entanglements themselves, a composite organism comprised of algae or cyanobacteria living among fungi. The literal entanglement of tree, algae, and fungi define their agency. It is these ancient and evolutionary precise entanglements that make the native forest such an important piece of the pollinator story and thus of the conservation story. Intra-actors in multi-species communities or ensembles, such as those of the mesic forests, give life and animacy to one another. Even just one koa tree, for example, houses innumerable intra-actions that are continuously in flux and influenced by my presence and observation.

As I continue along, searching high and low for pollinators, I am becoming increasingly frustrated and defeated. The birds above were too far to see, hanging out at the tree tops 60-70 feet above me. They moved fast and were difficult to see through my binoculars, let alone capture on camera. I have not yet mastered identifying their calls by memory. The koa trees did not seem to be in bloom. I make a mental note to check when the flower blooms and hope I have not missed it.

I walk further along the trail, down towards the lower elevation where the native plants are more spread out and are fewer, sporadic almost as if they were struggling to find their footing and getting lost in the crowd of greens and yellows. The invasive kahili ginger (*Hedychium gardnerianum*) has become the dominant plant species. The air is heavy with their intoxicating fragrance. There is no breathing room. These gingers form thick mats at the rhizome or root level. They choke out anything that tries to grow. They jump at any open ground, such as that of mud and soil ripped clear and rutted by the searching tusks and noses of invasive feral boars (*Sus scrofa*).² I see that a recent boar visitor has upturned fresh soil. Water is now pooled there waiting for disease-harboring mosquitos to lay their eggs. I am already itchy from the mosquito (*Aedes* sp.) bites, as small red welts—a physical sign of my body's immune response flooding histamines, immune cells, and fluid to the area—have accumulated on my legs. Mosquitos, the hated and demonized tiny insects that humans have long waged war upon, distract and annoy me. I think that I should have brought mosquito

repellent, and slap the mosquitos off my legs and point my camera up a tall koa trunk—an unglamorous reality of fieldwork not depicted in composed and picturesque posts on social media.

The koa tree is a central figure in the pollinator story, as well as one of the dominant tree species in native Hawaiian forest ecosystems and local culture. Unlike forests in the continental United States, where there are dozens of key tree species in an old-growth forest, Hawai'i's native forests are dominated by only two trees, koa and 'ōhi'a. There are hundreds of biotic species whose liveliness depends on these two tree species. Koa alone provides food for over 100 insect species (United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service Pacific Southwest Research Station 26). Not only is there an interspecies community above ground (pollinators, lichen, koa moth caterpillars) but also below the ground a symbiosis between the tree's root systems and the nitrogen-fixing bacteria that help the tree grow. Insects primarily pollinate koa trees, but several bird species visit their flowers when they are in bloom from December through June. Native birds and insects are not the only pollinators that play a crucial role in pollinating koa. Introduced species are prominent as well, and in some cases filling a niche.

With an array of native and non-native species interacting within the Hawaiian community, the pollination of native plants by non-native pollinators, for example, has become what are known as novel communities. Due to the rapid decline in Hawai'i's native species, many of the pollinators (most notably the Hawaiian honeycreepers) have gone extinct. In some instances, the pollination mutualism was so specific that the plant companion followed suit and went extinct as well, but this is extremely rare. More often, other non-native pollinators have moved into their place, filling an ecological niche allowing endemic plant species to persist (Aslan et al. 478). The problem is that no complete inventory exists of what was in Hawaiian forests, in terms of species richness and population levels, prior to colonization and the introduction of invasive species. Since species are going extinct at such fast rates it is impossible to know if these novel pollinator interactions are beneficial. Are native pollinators visiting and benefiting from non-native plants? Even if humans do not know what was there before colonization, the current reality is that native and non-native species are interacting in novel ways. For Kirksey, "Accepting that ecological com-

munities are dynamic, ever-changing systems—with parts that can be taken away or added—opens up ethical and practical dilemmas” (218) of how to approach conservation, dilemmas that I unfold researching Hawai‘i’s pollinators.

In testament to these novel ecosystems, I most often witness European honeybees and monarch butterflies (*Danaus plexippus*) pollinators during my research. These introduced species, such as the monarch butterfly and the honeybee, are still part of the pollinator assemblage, as they have created unique ecologies by pollinating and feeding on both native and non-native plants, especially in more urban areas. The reality is that many of these species are here to stay and actively shape the world.

During the spring and summer months, honeybees cover every inch of the flowering avocado and macadamia nut trees, to the point that the trees are humming and buzzing loudly. Honeybees are important agricultural pollinators for Hawai‘i’s economy. Culturally, the monarch butterfly is symbolic of Hawai‘i’s last monarch, Queen Lili‘uokalani (1838-1917), who famously wore a diamond-adorned butterfly brooch, a common statement piece of the late 1800s. However, it is unclear whether this brooch represented the native Kamehameha butterfly or the introduced monarch butterfly. Most acknowledge it was the latter, as the Queen’s favorite flower was the lavender crown flower (*Calotropis gigantea*; Puakalaunu), which is the host plant for the monarch butterfly. The crown flower is in the milkweed family, making it a suitable host plant for caterpillars. Commonly used to make Hawaiian leis, crown flowers are also a culturally relevant species.

Instead of restoring things to precisely how they used to be, biologists focus on what is most relevant and appropriate for present circumstances. Whether it be tended wild, progressive agroforestry practices, or pollinator gardens, how do these chance, human-centered spaces become havens for nonhuman species? More importantly, can these disturbed landscapes allow more sensitive species to persist? In other words, who is thriving in these areas? In some cases, forest birds flourish in dense native forests, avoiding the margins where native forest meet urban, agricultural area (Steinberg 54). These margins can be forest edges, corridors, and fragmented habitats, which often character-

ize landscapes. In Hawai'i, habitat fragmentation is addressed through efforts to connect small-scale forest farms while restoring the ancient Hawaiian land-use principles of the ahupua'a. The ahupua'a encourages people to grow food for humans sustainably and with the wider, entangled nature of the watershed (Corntassel 96). Thus, looking at emergent ecologies acknowledges these entanglements and helps humans to reconsider the reality and reciprocity of human-dominated landscapes in the Anthropocene.

VIGNETTE TWO

Mount Hualālai: A diffracted vignette

My house sits on the western slope of Mount Hualālai, Hawai'i's third active volcano, which has not erupted since 1801 (The Hu'ehu'e flow). I have watched both the sun and the moon rise from beyond the mountaintop through clear skies. In the mornings, the summit is beautiful as it shines, evoking various states of emotions with hues of golds, pinks, and purples (Fig. 7). Watching the sunrise is my favorite time of day, when the colours change as a symphony of animal sounds welcome the morning: 'io (Hawaiian hawk), feral roosters, parrots, saffron finches, and our family's ducks. As the day progresses, clouds and vog (volcanic air pollution) cover the summit, and darker clouds indicating rain showers come in almost every afternoon. To me, sunrise is the best time to see this magnificent and often forgotten mountain. Mount Hualālai, which stands at 8,271 ft. (2,521 m), is not one of the better-known volcanoes in Hawai'i, such as Maunakea and Maunaloa. Even in Hawaiian culture, Hualālai does not show up much in history and mo'olelo. Yet it is captivating nonetheless. It is also a mountain, whose summit cannot be accessed legally. No public trails lead up to the summit, because most of the land is privately owned. So, I was thrilled when I was invited to go up the mountain.

