

Imagining Gay Paradise
Bali, Bangkok, and Cyber-Singapore

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Prelude

This is a story about hunting for home and founding paradise instead.

In July 1939, halfway through his jail time in the Dutch East Indies on charges against him inspired by Nazi sympathizers, the gay German painter Walter Spies sat in his cell writing his most remarkable letter.

He addressed it to his friend, Jane Belo, an anthropologist who had worked with Walter in that part of the Indies he had creatively turned into his own homeland – the island and, more importantly, the aesthetic paradise, of Bali.

Walter wrote in careful strokes. He made sure the salutation was twice as big as the rest of the text and followed it with an exclamation point, as if the text itself could be a shout across a room, the kind you give when you have not seen an old friend for a long time.

Sometimes with Jane it was “My dearest of all!” or “Dear Pachong!” – his nickname for her – or, one time, “Dear Tutti-frutti or any other ice cream!” Walter seemed to find magic in almost everything – even severe topics.

Dear Jane!

It is a rather chilly evening, it's windy and rainy and so I come to you to warm myself. Something dreadful happened darling. I began to paint again! I don't really know why! I was so nicely translating Balinese stories and suddenly I thought: what about that special light distribution that was haunting me one day long ago, taking form in a rather boring landscape (with lots of hills and trees, which I am so sick of) and then later it was transformed into a possibility of a kris dance and barong.¹

Light drove Walter. Light could change from one object into another, a hill into tree. Light could roll into the sounds of dance or form the rhythmic undulating dagger that the Balinese called a *kris*. Light could transform into the fantastic lion-like barong that led forces of good against evil in constant tension.

Walter wrote past the first page to Jane, then halfway down a second. He apologized for a photograph he was enclosing of his latest painting. He had finished

it inside the jail and had titled it *Scherzo für Blechinstrumente*, which in English meant *Scherzo for Brass*.² Unlike most paintings meant to be seen all at once, Walter wanted this one also to be heard like a concert – moment after moment, the visual images on the painted canvas passing through time like miniature chords.

A painting that was meant to be like a rhythm in a symphony. Walter knew that could not make much sense to most people. Painting claimed space. Music defined time. It was like holding opposite ways of thinking and of communicating in hand at the same time: a painting that was simultaneously music, music that was simultaneously a painting.

He told Jane he was sorry because the flattened two dimensions of the photograph did not fairly represent all the “nuances of accelerandos” that he assured her did exist within the layers of paint on the more textured canvas itself.

He had finished a page-and-a-half. That was good enough for any lazy Dutch censors who might open the letter and read the first few words.

Walter had long been careful to code his letters in metaphors. Sixteen years earlier when he had left Germany, he had warned his mother he would have to do so.³ He worried the letters would be opened as they moved from one colonial empire to another, in the present case traveling from Surabaya to the Dutch colonial capital in Batavia and then onward to Holland and across the border into Germany. The Spies family had already had its share of bad luck with imperial boundaries. During the Great War, the Russians had arrested Walter’s father despite his status as a German consul. Walter himself, although born in Moscow, had been considered a potential hostile and, at age twenty, had been exiled to the Ural Mountains to live among Tatar nomads.

Empires tended to sweep individuals into a monumental identity to be feared even when the miniature details of their lives carried other truths. Walter, a German now locked in a Dutch jail, was not so much a man without a homeland as a man of many spaces and times solidified – by others – into their own constant tension. Unfortunately, at that moment in 1939 all the colonial empires seemed to mistrust one another, most especially the Dutch and the Germans.

And that was the reason Walter was sitting in a jail, writing the letter.

After that first page-and-a-half, Walter abruptly changed topics and started underlining phrases for emphasis. He had arrived at the real subject of the letter: a coded commentary on the odd people who had put him where he was and on the story of the world they wanted to impose:

Dear, you know, I am always so astonished at how different people are! A man who is here and who is *not at all* conventional in all his ideas and actions – has suddenly a complex of neatness and orderliness and a rather agonizing cleanliness. His room looks *always* as an “operation room” or a modern kitchen, all white and shiny, and one imagines white tiles, aprons and chrome-nickel

polished instruments everywhere! . . . All his pencils, pens or whatever are lying in rows like soldiers. Cups and pots with an even distance between each other, and arranged by their height. In the whole room there is not a single thing which is not forced to behave . . . I can't imagine how one can have so little respect for nature! He must be absolutely blind and deaf to any harmony of the universe!⁴

For Walter, pleasure lay in a life surprising and infinitely divided into miniature objects and, of course, both uncertain and magical:

For me it is one of the most exciting and fascinating experiences to watch all the things in the world of my little home here move and live their own life in accordance with each other. How books and cigarettes, or a piece of bread pile on each other and then suddenly fall into a lovely pose on the ground, finding there some torn envelope from Berlin; what a joy that must be for them! From there they can see quite different things . . . Sometimes a bottle of tomato catsup after having performed all kind of stunts up and down the table finishes this table life and with a large leap flies into the paper basket, where it finds herself bedded softly between a torn manuscript or some sketches to a painting.

Don't you think that the *letters* on the bottles are happy to find their brothers and sisters there?⁵

It was a rather queered way of looking at things, emphasizing not the vast difference that might seem to exist between certain large categories – mundane catsup bottle and discarded drafts of art – but the sibling relationship between the small letters on the bottle and the tiny marks on the manuscripts and sketches.

Walter then turned to the role of those – like himself – who were considered either disposable or dangerous:

One of the most lovely lives has the role of toilet paper. It stands up and lies down and unrolls, and pieces of it fly off and crumble, and they clean cups and spoons and rub themselves on the table, get all wet and dirty and jump one by one into the waste basket . . .

Sometimes is the way a box of matches is moving on, during a few days or hour, even a most interesting one. From the table to the bed, then into a pocket, out of the room, into the room again . . . sending off some of its children, igniting them, seeing them lighting a cigarette higher up, and then being thrown away without [a] head! O, o, o!

I always seemed to have had a special attraction for them. Sometimes, coming home, I find a whole gathering of them in my pockets! What is it, I wonder, what they like in me?⁶

Walter conceded that often the relentless effort to secure order triumphed: “There are days where something has to be done to the things! Everything is replaced somewhere, where one thinks they have to be!” But the “objects” would always challenge order and seek their own fluid companionship:

Already a few hours later, every object can be seen moving again! They don’t like to be commanded like that I am sure! They don’t feel happy where one puts them – they want companionship with other objects and they know better than we do in what distance and what relation, what equilibrium they have to be with the other things and with the world they are in and live for.⁷

He reflected again upon the other male who supposedly occupied the same “jail” – the same world – with him:

The wretched orderly neat man, of whom I spoke, is afraid to come into my room! He says that he would die if he had to live in such a mess. Isn’t that funny? . . . I am sure he must be a tyrannical kind of person who has to order round, and everyone has to follow all his wishes.⁸

Walter finished the main section of his letter:

“O, o, o! What funny people there are in the world.”

He signed with another shout: “Many, many kisses.”⁹

The pages that follow recount the saga of a king, an artist, a mastermind, and an entrepreneur. All lived during the past century in those islands and peninsulas we call Southeast Asia, and all created small geographies – their own islands – where orderly, neat stabilizations that are supposed to tell us about the male body, male desires, and male gendering were instead disturbed and set free into miniature “mismatches,” rather like Walter’s catsup bottles and discarded drafts.

Mostly the story centers on their search for a homeland to call their own, but it also considers the contest between two metaphoric constructions of body, desire, and gender in the times in which these men created. One such construction, which I refer to as the “triple supremacy,” came to be considered a marker of the civilization that colonial empires insisted upon in Southeast Asia. The other, which I call the “triple taboo,” formed its flip side of evil.

What unites the four men is that each sought a home that could not be contained within the triple supremacy, and so each had to create something new, something that those around them would consider quite queered – a different definition of manhood.

The story unfolds over an entire century for it can take a long time for new homelands to be imagined.

1

The Triple Supremacy

The death had come quite unexpectedly.

Stomach trouble had begun a week earlier. Then the coma.

But forty-eight hours before the end, the First Queen – there were many queens – had been reporting that the king was fine, that “His Majesty has improved in all respects.” The king was not especially old, only fifty-seven. He was the only king most of his subjects had known, having ascended the throne four decades earlier when he was still a teenager.¹

It was October 23, 1910. The son who was about to become king was still asleep in his own palace about two miles away. As was tradition, once royal sons came of sexual age – about eleven or twelve – they left their father’s palace so as to be away from the presumed temptation of the king’s expansive Inner City of women. It was this protected Inner City that had provided one of the most important means of male royal control of the Siamese empire, and so the women’s sexuality needed close regulation. Even non-royal minor wives swore an oath to report not only any sexual liaisons they or others had with men but any they had with each other too.² So far, with the help of the women of the Inner City, the first five kings of the Chakri Dynasty had fathered 324 children by 176 wives. That was an average of sixty-five children and thirty-five childbearing wives per king, sufficient to solidify the bonds among powerful families as well as supply enough royal males to run the imperial bureaucracy.³

Reproductive sex, not romance and certainly not monogamy, was key to any Siamese king’s power, and young princes were expected to immediately acquire their own women.

Chulalongkorn, the king who lay dying, had come to be known as one of Siam’s greatest rulers: They called him *Phra Phuttha Chao Luang*, which means something like “The Royal Buddha,” an important indication not only of his secular but his spiritual status, something European kings had long foregone and, at any century, had always had to share with the Roman pope. Over the course of Chulalongkorn’s reign, from age fifteen to age fifty-seven, more than 150 women had been given to him as minor wives, double the average and triple the number that had been

acquired by his own father.⁴ As a vigorous teen, he had fathered children with two concubines even before he had reached the age of fifteen.⁵ Inside the royal palace, the Inner City was populated and fully administered by women – and protected by three walls. At its height under Chulalongkorn, it held about 3,000 women, counting all the queens, princesses, their servants, and slaves. Of those, thirty-five had borne Chulalongkorn seventy-seven children, which included thirty-three sons.⁶

In 1881, when the king was twenty-eight years old, child number thirty-nine – son number twelve – had been born. He had been named Vajiravudh.

He was still in his bed at his own Saranrom Palace when the notification came that Sunday morning. It's not certain what he had been doing the Saturday night before, but if it was a typical Saturday night, he would have been awake as late as 3:00 a.m. or 4:00 a.m. or even 5:00 a.m., engaging in nighttime games and storytelling with the courtiers who surrounded him – all males, all young, most of them commoners rather than the usual royal cousins and brothers.

Although Vajiravudh was already twenty-nine years old – a year older than Chulalongkorn was when Vajiravudh was born – the crown prince had proven quite unlike his father when it came to sex. He had not yet taken any concubines or wives and had had no children whatsoever. He had not even tried, at least as far as was known publicly. Instead, Saranrom with its splendid Chinese-style pagodas and Victorian buildings, its forests and meticulous gardens, had become a male island in the Chakri capital of Bangkok.⁷

To the Siamese, Vajiravudh was a puzzle of manhood, almost like someone come from another land to set up a different home in the center of a traditionally ordered village. Maybe that was not surprising, since he had been sent at age twelve not just across the city of Bangkok for his formative adolescence but all the way to London. At the time, no one had any idea he would become king. A half-brother had been designated for that role and was being kept safe for his own education in Bangkok.⁸ Like the dozens of other sons, Vajiravudh initially had more freedom to discover what else he might be interested in doing rather than ruling.

That, as it turned out in London, had been theater. He loved the London plays. Siam itself had traditional *khon*, which were stylized dance and music performances with narratives told by a chorus. But London had spoken drama and comedies organized around strong characters played by individual actors and actresses. Vajiravudh enjoyed the Western approach so much that he would eventually translate some of Shakespeare into Siamese, including one romantic tragedy, *Romeo and Juliet*, that argued against family interference in personal relationships, and one romantic comedy, *As You Like It*, in which Shakespeare had planted the famous monologue, "All the world's a stage." Writing and theater became Vajiravudh's passions, and he lived in Ascot, known for its famous royal racecourse.

Circumstances had altered his fate. A few years after Vajiravudh had been sent to London, the half-brother who was supposed to become king had died, and

Chulalongkorn had then picked Vajiravudh as his heir. At age fourteen, Vajiravudh went to the Siamese legation in London for a ceremony and then acquired a three-man bodyguard. The new title of Crown Prince enabled him to meet Queen Victoria herself. In a laudatory article about him on April 25, 1895, *Vanity Fair* noted:

He came to England a year-and-a-half back; and being then nearly thirteen and knowing more of Pali and Sanskrit than of English, he was not sent to school, but confided to the care of a private tutor, who was to coach him for the House at Oxford. But his new Dignity has altered the outlook, and Greek and Latin have been discarded for International Law and Political Economy, subjects whose knowledge is more needed in a coming King. He now talks English with much fluency and a foreign accent; he is fond of mathematics, history, and walking; and he believes in the English gentleman. He is not an athlete, but he takes life very seriously; and he was very kindly received by the Queen in private audience . . . The honours that have been thrust upon him have not at all spoiled him. He is a dignified, polite, very amiable boy of some promise. He is so nice a Prince that no one is jealous of him.⁹

Not all the comments would be so kind. Once Vajiravudh had enrolled in school, his British class chums sometimes subjected him to taunts, nicknaming him “Siam” and teasing him about his father’s well-known lack of monogamy.

“Siam,” a typical salutation would go, “how many brothers and sisters have you?”

The young Vajiravudh had taken the teases good-naturedly but also unapologetically.