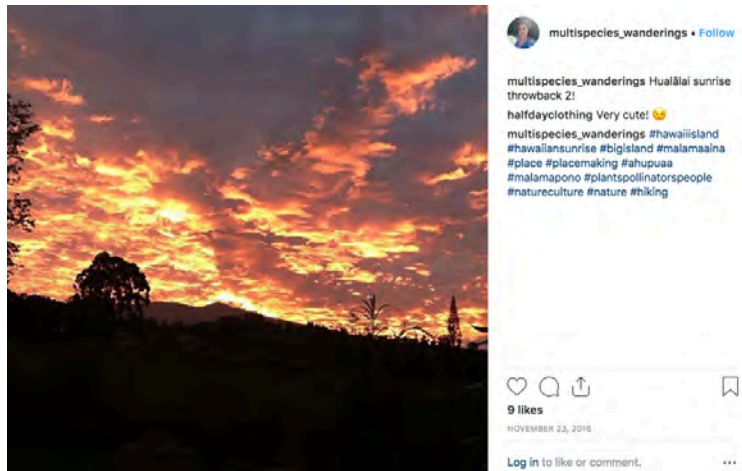


Fig. 7. Screenshot of Hualālai from the author's Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. "Hualālai sunrise." *Instagram*, 23, November 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

Keolani's nonprofit organization works to bring Native Hawaiian families back to the mountain, fosters oral history, and imparts traditional Hawaiian protocol by teaching about the indigenous plants that grow on the mountain. Native Hawaiian protocol for entering significant places includes using the traditional ways, typically in the form of oli (or chant), to request permission when entering sacred spaces such as the summit of Hualālai. Keolani stops her truck at a large gate off the main road. I can see now why she needs a 4x4 vehicle to access her family's property, as the road beyond the gate is nothing more than grated lava rocks. As we gather outside the truck, I soak in the views, sounds, and feeling of the air. The morning skies are sunny, bright blue behind creamy white clouds, promising of clear skies at the summit, though one never knows as high-elevation weather can change so suddenly. The mountains of Hawai'i Island are geologically young, with smooth slopes, round summits, and rolling foothills, a stark contrast to the steep waterfall etched ridges of the Waianae Range on Oahu where I grew up. We are approximately 4,875 feet above sea level. Straight roads and several steep pitches allow one to drive to this elevation from

the coast in just about 11-12 miles, and this quick ascent in elevation gives me a sense of how grand and majestic Hualālai is. Hualālai, or perhaps Madame Pele or Tūtū Pele (as she is often respectfully called), quietly sits, guarding over Kailua-Kona. At this elevation the habitat changes from tropical moist forest to tropical grassland and shrubland, meaning the wet fern understory gives way to grasses and small shrubs but the area is still dominated by 'ōhi'a forest (and historically more koa was likely found here as well) (Fig. 8).

Keolani begins by telling me:

When we come, whenever we are going into another place, especially a wahi kūpuna [ancestral sacred place] wahi pana, a sacred place you always want to say in your mind or out loud where you are from, who you are, and what your purpose is. It's kinda a way of asking permission [the birds are chirping in the background] and as Hawaiians you always know where you are, so right now we are in the Ahupua'a Kaloko and we are going to cross over into [the Ahupua'a] Ka'ūpūlehu where we'll stay. And the types of land divisions that Hawaiians had was ocean to mauka or even sky, the different winds and you get wao kahakai, wao kanaka where people dwell then as you get higher you get into wao la'au where the forest is and wao akua [realm of the gods], if you will. Before we go up I'll do a little oli for us and then we can head in. (Keawe)

Keolani takes a pause and a deep breath, as if she is collecting her thoughts and setting her intention. She faces the gate where we would pass over from the Ahupua'a Kaloko to the Ahupua'a Ka'ūpūlehu and continue up to her family's cabin and property. Keolani has a soft voice, but the melodic oli is clear and purposeful. The oli gives me chills. It is beautiful, harmonic, poetic.



Fig. 8. Screenshot of an 'ohia forest from the author's Instagram. Greeson, Kimberley. <multispecies_wanderings>. "The drive up Kaloko." *Instagram*, 8, July 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

To protect the forests, Keolani sprays the truck tires and each of our shoes with a fungicide, so as not to spread the fungus that causes Rapid 'Ohia Death (ROD). I saw spray bottles for ROD once at a trailhead half empty under an informational sign on ROD. Afterward, we jump back into her big pickup truck. The road ahead is bumpy, so Keolani navigates her truck slowly and carefully through the lava. Higher up, the blue skies turn into a thick, white cloud. The mist hangs on the top of the mountain obstructing what would have been panoramic views of Maunaloa and the Kona-Kohala Coast. When we stop to check out an unnamed crater I can only see about 100 feet ahead of me. My legs feel weak standing so close to the crater's edge, and the mist makes me feel as if I am in a room with cloud walls enclosing us, just like when I was on the misty summit of Mount Ka'ala on an earlier expedition with entomologists for National Moth Day (see Greeson for a detailed account). It is still beautiful on Hualalai, and the mist forces us to be present in this moment and this place.

As Keolani drives along the uneven road, she talks to me about her organization, the purpose, history, genealogy, and challenges. She stops

a few times along the way to her property to show me various plants and sites, which she also shows and teaches to the keiki she works with. We finally arrive at her property high on the mountain. The air is cool, and I am glad I brought a jacket with me. A green one-room cabin sits on the road flanked by fencing. She takes me on a hike makai of the cabin where the majority of their property lies. As we walk through an orchard of apples, plums, and pears—fruit not commonly seen growing in Hawai‘i’s climate—she yanks clumps of the invasive fireweed (*Senecio madagascariensis*) and tells me about the native ‘ōhelo ‘ai (*Vaccinium reticulatum*), pukiawe (*Styphelia tameiameia*), ‘āli‘i (*Dodonaea viscosa*), and invasive banana poka (*Passiflora mollissima*), a relative to passionfruit or lilikoi that we pass along the way. Many of the native plants we see, such as ‘ōhelo ‘ai, pukiawe, and ‘āli‘i, are important nectar sources for Hawaiian yellow-faced bees, and I wonder if they are up here entangled with these very plants when they are in flower. Heading back upslope towards the cabin, she points out an ‘iwi (*Drepanis coccinea*), the first I have seen up-close, dancing in the māmane (*Sophora chrysophylla*) trees. It has a conspicuous crimson body, long curved bill, and signature call, “ee-vee,” squeaky like a rusted hinge, which makes identifying it easy. As quickly as I see it and am able to snap a photo, the ‘iwi flies off (Fig. 9). I want to linger longer to see if it comes back.



Fig. 9. A screenshot of an elusive ‘iwi from the author’s Instagram. Greenson, Kimberley. multispecies_wanderings. “Spied an ‘iwi up Hualālai.” *Instagram*, 22, November 2016, <www.instagram.com/multispecies_wanderings/>.

Being in the high mountain environment is powerful. To be able to touch plants, pick seed pods, pull weeds, breathe the cool mountain air, and hear native birds singing can shift and mold a person's understanding of place. This more-than-human entangled materiality helps to co-create place. Using the mountain, Keolani uses place-based experiential learning to teach the community about the plants, their cultural uses, and how to collect and propagate seeds. In turn, Hawaiians are reconnected with their culture, place, wao akua (place of the gods) and deities represented by native plants there (Mali et al. 2).

Throughout this journey, I followed the pollinators through their pollination story from bud to seeds. When I visited Hualālai it was in the fall and most flowering plants had already bloomed and set seed. The nights were getting cool and the forest seemed quiet. Seeds had dropped from the trees onto the forest floor. These tiny seedlings either flourish or perish. As I have learned, sometimes all it takes is for humans to simply clear invasive plants out to give native plants a chance and they will flourish, giving new hope for conservation. Other times, it is about reimagining what native ecologies look like by considering the possibility of introduced species to fill niches—emergent ecologies, or an ecology that focuses on shifting and novel players.

MULTISPECIES ENTANGLEMENTS AS PILI'OHA/KINSHIP

The story of pollinators and pollinator conservation in Hawai'i is one that has various actors and motives, as illustrated in the vignettes above. Through these vignettes, I portray a story of intra-species and nature-cultural entanglements, one that is acutely different from conservation elsewhere in the world. As I walked these trails, my identity was shaped and formed through my intra-actions with these forest creatures, and consequently had a role in forming this research. Here, the line between nature/society and object/subject is continuously negotiated. I dissect these human entanglements of more-than-human worlds and bring together conversations of native plant and animal conservation with philosophy, culture, and politics, and attempt to illustrate the complexity of Hawai'i's conservation, bio-culture, and contextuality of nativeness (Helmreich). Understanding these entanglements involves interspecies mutualism, ecology and be-

yond ecology, and uncovering the biological, political, and cultural fragments of these communities.

My narratives *Acacia koa*, and *Hualālai* discuss nature-cultural nuances and emergent ecologies that arise in response to the Anthropocene in order to understand human entanglements with the more-than-human world. It was through these stories that I became entangled with the multispecies particulars and the encounters with pollinator and forest kin. This kinship, or pili'oha, as it is called in Hawaiian (Duarte), are biologically and socially dynamic, influenced by intra-actions and events. For Hawaiians, kinship is not only characterized by human relationships, but also by the inherent connectedness between Hawaiians and the more-than-human world, as Kanaka maoli scholar Manulani Meyer argues. She writes that in a Hawaiian epistemology, all things have life or agency and traditional knowledge comes from the 'āina (land); it is place-based (Meyer 39-40). This knowledge-land reciprocity informs the Hawaiian principle of mālama 'āina (to take care of the land) and is characterized by kuleana (responsibility). The resurgence of the traditional value of mālama 'āina (also referred to as aloha 'āina) has been actualized in contemporary politics over genetic engineering, education, and environmental sustainability movements (see Chinn; Feinstein; Guggini; and Gupta).

These multispecies entanglements and kinship reflect what Dennis Martinez calls kincentricity, the Indigenous perspective that human and nature are kin and have familial/ancestral ties (see Martinez; Salmón). For Martinez traditional knowledge is about relationships: “How to be a human and live in harmony with all our relations—a relationship that includes reciprocal obligations between humans and the natural world. . . .It is relationship centered. It is process-centered” (Martinez). Within this kincentric perspective, the relationships between humans and ecological entities also entail a familial responsibility. Echoing this sentiment, Pauline Chinn explains that a Hawaiian worldview understands “humans are part of a world in which plants, animals, and natural features are alive with ancestral and spiritual significance. . . a familial relationship.” (1250)

Non-Indigenous scholars, such as Donna Haraway (*Staying with the Trouble* 103), Eben Kirksey (31-34), and Maria Puig de la Bellacasa

(160), have also challenged normative categories of kinship and nature by arguing that these multispecies entanglements engage conversations on ethics, kinship, reciprocity, and care. Eben Kirksey writes of these ensembles, “I suggest that we understand such multispecies as ensembles of selves—associations composed of conscious agents who are entangled with each other through relations of reciprocity and accountability, who regard each other with empathy and desire” (34). These interspecies kinships, as visualized in my vignettes, are dynamic and shaped by biological, social, cultural forces that disrupt notions of relationality.

Eben Kirksey, Brandon Costelloe-Kuehn, and Dorion Sagan reflect on the ethical ramifications of these multispecies kinships: “negotiating power in multispecies assemblages requires great empathy, reflexivity, and tact” (209). Multispecies ethnographers navigate these power disparities and what it looks like to care for beings in this multispecies world (Kirksey 148; van Dooren 6). In my vignette *Hualālai*, I explore how place, contextualized by settler (mine) and Indigenous (Keolani) interpretations, serves as a reminder that humans have kinship with the more-than-human.

Acknowledging Indigenous standpoints in relation to these contemporary frameworks, Natasha Myers writes on decolonizing the ecological sensorium “to become better allies to Indigenous resurgence projects, settlers could start by forgetting everything we thought we knew about nonhuman lives and worlds” (7). For this study, it means forgetting what we think we know about native and nonnative species, and how we perceive place, land, and its inhabitants as not merely “resources” in need of “management.” It also means reconsidering what kinship looks like beyond the binary, humancentric ontology.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of collecting data, I attempted to follow pollinators throughout three of the Hawaiian Islands. This journey was storied, with each event and experience adding and weaving layers of meaning and context, and unfolding what conservation meant in Hawai‘i and in what ways it could be re-envisioned. I walked through mountainous forests and coastal habitats to see polli-

nators in action. I began this journey in the early summer with flowers blooming. These aligned with the flowering times of the plant companions, tiny black bees, micromoths, and rare nectar feeders. My field season closed during fall, when the flowers had withered and turned to seed pods.

In congruence with this special issue on critical relationality, this article attempts to bring the recent interest in multispecies studies (and ethnography) and Indigenous standpoints into deeper dialogue. Further, through my ontological and methodological approach, this manuscript challenges normative discourses on human exceptionalism, nature-culture dichotomies, and the manner in which industrialized societies place species and matter in hierarchy rather than lateral relation. In these vignettes, I attended to the sticky spaces where these multispecies and biocultural meetings might occur in conservation.

Through a specifically decolonizing perspective (Gerrard, Rudolf, and Sriprakash 6; Bonelli and Vicherat Mattar 61; Tuck and Yang 7), I was interested in examining multispecies, posthumanist, and Indigenous concepts of nonduality, more-than-human entanglements, and how these beliefs can help us to counter perspectives on conservation, as well as science, policy, culture, and ultimately education. This occurred by intra-acting with the human and more-than-human that make up pollinator assemblages and the broader native forests of Hawai'i, and in the continual analysis that emerged from a postcolonial Hawai'i.

In conclusion, I present two points of friction of which researchers must be mindful. First, that researchers grapple with "representing," interpreting, and caring for the more-than-human world, the very point of multispecies ethnography, without romanticizing or overly anthropomorphizing more-than-human species, matter, or place (Candea 252-253; Puig de Bellacasa 219). A second point of friction is ensuring that researchers do not perpetuate colonialism (e.g., neocolonialism, colonial thought, and epistemology, etc.) by ignoring Indigenous standpoints and cosmologies with regard to land and multispecies studies (Bonelli and Vicherat Mattar 61; TallBear 187).

While not directly in response to conservation, Donna Haraway argues that humans ought to:[reconfigure] the actors in the construction of the ethnospecific categories of nature *and* culture. The actors are not

all “us.” If the world exists for us as “nature,” this designates a kind of relationship, an achievement among many actors, not all of them human, not all of them organic, not all of them technological. In its scientific embodiments as well as in other forms, that nature is made, but not entirely by humans; it is the co-construction among human and nonhumans (*The Haraway Reader* 66).

As Haraway argues, multispecies and other novel methodologies, such as the diffracted vignettes of my journey, posit knowledge that is not bound to dominant discourses and perceptions. This epistemology allows me to ask novel questions and seek answers, as well as to explore how traditional/Indigenous perception of entanglements can inform a wider sense of multispecies kinship as it situates in a postcolonial context. Here I offer two examples in which this creative and nontraditional analysis addresses these issues and adds to the growing conversation on more-than-human studies by including non-normative more-than-human relativity.

WORKS CITED

- Adams, Tony E., Jones, Stacey H, and Ellis, Carolyn. *Autoethnography*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Aslan, Clare E., et al. “Imperfect Replacement of Native Species by Non-Native Species as Pollinators of Endemic Hawaiian Plants.” *Conservation Biology*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2014, pp. 478-488.
- Barad, Karen. M. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*. Duke University, 2007.
- Bonelli, Cristóbal and Vicherat Mattar, Daniela. “Towards a Sociology of Equivocal Connections.” *Sociology*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2017, pp. 60-75.
- Candea, Matei. “I Fell in Love with Carlos the Meerkat: Engagement and Detachment in Human–Animal Relations.” *American Ethnologist*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2010, pp. 241-258.
- Chinn, Pauline W.U. “Decolonizing Methodologies and Indigenous Knowledge: The Role of Culture, Place and Personal Experience in Professional Development.” *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, vol. 44, no. 9, 2007, pp. 1247–1268.
- Corntassel, Jeff. “Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-determination.” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2012, pp. 86-101.

- Duarte, Mahina. Personal message. 21 September 2018.
- Denzin, Norman. K. *Interpretive autoethnography*. Sage, 2014.
- Feinstein, Benjamin Charles. "Altering Perceptions through Indigenous Studies: The Effects of Immersion in Hawaiian Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) on Non-Native and Part-Native Students." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. XXV, no. 2, 2005, pp. 477-490.
- Gerrard, Jessica, Rudolph, Sophie, and Sriprakash, Arathi. "The Politics of Post-Qualitative Inquiry: History and Power." *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 23, no. 5, 2016, pp. 384-394.
- Greeson, Kimberley. *Of Pollinators and Forests: A Multispecies Ethnography of the Biopolitical Culture of Pollinators in Hawai'i*. 2017. Prescott College, PhD dissertation.
- Clare Gupta. "Return to Freedom: Anti-GMO Aloha 'Āina Activism on Molokai as an Expression of Place-based Food Sovereignty." *Globalizations*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2015, 529-544.
- Gugganig, Mascha. "The Ethics of Patenting and Genetically Engineering the Relative Hāloa." *Ethnos*, vol. 82, no. 1, 2017, pp. 44-67.
- Haraway, Donna J. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, Duke University, 2016.
- Haraway, Donna. J. *The Haraway Reader*. New York, Routledge, 2004.
- Head, Lindsey. "Decentring 1788: Beyond Biotic Nativeness." *Geographical Research*, vol. 50, no. 2, 2012, pp. 166-178.
- Head, Lindsey M., Atchison, Jennifer M. and Phillips, Catherine. "The Distinctive Capacities of Plants: Re-thinking Difference via Invasive Species." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 40, no. 3, 2015, 399-413.
- Helmreich, Stephen. "How Scientists Think; About 'Natives,' For Example. A Problem of Taxonomy Among Biologists of Alien Species in Hawai'i." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2005, pp. 107-128.
- Keawe, Keolani. Personal Interview. 22, November 2016.
- Kirksey, Eben. *Emergent Ecologies*. Duke University Press, 2015.
- Kirksey, Eben, Costelloe-Kuehn, Brandon, and Sagan, Dorion. "Life in the Age of Biotechnology." *The Multispecies Salon*, edited by Eben Kirksey, Duke University, 2014, pp. 185-213.
- Kirksey, Eben, and Helmreich, Stephen. "The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography." *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2010, pp. 545-576.