“Can’t say,” he had responded. “Haven’t opened my morning’s mail yet!”¹⁰

Coincidentally, the day after the *Vanity Fair* story appeared, the British press focused on another type of sexual desire that the Victorians also frowned on: the April 26 start of the gross indecency trial for homosexuality against the noted writer Oscar Wilde. The trial would seal in the popular mind a sense that homosexuality could be explained by adopting what was known as “degeneracy theory” – a sort of reverse evolution that supposedly explained various sorts of sexual immorality and crimes, such as the notion that insanity could be caused by too much masturbation. A German psychiatrist, Richard Krafft-Ebing, had promoted the theory in *Psychopathia Sexualis* in the late 1880s, using European bourgeois ideals as the norm against which sexual behaviors could be put into various categories such as pedophilia, masochism, and sadism and then explained by hereditary and environmental degradations.¹¹ Krafft-Ebing would eventually change his mind about homosexuality being caused by degeneration, but at the time of the Wilde trial, his initial theory had been popularized in Europe and the United States by Max Nordau, who had published his summation, *Degeneration*, in

Germany in 1894. Nordau had then seen his book translated into English just in time for the trial. Nordau linked degenerate criminals and anarchists with artists and authors. He wrote in his preface, “Degenerates are not always criminals, prostitutes, anarchists and pronounced lunatics; they are often authors and artists . . . [who have] come into extraordinary prominence and are revered by numerous admirers as creators of a new art and heralds of the coming century.” Nordau considered himself on a crusade against such degenerates. Editors quickly picked up the theme.¹²

It is not clear how much of the London press a teenage Siamese prince would have been reading, but certainly the headlines about Oscar Wilde had been everywhere.¹³

The drive from his own palace at Saranrom to his father’s probably did not take long on a Sunday morning. Fortunately, because of Chulalongkorn’s designation of him as crown prince fifteen years earlier, there would be none of the messiness that sometimes accompanied exchanges of power within an absolute monarchy – and there was no doubt that the empire had just acquired a new absolute monarch. Within the structure of Siam, Vajiravudh now held more power than Queen Victoria had within her empire. He had no Parliament to persuade. He had no Magna Carta of rights to observe, nor any philosophical traditions of free speech from the likes of John Milton or John Stuart Mill. He had no separation of state and religion to contend with; he was ruler of both military and monk. He had no sensationalistic press likely to challenge him – not unless he allowed one. As one observer at the time put it, “When the foreign missionary desires to convey to the Siamese mind the idea of God, he is compelled to use the words ‘pra chow,’ which are already used for ‘King.’ Omniscience, omnipotence, and absolute rightness are the inherent attributes of the King.”¹⁴

According to a *New York Times* report, the ceremony of allegiance would be held quickly that same Sunday morning of October 23 in the temple attached to the royal palace. The oath included phrases intended to discourage any sort of dissent or disobedience. All the other princes would pray that “the powers of the deities to plague with poisonous boils and with all manner of horrible diseases” would descend upon “the dishonorable, the disobedient, and the treacherous.”¹⁵

The prince who had not yet taken a woman had ascended.

The ideals of Saranrom would now be offered as a new center for his empire.

From a practical point, any king establishing a dynasty is often first a warrior who commands the strongest military, but once his family is in power and once successive generations achieve the throne, other justifications have to be performed. On October 23, 1910, Vajiravudh became the sixth king in the Chakri Dynasty, begun in the 1780s. By the early twentieth century, the demands on him from the dance of manhood ideals that had accumulated from traditions in Siam and from its contact with colonial powers had turned to nothing short of crushing.

First, there were local animist expectations, the oldest of the traditions in the lands that had been incorporated into Siam. The king, among other things, was supposed to be the symbol of reproductive fertility, attending plowing rites to bring the rain and ensure abundant rice. Taking wives and concubines was not just a matter of male lust or even just politics to align with powerful families. It was a magical signal of the king's own potency, so powerful it could fill the well-protected female Inner City of the royal palace and still extend to making the land itself fertile.¹⁶

Parallel to those animist ideas for almost two millennia was a Hindu ideal. As with the Khmers who had ruled Angkor Wat, the Siamese king was to personally embody a spark of divinity from Shiva and be a man capable of perceiving the rules that created harmony in the cosmos and on earth. His capital in Bangkok was more than just a political center; it was, as one political scientist wrote, "the magic center of the universe."¹⁷ In the Siamese language, Bangkok actually had one of the longest city names on record, its various phrases translating as: "Grand Capital of the World Endowed with Nine Precious Gems," "Divine Shelter and Living Place of Reincarnated Spirits," "Highest Royal Dwelling," "Great Land Unconquerable," "A City Given by Indra," and so forth.¹⁸

Another step in defining ideals of Siamese manhood had come a comparatively recent seven centuries earlier when, in the twelfth century, the Sukothai state had aligned itself with Theravada Buddhism. The king had then come to represent the ideal male who best pursued the principles of Buddhist dharma: who shaved his head to become a monk in a tonsure ceremony, who gave alms, who accepted impermanence and selflessness, who practiced mercy and meditation, and who built and patronized temples, and encouraged schools of Buddhist thought. The emphasis was more on action and practice than on divine spark. The Buddhist king did not have divinity as a matter of Hindu male virtuous essence; rather, he earned and conveyed it through rituals of merit making that all men, in turn, were expected to follow or through which they could participate, indirectly, by supporting the king.

Eventually had come the European colonial powers with their expectations. Kings who were to survive also had to become performers in the European male arenas: mastering new steps of military command and control, new understandings from European science, and new uses of European technology, whether that meant building railroads or comprehending the exotic international economic systems demanded by imperialism.

Numerous Southeast Asian royals had failed at the military role in the face of superior European weaponry and had either been removed or left to command puppet auxiliaries. Some had tried to understand European science, promoting new health or agricultural practices in their lands. But how did one conduct a magical fertility rite one day and then be taken seriously by European empiricists the next? As a partial solution, some kings and sultans had turned to promoting European arts and letters.

Siam itself had never been directly colonized. Instead, the British in Burma and Malaya and the French in Indochina nibbled at Siam's land edges and joined the Americans and Germans in extracting trade and legal concessions as well as money. One of the most galling concessions had been agreements prohibiting Siam from applying its own laws to prosecute the increasing numbers of British, French, American, and German citizens working in Bangkok. The monarchy Vajiravudh now ruled had even had to agree that other Southeast Asians – workers or traders from the British colonies of Malaya and Singapore – had to be treated with the same special care. Whatever crimes the foreigners committed in Siam, they could only be handed to the Western consuls for whatever punishment was to be laid, if any.¹⁹

In 1893, when Vajiravudh was a child, a French gunboat had entered the Chao Phraya River and anchored astride the royal palace in Bangkok. The French had not fired, but the point was clear. They wanted concessions of land and money for their Indochinese empire. While Chulalongkorn had an army that could have fought in the lands that would become French Laos and Cambodia, he had no navy capable of stopping the destruction of his own palace by a single European gunboat.²⁰

The British had one. So did the Americans. But to Chulalongkorn's disappointment, neither came to his aid. Siam lingered for decades in pincers. The Chao Phraya River, its northern tributaries leading toward China, was a rich prize, but no imperial power could afford to seize Siam as a colony and risk direct war with the other Western empires. The Chakri kings who preceded Vajiravudh had been left somewhat to themselves to learn from the more powerful colonial empires how to operate their own smaller empire, as well as how to script-switch among the various rhythms of ideal manhood.

The same year the French gunboat parked astride Bangkok, Chulalongkorn had called Vajiravudh aside. Until that point, the twelve-year-old had lived only in the palace and was privately tutored. Now, his father told him, he was to begin a mission. He would go to Britain with three tasks. He was to learn how Britain's monarchy controlled a global empire through its bureaucratic network of non-royal males rather than through intermarriages with powerful families. He was to study military science so that as Siam's army "modernized" the monarchy could continue to lead it. Finally, he was to transform his own male body into a symbol of Siam's "civilization," what was coming to be called in the Siamese language *siwilai*. It was a hybrid notion describing the way the elite could adopt certain behaviors and techniques of the powerful colonizers, not as victims but rather with twists heavily colored by local meanings and traditions. The concept embraced everything from mastering new European technologies and laws to dressing properly and encouraging white teeth instead of betel-nut stained ones.²¹ Vajiravudh would learn to look like, talk like, and, to some degree, act like a British man. He was to familiarize himself with Western understandings of the male body and its desires

and its gender performances and how those fitted to building so-called “civilized” nations.

But, at the same time, he would also learn how to hybridize and script-switch when necessary, which meant making sure that he continued enough local tradition to maintain royal legitimacy within his own empire. Thus, when he would leave London after a decade away from Siam, he would assert to those gathered to say goodbye that “I shall return to Siam more Siamese than when I left it.”²²

Vajiravudh would become an aspiring mass media writer who could wield the mightiest pen in the empire and create his own favored ideal of manhood. *Siwilai* gave him the fused hybrid character he would use for the story.

All he needed was a plotline.

The British governess who had taught Vajiravudh’s father, Chulalongkorn, when he himself was a child had helped staple an image of Siam’s males into the European mind in the nineteenth century. Anna Leonowens had arrived at the court of Vajiravudh’s grandfather, King Mongkut, and had then written about her experiences in an 1870 book, *The English Governess at the Siamese Court*, later to be converted into the American Broadway musical *The King and I*. Although Mongkut was highly educated – a Buddhist monk for more than a quarter-century and skilled in Sanskrit, Latin, and English, as well as Western science – for her American and British audiences Anna had portrayed him as something of a baffled, if kindly, male despot, and, exaggeratedly, as a profligate polygamist. Mongkut had invited Anna to teach his many children, including Chulalongkorn, but in her writings published after she left Siam, she had referred to his prime minister as a half-naked barbarian, and she had then constructed an image of women suffering in the Inner City that was right out of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

Imperial representatives, such as Anna, insisted that the Siamese needed to correct three “problems” related to sex and gender in order to be considered “civilized.”

First, the Westerners could not always tell who was a Siamese man and who was a Siamese woman – at least when it came to certain kinds of male or female behavior that the Westerners expected, the kinds of clothing that “civilized” male and female bodies were supposed to don, the kinds of names that males and females were supposed to have, and the types of beauty their bodies were expected to portray.

An American who visited Bangkok in 1832, for example, wrote that he had attended a royal dinner and:

. . . as I cannot tell a Siamese man from a woman when numbers are seated together, so it is out of my power to say whether any females were present . . . The hair of the Siamese women is cut like that of the men; their countenances are, in fact, more masculine than those of the males.²³

Sometimes it was the hairstyles that confused Westerners, and sometimes it was the clothing, since all Siamese tended to wear a loose-fitting unisex *jong-kraben* that to Western eyes looked like a skirt. When Anna Leonowens wrote her comments three decades after the American diplomat had described his confusion, she adopted a moral judgment about this androgynous clothing. Anna described “women disguised as men and men in the attire of women, hiding vice of every vileness and crime of every enormity.” Anna had hidden her own background as a lower-class, mixed race child raised in the barracks of the British East India Company, instead presenting herself as a fully British-born, white, upper-class woman. She knew how to re-invent identities by changing costumes, changing gestures, and altering accents. She knew how to “perform British.”²⁴

Siamese clothing influenced Western accounts of Siamese beauty, which also did not conform to “civilized” standards. Many nineteenth-century Western observers described the Siamese as ugly or comical. Of the men, one observer wrote, “The flat nose, wide nostrils, large mouth, thick lips, and black bristly hair form an ensemble of which it is difficult to give an idea by means of the pen only. The natural plainness is even more marked in the women, among whom a pretty face is very rarely to be seen.” Another referred to one of the queens as wearing puffy knee breeches, having “hair cut short like a boy’s” and being “not handsome in face” in her “comical, yet piquant costume.” Another pitied the children: “I was charmed with them from the first moment, but it grieves me to think that some day they will become as ugly as their fathers and mothers.”²⁵

The Siamese body, it seemed, was incapable of attaining the beauty to be found in a Greek statue of the sort then popular in Europe.

Siamese names also contributed to gender confusion. Although Europeans had a few proper names that could refer to either man or woman – “Leslie,” for example – they had long ago broken the world into “Robert” and “Roberta,” or “Louis” and “Louise.” No one asked whether King George had a male or female body because European bodies had been already been gendered by their names, as well as their titles.

The Siamese had not followed that tradition. Proper names could refer to either sex, and for the Europeans the strange names indicated nothing. Mongkut – male or female? Chulalongkorn? Vajiravudh? Saowapha, Vajiravudh’s mother?

In short, then, to be more “civilized” like Europeans, the Siamese needed to become more differentiated.

The second concern Westerners had about Siamese bodies and gender was that, when those bodies were not being clothed androgynously, they seemed practically naked most of the time. An early account from the seventeenth century noted that the Siamese “went about almost naked except for a cotton cloth length they wore from the waist to the calf.”²⁶ In Anna’s first view of the king’s prime minister, she wrote that he had “his audacious chest and shoulders” covered only by “his own brown polished skin.” She added that neither men nor women in Siam wore hats to

protect their heads or shoes to protect their feet. Instead, they often bathed lightly clothed in a sarong or nude in rivers. At the other end of Southeast Asia, in Bali, the Dutch and Germans were reacting to similar nudity by romanticizing it in countless voyeuristic photographs, courtesy of the new communication technology of easily portable cameras. But in Siam, the more puritanical British and Americans saw only sin. One American wrote, "As a nation they do not know what shame is . . . their usual dress consists of a simple waist-cloth adjusted in a very loose and slovenly manner, while many children until they are ten or twelve years old wear no clothing whatever. When foreigners first arrive in Siam they are shocked almost beyond endurance at the nudity of the people." Going beyond even Anna Leonowens, the American added not only a moral judgment but also a moral command: "Not until Siam is clothed need she expect a place among respectable, civilized nations."²⁷

As early as 1851, when Vajiravudh's grandfather, Mongkut, ascended the throne, he had become concerned about the impressions being left among Europeans, saying that the "upper torso looks unclean, especially if the person has a skin disease or if he is sweating." As part of *siwilai*, he mandated that those coming to a royal audience would henceforth have to wear some sort of upper garment, but he did not try to change other clothing in public.²⁸

A third European concern related directly to the male body and its desires and behaviors. Often in colonial writings about Southeast Asia, Europeans and Americans portrayed the slender, less haired Asian male body as being feminine and less sexually potent than that of a Caucasian male. Whites were assumed to be more rugged, larger, more muscular, and more penetrative. As the French colonized Vietnam, for example, French essayists noted that the Southeast Asian male seemed frail and, as one wrote, "prepubescent with his naked mouth, hairless chest, smooth armpits, ambiguous voice, and female hairstyle." One French medical expert had even argued that beardlessness among Vietnamese men suggested they could not achieve satisfactory erections. "*Natura glabrum infecundum*," he solemnly pronounced: By nature, what is hairless is unfruitful.²⁹ As historian Ann Stoler would later write, this way of demasculinizing colonized men was a key element in asserting white supremacy.³⁰

But colonial images treated the Siamese male quite differently. His "problem" was that he was *too* potent and *too* promiscuous – and nothing reflected the supposedly insatiable sex drive of the Siamese male more than the longstanding custom of polygyny in the Siamese empire.³¹ Portraying male desire as hyper-driven was also to be a way of discrediting colonized men.

Throughout the nineteenth-century trade negotiations, the British emissary had constantly lectured Vajiravudh's grandfather, Mongkut, about male practices the British found to be "exotic, self-indulgent, and uncivilized."³² An American missionary close to the king complained in a public newspaper that neither virtue nor prosperity could come to Thailand until non-monogamy was made into a

crime.³³ Such Western thoughts quickly linked it with notions about the right to rule. Just as with Nordau's theory about homosexual degeneracy, so non-monogamy was thought to bring about moral degeneracy as well as physical exhaustion, undercutting any moral right to rule – and thus justifying European intervention. An American diplomat in Mongkut's time exaggeratedly reported to Washington that "the present King of Siam is a sensualist having no less than a thousand women in his harem."³⁴ Mongkut probably had only about fifty wives, and if there were a thousand in the palace's Inner City, most were servants and royal relatives learning court rituals, not wives betrothed to the king.³⁵

The virulent propaganda had not stopped when Chulalongkorn assumed the throne in 1868. One British envoy, concerned about the French pressure on Siam, wrote that "the King, who is honest . . . is quite incapable mentally, exhausted by women, anxiety and opiates."³⁶

The Anna-educated Chulalongkorn would gradually become known for his adoption of *siwilai* into Siam. He would displace the powerful families who had previously selected kings and name his own heir. In the provinces, more neutral administrative structures would begin to appear, resembling the male imperial bureaucracy of Britain. He replaced the lunar calendar resembling the Chinese and Vietnamese ones, adopting in its place the Gregorian solar calendar. He introduced banknotes and even opened the traditionally Buddhist kingdom to religious freedom, guaranteeing safety to Christians and Muslims, the latter of whom he was incorporating into his empire by posting warships off the coast of three Muslim provinces just north of Malaya. In 1899, he issued a decree that extended Mongkut's concern about clothing in royal audiences to the streets of the country, specifying the kind of dress that should be worn in public and beginning to adopt the *siwilai* idea that nakedness and lack of gender difference in fashion reflected not just practical choices but a poor moral upbringing. When he traveled in Europe – the first king of Siam to do so – he carefully dressed and posed for cameras in the costumes of his imperial hosts. He also accumulated treasures from Florence, from Tiffany in London, and from Fabergé in St. Petersburg.³⁷

Yet, for all his adoption of certain expressions of *siwilai*, Chulalongkorn had held fast in one area: His Inner City of women actually expanded beyond that of his father's. He grew exasperated with the European demands to cement their views of marriage and women's roles into Siam. Although Vajiravudh's mother, Queen Saowapha, tried to establish girls' schools in Bangkok, the king himself was reluctant, one day clearly expressing his annoyance at the likes of his own tutor, Anna, who had been strongly critical of polygyny. "I cannot bring myself to think about my daughters' education," Chulalongkorn wrote in 1898, just a few years after sending Vajiravudh to London. "I have never endorsed it . . . because it reminds me of my own teacher who authored a book which many believe. So whenever the suggestion is made that a girls' school be founded, I am quite annoyed."³⁸

Europeans responded by constructing dual images of Siam. The Siamese man was oversexed and out of control and needed to be rescued by the disciplined manhood of Europe. Siamese women were imprisoned and lacking sexual choice. A European drumbeat emerged: Until Siamese men “civilized” and eliminated their multiple sexual relationships, white men and white women would need to protect Siamese women from those men.³⁹

In Vajiravudh’s Siam, the ideal male, the king, lived in relationships with wives of varying ages and varying local races. But Western literature celebrated monogamy and spoke of romance of two types. Early tragic romantic lovers such as Romeo and Juliet, or Lancelot and Guinevere, or Abelard and Heloise, or Tristan and Isolde existed outside arranged marriages and coped with the subsequent obstacles only through secrecy and, eventually, death. But a second style of romantic love being popularized in the new mass media of the nineteenth century instead simply treated any obstacles – such as family objections – as hurdles that enhanced the romance, made it more exciting, and then were eventually overcome so that the couple could marry and “live happily ever after.”⁴⁰ The English queen that Vajiravudh had met, Victoria, had served Britain not simply as a powerful ruler but also as a romantic, married, monogamous model with her husband, Prince Albert. Hers was an imperial plotline of supposedly “civilized” love that, as far as Europeans were concerned, had not been followed by Mongkut or Chulalongkorn.

The Western stories also used characters with strong gender distinctions between the male body and its costumes, behaviors, desires, and mannerisms and the female body and its. By the beginning of the twentieth century in Europe and the United States, this character construction was beginning to be called a “heterosexual.”⁴¹

“Civilized” romance also assumed those involved had similar ages and were of similar races. Cross-age or cross-race relationships were not nearly as acceptable in these Western plots as in Siam’s polygynous culture. Europeans had given cross-race relationships an ominous sounding label – “miscegenation” – and then had frowned upon them, considering them a form of Nordau-like degeneracy and sometimes even criminalizing them.⁴²

This was the “civilized” plotline then: The mating of two similarly aged, similarly raced and distinctly gendered heterosexuals through an obstacle-strewn ritual called “romance” that then ended in either artful tragedy or a monogamous “happily ever after” marriage resembling Victoria and Albert’s.

That was a narrative about manhood and family structure quite exotic to the royal narratives that Vajiravudh knew back in Bangkok and that defined Siamese manhood.

To be “civilized” was to embrace the new triple supremacy: romantic, monogamous heterosexuality. Other forms of intimate relationships and of family organization would have to be considered “degenerate” and “uncivilized.”⁴³

A year before he left for Europe in 1893, Vajiravudh had passed through his tonsure ceremony, donning heavily gilded robes and a towering, pagoda-like crown. The ritual lasted a week. His head had been shaved, the traditional first step in becoming a Buddhist monk earning merit. That reflected one pillar of Siamese manhood. Then, Chulalongkorn had built a forty-foot-high mountain. On top of it, in an elaborate Hindu-influenced ritual, the king himself had appeared as the god Siva and had deified his young son as the god Ganesa.⁴⁴

In London, though, a painting showed the changed expectations of Vajiravudh as a young teenage male. He had a long thin body dressed in a British gray suit with a five-button vest, gold watch chain, and stiffened ascot collar. He wore toed and heeled black shoes that had been shined but that seemed disproportionately small for his height, foot size sometimes being used as a coded visual reference for male phallic power.⁴⁵

Lines, thinness, and motionlessness defined Vajiravudh, in contrast to the dynamic, muscular, in-motion statues of Greece that were part of the European ideal of manhood.

When his father, Chulalongkorn, passed through England on his Grand Tour of Europe in 1897, Vajiravudh's body had filled out and he had a more rounded face. But even at age seventeen, he still looked very much the boy as he gathered with other princes for a photograph and stood behind his father's left shoulder. All had dressed in British suits. Vajiravudh smiled slightly, contrasting with the somber expressions on both the lips of the king and of the other princes.⁴⁶

To him would fall the task of writing the story of the new Siamese man, the *siwilai* romantic, monogamous, heterosexual male. That morning of October 23, 1910, Vajiravudh's call to Chulalongkorn's bedside would be a drive into an anxious moment of personal and cultural paradox.⁴⁷



Figure 1.1 Emblems of Siamese Manhood, 1897: King Chulalongkorn seated, Prince Vajiravudh over his left shoulder
Public domain, Wikicommons

Postscript

The pursuit of a homeland can extend across generations, especially if the homeland is to become one that no longer has to feel like a paradise created from magical realities but part of the ordinary landscape and ordinary imagination. By October 23, 2010, a century had passed since Vajiravudh's accession to the throne.

In the *Spartacus* gay international guide, the editors had started tempering their description of Vajiravudh's former Siam as early as 2005. They now referred to gay life in Thailand only as “*relatively* unrestricted” and complained that nightlife had become “strictly controlled.”¹ Thaksin had ultimately been ousted in a coup in September 2006 while attending a United Nations meeting in New York. His attempt to turn Thailand toward a Singaporean model of manhood and political control had run afoul of corruption charges, especially when he and his family had decided to sell their telecommunications company, Shin Corporation, to the government investment arm of Singapore, the Temasek Corporation. Estimates were that the Thai prime minister and his family members netted almost US\$2 billion, but they had avoided paying taxes. His opponents were outraged, both by the tax techniques and the takeover of a significant piece of Thailand's communication network by outsiders. Nearly 1,000 demonstrators burned photographs of Lee Hsien Loong and his wife, Ho Ching, who headed Temasek. The protestors then cut a picture of Thaksin's head into a photograph of the Merlion and burned it too.²

Critics before and after the coup argued that the Thais already had an ideal male – Bhumibol and his *dharmic* kingship – and Thaksin seemed to be trying to usurp that role with his own ideas about how to be a *phuyai*. Thaksin, one scholar commented to *The Nation*, wanted to be a “magical person.”³ The military and royalty aligned against him, Thaksin escaped into a rich man's exile, his Thai Rak Thai party banned. His supporters remained a force, however, and once the Thai military returned control to political parties, power shifted back and forth, anti-Thaksin crowds wearing yellow shirts, the king's color, and pro-Thaksin crowds red shirts. Yellow shirts seized control of that all-important symbol of globalization that Darrell Berrigan had once written about – the airport – its tourists determining Thailand's future by either passing through or staying. Red shirts later blockaded an equally important symbol of globalization, the gleaming shopping malls that

had been built east of the university that Vajiravudh had named after his father, Chulalongkorn. The red shirts camped in Lumpini Park, sporadically launching grenades past Vajiravudh's statue into the streets along the red light district of Patpong. When the Thai Army finally dispersed the red shirts, one of the largest malls of the new commercial Thailand that Thaksin had wanted to build, Central World, was torched. Within another few months, Thaksin supporters would give a new party headed by his younger sister the majority control of the parliament. Yingluck Shinawatra would become the nation's first female prime minister. Thailand's "new man," it seemed, might be a woman.

Khun Toc's refuge for a different manhood along Soi Nantha had escaped any dramatic harm from Thaksin's social order campaign, other than the raid. Khun Toc continued to mastermind his paradise, adding computer stations for men in towels to use and turning the traditional Thai home he had moved to Babylon's entryway into a newly named "Botticelli House." It meshed the fretwork Thai exterior with interior Florentine reliefs and sculptures. Babylon also added its own channel on YouTube, opening the once private world of the gay Asian sauna to cyber-view – complete with videos of its shirtless males dancing in light-streaked foam-party *kecaks* as well as a tour of its art and gardens backed by lyrics from "I'm Mad About the Boy."⁴ During the red shirt protests in summer 2010, Khun Toc could see the smoke from hundreds of tires set aflame just a few blocks away, near Vajiravudh's statue, and he could hear the explosions of grenades. He sent a friend a text message: "Despite violence all is well at BB. Do try to come in fall."⁵

That same year of 2010, at Surabaya where Walter had been jailed, activists from across Southeast Asia attempted to hold a meeting of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Association. They rented rooms at the Mercure Surabaya, owned by the international Mercure chain, a fashionably globalized space with 126 rooms, two restaurants that served Indonesian and Chinese cuisine, an American-style coffee lounge, a pool bar, and the usual fitness center and spa.⁶ But hard-line Islamic groups had protested, forcing the conference to be cancelled.⁷

In Bali, the Kerobokan jail, where Walter had first been imprisoned for a short time, held the young jihadist men who had gone there in fall 2002 to send a message from one concept of male paradise to another. Three brothers had overseen the actual deployment of the first bombs in Bali. Two had worked at Malaysian construction camps and would sometimes tell the third the abhorrence they felt about the paradise Bali represented.⁸ It was said that Hambali, the jihadist arrested near Bangkok, had designed the attack. The necessary male network had stretched from Hambali's headquarters down through Singapore and on to Denpasar.

National borders did not matter when it came to deploying manhood or paradise.

Walter's most famous legacy, the *kecak*, still was being performed every week in Ubud, mostly for tourists. It had also taken on a life as a soundtrack in Western films, in which its multilayered incantation remained unfamiliar enough to audiences to

evoke the strange aspects of manhood and of the battle of good and evil.⁹ Its most famous performer, Walter's original dancer Limbak, had lived to see his old Bali bombed by the Islamists – to the age, some said, of 106, dying in September 2003. Of course, no one could really be sure how old Limbak was, since – as both Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson had argued during Walter's trial – the Balinese simply did not keep track of their ages.¹⁰

Walter's life itself had drawn the attention of novelists. He became a character in at least three fictional works, usually depicted as a dilettante and a seducer of both the wealthy and of Balinese boys. His guilt in molesting underage Asian "boys" was often simply assumed, the context of the *Zedenschandaal* having been largely forgotten. One novelist described him as "having a face that looked to have been modeled in a confectioner's shop" and characterized him "as a saboteur capable of demoralizing an entire class."¹¹ Another may have come closer to the truth by observing that the paradise Walter had helped create had not been about Bali at all but about himself as a homosexual male living in the 1930s, when the empires were descending into chaos. "The myth that he purveyed," Nigel Barley wrote in a book titled after the von Plessen film *Island of Demons* "was the myth of himself, as a man who had found that contentment we all seek, who always sat in golden sunshine, who lived a life without the oppression of wage-slavery or anxiety, a Parsifalian Peter Pan for whom every day brought joy and the pleasure of beauty, what he, himself, might have called a *Lebenskünstler*, an artist *at living*."¹²

Walter probably would have considered himself more a *gesamtkunstwerk*, a holistic work of art and life of the type that had been sought by the Brücke artists who had influenced him in Dresden as well as, of course, the type of fusion promoted by his early idol, Scriabin.

In Singapore by autumn 2010, the nineteenth-century British Section 377 had been dropped from the penal code, ending the criminal sanctions against consensual adult oral and anal sex, but, as it turned out, only for heterosexual acts. After an impassioned Parliamentary debate, the government had retained Section 377A, the colonial law that had been adopted in 1938, when the faltering empires of Britain and the Netherlands had been trying to defend "European values" and manhood against the attacks of Nazi sympathizers – when Walter had been arrested in Bali. Section 377A still criminalized all "outrages on decency" between males, maintaining the possibility of two-year prison sentences for a wide range of male-male affections.