- Linderholm, Anna, et al. "A Novel *MC1R* Allele for Black Coat Colour Reveals the Polynesian Ancestry and Hybridization Patterns of Hawaiian Feral Pigs." *Royal Society Open Science*, vol. 3, no. 9, 2016, pp. 1-7.
- Lorimer, Jamie. "Moving Image Methodologies for More-than-Human Geographies." *Cultural Geographies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2010, pp. 237-258.
- Maly, Kepā, Pang, Benton K., Burrows, Charles P. M. "Pigs in Hawai'i, from Traditional to Modern." from: <http://www.eastmauiwatershed.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Puaa-cultural-fact-sheet-04.03.pdf>.
- Martinez, Dennis. "The Value of Indigenous Ways of Knowing to Western Science and Environmental Sustainability." *The Journal of Sustainability Education*, 2010. <www.susted.com/wordpress/content/the-value-of-indigenous-ways-of-knowing-to-western-science-and-environmental-sustainability_2010_05/>. Accessed 19 February 2019.
- Mazzei, Lisa A. "A Voice Without Organs: Interviewing in Posthumanist Research." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 26, no. 6, 2013, p. 732-740.
- Meyer, Manulani A. "Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Exploring Hawaiian Views of Knowledge." *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1998, 38-40.
- Myers, Natasha. "Ungrid-able Ecologies: Decolonizing the Ecological Sensorium in a 10,000 year-old NaturalCultural Happening." *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2017, p. 1-24.
- Pink, Sarah. *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media, and Representation in Research*. Sage, 2007.
- Puig de la Bellacasa, Maria. "Ethical Doings in Naturecultures." *Ethics, Place and Environment*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2010, p. 151-169.
- Salmón, Enrique. "Kincentric Ecology: Indigenous Perceptions of the Human-Nature Relationship." *Ecological Applications*, vol. 10, no. 5, 2000, pp. 1327-1332.
- Strazer, Marie D. "Ranching in Hawaii." *Ranching in Hawaii: A Guide to Historical Resources*, edited by Linda K. Menton, The Humanities Program of the State Foundation on Culture and Arts, 1988.
- Steinberg, Michael K. "Highland Forest Habitat Preference by Endemic Hawaiian Honeycreepers: A Preliminary Assessment." *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, vol. 71 no. 1, 2009, pp. 54-66.
- TallBear, Kim. "Beyond Life/Not-Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies thinking, and the New Materialisms."

Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World, edited by Joanna Radin and Emma Kowal, The MIT Press, 2017, p. 179-202.

United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service Pacific Southwest Research Station. *Koa (Acacia koa) ecology and silviculture*. General Technical Report PSW-GTR- 211 March 2009.

van Dooren, Thom. *Flightways: Loss and Life at the Edge of Extinction*. Columbia University Press, 2014.

van Dooren, Thom and Rose, Deborah Bird. "Storied-Places in a Multispecies City." *Humanimalia: A Journal of Human/Animal Interface Studies*, 2012, vol. 3, no. 2.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2012, pp. 1-40.

NOTES

1. See Augé, Marc. *Non-Spaces: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, Verso, 1995. ←
2. The modern feral boar is largely considered an invasive species and genetically made up of both the smaller, domestic Polynesian boar (introduced by Polynesians and important culturally) and the larger, Eurasian Boar (introduced after European contact in 1776 and thought to be far more destructive than the Polynesian boar. While genetically hybrids, the feral boars of today are genetically largely Eurasian boars. Other introduced species (protein sources for the boars) allowed pigs to thrive in forests where their Polynesian counterparts had not normally entered. (Linderholm, et al.; Maly, et. al.) ←

CONSUME

JAY FIELDS



CONSUME STATEMENT

Unhealthy attachments are encouraged in monogamous relationships through a complex of economic, social, and popular media forces. The artificial sanctity of romantic interpersonal relationships often makes them seemingly invulnerable to outside critique, or at least outside of the realm of analysis. With art I hope to breach the untouchable relationship in an emotional way that is informed but not limited by more traditional academic analysis.

Consumption is the central theme of the sketch turned digital art piece. The lips and hungry mouth borrow from imagery that pops up frequently in advertising that takes advantage of the association between painted lips, generally a woman's, and sex. Mouths in this context are sexy but benign, and almost always presented for the male gaze and pleasure. With this illustration I aim to twist the common narrative of a woman's passive decorated lips into a more violent and consuming image – turning the passive mouth against the viewer and giving them a sense of being the passive object by empathizing with the people being manipulated inside the mouth. Another twist is having the mouth acting out the consumption that it is normally passive to. Beyond these media driven twists, consumption is also common in the way that monogamous romantic relationships are treated socially. Partners may be picked as much for what they can provide as for who they are, which leads straight into the economic push for consumption. "Sex sells" – the result being that women's bodies continue to be objectified for monetary gain, perpetuating the narrative that associates wealth and the accumulation of certain products with an entitlement to women's bodies and sex.

All of my illustrations use symbolism to bring social, economic, media driven relationship ideals into question. The play between appealing visuals and disturbing content is one that I feel reflects the appeal of these unhealthy relationship themes. Possessiveness, codependency, and consumption are all logically and practically unhealthy but the emotions driven by them, the intensity of a relationship fueled with unhealthy attachment and devotion, is recklessly and painfully appealing. My hope is that this cruel but beautiful love can remain in the realm of the illustrated and the narrated, rather than playing out in the lives of people who may be broken by the system and their own desires.

MONOGAMY UNDONE: REVIEW OF A. WILLEY'S UNDOING
MONOGAMY: THE POLITICS OF SCIENCE AND THE
POSSIBILITIES OF BIOLOGY (2016)

RICK W. A. SMITH

In *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology*, Dr. Angela Willey powerfully critiques and reconfigures monogamy's nature. Moving beyond the now well-worn critiques of monogamy's reification as "natural" within mainstream Scientific discourses, Willey engages with and significantly expands upon recent developments in material feminism, offering productive new ways to rethink the entanglements nature, culture, and belonging. Significantly, Willey takes on the science of Biology as a space of care for feminist and particularly lesbian imaginings, knowledge productions, and possibilities for living beyond the sexual, relational, and intellectual confines of compulsory monogamy. Engaging with a wide array of topics, including sexological history, laboratory ethnography, poly discourse, as well as lesbian culture, writings, and archives, Willey offers a compelling and affective feminist manifesto that leads us through the limits of monogamy to what might lay beyond. Skillfully engaging both scientific and feminist discourses about the body and its embedded capacities for knowing and relating, Willey offers new theoretical insights into the possibilities of both human and non-human relations where "the politics of science and the possibilities of biology are not [...] separate sets of concerns" (3).

In the opening pages of *Undoing Monogamy*, Willey situates her project within a genealogy of feminist and queer materialisms, imagining new concepts of materiality that might emerge from efforts to simultaneously reckon with feminist, scientific, and other modes of knowing the

body. Willey's goal is not only to move past feminist critiques of social constructionism in science to enable new engagements with materiality, but to evade the imposition of knowledge hierarchies over multiple capacities for producing bodily knowledge. Perhaps most significantly in her introduction, Willey offers an important theoretical intervention on contemporary material feminist scholarship, identifying an ongoing intellectual slippage between "biology" and "the body itself", and "Science" and "nature itself", which has led to the impression that the science of "biology" is an unmediated process of knowledge production. To take both feminist and scientific insights about the body more seriously, Willey argues, involves starting from a position that does not take the mediated processes of bodily knowledge production, nor the sole ownership of those knowledges by Science and its practitioners, for granted.

In the five chapters that follow, theorizing compulsory monogamy is at the heart of Willey's project, but the author also questions basic assumptions about human biology that underlay discourses of both monogamy *and* its possible non-monogamous alternatives, assumptions that Willey links with the racial logics of transnational colonialism and how they are constantly redeployed in theorizing human nature and belonging. Willey begins by tracing the emergence of monogamy as an outcome of nature in 19th-century sexology, where monogamy's nature played a central role in reifying European nationalism and imperialism. She then traces the science of monogamy to contemporary research on the behavioral genetics of prairie voles, the central animal models upon which public and scientific discourses on monogamy have coalesced in recent years. Offering a powerful and deeply moving feminist ethnography of one of the US's leading behavioral genetics laboratories, Willey evaluates the genetic and hormonal mechanisms that have been linked with both monogamous behavior in voles and the ability to form social bonds in humans, and problematizes the experimental frameworks through which sexual monogamy and coupled relations are measured and made natural. Turning to scholarly discourse on polyamory, Willey evaluates a variety of queer and feminist counternarratives of monogamy's nature which have instead argued for the fundamental nature of polyamory. Willey calls for new kinds of poly discourse, ones that do not recapitulate monogamy's

appeals to Science or envision polyamory as monogamy's logical opposite in destabilizing the centrality of coupled relations, but imagines new naturecultural ways of seeing both monogamy and its possible non-monogamous alternatives. Moving towards these new poly discourses, Willey focuses on excerpts from Alison Bechdel's comic strip, "Dykes to Watch Out For", working from the subject positions and embodied knowledge of lesbians towards the invention of new, anti-monogamous relations. Here, Willey advances a "Dyke ethics of anti-monogamy", where a centering of "friendship, community, and social justice decenters the sexual dyad in ways that polyamory does not" (97). Returning to the question of monogamy's nature, Willey engages Audre Lorde's "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power", to theorize what she calls "biopossibility", which challenges Science as the central site of producing authoritative knowledge about the body, and works from the embodied knowledges of queer women of color to understand matter and its possible relations. Here, Willey brilliantly refuses a simple denial that there are molecular substrates for human attachment, but insists that matter is inextricably embedded within webs of social relation and that bodies are always already bodies in context.