Lee Hsien Loong promised his government would not enforce the old law that had helped solidify part of the triple taboo on the use of male bodies and their desires, but the rhetorical condemnation in it would remain. "It's better to accept the legal untidiness and the ambiguity," he said. "It works; don't disturb it."¹³

Just a few weeks before the century since Vajiravudh had become king was to close, Dr Balaji Sadasivan died of colon cancer. He had served as the Singapore government's most outspoken critic of Fridae and of S2's Nation dances. Yet in the

years since, he and Stuart had traveled together to Sydney to study that city's efforts to control AIDS among gay men and then had worked to begin similar efforts in Singapore. In 2007, as senior minister for Media, Information, Communication and the Arts, he had become the first minister in Singapore to attend a predominantly gay event: the rescheduled staging of the concert by the gay Christian singers Jason and deMarco, which had been banned in 2005 after the Snowball dance was prohibited. At an apparently critical moment, when the government seemed poised to prohibit the singers a second time, Balaji had told the concert organizers to inform the licensors that he would be attending as a guest of honor. At the time of his death, S2 praised him as "a friend to Singapore's gay community," although, in keeping with the new open *agora* S2 had created for queer male voices in Singapore, it was a tribute that other gay Asian men hotly contested in their postings.¹⁴

As had happened with Walter, S2 also began to find his life becoming a blend of reality and fiction. A novel published in 2009 focused on the Singapore gay activism of the late 1990s and early 2000s and presented him as the boyfriend of an aging writer worried about losing his Winckelmann-style muscle tone. A review in *Fridae* noted that the boyfriend was a "party-going, gym-obsessed CEO of a local gay website, Adonis.com." It added that the character was "obviously modeled after *Fridae.com*'s Stuart Koe, but not in a flattering way."¹⁵

By then, S2 had decided he no longer needed to continue to organize the Nation dances. "I've never stopped evolving," he commented, "so it all depends on when you decide to draw the line and stop documenting." He would later add that by autumn 2010, he had come to a "critical juncture." The time was arriving for a new S2.¹⁶ *Fridae*'s slogan, which in its early years was "Asia's Gay and Lesbian Network," had become the firmer "Empowering Gay Asia."¹⁷ By summer 2011, *Fridae* and S2 were parted.

The last Nation, number VI, occurred in autumn 2006. As with number V, it was held in tsunami-torn Phuket, although by then the coastal resorts had been scrubbed and repaired and the ocean's wild transformation was now hidden again if not forgotten. The dance was at the Hilton Arcadia Resort, a hotel so large that Nation-goers did not fill it entirely. They instead mingled in pools and restaurants with those who themselves seemed to represent the discourse of the triple supremacy: heterosexual families of men and women and their children.

Some might have read the move to Phuket and the end of the dance as a surrender in the face of the Singapore government's opposition. S2 had instead pointed out that, in both a real and a magical sense, the center and the periphery now overlapped. That was the news. The border between the representatives of the triple supremacy and the representations of the triple taboo was no longer as fixed. This time there were no men in dark glasses and no guards at the hotel gates checking the underbellies of cars.¹⁸

In the final program for the dance, S2 wrote: “Enjoy the party. We do this for the love of it, to be a part of the love, and to share the love. And really, that is all that matters.”¹⁹

Two oppositional narratives had tensed together.

To accommodate more Thai men at the last Nation VI party, S2 had scheduled it on a long national holiday weekend in late October 2006, so that more Thais could travel from Bangkok.

Strangely, realistically, magically, the final Nation party had occurred on the holiday that each year marked Vajiravudh’s accession to the throne.

Once again, queer men went streaming down the corridors of a globalized hotel. Beneath the laser lights, their voices rose and fell and their circles heaved. Within the throbbing bass sounds, the music grew in nuances of accelerandos with sudden stops and fresh bursts.

The final *kecak* of S2’s Nation filled those early morning hours of October 23, when so many decades earlier Chulalongkorn had passed and Vajiravudh had been summoned from his homeland at Saranrom Palace.

Ironically, the holiday did not actually honor Vajiravudh, the prince in paradox. It was instead known as *Wan Piya Maharat*, the day for honoring the king who had died, the one who had maintained the greatest Inner City known to Southeast Asia.

Chulalongkorn.

Notes

Prelude

1. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, July 6, 1939, Walter Spies Archive, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden, 1.
2. Reproductions of Walter Spies' art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of the research for this book was maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the United Kingdom, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgcg/spies/>
3. Walter Spies to his mother, Cardiff, August 23, 1923, Walter Spies Archives at the Oriental Collections section of the University of Leiden, Netherlands; also in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 134. Translation by Malcolm Carr.
4. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, July 6, 1939, Walter Spies Archive, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden, 1.
5. —, July 6, 1939, 2–3.
6. —, July 6, 1939, 4–5.
7. —, July 6, 1939, 5.
8. —, July 6, 1939, 6.
9. —, July 6, 1939, 6.

Chapter 1

1. Background information from Walter Vella, *Chaiyo! King Vajiravudh and the Development of Thai Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 1.
2. Tamara Loos, "Sex in the Inner City: The Fidelity between Sex and Politics in Siam," *The Journal of Asian Studies*; November 2005, 64:4, 883.
3. —, *Subject Siam: Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand* (Bangkok, Silkworm Books, 2002), 113.
4. —, 2002, 115.
5. Vella, 1978, 8.
6. Loos, 2005, 883.
7. Vella, 4; Loos, 2002, 116.

8. Stephen Greene, *Absolute Dreams: Thai Government under Rama VI, 1910–1925* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1999), 2.
9. *Vanity Fair* article quoted in Greene, iv.
10. Knowlton Mixer, “Rama Prepared Siam For Democratic Rule,” *New York Times*, December 6, 1925, 26.
11. For a recent English edition, see Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1998, trans. 12th German ed.).
12. For an English edition, see Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1895), vii–viii. For a discussion of how widely Nordau’s theory became distributed during the Wilde trial, see Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 128–33.
13. I was unable to find any specific English-language references that Vajiravudh might have noticed the Wilde trial. However, there might be some references in his Siamese letters or essays. This could be an area of future historical work.
14. Attributed to Sir Henry Norman, *Peoples and Politics of the Far East* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895, 434, republished by Elibron Classics Series, Adamant Media Corporation, 2005) in “Chowfa Maha Vajiravudh, the New King of Siam,” *New York Times*, Nov. 6, 1910, C3.
15. “Chowfa Maha Vajiravudh, the New King of Siam,” C3.
16. Loos, 2005, 4.
17. John Girling, *Thailand: Society and Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 22.
18. See, for example, the translation in Joe Cummings, Sandra Bao, Steven Martin, and China Williams, *Lonely Planet: Thailand* (Melbourne: August 2003, 10th ed.), 141.
19. Loos, 2002, 2.
20. For an overview of the Chakri situation, see Loos, 2002, 1–28; and Peter Jackson, “Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio-History of Thailand’s Same Sex and Transgender Cultures,” *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, Issue 9, August 2003, 8–10, published online at: <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/jackson.html>.
21. Winichakul Thongchai, “The Quest for ‘Siwilai’: A Geographical Discourse of Civilization Thinking in Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Siam,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(3): 528–49. Also Rachel Harrison and Peter Jackson, eds., *The Ambiguous Allure of the West: Traces of the Colonial in Thailand* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 17.
22. Harrison and Jackson, 26. Originally quoted in Benjamin Batson, *The End of Absolute Monarchy in Siam* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984), 14.
23. Edmund Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochinchina, Siam and Muscat in the U.S. Sloop-of-War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, During the Years 1832–34* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc [1837, Harper and Bros., New York], 1972), 248, quoted in Jackson, 12.
24. Anna Leonowens, *The English Governess at the Siamese Court: Being Recollections of Six Years in the Royal Palace at Bangkok* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, [1870], 1989), 94, quoted in Jackson, 12. For details of Anna’s identity invention, see Susan Morgan, *Bombay Anna: The Real Story and Remarkable Adventures of the “King and I” Governess* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), esp. Ch. 6.

25. Accounts quoted in Jackson, 19.
26. From Count C. deForbin, *Memoires* (Amsterdam: Girardi, 1729) quoted in Jackson, 10.
27. George Bacon, *Siam, The Land of the White Elephant as It Is and Was* (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, [1881], 1892), 239–40, quoted in Jackson, 9–10.
28. Jackson, 21.
29. Quoted in Franck Proschan, "Eunuch Mandarins, *Soldats Mamzells*, Effeminate Boys, and Graceless Women: French Colonial Constructions of Vietnamese Genders," *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies*, 8:4, 2002, 439–40.
30. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 46. Stoler adds, "Who bedded and wedded whom in the colonies of France, England, Holland, and Iberia was never left to chance." (47)
31. I have adopted the term "polygyny" here, following the practice of historian Tamara Loos (2002). She explains that the better-known word "polygamy" refers to a system in which either a man or a woman could have two or more spouses, whereas "polygyny" is limited solely to men having more than one wife, a system that more accurately describes the practice in Siam.
32. Craig Reynolds, "A Nineteenth-Century Buddhist Defense of Polygamy and Some Remarks on the Social History of Women in Thailand," paper prepared for the Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia, Bangkok, August 22–26, 1977, 16, quoted in Leslie Ann Jeffrey, *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity and Prostitution Policy in Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 6–7.
33. Abbot Low Moffat, *Mongkut, King of Siam* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), 135, cited in Jeffrey, 7.
34. Ronald Spector, "The American Image of Southeast Asia, 1790–1865," *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies*, (3:2, September 1972, 301, cited in Jeffrey, 7.
35. Loos, 2005, 883.
36. Quoted in Jeffrey, 6–7.
37. Jackson, 21–2. See also Harrison and Jackson, 18.
38. Tanaprasitpatana Suwadee, "Thai Society's Expectations of Women, 1851–1935," Ph.D. dissertation, Sydney University, 1989, cited in Scot Barmé, *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 22.
39. Jeffrey, 6–8.
40. For an overview of the history of romance, see, for example, Jamake Highwater, *Myth and Sexuality*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), 127–48.
41. For a review of the development of the word "heterosexual" and the character creation in mass media, see, for example, Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), especially 19–32 and 83–112.
42. See, for example, the discussion of colonialism and race in Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), Chapter 2, especially, p. 32, for a discussion of degeneracy.
43. Loos, Chapter 4 especially.
44. Vella, 10.

45. Source of the painting uncertain, reprinted in Greene, iii. For a discussion of the use of “shoe size” to indicate male phallic size, see Chapter 17.
46. Photographs of Vajiravudh and Chulalongkorn during the tour, as well as during other periods of their life, can be accessed at the Wikimedia Commons website. See “Chulalongkorn and Princes,” http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chulalongkorn_and_Princes.jpg
47. For a summary of Chulalongkorn’s and Vajiravudh’s focus on *siwilai* and the accompanying royal challenges, see, for example, Harrison and Jackson, 66–7, 194–7, 200–1.

Chapter 2

1. Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), 153–4.
2. Walter Spies to Frau Jaenichen-Woermann, Berlin, July 1923. Walter Spies’s original letters are available in the Walter Spies Archives at the Oriental Collections section of the University of Leiden, Netherlands. Most are also published in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 127–31. Trans. M. Carr.
3. —; also in Rhodius, 127–31. Trans. M. Carr.
4. Daisy Spies, “Memories,” in Rhodius, 54. Trans. J. Dorion.
5. Leo Spies, “My Brother Walja,” in Rhodius, 57. Trans. J. Dorion.
6. Walter Spies to Frau Jaenichen-Woermann. Also in Rhodius, 127–31. Trans. M. Carr.
7. Walter Spies to his mother, Cardiff, September 1923. Also in Rhodius, 136–7. Trans. M. Carr.
8. —, August 23, 1923. Also in Rhodius, 134. Trans. M. Carr.
9. —, Hamburg, August 23, 1923. Also in Rhodius, 134–5. Trans. M. Carr.
10. —, Cardiff, September 1923. Also in Rhodius, 1965, 136–7. Trans. M. Carr.
11. Heinrich Hauser to Daisy Spies, Cheribon, October 28, 1923. In Rhodius, 1965, 139. Original trans. M. Carr.
12. Walter Spies to Heinrich Hauser, Bandung, October 1923. Also in Rhodius, 145. Original trans. M. Carr.
13. —, 145.
14. —, 145.
15. Walter Spies to his mother, Bandung, November 1, 1923. Also in Rhodius, 147. Original trans. M. Carr.
16. Reproductions of Walter Spies’s art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of research is maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the United Kingdom, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgcg/spies/>
17. Ira Spies, “Memories,” trans. from Hans Rhodius, *Walter Spies: Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens (The Beauty and Wealth of Life)*. (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 51. Original trans. J. Dorion.
18. Daisy Spies, “Memories,” trans. from Rhodius, 52–4.
19. Harold Schonberg, *The Lives of the Great Composers* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1970), 497–8.

20. Quoted in Faubian Bowers, *Scriabin: A Biography* (Toronto: Dover Publications, Inc., 1996), 319.
21. M.D. Calvocoressi and Gerald Abraham, *Masters of Russian Music* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1944), 453. The story is also told in Bowers, 114.
22. Schonberg, 500.
23. —, 500.
24. Simone Wesner, Michael Hitchcock, and I Nyoman Darma Putra, “Walter Spies and Dresden: The Early Formative Years of Bali’s Renowned Artist, Author and Tourism Icon,” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 35:102, July 2007, 216.
25. Schonberg, 504.
26. —, 509.
27. —, 500.
28. Leo Spies. In Rhodius, 57. Trans. J. Dorian.
29. Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropical Museum, 1980), 11.
30. Leo Spies. Trans. from Rhodius, 1965, 57. Original trans. J. Dorian.
31. Wesner, Hitchcock, and Putra, 218.
32. George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3–16.
33. Rictor Norton, “Johann Joachim Winckelmann,” *The Great Queens of History*, December 30, 2000. <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/winckelm.htm>. On Winckelmann generally, see Denis M. Sweet, “The Personal, the Political and the Aesthetic: Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s German Enlightenment Life,” in Kent Gerard, Gert Hekman, eds., *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 147–62.
34. For an extensive historical discussion of Winckelmann, see Mosse, 1996, especially Chapter 2. This quotation is from page 29. An extended analysis of Winckelmann’s importance in the aesthetic theory can be found in Whitney Davis, *Queer Beauty: Sexuality and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Freud and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), especially the Introduction and Chapter 1.
35. Mosse, 34.
36. —, 44.
37. Josef Chytrý, *The Aesthetic State: A Quest in Modern German Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 17.
38. Mosse, 34.
39. For an overview, see Rhodius and Darling. Letters from Leon Spies to the American counsel in Moscow, pleading for intervention and help, can be found in the Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, Leiden University, Microfilm A1080. Historical background on the Spies family – with the assertion that the family might be considered Russian rather than German – can be found in blog postings by Mikhail Tsyganov, “Walter Spies: A Russian or A ‘Russian-Born,’” <http://mikejkt.livejournal.com/10095.html>
40. Daisy Spies, “Memories,” trans. from Rhodius, 52–4. Original trans. J. Dorian.
41. Walter Spies to his father, Sterlitamak, April 2, 1916, Walter Spies Archives. Also Rhodius, 65–6. Original trans. J. Dorian.
42. Walter Spies to his mother, Sterlitamak, July 10, 1916 ; also in Rhodius, 67. Original trans. J. Dorian.

43. ———, April 23, 1917. Also in Rhodius, 71. Original trans. J. Dorian.
44. ———, September 2, 1917. Also in Rhodius, 72. Original trans. J. Dorian.
45. Zverev's homosexuality is referenced in Schonberg, 497–8. An overview of gay culture in late imperial Russia can be had from Daniel D. Healey, "Russia," and Douglas B. Turnbaugh, "Vaslav Nijinsky," *Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Culture*, <http://www.glbtq.com/>
46. Rhodius and Darling, 11.
47. For a reference to the belief that Spies first practiced his homosexuality during his internment, see note from Jane Belo, May 5, 1958, referenced in materials held in the Walter Spies Archives, Microfilm A1019. Originals in Margaret Mead Papers, Library of Congress.
48. Quoted in Rhodius, 33.
49. Rhodius and Darling, 13.
50. Walter Spies to his father, Dresden, May 5, 1919. Also in Rhodius, 81. Author's translation.
51. ———, 81.
52. ———, 81.
53. Rhodius and Darling, 21.
54. Walter Spies to "Everybody," December 18, 1923. Also in Rhodius, 165–9. Trans. M. Carr.
55. ———, 165–9.
56. ———, 165–9.
57. ———, 165–9.
58. Walter Spies to Hans Jürgen von der Wense, Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 184–6. Trans. M. Carr.
59. Quoted in Rhodius and Darling, 21.
60. Walter Spies to his mother, Bandung, November 1, 1923. Also in Rhodius, 147. Original trans. M. Carr.
61. Mosse, 32.

Chapter 3

1. "Siamese Prince's visit," *New York Times*, September 28, 1902, 4.
2. The detail about the ship choice comes from "Visit of the Crown Prince of Siam," *New York Times*, October 10, 1902, 1. Information about the ship comes from *The Ship's List*, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/descriptions/ShipsF.html>
3. "Visit of the Crown Prince of Siam."
4. ———.
5. "Siamese Prince at Cramps," *New York Times*, October 19, 1902, 1.
6. Walter Vella, *Chaiyo! King Vajiravudh and the Development of Thai Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1978), 8.
7. Malcolm Smith, *A Physician at the Court of Siam* (London: Country Life Limited, 1946), 111–2.
8. Tamara Loos, "Sex in the Inner City: The Fidelity between Sex and Politics in Siam," *The Journal of Asian Studies*; November 2005, 64:4, 895–6.

9. —, 895. Loos also notes, “In other words, licit and illicit forms of sex and sexuality in Siam were not mapped isomorphically onto heterosexual and homosexual practices. This stands in contrast to most contemporaneous Western sex and gender regimes that defined categorically same-sex erotic practice as immoral crimes.” 882–3.
10. For a brief history and architectural photographs of Saranrom today, see the Thailand Ministry of Foreign Affairs site, <http://www.mfa.go.th/web/2215.php>
11. For background on Henry Alabaster, see, for example, an article written by Derick Garnier, “Henry Alabaster,” accessible at <http://www.anglican thai.org/alabaster.htm> ; The Alabaster Society site, <http://www.alabaster.org.uk/index.htm>. Basic information about Saranrom Park is available at the Thailand Department of Environment Public Parks site on Saranrom, http://203.155.220.217/office/ppdd/publicpark/english/mainpark/E_Saranrom.html
12. The list of organizations Vajiravudh joined comes from Stephen Greene, *Absolute Dreams: Thai Government under Rama VI, 1910–1925* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1999), 3. Further information on the clubs themselves comes from a “List of London’s Gentlemen’s Clubs” assembled on Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_London's_gentlemen's_clubs. For another introduction to London’s male clubs, see <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/england/london/clubsintro/intro.html>
13. Greene, 4–6.
14. Scot Barmé, *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 112–3.
15. Greene, 4–6, and Vella, 6.
16. Greene, 6.
17. George Mosse, *The Image of Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 46.
18. Greene, 18.
19. —, 76.
20. From British Foreign Office archives, quoted in Greene, 78.
21. Greene, 77. Greene spells Rarn Rakkhop’s name with two “K’s.”
22. —, 87.
23. Vella, 161.
24. Quoted in Vella, 163. A slightly different translation of the royal policy for the Royal Pages College can be found at the Vajiravudh College site on Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vajiravudh_College
25. Loos, 902.
26. —, 900–1.
27. See, for example, a history of “Siam, Cambodia and Laos, 1800–1950,” posted at the time of research for this book by Sanderson Beck, <http://www.san.beck.org/20-9-Siam,Laos,Cambodia1800-1950.html>. A similar entry at a website for those working in global economies, EconomicExpert.com, speculated about a connection between Vajiravudh’s enjoyment of late night work with “good looking young men,” <http://www.economicexpert.com/a/Vajiravudh.html>
28. Loos, 900.
29. Marcus Virginius and Carlton H. Terris (pseudo.), “Lord Vermont V.C.,” in *Three More Early Plays: King Vajiravudh’s Centennial Series: Plays in English, Vol. II* (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press Co., Ltd., 1979), unpaginated.

30. —.
31. —.
32. Dilton Marsh (pseudo.) “A Turn of Fortune’s Wheel,” in *Three Early Plays: King Vajiravudh’s Centennial Series: Plays in English, Vol. I* (Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich Press Co., Ltd, 1979), unpaginated.
33. —.
34. R.W. Connell, “Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities,” in Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 79.
35. Barmé, 52.

Chapter 4

1. All quotations from Journal of Hans Jürgen von der Wense, excerpted in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 85–90. Original trans. M. Carr.
2. See reference to comments by Hansheinz Stückenschmidt in 1922, in the notes to Steffan Schleiermacher, *Hommage à Walter Spies* (Musikproduktion Dabringhaus und Grimm MDG 613 1171–2, 2003), 6.
3. For more information on Hellerau, see Simone Wesner, Michael Hitchcock, and I Nyoman Darma Putra, “Walter Spies and Dresden: The Early Formative Years of Bali’s Renowned Artist, Author and Tourism Icon,” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 35:102, July 2007, 218–20, 224–7.
4. Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropical Museum, 1980), 15.
5. Journal of Hans Jürgen von der Wense, June 20, 1919, 86.
6. For an overview of artistic imagery and the Weimar Republic, see Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968, 2001.), vi.
7. Journal of Hans Jürgen von der Wense, June 20, 1919, 86.
8. —, July 1, 1919, 87.
9. —, July 2, 1919, 87.
10. —, July 4 and July 7, 1919, 87.
11. —, October 1–3, 1919, 88.
12. —, October 3, 1919, 88.
13. —, October 3, 1919, 88.
14. —, October 3, 1919, 88.
15. —, October 5, 1919, 88.
16. —, October 9, 1919, 88.
17. —, October 13, 1919, 88.
18. —, October 14, 1919, 88.
19. Reproductions of Walter Spies’s art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of research is maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the United Kingdom, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgec/spies/>

20. Rhodius and Darling, 17.
21. Rhodius, 85. Original trans. M. Carr.
22. —, 85.
23. Wesner, Hitchcock, and Putra, 220–4.
24. Gay, 103–5.
25. Gay, 105. For the scores that accompanied the movie, see Julie Hubbert, “Modernism at the Movies: The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari and a Film Score Revisited,” *The Musical Quarterly*, Spring 2005 88:1, 63–94. Also Robert Wiene, director, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. Original: Germany, 1920. Chatsworth, CA: Image Entertainment, DVD.
26. Richard Oswald and Magnus Hirschfeld, *Different from the Others*. Original: Germany, 1919. New York: Kino International Corp., 2004, DVD. For a brief summary of *Different from the Others*, see Craig Kaczorowski, “European Film,” Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer Culture, http://www.glbtc.com/arts/eur_film,9.html. For a discussion of the Reich Moving Picture Law, under which the film was banned except for viewing by clinicians, see Laura Bezerra, “Peculiarities of the Reich Moving Picture Law,” Deutsches Filminstitut, *Censorship Regulations in the Republic of Weimar*, at the time of research at http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/collate/collate_sp/se/se_03a03.html. Also see excerpt from Helga Belach and Wolfgang Jacobsen, “Anders Als Die Andern (1919): Dokumente zu einer Kontroverse: *Cinegraph*,” at the time of research at http://www.cinegraph.de/cgbuch/b2/b2_03.html
27. For biographical information on Murnau, see, for example, Lotte Eisner, *Murnau* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1964; English translation: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), especially 13–27.
28. For a brief review of Spies’s relationship with Murnau, see Rhodius and Darling, 15–9.
29. The similarity caused legal problems with Stoker’s estate. A version of the film, using Stoker’s names (Count Dracula) rather than Murnau’s names (Count Orlock) can be accessed at the Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/details/nosferatu>
30. Thomas Elsaesser, “Six Degrees of Nosferatu,” *Sight and Sound*, February 2001, <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sightandsound/feature/92>.
31. —.
32. See, for example, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsbgc/spies/>
33. Gay, 153.
34. Georgette Schoonderbeek-Vreedenberg, “Memoir,” in Rhodius, 120–2. Trans. M. Carr.
35. —, 122.
36. Rhodius and Darling, 17.
37. Schoonderbeek-Vreedenberg, 123.
38. Walter Spies to Mrs. Jaenichen-Woermann, July 1923, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, Leiden University. In Rhodius, 127–31. Trans. M. Carr.
39. Rhodius and Darling, 19.
40. Schoonderbeek-Vreedenberg, 122.
41. Walter Spies to his mother, Cardiff, September 1923. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 136. Original trans. M. Carr.

Chapter 5

1. Photographs of Chulalongkorn and Vajiravudh can be accessed via the Wikimedia Commons website. See especially “King Chulalongkorn of Siam,” http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King_Chulalongkorn_of_Siam.jpg and “King Vajiravudh portrait,” http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King_Vajiravudh_portrait_photograph.jpg and “Chulalongkorn with Queen Saovabha and Crown Prince Vajiravudh,” <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Chulalongkorn>
2. Quoted in Scot Barmé, *Luang Wittchit Wathakan and the Creation of a Thai Identity* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), n. 35–6.
3. For a discussion of two different theories of hybridity and their application in the Siamese/Thai context, see Rachel Harrison and Peter Jackson, eds., *The Ambiguous Allure of the West: Traces of the Colonial in Thailand* (Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 189–205.
4. “Nationalism” is a problematic word. For a good review of “official” nationalism as practiced by Chulalongkorn and Vajiravudh versus “popular” nationalism, see Barmé, 5–8.
5. Tamara Loos notes, “‘Homosexuality,’ whether associated with the monarch or *caocom* [referring in Thai to a woman or women], reflects an understanding of sexual desire based on a heterosexual-homosexual binary that does not encapsulate Siam’s historical organization of sexual desire. The gender and sexual system dominant in nineteenth-century Siam regulated sexual behavior on the basis of social status *and* gender rather than categorically on sexual object choice. The social status (rather than the gender or sex) of the parties involved was crucial in determining whether sexual intercourse was illicit or licit.” Tamara Loos, “Sex in the Inner City: The Fidelity between Sex and Politics in Siam,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, November 2005, 64:4, 906.
6. Quoted in Barmé, 21.
7. Barmé, 22.
8. Quoted in Barmé, 29.
9. Quoted in Walter Vella, *Chaiyo! King Vajiravudh and the Development of Thai Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1978), 159.
10. For a review of the various ways Vajiravudh attempted to follow Western models, see Vella, Chapter 6.
11. Vella, 129–33.
12. “Visit of the Crown Prince of Siam,” *New York Times*, October 10, 1902, 1.
13. George Mosse, *The Image of Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 46.
14. Vella, 144–51.
15. Norman C. McLeod, “Sports and Scout Work Making Siam New Nation,” *New York Times*, February 17, 1924, XX18.
16. Vella, 140.
17. —, 143.
18. For a fuller discussion, see Loos, 900.
19. Scot Barmé, *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 160.
20. —, 160.

21. —, 160.
22. Vella, 156.
23. Loos, 903.
24. Great Britain, Foreign Office, Dispatches from Siam, F). 371/2462, March 6, 1912, quoted in Barmé, 1993, 36.
25. British Foreign Office archive, from Stephen Greene, *Absolute Dreams: Thai Government under Rama VI, 1910–1925* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1999), 78, 163.
26. Barmé, 2002, 112–7. Also see Harrison and Jackson, 200–1.
27. Barmé, 2002, 116.
28. Stephen Greene examines Dusit Thani's role as a possible model for administrative reform but does not examine it as an activity intended to promote male social relationships among the king's friends. Greene, 120–3.
29. —, 123.
30. —, 123.
31. Vella, 154.
32. Greene, 132.
33. *Bangkok Times*, March 21, 1925, quoted in Greene, 132.
34. Vella, 157–8.
35. *Bangkok Times*, August 22, 1922, quoted in Greene, 133.
36. For descriptions, see Usnisa Sukhsvasti, "A royal love story," *The Bangkok Post*, June 6, 2005, 1; and Carol Lutfy, "The Country Homes of Thai Kings," *The New York Times*, January 28, 1996, XX, 16.
37. His Majesty King Vajiravudh, "P'ra Ruang: drama in verse," trans. H.H. Prince Purachatra (Bangkok: Pigkanes Press, 1979), Act I, Scene I, 1.
38. Story told in Sukhsvasti, 1. Attributed to Thanpuying Putrie Viravaidya, deputy principal private secretary to His Majesty the King.
39. "Siamese Simplicity," *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 1925. Accessed at <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1925/11/9/siamese-simplicity-psiam-whose-king-translates/>
40. Sukhsvasti, 1.
41. Barmé, 1993, 36.
42. —, 2002, 117–8.
43. British Foreign Office archive, quoted in Greene, 133.
44. The white uniform in the portrait, and the pose of the king, is similar to that which can be found at the Wikimedia Commons website, "King Vajiravudh portrait," http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King_Vajiravudh_portrait_photograph.jpg
45. Author's interview with Khun Toc, August 2007.

Chapter 6

1. Walter Spies to "a friend," from Kintamani, April 16, 1925, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden. Also in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichthum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 205. Trans. author.
2. Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London: Faber and Faber, 1938), 70.