In *Undoing Monogamy*, Willey takes up the troubled but crucial work of not simply critiquing monogamy's nature, but claiming Biology as a space of feminist and queer re-imaginings of human and non-human relations. In her epilogue, "Dreams of a Dyke Science", Willey's unfolds a vision for remaking Science that will flow from occupying it with feminist and queer subjectivities, where "the feminist scientist will not only 'be aware' of the interconnectedness of the personal and the political; that awareness will lead to a fundamental transformation of science's very definition" (143). Willey's dream, therefore, "is not for a better science, but for a different one" (143).

Dr. Angela Willey is a Five Colleges Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies whose teaching and research activities span the University of Massachusetts Amherst, Mount Holyoke, and Hampshire College. Willey received training in contemporary feminist theory and science studies at Emory University and the London School of Economics. Her research centers on postcolonial feminist and queer critiques of coupled belonging, with a focus on the productive powers of monogamous discourses and the advancement of more livable alter-

natives. Her work will be of particular value for readers of new, feminist, and queer materialisms, as well as those interested in feminist science studies, history and philosophy of science, critical behavioral genomics, women's and gender studies, and decolonial studies.

REVIEW OF DONNA HARAWAY, *STAYING WITH THE
TROUBLE: MAKING KIN IN THE CHTHULUCENE* (2016)

IRENE WOLFSTONE

*“Making trouble” is the most urgent task of our time,
according to Donna Haraway.*

Haraway’s recent book contains revised versions of previous publications, with a new final chapter. Her revisions create a coherent argument for responding to the convergence of climate change and a mass extinction event. Her central argument is crystalized by the title: in response to the troubled world, we and all our human and other-than-human kin urgently need to make more trouble as a resurgence of life. Making kin refers to multi-species relationality that is critical to “ongoingness” in our chthonic (earth-based) lives. Survival depends on becoming chthonic again. Chthonic aligns with Chthulucene, Haraway’s word for the current era of ongoingness as earthlings that belong to the world we inhabit.

Haraway’s introductory chapter succinctly frames her key concepts. Staying with the trouble requires learning to be present, not as a vanishing pivot between awful pasts and apocalyptic futures, but as chthonic beings entangled in many unfinished configurations of places, times, matters, and meanings. The chthonic world, which she names Terrapolis, is full of indeterminate genders and genres where “otherness” adds richness to collective political action in contrast to masculinist politics of exclusion.

In the first three chapters, Haraway delivers her process and practise. In Chapter 1, *Playing String Figures with Companion Species*, she guides the reader in cutting the bonds with anthropocentrism by focusing on

multi-species activism. She describes kinship with pigeons who treasured kin and despised pests that have been “building naturalcultural economies and lives for thousands of years” (15). Haraway’s use of “naturalcultural” as an adjective is an unexplained shift from her past usage of “natureculture” as noun. She uses the concept of “worlding” to refer to the game of living and dying well together in Terrapolis. She concludes the chapter with a call to activism: “We are all responsible to and for shaping conditions for multispecies flourishing in the face of terrible histories, and sometimes joyful histories too, but we are not all response-able in the same ways. The differences matter—in ecologies, economies, species, lives” (29).

Chapter 2, *Tentacular Thinking*, is an epistemology that explores new ways of thinking like an octopus, represented by Medusa, the Gorgon. Chthulucene does not refer to a future epoch, but rather names the current unfinished time. Haraway is impatient with two responses to climate change. The first response is embedded in the word “Capitalocene,” which holds to a silly belief in technofixes to reverse this man-made apocalypse, but fails to own up to its necropolitics of slavery, Indigenous genocides, and the forced relocations of people, plants, and animals. The second response is embedded in the cynical term “Anthropocene,” which implies that it is “game-over” and the defeatism of “too late” to change the future (56). Both responses require a forgetting, a disavowal, a blindness to reality. Her intent is to demonstrate a third response—a response-ability to staying with the trouble in a lively way by making kin with companion species.

Haraway compares the disavowal of the threats of climate change and extinctions to the “banality of evil” in Hannah Arendt’s analysis of Eichmann’s war crimes (36). The mental practice of refusing to know, refusing response-ability and refusing to be present in the moment is not unprecedented. Eichmann’s inability to think was a banality of evil that parallels the disavowal of current and impending disasters, genocides, and speciescides. Disavowal is the “evil of thoughtlessness.” Like Arendt, Haraway call us to think. Thinking matters! Thinking is not a process for evaluating information and argument; it is a choice between active caring for a troubled world or active participation in genocide.

In Chapter 3, *Sympoiesis*, Haraway stays with the trouble by focusing on four ecologically-troubled places. She explores what a reciprocal relationality would look like if multiple species engaged in the activism of resurgence. She recognizes that Indigenous peoples are making a difference. Haraway tells stories that make sense of animism as materialism by integrating evolution, ecology, sympoiesis, history, situated knowledges, cosmology, and science art. Resurgence depends on imagination. Haraway makes an urgent call for transformative learning on how to become more response-able, more imaginative, and more capable of practicing the arts of living and dying well in a multispecies symbiosis on a damaged planet (98).

The final five chapters are conversations with other places and beings that illustrate the practise of making kin. Chapter 4 is a plea to make kin, not babies (the title of her forthcoming book). Kin means more than entities related by ancestry or genealogy. Kinmaking is building relationships with beings that co-habit our world. Chapter 5 is a personal reflection on the kinship with animals. Chapter 6 introduces the notion of terraforming with earth-others by planting seeds in kinships with plants and insects. In Chapter 7, Haraway draws on Hannah Arendt and Virginia Woolf to understand the high stakes of training the mind and imagination to go visiting, to strike up conversations with natal and non-natal kin, to create the unexpected, and to take up the unasked-for obligations of having met. In Chapter 8, the Children of Compost invite readers to attend to the realities of living and dying in the world by building the capacity to nurture and support life.

The strength of this book is Haraway's ability to shift our thinking and catalyze a resurgence of living well. Her use of neologisms, symbols, stories, and art illustrate the imagination that is required for ongoingness. This book is a must-read for those who care about the planet and the human dimensions of climate change adaptation.

Donna Haraway is Distinguished Professor Emerita in the History of Consciousness Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is highly regarded for her innovative scholarship related to feminist philosophy of science, cyborg theory, theory of situated knowledges, and multi-species theorizing.

CONTRIBUTORS

Rebecca Anweiler (MFA, Concordia University) teaches in the Fine Art (Visual Art) Program at Queen's University. Working figuratively and dealing with issues of representation, Anweiler's paintings critically investigate the cultural meanings underlying gender, sexuality, and the natural world as constructed through norms produced by education and scientific systems. Her background in biology and education informs these various lines of inquiry. Anweiler has exhibited extensively in Canada in numerous solo and group exhibitions. Her paintings are in many private collections, as well as the public collections of the City of Toronto, the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, and the Agnes Etherington Art Centre in Kingston, Ontario.

Rebecca Anweiler (MFA, Université Concordia) enseigne dans le Programme des Beaux Arts (Arts Visuels) à Queens University. Son travail figuratif se porte sur les sujets de représentation, et ses tableaux examinent de façon critique les significations qui sous-tendent les notions de genre, de sexualité et de monde naturel telles qu'elles sont construites par des normes produites par les systèmes éducatifs et scientifiques. Ses études en biologie et en éducation enrichissent ces différentes approches. Anweiler a présenté ses oeuvres de façon extensive au Canada dans des expositions personnelles et communes. Ses tableaux se trouvent dans de nombreuses collections privées, ainsi que dans les collections publiques de la ville de Toronto, de l'Université de Lethbridge dans la province de l'Alberta, et au Agnes Etheridge Art Centre de Kingston en Ontario.

Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal: I have a hard time categorizing myself, and because of that I start not with what I am, but with what I do. I work with this in mind: that art is tool of knowledge and communication; therefore, I use what is necessary, be it drawing, painting, ceramics, sculpture, carving, often as a counterpart of *arte-acción*, or perfor-

mance. I also plant gardens wherever I am. Although I do this to feed myself and my family, and to earn a living, I consider it an art, a spiritual practice and an act of resistance. My ‘government name’ is Fidel. But Tohil is who I am; it is the name that I claim, and that claims me, as it was given to me by my Achi father before his disappearance during the genocidal war that the State launched against the Indigenous majority of Guatemala. This name restores a direct connection to the people to whom I belong. I am Ixil and Achi Maya. I complement the teachings of my Ixil mother and grandmother, and of my community, with studies in archeology completed at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala and independent research on Mayan epigraphy and iconography, knowing that these archaeological records contain traces of the knowledge that the colony attempted to destroy. In this article I contribute in various ways, especially in the depiction and analysis of the Mayan epigraphy of terms for what has been referred to as “dance.” However, my contribution is that of an artist who researches and experiments, and not of an archaeologist or linguist. My practice is dedicated to understanding Mayan art in all its diversity—not to contribute to archaeology, *per se*—but to in order to connect personally with the knowledge of my ancestors and share it with others. My art is, therefore, a political act, since it represents an obstinate insistence on existence, despite centuries of colonialism, war, and genocide as well as the strategic violence and impoverishment of the recent postwar period. I understand my history through the art I make. More importantly, my art nurtures the present and contributes, albeit modestly, to my future as well as that of my people and others who we share this planet with.

Tohil Fidel Brito Bernal: Il m'est difficile de me catégoriser, en conséquence je ne commence pas avec ce que je suis, mais avec ce que je fais. Je travaille en gardant à l'esprit que l'art est l'instrument du savoir et de la communication; j'utilise donc ce qui est nécessaire, que ce soit le dessin, la peinture, la céramique, la sculpture souvent en contrepartie de *l'arte-acción* ou de la représentation. Je plante aussi des jardins quelque soit l'endroit où je me trouve. Bien que je fasse cela pour nourrir ma famille et moi-même, et pour gagner ma vie, je considère cette activité comme un art, une pratique spirituelle et un acte de résistance. Mon nom à l'Etat-civil est Fidel. Mais Tohil est qui je suis; c'est le nom que je revendique et qui me revendique car c'est le nom que m'a don-

né mon père Achi avant sa disparition au cours de la guerre génocidaire menée par l'Etat contre la majorité autochtone du Guatemala. Ce nom rétablit une filiation directe avec le peuple auquel j'appartiens. Je suis un Maya Ichil et Achi. Je complémente les enseignements que j'ai reçus de ma mère, de ma grand-mère et de ma communauté avec des études en archéologie poursuivies à l'Université de San Carlos au Guatemala ainsi qu'avec une recherche indépendante sur l'épigraphie et l'iconographie maya, sachant que ces archives archéologiques contiennent des traces du savoir que la colonie a tenté d'effacer. Dans cet article, j'apporte ma contribution de diverses manières, notamment par la représentation et l'analyse de l'épigraphie maya de ce qu'on appelle la "danse." Ma contribution, cependant, est celle d'un artiste qui se livre à des recherches et à des expériences, pas celle d'un archéologue ou d'un linguiste. Ma pratique se consacre à la compréhension de l'art maya dans toute sa diversité—non pas pour contribuer à l'archéologie en tant que telle—mais pour établir un lien personnel avec le savoir de mes ancêtres et pour le partager avec d'autres. Mon art est donc un acte politique puisqu'il reflète un désir obstiné d'existence malgré des siècles de colonialisme, de guerre et de génocide, ainsi que la violence stratégique et l'appauvrissement de la période récente de l'après-guerre. Je comprends mon histoire à travers l'art que je crée. De façon encore plus importante, mon art nourrit le présent et contribue, bien que modestement, à mon avenir ainsi qu'à celui de mon peuple et de ceux avec qui nous partageons cette planète.

María Regina Firmino Castillo: With words, objects, light and sounds—and with movements—I make myself understood (sometimes). Doing what I do, I've been called an artist, a researcher, a teacher, organizer and cultural worker, and most recently, a professor. I was born in Guatemala, but I have crossed borders all my life. My ancestors from the border between what is now El Salvador and Guatemala were probably de-indigenized Nahuas/Pipiles. It is also most probable that I have ancestors from the Iberian Peninsula, a place of intense exchanges with North Africa. I do know that my Italian father emigrated to Guatemala after the Second World War. Writing from southern California, where I now live, I consider myself an ex-ladina, ex-latinx, and ex-mestisx because of the slippery ways these terms can be used in ways that I do not intend. Therefore, at this point

in time/space, I strive to become a person among persons, both human and more-than-human, here on this planet that some call Earth. Someday, I would like to become a song (as the Cuban socialist troubadour sang about Mariana). In this collaboration, I'm a cross between interlocutor, provocateur, and bricoleur: I listen; I ask; I search; I add, delete, and adjust; I translate. But more than anything, I juxtapose in order to conjure. In the process, I try to not take up too much space or usurp while also honoring voices in me and that come through me. That said, any failings in this are entirely my own.

María Regina Firmino Castillo: Au travers des mots, des objets, de la lumière et des sons, je me fais—quelquefois—comprendre. Dans mon activité, on m'a appelée artiste, chercheuse, enseignante, organisatrice et ouvrière culturelle, et plus récemment, professeure. Je suis née au Guatemala, mais j'ai traversé des frontières toute ma vie. Mes ancêtres qui vivaient à la frontière de ce qui est maintenant le Salvador et le Guatemala étaient probablement des Nahuas/Pipiles dont la culture autochtone avait été effacée. Il est aussi très probable que j'aie des ancêtres dans la péninsule ibérique, un endroit d'échanges intensifs avec l'Afrique du nord. Je sais cependant que mon père, de nationalité italienne, a émigré au Guatemala après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Écrivant en Californie du sud, où je réside désormais, je me considère comme *ex-ladina*, *ex-latinx* et *ex-mestix* en raison de la fluidité avec laquelle ces termes peuvent être employés d'une manière que je ne souhaite pas. Par conséquent, au point où je suis dans le temps et dans l'espace, je m'efforce de devenir une personne parmi d'autres personnes, à la fois humaine et autre qu'humaine, ici-bas, sur cette planète que certains nomment la Terre. Un jour, j'aimerais devenir une chanson (comme celle que le troubadour socialiste cubain chantait au sujet de Mariana). Dans cette collaboration, je suis un mélange d'interlocuteur, de provocateur, et de bricoleur. J'écoute; je pose des questions; je cherche; j'ajoute; je supprime et j'ajuste; je traduis. Mais par dessus tout, je juxtapose pour créer. Ce faisant j'essaie de ne pas occuper trop d'espace ou d'usurper les voix qui parlent en moi ou qui passent à travers moi, tout en les honorant. Cela dit, c'est à moi et moi seule que sont attribuables les défauts de ce travail

Emily Coon is a Master's student in the School of Child and Youth Care at the University of Victoria.

Emily Coon est étudiante de maîtrise à la School of Child and Youth Care de l'Université de Victoria

Sophie Duncan is a MSc candidate at the University of British Columbia studying plant ecology and evolution. She is invested in building scientific communities rooted in equity and justice and is committed to reimagining a natural history archive that honestly engages with the violent history of science and the ongoing legacies of this history that are still alive. Sophie is a member of the Free Radicals Collective and writes for their blog. In addition, she also spends her time exploring the intersection of art and science and multi-media communication.

Sophie Duncan est candidate en Maîtrise de Science à l'Université de Colombie Britannique dans le domaine de l'écologie et de l'évolution des plantes. Elle s'applique à l'établissement de communautés scientifiques basées sur les notions d'équité et de justice et elle s'est activement engagée dans la relecture d'archives d'histoire naturelle qui abordent honnêtement la violence de l'histoire scientifique et l'héritage de cette science qui perdure aujourd'hui. Sophie est membre du Free Radical Collective et contribue à son blog. Elle consacre également son temps à l'étude de la convergence de l'art, de la science et de la communication multimédiatique.

Erin McElroy is a doctoral candidate in Feminist Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz, finalizing a project on technoimperialism and racial technocapitalism in postsocialist Romania and post-Cold War Silicon Valley. Erin is also cofounder of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, a critical cartography and digital humanities project that documents gentrification and resistance struggles in the San Francisco Bay Area, New York City, and Los Angeles. Recently Erin cofounded the Radical Housing Journal in an effort to bring together housing justice organizers and scholars transnationally. In all of this work, Erin endeavors to make housing and technology justice entangled fields of inquiry.