3. *Leyaks* are discussed in several places in the book that Spies and de Zoete would eventually author, especially 55 (note) and 87–9.
4. Walter Spies to “a friend,” 205–8.
5. —, 205–8.
6. —, 205–8.
7. Walter Spies’s letter from Yogyakarta, dated end of April 1925, Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 209.
8. Franz Roh’s original book is *Nach Expressionismus, Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei* (Berlin: Leipzig, Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). A translation, “Magical Realism: Post–Expressionism” is available in Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris, *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 15–31. Quotations from 15, 17, 19, 27. See in the same volume, Irene Guenther, “Magic Realism, New Objectivity, and the Arts during the Weimar Republic,” 34–73.
9. From the translation of Roh, 29.
10. —, 28.
11. For the evolution of the term “magical realism,” see Christopher Warnes, “Magical Idealism and the Legacy of German Idealism,” *Modern Language Review*, April 2006, 101:2, 488–98.
12. Walter Spies to Franz Roh, September 1922, Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 108. Trans. author.
13. Spies to Roh, June, 1926, 219. Trans. author.
14. For racial degeneracy fears, especially in the Dutch East Indies, see Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 66–7, 70–8.
15. Spies to Roh, September 22, 1936, 222. Trans. author.
16. See Stephen Slemon’s discussion in “Magical Realism as Postcolonial Discourse,” in Zamora and Faris, 407–26, especially 411.
17. Slemon. In Zamora and Faris, 409
18. Zamora and Faris, “Introduction: Daiquiri Birds and Flabertian Parrot(ies).” In Zamora and Faris, 6.
19. Spies to Roh, September 22, 1936, 222. Trans. author.
20. For “amok” in the Balinese context, see Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1989), 15–8.
21. For early European views of Bali, see Vickers, 11–36.
23. Hugh Mabbett, revised edition, and English translation of Gregor Krause, *Bali 1912* (Singapore: Pepper Publication, revised edition 2001), 10.
24. —, 57.
25. —, see especially photographs on 31, 40, 49, 53, 60, 61, 67, 76.
26. —, 10.
27. Vickers, 93.
28. See accounts quoted in Peter Jackson, “Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio–History of Thailand’s Same Sex and Transgender Cultures,” *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, Issue 9, August 2003, 9–10, online at the time of research at <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/jackson.html>.

29. Adolf Hitler's speech at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally, accessed at <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/rpt27c.htm>, originally from Alfred Rosenberg and Wilhelm Weiß, Reichsparteitag der NSDAP Nürnberg 19./21. August 1927 (Munich: Verlag Frz. Eher, 1927), 38–45.
30. Spies to his mother, September 1927, Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 250–1. Trans. by author.
31. Aldrich, Robert, *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 164.
32. Reproductions of Walter Spies's art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of research is maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the United Kingdom, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgecg/spies/>
33. In 2001, Christie's auctioned the sketch for almost US\$50,000. Price from www.artprice.com/
34. For descriptions of the cockfights, see Magnus Hirschfeld, *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). 116. Also Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," Chapter 15, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 412–54.
35. For the role of duels in establishing European masculinity, see George Mosse, *The Image of Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 17–23.
36. Quotations taken from Sotheby's Newsletter, September 5, 2001. Sotheby's sold the painting in 2001 for more than US\$750,000.
37. See, for example, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgecg/spies/>

Chapter 7

1. Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropen Museum, 1980), 35.
2. André Roosevelt, director, *Goona Goona*, original, 1932. Baker City, OR: Nostalgia Family Video, 1996, videocassette.
3. For information about *leyaks* see, for example, Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London: Faber and Faber, 1938), especially 55 (note), and 87–9.
4. Walter Spies to "a friend," from Kintamani, April 16, 1925, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden. Also in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 205–8. Trans. author.
5. Spies and de Zoete, 80.
6. —, 80.
7. This calculation of Limbak's age is based on news accounts at the time of his death in 2003, which placed his age at 106. See I Wayan Juniarta, "Bali mourns 'Kecak' maestro," *Jakarta Post*, September 7, 2003. However, a newspaper interview just a year earlier said that Limbak was 90, which would have made him about 18 at the time he began dancing the *kecak*. See Tantri Yuliandini, "Limbak, Rena: Two generations of 'kecak' dancers," *Jakarta Post*, May 18, 2002. Such confusion about Balinese ages was later to play a significant role in Spies's trial.
8. On this point, Walter was deferential. Spies and de Zoete, 83.

9. Spies and de Zoete, 80–5.
10. —, 80–1.
11. —, 81.
12. —, 85.
13. —, 85.
14. Michael Bakan, “The Abduction of the Signifying Monkey Chant: Schizophonic Transmogrifications of Balinese *Kecak* in Fellini’s *Satyricon* and the Coen Brothers’ *Blood Simple*,” *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 18:1, June 2009, 91.
15. Claire Holt, “Walter Spies,” in Rhodius, 312.
16. Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1989), 109
17. Holt. In Rhodius, 312.
18. Rose Covarrubias, “Memory: Walter Spies,” in Rhodius, 278–81.
19. Lotte H. Eisner, *Murnau* (Paris: Le Terrain Vague, 1964; English trans. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 221–2.
20. Walter Spies to his mother, March 26, 1931, Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 297. Trans. author.
21. Josef Chytrý, *The Aesthetic State: A Quest in Modern German Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 449.
22. —, 449, 454–5. See Chapter 12 in general for Chytrý’s entire argument about Spies.
23. Roelof Goris and Walter Spies, *The Island of Bali: Its Religion and Ceremonies* (Batavia: Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatschappij, 1931).
24. Walter Spies to Claire Holt, April 22, 1931, microfilm A1020.
25. Conrad Spies to Willem Stutterheim, October 26, 1931, microfilm A1020.
26. Conrad Spies to Jane Belo, January 7, 1932, microfilm A1020.
27. —, microfilm A1019.
28. Walter Spies to Rudolf Spies, March 8, 1932, from Rhodius, 302. Trans. author.
29. —, March 8, 1932, 300.
30. —, March 8, 1932, 300.
31. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, March 26, 1932, microfilm A1019.
32. Walter Spies to Willem Stutterheim, March 29, 1932, microfilm A1020.
33. Willem Stutterheim to Walter Spies, April 4, 1932, microfilm A1020. Trans. M. Carr.
34. Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968), 160.
35. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1935), 95.
36. C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 57.
37. One protagonist argued: “If Java, Sumatra, etc., should be severed from the Netherlands within the foreseeable future – which God forbid! – then that does not need to be the case for New Guinea . . . Neither the Javanese, the Acehnese, nor the inhabitants of Palembang have any right to this ‘empty’ country. The Dutch were the first to occupy it, and have the right to use it for the population surplus of the Netherlands.” From P.E. Winkler, *Nederlandsch Nieuw Guinea: een nieuw stamland voor oons volk* (Amsterdam: 1936), quoted in Penders, 57–8.

38. Pieter Koenders, *Tussen Christelijk Reveil En Seksuele Revolutie: Bestrijding van zedeloosheid in Nederland, met nadruk op de repressie van homoseksualiteit* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social Studies, 1996), 309. Koenders's discussion of the "morals scandal" expands upon a details from Gosse Kerkhof, "Het Indische Zedenschandaal, een koloniaal incident" (Doctoral thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1982), which can be found at the International Gay/Lesbian Information Center and Archive (formerly Homodok) in Amsterdam. Koenders's and Kerkhof's work has been partially summarized in English in Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Chapter 8

1. Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1989), 86–8.
2. Interview with A.A.M. Djelantik by Dennis Raymond, December, 2003. Djelantik helped establish the Walter Spies Foundation in Bali. A memorial to him written by Horst Jordt of the German Walter Spies Society, is at the time of research at <http://news.ubud.com/2007/09/in-memoriam-dr-aa-mad-djelantik.html>
3. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), 115–9.
4. Vickers, 145.
5. An overview of the Augustinian and tragic romance ideas can be found in Jamake Highwater, *Myth and Sexuality* (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), Chapters 5 and 6.
6. On Java, a Dutch psychiatrist noted what had happened when two teenage males unskilled in sexual exploration, Ali and Hassan, had fallen in love. Importantly, the fact that they were two males in an erotic friendship seemed to make no difference whatsoever to their village.

They live together, sleep together on a baleh-baleh, share each other's lives. Ali is focused on Hassan with all his being, but Hassan . . . is [also] in love with a young widow from a neighboring *desa* [village] and wants to marry her. They talk about this together and among all three, and it seems that Ali can resign himself to this. But one night, as Hassan lies sleeping next to Ali, the jealousy flares up and in a sort of wild rage he cuts Hassan's penis off at the root with a *piso blati* [a sharp knife] and does the same to himself immediately after . . .

The deed was regarded as a crime of passion, and the fact this had occurred between men played no role in the commentary. Justice was satisfied, since the perpetrator had carried out the retribution on himself. Ali's reaction was labeled with the term *imata gelap*, a frenzied state that had erupted into violence.

From Dr. P.M. van Wulfitten Palthe, "Zedenlicten in het Oosten," *Psychiatrisch Juridisch Gezelschap*, May 19, 1951, quoted in Gosse Kerkhof, *Het Indische Zedenschandaal: Een Kolonial Incident* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1982), 23. Trans. M. Carr.

7. Gregory Bateson, "Bali: The Value System of a Steady State," original in 1949, reprinted in *Steps to an Ecology of the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 113.

8. Hirschfeld, 115–9.
9. Walter Spies and Beryl de Zoete, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (London: Faber and Faber, 1938), 33.
10. Noted in a description of a late-nineteenth-century Balinese painting, Vickers, illustration 7.
11. On the management of racial intimacy as a matter of state politics, see Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), especially Chapter 3, “Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Gender and Morality in the Making of Race.”
12. Timothy Lindsey, *The Romance of K’Tut Tantri and Indonesia: Text and Scripts, History and Identity* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997), 32.
13. Vickers, 144, image no. 25, 148–9. Vickers includes a note that Margaret Mead believed Lempad’s explicit drawings of male-male sex reflected his own fantasies rather than European tastes. In her field notes, she commented that none of his drawings made “the kind of point the special European pervert would think up to suggest.” From Mead-Bateson field notes, Ubud, Feb. 8, 1938, Bangli, Feb. 21, 1938, Library of Congress.
14. H.T. Damste, “Balische Splinters – Zending,” *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 13 (1924): 538, cited in Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 41.
15. Robinson, 41.
16. Han Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropen Museum, 1980), 39.
17. Reproductions of Walter Spies’s art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of research is maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the UK, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scsgcg/spies/>
18. Rhodius and Darling, 43.
19. The summary of the Ries affair and the subsequent *Zedenschaandal* in the Dutch East Indies relies on translations from Pieter Koenders, *Tussen Christelijk Reveil En Seksuele Revolutie: Bestrijding van zedeloosheid in Nederland, met nadruk op de repressie van homoseksualiteit* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social Studies, 1996), Chapter 4, in particular, 227–323; and Gosse Kerkhof, “Het Indische Zedenschandaal, een koloniaal incident” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1982), 32–8, which can be found at the International Gay/Lesbian Information Center and Archive (formerly Homodok) in Amsterdam. Koenders’s and Kerkhof’s work has been partially summarized in English in Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 198–200.
20. For the Ries affair, see Koenders, 295–302. Also, Paul Snijders, “Ries, Leopold Abraham,” in Robert Aldrich and Gary Wotherspoon, eds., *Who’s Who in Gay and Lesbian History, from Antiquity to WWII* (Routledge, London, 2001), 371–2.
21. Koenders, 307–8.
22. Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937), xxii.
23. Walter Spies to Miguel and Rose Covarrubias, April 1938. In Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 371.

24. Vicki Baum, *A Tale From Bali* (Singapore: Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd. Paperback edition 1999; original 1937), 7–8, 10.
25. Walter Spies to his mother, May 1938, the Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections at the University of Leiden. Also in Rhodius, 372–3.
26. Walter Spies to Willem Stutterheim, June 10, 1938, microfilm A1020, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, Leiden University. The English translation is contained on the microfilm but the translator is not indicated.
27. Willem Stutterheim to Walter Spies, June 15, 1938, microfilm A1020, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, Leiden University. The English translation is contained on the microfilm but the translator is not indicated.
28. Walter Spies to his mother, July 28, 1938. Also in Rhodius, 373–5. Trans. J. Dorion.
29. Walter Spies to Willem Stutterheim, August 12, 1938, microfilm A1020, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, Leiden University. The English translation is contained on the microfilm but the translator is not indicated.
30. Walter Spies to his mother, October, 1938. Also in Rhodius, 377–8. Trans. J. Dorion.

Chapter 9

1. C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 57.
2. “The Morals Scandal: Again, New Arrests Made,” *Java-Bode*, December 27, 1938, 1.
3. —, 1.
4. —, 1.
5. —, 1.
6. —, 1.
7. This summary relies on translations from Pieter Koenders, *Tussen Christelijk Reveil En Seksuele Revolutie: Bestrijding van zedeloosheid in Nederland, met nadruk op de repressie van homoseksualiteit* (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social Studies, 1996), 306–9; and Gosse Kerkhof, “Het Indische Zedenschandaal, een koloniaal incident” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam, 1982), 32–8, which can be found at the International Gay/Lesbian Information Center and Archive (formerly Homodok) in Amsterdam. Koenders’s and Kerkhof’s work has been partially summarized in English in Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 198–200.
8. Unknown author, “Mary Pos,” *Het Damescompartiment Online*, at the time of research at <http://www.damescompartiment.nl/biomp.htm>
9. Many of Covarrubias’s paintings are reproduced in Adriana Williams and Yu-Chee Chong, *Covarrubias in Bali* (Singapore: Editions Didier Millet, 2005). See especially frontispiece and 37–8.
10. Quoted in Kerkhof, 1–3. Trans. M. Carr.
11. Colin McPhee, *A House in Bali* (London: Victor Gollanez Ltd., 1947 original edition; Singapore: Periplus Ltd., 2000 paperback edition), 201–10.
12. —, 201–10.
13. “The Vice Scandal: Still More Arrests Made,” *Java-Bode*, December 30, 1938, 1. Trans. M. Carr.
14. Henk Schulte Nordholt, *Bali: Colonial Conceptions and Political Change, 1700–1940* (Rotterdam: Erasmus University, 1986), 47.

15. McPhee, 202–3.
16. “The Vice Scandal: Development of the Investigation,” *Java-Bode*, December 31, 1938, 1.
17. Anecdote mentioned in Timothy Lindsey, *The Romance of K’Tut Tantri and Indonesia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997) n. 86, p. 97.
18. Lindsey, 92.
19. Attributed to personal communication from Spies biographer John Stowell in Lindsey, n. 86, p. 97.
20. “The Vice Scandal,” January 3, 1939, 1. Trans. M. Carr.
21. Walter Spies to his mother, Denpasar, December 31, 1938, Walter Spies Archives at the Oriental Collections section of the University of Leiden, Netherlands. Also in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 378–80. Trans. J. Dorion.
22. H.J.E. Moll, Resident of Bali and Lombok, March 2, 1939, Colonial Ministry Secret Archive, Box 562, National Archive, The Hague. Trans. M. Carr.
23. ———.
24. A search of the Dutch colonial archives produced no transcripts or reports detailing any actual evidence. Research was conducted at the Dutch National Archive in The Hague in May 2003. Although the records include information on arrests and trials of minor officials, I found none on the major figures arrested in Bali. Other scholars have advised that any locally stored records were likely destroyed during the subsequent Japanese invasion, although thorough searches of Indonesian archives might eventually prove otherwise. Moll’s lengthy report appears to be the most detailed description of the Balinese arrests available.
25. Maarten Salden, “The Dutch Penal Law and Homosexual Conduct,” 155–79. In A.X. van Naerssen, ed., *Gay Life in Dutch Society* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1987), 172. Also in *Journal of Homosexuality*, 13:2–3, Winter 1986–Spring 1987, 155–79.

Chapter 10

1. See, for example, this story told, but not sourced, in Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropen Museum, 1980), 45.
2. H.C. Zentgraf, *Java-Bode*, January 5, 1939, 1.
3. ———, 1.
4. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, January 18, 1939, the Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden.
5. ———, January 19, 1939.
6. ———, February 4, 1939.
7. ———, February 5, 1939.
8. ———, February 5, 1939.
9. H.C. Zentgraf, “Scandal,” *Java-Bode*, January 17, 1939, 1. Trans. M. Carr.
10. Walter Spies to his mother, February 6, 1939, the Walter Spies Archive. This letter was not published in the collection of Spies’s letters contained in Hans Rhodius,

Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895-1942) (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965). Trans. M. Carr.

11. Jane Belo interview with Seken, about February 14, 1939, the Walter Spies Archives, microfilm A019.
12. Jane Belo to her Johnny [no last name included], February 10, 1939, microfilm A1019.
13. Gregory Bateson to Witsen Elias, February 28, 1939, microfilm A1019.
14. —, February 28, 1939, microfilm A1019.
15. —, March 4, 1939, microfilm A1019.
16. —, February 28, 1939, microfilm A1019.
17. —, March 4, 1939, microfilm A1019.
18. —, March 4, 1939, microfilm A1019.
19. Margaret Mead to Witsen Elias, March 2, 1939, microfilm A1019.
20. Walter Spies to his mother, March 28, 1939. This letter was not published in the collection of Spies's letters contained in Rhodius. Trans. M. Carr.
21. Jane Belo to Willem Stutterheim, March 9, 1939, microfilm A1019.
22. Quoted in Rhodius and Darling, 45.
23. See, for example, short notices on the front pages of the April 18, 1939 and April 28, 1939 editions of *Java-Bode*. The first reported that Balinese officials were deciding whether to expel from the island “undesirable elements” who had been involved in the sex scandals, once their punishment was completed. The second said Europeans would be sent back to Europe, while those born in the Indies would be allowed to stay.
24. Two novels with unsavory portraits of Spies, for example, are Jim Shepard, *Nosferatu* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998) and Jamie James, *Andrew and Joey* (New York: Kensington Books, 2002).
25. G. Witsen Elias to Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson, July 10, 1939, microfilm A1019.
26. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, April 13, 1939.
27. —, April 13, 1939.
28. Margaret Mead to Walter Spies, June 18, 1939, originals at Margaret Mead Collection, Library of Congress. Accessed at Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden, microfilm A1019.
29. Walter Spies to Daisy Spies, July 2, 1939, Walter Spies Archives. This letter was not published in the collection of Spies's letters contained in Rhodius. Trans. M. Carr.
30. Walter Spies to his mother, July 1939, Walter Spies Archives. This letter was not published in the collection of Spies's letters contained in Rhodius. Trans. M. Carr.
31. Reproductions of Walter Spies's art can be accessed at various websites. Among the most comprehensive is a site that at the time of research is maintained by Geff Green, a principal lecturer in Communication at Sheffield Hallam University in the United Kingdom, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scscgcg/spies/>
32. Quoted in Rhodius and Darling, 49.
33. Walter Spies to Kasper Niehaus, July 19, 1939. In Rhodius, 386. Trans. J. Dorion.
34. Rhodius and Darling, 45. In 1995, Christie's auction house sold *The Landscape and Its Children* for US\$628,000; seven years later, it sold for more than US\$1 million. (Prices from <http://www.artprice.com/> and <http://www.christies.com/>)

35. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, April 17, 1939, Walter Spies Archives.
36. See, for example, <http://homepages.shu.ac.uk/~scscg/spies/>
37. Memoir of Edward and Irene Erdmann, quoted in Rhodius, 117–8. Trans. author.
38. Walter Spies to his mother, July 1939, Walter Spies Archives. This letter was not published in the collection of Spies's letters contained in Rhodius. Trans. M. Carr.
39. Walter Spies to Jane Belo, May 23, 1939, Walter Spies Archives.
40. Walter Spies to Kasper Niehaus, July 19, 1939. In Rhodius, 389. Trans. J. Dorion.
41. Walter Spies to Leopold Stokowski, quoted in Rhodius and Darling, 49.

Chapter 11

1. Walter Spies to Leo Spies, September 17, 1939, Walter Spies Archives, Oriental Collections, University of Leiden. Also in Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropenmuseum, 1980), 392. Trans. J. Dorion.
2. Margaret Mead to Walter Spies, August 17, 1940, Walter Spies Archives, microfilm A1019.
3. Marianne van Wessem, "Memory," in Hans Rhodius, *Schönheit und Reichtum Des Lebens: Walter Spies (Maler und Musiker auf Bali 1895–1942)* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1965), 405.
4. Walter Spies to Hen van Wulfften Palthe-Moinat, May 29, 1940. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 438. Trans. author.
5. —, August 9, 1940, 441. Trans. author.
6. —, October 29, 1940. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 442. Trans. author.
7. Cornelius Conyn, "In the Internment Camps," in Rhodius, 433–6. Trans. J. Dorion.
8. F.W. Block to Leo Spies, October 13, 1944. In Rhodius, 436. Trans. J. Dorion. Block was the nephew of the German artist Josef Block.
9. Walter Spies to Hen van Wulfften Palthe-Moinat, April 22, 1941. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 444. Trans. author.
10. —, July 15, 1941. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 446. Trans. author.
11. —, September 19 and 30, 1941. Also in Rhodius, 447–8. Trans. author.
12. F.W. Block to Leo Spies, October 13, 1944. In Rhodius, 436. Trans. J. Dorion.
13. Marianne van Wessem, "Memory," in Rhodius, 1965, 405.
14. Ezekiel 37:14, New International Version.
15. Ezekiel 1:4–28, New International Version.
16. See reference to the painting in Rhodius and Darling, 51.
17. Ezekiel 24:16, New International Version
18. Walter Spies to "Pieter," December 9, 1941. Walter Spies Archives. Also in Rhodius, 449. Trans. author.
19. Cornelius Conyn, "In the Internment Camps," in Rhodius, 436. Trans. J. Dorion.
20. Oral history recollection from source identified only as Brother Aloysius, Warring States Sinology Project, University of Massachusetts, at time of research at <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/sinology/persons/zach2.html>
21. —.
22. —.

23. Details from the Mercantile Marine website, a project collecting stories about the merchant marine in wartime, at time of research at <http://sites.google.com/a/mercantilemarine.org/mercantile-marine/War-time-Stories/kom-ships>. A recollection of the disaster is available from <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/sinology/persons/zach2.html>

Chapter 12

1. From “The Press: Old Orient Hand,” *Time*, July 21, 1958. Accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,868668-1,00.html>
2. Leslie Ann Jeffrey, *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity and Prostitution Policy in Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 56.
3. For Phibun’s impact on gender in Thailand, see Peter Jackson, “Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio-History of Thailand’s Same Sex and Transgender Cultures,” *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, Issue 9, August 2003, 24, at the time of research online at: <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/jackson.html>.
4. Jackson, 24, published online at: <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/jackson.html>.
5. —, 25–6.
6. Ironically, today a tourist guide like *Lonely Planet* warns Europeans who have now become accustomed to public nudity in their own countries that “bathing nude at beaches in Thailand is illegal.” Joe Cummings, Sandra Bao, Steven Martin, and China Williams, *Thailand*, (Melbourne: Lonely Planet Publications, 2003), 46.
7. Jeffrey, 96.
8. —, 96.
9. “The Press: Hors de Correspondence,” *Time*, January 19, 1942, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,766338,00.html> Also “The Press: Old Orient Hand,” *Time*, July 21, 1958, accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,868668-1,00.html>
10. Darrell Berrigan, “Weary British Retreat in Burma, Knowing That They Face Disaster,” *New York Times*, April 29, 1942, 4.
11. Quoted in Dickson Hartwell, “The Mighty Jeep,” *American Heritage*, December 1960, 12:1, accessed at http://www.americanheritage.com/articles/magazine/ah/1960/1/1960_1_38.shtml
12. William Warren, *Jim Thompson: The Unsolved Mystery* (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1970, 1998), 41–4.
13. Cable from Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson to the US Ambassador in London, Dec. 13, 1945, published in Wimon Wiriyawit, *Free Thai: Personal Recollections and Official Documents* (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1997), 287–93, quotation from 290–1.
14. Donald F. Cooper, *Thailand: Dictatorship or Democracy?* (London: Minerva, 1995), 32, referenced in Peter Jackson, “An American Death in Bangkok: The Murder of Darrell Berrigan and the Hybrid Origins of Gay Identity in 1960s Thailand,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 5:3 (1999) 372. See also articles in the *New York Times*: “Thailand Concerned About Reparations,” October 10, 1945, 3; “British

- Deny Charge of Victimized Siam,” December 21, 1945, 3; “Peace Comes to Siam,” January 3, 1946, 17; “Accord with Siam Sealed by Britain,” 9.
15. Jackson, 1999, 373–4.
 16. One of Thompson’s biographies by William Warren seems to deny his homosexuality while noting his artistic interests. Another, by journalist Alexander MacDonald, who worked with Thompson and started the English-language *Bangkok Post*, calls him “foppish” and says “he wore dancing pumps most of the time.” It was Thompson’s interest in ballet and costumes that led to his interest in Thai silk, which in turn he contributed to stage productions about Thailand, such as *The King and I*. Alexander MacDonald, *My Footloose Newspaper Life* (Bangkok: Post Publishing, 1990), 98 quoted in Jackson, 1999, 369.
 17. Darrell Berrigan, “Thais’ Economy in Modern Phase,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1960, 57.
 18. —, “Thailand’s Opulent Sights Viewable in Luxury,” *New York Times*, March 6, 1960, X39.
 19. —, X39.
 20. —, X39.
 21. “The Press: Old Orient Hand,” *Time*, July 21, 1958. Accessed at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,868668-1,00.html>
 22. —.
 23. Darrell Berrigan, “This Wonderful World,” *Bangkok World*, October 1, 1965, 10.
 24. —, 10.
 25. “World Editor Found Slain,” *Bangkok World*, October 4, 1965, 1.
 26. This shift is documented in Jackson, 1999, 361–411. I have drawn upon Jackson’s Thai translations and analysis in this section, while adding materials from other English-language sources.
 27. —, 375–6.
 28. —, 380.
 29. “Berrigan killer to re-enact crime,” *Bangkok Post*, October 14, 1965, 1.
 30. A fuller discussion of the word *jikko* can be found at Jackson, 1999, 380. Jackson also quotes an analysis from Andrew Harris, *Bangkok after Dark* (New York: MacFadden–Bartell, 1968), 82.
 31. Jackson, 1999, 379–80.
 32. —, 1999, 379–80.
 33. *Thai Rath*, October 4, 1965, 16, translated in Jackson, 1999, 375.
 34. “Kathoe phoe chiwit ‘lakkaphet’ Berrigan – wa liang dek-num thana sami,” *Thai Rath*, October 9, 1965, 1, 16. From Jackson, 1999, 378.
 35. —, 1, 16; Jackson, 1999, 376.
 36. Jackson, 1999, 382–8.
 37. “Thai Rath phop laeng ‘phu-chai kai tua’ – mi samachik ruam 200, rai-dai sung,” *Thai Rath*, October 11, 1965, 1, 2, 16, trans. from Jackson, 1999, 388–9.
 38. For a discussion of the importance of *farang* as a category in the Siamese and Thai cultural imagination, see Pattana Kitiarsa, “An Ambiguous Intimacy: Farang as Siamese Occidentalism,” in Rachel Harrison and Peter Jackson, eds., *The Ambiguous Allure of the West: Traces of the Colonial in Thailand* (Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 57–74.

39. “Thai Rath phop laeng ‘phu-chai kai tua’ – mi samachik ruam 200, rai-dai sung,” *Thai Rath*, October 11, 1965, 1, 2, 16, trans. from Jackson, 1999, 388–9.
40. ———, 1, 2, 16, trans. from Jackson, 1999, 388–9. Jackson studied the language used in the Berrigan case. He argues that not only did these new *gay* men violate the traditional rules of gender and sexual desire but also the rules of class. They were not lower-class, karmic-bound *kathoey* who had to struggle to achieve femininity. They freely capitalized on their masculinity and on their undenied desires for sex with other men.
41. “Arayachon nai mum meut,” *Thai Rath*, October 16, 1965, 3. From Jackson, 1999, 391.
42. Jackson, 1999, 391.