Erin McElroy est doctorante en études féministes à l'Université de Californie de Santa Cruz, complétant un projet sur le technoimpérialisme et le technocapitalisme en Roumanie post-socialiste et dans la Silicon Valley de l'après Guerre Froide. Erin est co-fondatrice du Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, un projet de cartographie critique et d'études

humaines qui documente l'embourgeoisement résidentiel et les luttes de résistance de la région de la Baie de San Francisco, de New York et de Los Angeles. Erin a récemment co-fondé le *Radical Housing Journal* dans le but de rassembler des organisateurs en matière de justice de logement et des chercheurs internationaux. Dans tous ses travaux, Erin s'efforce de faire fusionner les domaines de recherches sur la justice dans le logement et la technologie.

Jay Fields is a queer multiracial artist. They graduated Amherst College in 2017 and are now pursuing a Master of Divinity at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. They describe art as an expression of pieced together experiences, a bricolage of life. Their art is often informed by their study of race, gender, and religion. While a portion of their focus has been on explicitly political work, much of their art explores subjects beyond or outside of existing boundaries. Through art they hope to explore self sustainment.

Jay Fields est un.e artiste multiracial.e queer. Iel a reçu sa license de Amherst College en 2017 et est en train de préparer une maîtrise de théologie à l'Union Theology Seminary à New York. Iel décrit l'art comme l'expression d'expériences accolées, un bricolage de vie. Son art est souvent enrichi par ses études sur la race, le sexe et la religion. Bien qu'une partie de sa concentration soit explicitement dans le travail politique, la plupart de son art explore des sujets situés au-delà ou en dehors des limites existantes. A travers l'art, iel veut explorer la nourriture du soi.

Daniel Fernando Guarcax González: My individuality is composed of Kaqchikel Maya patterns of relationality and my existence has always been rooted in community, beginning with my family and, for the last eighteen years, as a member of Grupo Sotz'il, a collective dedicated to the development of Mayan *xajoj q'òjom*. *Xajoj q'òjom*, a Kaqchikel concept which underscores the interdependence between "dance" and "music," means more than dance or music; theorizing *xajoj q'òjom*, from the collective experience of Grupo Sotz'il, will be one my principal contributions in this collaboration. I am an I continue to be an *ajxajonel ajq'òjomanel* (dancer-musician); for this I'm indebted to my mother and father, my grandparents, the grandparents of my grandparents, and my teachers, Kaji' Imox and B'eleje' K'at, the last Kaqchikel

rulers at the time of the Spanish invasion in 1524 and leaders of the anti-colonial resistance. Thanks to them, and to my *ch'umilal* (star), and everything that flows around me, today I am here and I continue becoming *ajxajonel ajq'ojomanel*, thereby fulfilling my political, social, and spiritual commitments. Through this, my path, I will continue to musicalize spaces, and to shape movements in time. I'm one among many *ajxajonel ajq'ojomanel* of the past, present, and future.

Daniel Fernando Guarcax González Mon individualité est formée de modèles de relationnalité Kaqchikel Maya et mon existence a toujours été enracinée dans la communauté, commençant avec ma famille, puis, depuis dix-huit ans, en tant que membre du Grupo Sotz'il, un collectif consacré au développement du concept maya de *xajoj q'jjom Xajoj q'jjom* qui souligne l'interdépendance entre "danse" et "musique" qui dépasse les concepts initiaux de danse et de musique. L'établissement d'une théorie du concept de *xajoj q'ojom* constituera une de mes principales contributions à cette collaboration. J'ai toujours été et continue d'être un *ajxonel ajq'ojomanel* (danseur-musicien), ce en quoi je suis reconnaissant à ma mère et à mon père, à mes grands-parents, aux grands-parents de mes grands-parents et à mes maîtres, Kaji'Imox et Béleje' K'at, les derniers dirigeants au moment de l'invasion espagnole en 1524 et les chefs de la résistance anti-coloniale. Grâce à eux, à ma *ch'umilal* (étoile) et à tout ce qui passe autour de moi, et à travers moi, je suis ici aujourd'hui et je continue à devenir un *ajxajonel ajq'ojomanel*, remplissant en cela mes engagements politique, social et spirituel. A travers cette expérience, ma voie, je continuerai à musicaliser les espaces, et à façonner les mouvements dans le temps. Je ne suis qu'un des nombreux *ajxajonel ajq'ojomanel* du passé, du présent et du futur.

Kimberley Greeson is an instructor at Prescott College. Her work broadly focuses on environmental humanities and sustainability education with an emphasis on the intersection of conservation, biopolitics, and Indigenous studies.

Kimberley Greeson est Maître de Conférence au Prescott College. Son travail se focalise sur les sciences sociales de l'environnement et sur l'éducation au développement durable, avec une attention particulière

sur la convergence de la préservation, de la biopolitique et de l'étude des autochtones.

Alexandra Halkias is a Professor at the Department of Sociology, Panteion University, Athens, Greece. She has a Ph.D. in Communication, University of California, San Diego and a B.A. and M.A. in Sociology, Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A. She has published numerous articles in Greek and international journals. She is the author of *The Empty Cradle of Democracy: Sex, Abortion and Nationalism in Modern Greece* (Duke 2004, Alexandria Press 2007) and *Gendered Violences* [in Greek] (Alexandria Press 2011). Also in Greek, she is co-editor of the book *Social Body* (Katarti-Dini 2005) and of a book on LGBT politics in Greece (Plethron Press 2012). Alexandra currently is using images, as well as words, to research the politics of vision as a way of contributing to the germination of relationalities that are critical and honed to disrupt patterns of power that are supremacist.

Alexandra Halkias est professeure dans le département de sociologie de l'Université Panteion d'Athènes. Elle a reçu son doctorat de communication de l'Université de Californie à San Diego, ainsi qu'une licence et une maîtrise de Sociologie de Bryn Mawr College en Pennsylvanie. Elle a publié de nombreux articles dans des journaux académiques grecs et internationaux. Elle est l'auteure de *The Empty Cradle of Democracy: Sex, Abortion, and Nationalism in Modern Greece* (Duke 2004, Alexandria Press 2007) et de *Gendered Violence* [en grec] (Alexandria Press 2011). Également en langue grecque, elle est co-éditrice du livre *Social Body* (Katarti-Dini 2005) et d'un livre sur la politique LGBT en Grèce (Plethron Press 2012). Alexandra utilise à présent les images ainsi que les mots pour étudier la politique de vision comme un moyen de contribuer à la germination de relationalités critiques destinées à rompre les formes de pouvoir qui sont suprématistes.

Jennifer A. Hamilton is Professor of Legal Studies and Anthropology at Hampshire College, an experimental liberal arts college in Massachusetts. Her research and teaching focuses on the anthropology of law, science, and medicine, postcolonial feminist science and technology studies, and the contemporary politics of indigeneity. She is the author of *Indigeneity in the Courtroom: Law, Culture, and the Production of Difference in North American Courts* (Routledge 2009) and is cur-

rently completing a second book manuscript, *The Indian in the Freezer: The Scientific Quest for Indigeneity*. She is also the Director of the Five College Women's Studies Research Center.

Jennifer A. Hamilton est professeure de Droit et d'Anthropologie à Hampshire College, une université d'art libéraux expérimentale au Massachusetts. Ses recherches et son enseignement se concentrent sur l'anthropologie du droit, de la science et de la médecine, sur la science féministe post-coloniale et les études de la technologie, ainsi que sur la politique contemporaine concernant les populations autochtones. Elle est l'auteure de *Indigeneity in the Courtroom: Law, Culture, and the Production of Difference in North American Courts* (Routledge 2009) et elle est en train de compléter le manuscrit d'un second livre, *The Indian in the Freezer: The Scientific Quest for Indigeneity*. Elle est également directrice du Five College Women's Studies Research Center.

Nicole Land is an Assistant Professor in the School of Early Childhood Studies at Ryerson University.

Nicole Land est professeure adjointe dans la School of Early Childhood Studies de l'Université Ryerson.

Dr. Naveen Zehra Minai is currently an Assistant Professor of Gender Studies, Critical Media Studies, and Literary Studies at the Department of Social Sciences and Liberal Arts at the Institute of Business Administration in Karachi, Pakistan. She holds a PhD in Gender and Sexuality Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles. Her work focuses on feminist cultural studies, sexuality studies, and queer of color critique of transnational literary and visual cultures in South Asia and North America. This includes queer and trans of color masculinities, transnational sexualities, post and settler colonial studies, and affect studies.

Dr. Naveen Zehra Minai est professeure adjointe d'Etudes des Genres, d'Etudes Critiques des Médias, et d'Etudes Littéraires dans le Département de Sciences Sociales et d'Arts Libéraux de l'Institute of Business Administration à Karachi au Pakistan. Elle a reçu son doctorat en Etudes des Genres et de la Sexualité de l'Université de Californie à Los Angeles. Son travail se concentre sur les études féministes culturelles, les études de la sexualité, et la critique queer de couleur des cultures

transnationales littéraires et visuelles en Asie du sud et en Amérique du nord. Cela inclut les masculinités queer et trans, les sexualité transnationales, les études coloniales et post-coloniales, et les études de l'Affect.

Lindsay Nixon is a Cree-Métis-Saulteaux curator, award-nominated editor, award-nominated writer and McGill Art History Ph.D. student studying Indigenous (new) feminist artists and methodologies in contemporary art. They currently hold the position of Editor-at-Large for Canadian Art. Nixon has previously edited *mâmawi-âcimowak*, an independent art, art criticism and literature journal. Their writing has appeared in *The Walrus*, *Malahat Review*, *Room*, *GUTS*, *Mice*, *esse*, *The Inuit Art Quarterly*, *Teen Vogue* and other publications. *nîtisânak*, Nixon's memoir and first published book, is out now through Metonymy Press. Born and raised in the prairies, they currently live in Tio'tia:ke/Mooniyaang—unceded Haudenosaunee and Anishinabe territories (Montreal, QC).

Lindsay Nixon est conservateur.e culturel.le Cree-Métis-Saulteaux, éditeur.e et écrivain.e nommé.e pour de nombreux prix. Iel prépare un doctorat d'Histoire de l'Art à McGill, se concentrant sur les nouvelles artistes féministes autochtones et les méthodologies dans l'art contemporain. Iel occupe actuellement la position d'Editeur.e indépendant.e pour l'Art Canadien. Auparavant Nixon a édité *mâmawi-âcimowak*, un journal indépendant sur l'art, la critique d'art et la littérature. Ses articles ont paru dans *The Walrus*, *Malahat Review*, *Room*, *GUTS*, *Mice*, *esse*, *The Inuit Art Quarterly*, *Teen Vogue* et autres publications. Ses mémoires, *nîtisânal*, qui est son premier livre est maintenant publié chez Metonymy Press. Né.e et ayant grandi dans les Prairies, iel réside actuellement à Tio'tia:ke/Mooniyaang—territoires autonomes Haudenosaunee et Anishinabe (Montréal, QC).

Rick W. A. Smith is a doctoral candidate in Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin and has recently accepted a Neukom Post-doctoral Fellowship at Dartmouth College starting in the Fall of 2017. Applying recent developments in queer and feminist materialisms to the study of human population genetics and epigenetics, Rick's research explores the entanglements of matter and meaning – the ways in which social, political, and biological forces interact to shape human

bodies past and present. Rick's dissertation project is concerned with the materialities of oppression. He has developed new methodologies which he is using to reconstruct the DNA-level effects of class, gender, and ethnic violence in the ancient Huari civilization of Peru. His research also includes the development of feminist, queer, and decolonial genomics, which focuses on the social, political, ideological, and historical factors that have influenced the biopolitics of indigenous and white trash belonging in the United States.

Rick W. A. Smith est doctorant en Anthropologie à l'Université du Texas à Austin; il vient d'accepter une bourse post-doctorale Neukom à Dartmouth College à partir de l'automne 2017. Mettant en pratique les récents développements dans les matérialismes queer et féministes, dans l'étude de la génétique et de l'épigénétique des populations, les recherches de Rick explorent les enchevêtrements entre matière et signification—les manières dont les forces sociales, politiques et biologiques ont interagi pour façonner les corps humains dans le passé et au présent. Le projet de thèse de Rick s'intéresse aux matérialités de l'oppression. Il a mis au point de nouvelles technologies qu'il emploie pour reconstruire les effets au niveau de l'ADN de la classe, du sexe, et de la violence ethnique dans l'ancienne civilisation Huari du Pérou. Sa recherche inclut aussi le développement de la génomique féministe, queer, et décoloniale, qui se concentre sur les facteurs sociaux, politiques, idéologiques et historiques qui ont influencé la biopolitique des autochtones et des blancs pauvres aux États-Unis.

Kim TallBear is Associate Professor, Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta, and Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Peoples, Technoscience & Environment. She is also a Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation Fellow. Dr. TallBear is the author of *Native American DNA: Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. She is a regular commentator in US, Canadian, and UK media outlets on issues related to Indigenous peoples, science, and technology. Building on her research on the role of technoscience in settler colonialism, Dr. TallBear also studies the colonization of Indigenous sexuality. She is a citizen of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate.

Kim Tallbear est professeure agrégée dans la Faculté des Études Autochtones de l'Université d'Alberta, elle est aussi Canada Research

Chair pour les Peuples Indigènes, la Technoscience et l'Environnement. Elle est également chargée de cours à la Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation. Le Dr. Tallbear est l'auteure de *Native American DNA: Tribal Belongings and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. Elle intervient régulièrement dans les médias américains, canadiens et britanniques pour parler des questions traitant des peuples Autochtones, de la science et de la technologie. S'appuyant sur ses recherches sur le rôle de la technoscience dans le colonialisme, le Dr. Tallbear étudie aussi la colonisation de la sexualité autochtone. Elle est citoyenne de la Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate.

Cleo Woelfle-Erskine is an assistant professor in the School of Marine and Environmental Affairs at UW Seattle, where he Studies rivers and salmon in collaboration with Native nations and environmental NGOs. His forthcoming book *Underflows: Transfiguring Rivers, Queering Ecology* thinks from these projects to theorize what queer-transfeminist practices in field ecology can do for environmental politics and more-than-human relational ethics.

Cleo Woelfle-Erskine est professeur adjoint à la School of Marine and Environmental Affairs de l'Université de Washington à Seattle, où il étudie les rivières et les saumons en collaboration avec des ONG autochtones et environnementales. Son livre à paraître, *Underflows: Transfiguring Rivers, Queering Ecology* s'inspire de ces projets pour former une théorie sur ce que les pratiques queer-trans-féministes dans l'écologie de terrain peut apporter aux politiques environnementales et à l'éthique des relations autres qu'humaines.

Angie Willey is Associate Professor in the Department of Women, Gender, Sexuality Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. She works at the interstices of queer feminist theory, feminist science studies, and sexuality studies. Her work on non/monogamy, colonial sexual science, and critical materialisms has appeared in *Feminist Studies*; *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*; *Feminist Formations*; *Journal of Gender Studies*; *Science, Technology, and Human Values*; *Archives of Sexual Behavior*; and *Sexualities* and in volumes on monogamy, on materialism, and on the science of difference. She is the author of *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology* (Duke University Press, 2016). She is co-editor of *Queer*

Feminist Science Studies: A Reader (University of Washington Press, 2017) and special issues of *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience* – on “Science out of Feminist Theory” and the *Journal of Lesbian Studies* – on “Biology/Embodiment/Desire.”

Angie Willey est professeure agrégée dans le département d'études des Femmes, du Genre et de la Sexualité de l'Université du Massachusetts à Amherst. Son travail se situe à l'intersection de la théorie queer féministe, des études féministes scientifiques, et des études sur la sexualité. Ses articles sur la non/monogamie, la science sexuelle coloniale et les matérialismes critiques ont paru dans *Feminist Studies*; *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*; *Feminist Formations*; *Journal of Gender Studies*; *Science, Technology, and Human Values*; *Archives of Sexual Behavior* et *Sexualities* ainsi que dans des volumes sur la monogamie, le matérialisme, et sur les sciences de la différence. Elle est l'auteure de *Undoing Monogamy: The Politics of Science and the Possibilities of Biology* (Duke University Press, 2016). Elle est co-éditrice de *Queer Feminist Science Study: A Reader* (University of Washington Press, 2017) et de numéros hors-série, “Science out of Feminist Theory” dans *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory Technoscience* et “Biology/Embodiment/Desire” dans *Journal of Lesbian Studies*.

Irene Friesen Wolfstone is a doctoral student in Education Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. Her research focuses on exploring Indigenous matricultures as a model for the conditions of cultural continuity so urgently required in the current climate change event. Living in a round home helps Irene think outside the box.

Irene Friesen Wolfstone est doctorante en Etudes de la Politique de l'Education à l'Université de l'Alberta. Sa recherche se concentre sur l'exploration des Matricultures Autochtones comme modèle pour les conditions nécessaires à la continuation culturelle qui est si importante dans le contexte actuel de changement climatique. Sa résidence dans une maison circulaire aide Irene à penser de façon non-conventionnelle.