Chapter 13

1. See population statistics for Singapore, <http://www.populstat.info/Asia/singapoc.htm>
2. For a history of prostitution in Singapore, see James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore, 1870–1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003).
3. Warren. Children of prostitutes are discussed on 80–1, 231–4.
4. For information on Nanyang Primary School, see the school website: <http://www.nyps.moe.edu.sg/homepage.aspx>.
5. ———.
6. ———.
7. ———. Further information is also available at <http://www.answers.com/topic/nanyang-primary-school>. A sometimes caustic reminiscence available at the time of research is <http://gssq.entori.net/detritus/nyps.htm>. For information about dress codes and propriety, see reminisces and photographs from the online Nanyang History Book, <http://www.nanyang.org.sg/HistoryBook/>
8. Information on and photographs of the early Telok Kurau School are available from the school’s current website, <http://www.telokkuraupri.moe.edu.sg/>
9. Biographical information on Lee Kuan Yew and Lee Hsien Loong is available from a number of books such as Alex Josey, *Lee Kuan Yew* (Singapore: Donald Moore Press Ltd, 1968), as well as from the Singapore government’s official website: <http://www.cabinet.gov.sg/>. See also “Kwa Geok Choo, wife of Singapore’s first prime minister and mother of current premier, dies at 89,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 2, 2010, <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/afterword/>.
10. Lee Hsien Loong, National Day Rally 2004 speech, August 22, 2004. Posted at time of research at <http://stars.nhb.gov.sg/stars/public/>.
11. Stuart Koe, “Biography,” at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/BIO.HTM>.
12. ———. Also reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
13. ———.
14. ———.
15. ———.

16. Chun Wei Choo, "IT2000: Singapore's Vision of an Intelligent Island," from Peter Droege, *Intelligent Environments* (North-Holland, 1997). Online at the time of research at <http://choo.fis.utoronto.ca/FIS/ResPub/IT2000.html>. Also see Singapore Media Development Authority Report, "Media 21: Transforming Singapore into a Global Media Center" (August, 2003). Online at www.mda.gov.sg/wms.ftp/media21.pdf
17. The Tay family was described in a press release that accompanied the release of the National Computer Board report, "A Vision of an Intelligent Island: The IT2000 Report," April 1992. The fictional family is described in Sandy Sandfort, "The Intelligent Island," *Wired Magazine*, September/October 1993, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/1.04/sandfort_pr.html.
18. Sandfort.
19. *Spartacus International Gay Guide*. 9th Edition (Amsterdam: Spartacus, 1979), 405–6.
20. —.
21. Koe.
22. For a review of the adoption of Section 377 in British colonies, see Douglas Sanders, "377 and the Unnatural Afterlife of British Colonialism." Paper presented at the Fifth Asian Law Institute Conference, National University of Singapore, May 22–23, 2008. Posted at http://www.iglhrc.org/files/iglhrc/program_docs/Doug%20Sanders%20377.pdf. Accessed June 2008.
23. *Ng Huat v. Public Prosecutor* (1995) 2 SLR 783. Section 377A reads: "Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or abets the commission of, or procures or attempt to procure the commission by any male person of any act of gross indecency with another male person, is punishable by law."
24. Warren, 20.
25. —. See map at front of book.
26. Warren, 234.
27. Tom Boellstorff, *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 38–40. Also, Sharyn Graham, "Sex, Gender, and Priests in South Sulawesi, Indonesia," *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter*, 29 (November 2002), 27. For hundreds of years, the *bissus* existed peacefully with the Islamic faith that was imported into Sulawesi, but by the 1960s, an Islamic fundamentalist movement, Kahar Muzakar, drove them underground. The sacred regalia was tossed into the ocean or burned, their rituals forbidden, and the *bissus* were given the choice of either dressing like "normal" men and leaving behind their traditional professions, or dying. As a warning, the leading *bissu* of one region was beheaded, and his head then publicly displayed.
28. Boellstorff, 38–40, and Graham, 27.
29. An account given on Wikipedia, "Bugis Street," at the time of research at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bugis_Street See also Russell Heng, "Where Queens Ruled! A History of Gay Venues in Singapore." Public lecture, August 16, 2005, at the time of research at http://www.yawningbread.org/guest_2005/guw-101.htm. Also, Russell Heng, "Tiptoe Out of the Closet: The Before and After of the Increasingly Visible Gay Community in Singapore." In Gerald Sullivan and Peter Jackson, eds., *Gay and Lesbian Asia: Culture, Identity, Community* (New York: The Harrington Park Press, 2001), 81–97.

30. Heng, 2005, at the time of research at http://www.yawningbread.org/guest_2005/guw-101.htm. By 1985, the bulldozers of urban redevelopment rolled in, and Bugis would become a modern shopping mall. See Heng in Sullivan and Jackson, eds., 81–97.
31. For an account, see “Singapore Gay History,” Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore_gay_history.
32. Raffles Institution website: <http://www.ri.sch.edu.sg/>.
33. ——— and at the time of research at <http://www.answers.com/topic/raffles-institution>.
34. Lee Kuan Yew, “Transcript of a Speech by the Prime Minister at a Meeting with Principals of Schools at Victoria Theater on 29 August 1966,” Singapore: Ministry of Education, n.d. Quoted in Philip Holden, “The Significant of Uselessness: Resisting Colonial Masculinity in Philip Jeyaretnam’s *Abraham’s Promise*,” at the time of research at <http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v2i1/Holden.htm>
35. Hans Rhodius and John Darling, *Walter Spies and Balinese Art*. Edited by John Stowell (Amsterdam: Tropical Museum, 1980), 21.
36. Lee Kuan Yew, Holden, at the time of research at <http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v2i1/Holden.htm>
37. D.W. McLeod, “Syllabus of Instruction, Raffles Institution, 1937.” Posted by Philip Holden, National University of Singapore, at the time of research at <http://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/ellhpj/resources/mcleod.HTM>
38. Koe. Also reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
39. ———.
40. Accessed at <http://www.fridae.com/personals/?S2>, January 2007.

Chapter 14

1. *Spartacus International Gay Guide*. 9th Edition (Amsterdam: Spartacus, 1979), 461
2. Stephen Greene, *Absolute Dreams: Thai Government under Rama VI, 1910–1925* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1999), 164–5, 168–9. For a description of the statue, designed by Italian architect Corrado Feroci and placed in 1942, see, for example, <http://www.bangkok.com/monuments-and-statues/index.html>.
3. *Spartacus*, 461.
4. ———, 463.
5. ———, 463.
6. Information about Khun Toc comes from the author’s many conversations with him between 2004 and 2007 and with Richard Werwie, an American to whom he referred specific questions about his life and about Babylon, in particular an extensive interview with Werwie conducted on April 24, 2004.
7. Author’s interview with Richard Werwie, April 24, 2004. Werwie commented: “His parents were very much in the upper class and they believed in education. They believed at that time that the only proper, quality education was not in Thailand but outside of Thailand.”
8. The Pennington School website, <http://www.pennington.org/>
9. Author’s interview with Richard Werwie, April 24, 2004.
10. Author’s conversation with Khun Toc, April 2006, and observation of family photographs.

11. *Spartacus*, 462. The Tulip is also mentioned in Eric G. Allyn, *The Men of Thailand*. 6th Edition (Bangkok: Floating Lotus, 1997), 128. An update of the Allyn section on the web available in 2005 included an early picture of the Tulip, but the Floating Lotus site was no longer available by time of publication.
12. Author's interview with Richard Werwie, April 24, 2004. Quotation from the author's conversation with Khun Toc, April 19, 2004.
13. Author's interview with Richard Werwie, April 24, 2004.
14. Dennis Altman, *The Homosexualization of America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982), 79–80.
15. —, 81.
16. Neil Miller, *Out in the World: Gay and Lesbian Life from Buenos Aires to Bangkok* (New York: Random House, 1992), 108–9.
17. Author's conversation with Khun Toc, April 19, 2004.
18. Jim Reeves, "Welcome to My World," EMI Music Publishing, Sony/ATV Music Publishing LLC, Warner/Chappell Music, Inc., Original: 1964.
19. Author's observation with Khun Toc.
20. David Bergman, *The Violet Hour: The Violet Quill and the Making of Gay Culture* (New York: Columbia University, 2004), 233.
21. Allyn, 177.
22. From Babylon website at the time of research, <http://www.babylonbangkok.com/>
23. For a detailed review of the contributions of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* to the Greek and European idea of the aesthetic state, as well as an examination of the evolution of that idea through Winckelmann and later Germans, see Josef Chytry, *The Aesthetic State: A Quest in Modern German Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). The review of *The Iliad*, in particular, occurs on xxxvi–xxxix. The review of Winckelmann comes in Chapter One, 11–37.
24. Author identified only as Newman, "Stepping into Paradise, umm, Babylon," an article written in 1995 and archived in 1998 on *Yawning Bread*, http://www.yawningbread.org/guest_1998/guw-025.htm
25. A video view of the new Babylon was available on YouTube starting in 2008. Appropriately, it was set to one of Khun Toc's favorite songs, "Mad About the Boy" sung by Dinah Washington. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-h7T-hUGOQ&feature=channel>
26. Author's interview with Richard Werwie, April 24, 2004.
27. Joe Cummings, et al., *Thailand* (London: Lonely Planet Publications, 2003), 37.
28. Author's conversation with Khun Toc, April 2004.

Chapter 15

1. *Spartacus International Gay Guide*. 18th Edition (Berlin: Spartacus, 1989), 693–5.
2. Stuart Koe, "Biography," at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/BIO.HTM>. Also reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
3. —.
4. —.
5. —. In 2010, Koe would be a "featured leader" in an article posted at the Center for Leading Healthcare Change website sponsored by the University of Minnesota's

- College of Pharmacy. See “Stuart Koe: Challenging the Status Quo,” June 25, 2010, <http://www.pharmacy.umn.edu/clhc/featuredleaders/koe/home.html>
6. Stuart Koe, “Journal,” April 25, 1997, at time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/>. Also reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
 7. —.
 8. Yaw Yan Chong and Dave Ang, “Four nabbed in police ambush at Gay beach,” and Yaw Yan Chong, “I was caressed, says cop,” *The New Paper*, March 9, 1992.
 9. — and Ang, “Four nabbed in police ambush at Gay beach”; Chong, “I was caressed, says cop”; Chong, “Gay Beach: 4 more arrested,” *The New Paper*, March 10, 1992. Gay cruising in Singapore in the early 1990s is described in detail in an undergraduate thesis written for the Department of Sociology at the National University of Singapore, Low Kee Hong, “Recognizing Strangers: Gay Cruising in the City,” 1994/95.
 10. Russell Heng, “Tiptoe Out of the Closet: The Before and After of the Increasingly Visible Gay Community in Singapore.” In Gerald Sullivan and Peter Jackson, *Gay and Lesbian Asia: Culture, Identity, Community* (New York: Haworth Press, 2001), 82.
 11. For a discussion of the impact of music on gender, see, for example, Susan J. Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Random House, 1994), especially Chapter 4, “Why the Shirelles Mattered,” 83–98.
 12. For an account, see “Singapore Gay History,” Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore_gay_history
 13. Wilfred Ong, Letter of protest to the Singapore police, written May 31, 1993. Accessed at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2004/imp-149.htm
 14. Yap Sze Hon, Letter of reply to Wilfred Ong, June 29, 1993. Accessed at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2004/imp-149.htm
 15. Chong, “Gays surface again at East Coast beach,” *The New Paper*, September 24, 1993.
 16. —.
 17. Jennifer Tan, “Loo door broken – but no gays,” *The New Paper*, October 20, 1993.
 18. *Tan Boon Hock v. Public Prosecutor (1994) 2 SLR 150*. At the time of research at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2005/imp-182.htm
 19. Singapore Statutes, Chapter 311 (Singapore Societies Act) Section 4(b).
 20. —, Section 13.
 21. —, Chapter 311 (Singapore Societies Act) Section 14(3), 15(1), 16(1). and 18.
 22. “History of People Like Us,” <http://www.plu.sg/society/>
 23. —.
 24. —.
 25. See, for example, my discussion of a similar organization in Seattle in the 1960s, the Dorian Society, and its relationship with media publicity: Gary L. Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 111–5.
 26. See “History of People Like Us,” <http://www.plu.sg/society/>
 27. —.
 28. From Ng King Kang, *The Rainbow Connection: The Internet and the Singapore Gay Community* (Singapore: KangCuBine Publishing Pte. Ltd, 1999), 14–6, 78–9. See

- also Christopher Low, “Self-Discovery, Coming Out and Morality.” In Joseph Lo and Huang Guoqin, *People Like Us: Sexual Minorities in Singapore* (Singapore: Select Books, 2003), 41.
29. Quoted in Cherian George, *Contentious Journalism and the Internet: Towards Democratic Discourse in Malaysia and Singapore* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), 101.
 30. See various articles about or by Dr Tan Chong Kee in *Fridae.com*, including “My Boyfriend Died of AIDS,” *Fridae*, August 7, 2006. <http://www.fridae.com/newsfeatures/2006/08/07/1684.my-boyfriend-died-of-aids?n=sea&nm=tan+chong+kee> and Sylvia Tan, “Tan Chong Kee,” *Fridae*, August 1, 2005, <http://www.fridae.com/newsfeatures/2005/08/01/1464.tan-chong-kee?n=sea&nm=tan+chong+kee>.
 31. The Tay family was described in a press release that accompanied the release of the National Computer Board report, “A Vision of an Intelligent Island: The IT2000 Report,” April 1992. The fictional family is described in Sandy Sandfort, “The Intelligent Island,” *Wired Magazine*, September/October 1993, at the time of research at http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/1.04/sandfort_pr.html.
 32. The various exchanges may be found at <http://www.yawningbread.org/>
 33. The PLU letters may be found at <http://www.yawningbread.org/>
 34. —.
 35. Quoted in George, 101.
 36. —, 102.
 37. Content guidelines for SiGNeL at the time of research at http://www.plu.sg/main/signal_02.htm
 38. Stuart Koe, “Biography,” at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/>
 39. Koe, “Guestbook,” May–June 1997, at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/>
 40. From the Suntec City website, at the time of research at <http://www.sunteccity.com.sg/fountain/index.htm>
 41. Koe, “Journal,” May 10, 1997, at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/> Also reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
 42. Koe, “Journal,” September 15, 1997.

Chapter 16

1. At the time of research at the website for Monfort College in Chiang Mai, <http://www.montfort.ac.th/english/vision.html>; “Thaksin Shinawatra – a biography,” *Bangkok Post*, August, 2001, <http://www.bangkokpost.net/election2001/thaksinprofile.html>; and website Thaksin.net, <http://www.thaksin.net/>
2. Pasuk Phongachit and Chris Baker, *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2004), 26–34.
3. Thaksin Shinawatra, *Ta du dao that tit din* (*Eyes on the Stars, Feet on the Ground*) (Bangkok: Matichon, 1999), 55. Trans. and quoted in Phongachit and Baker, 36–7.
4. Phongachit and Baker, 40.
5. Christian Norberg-Schulz, *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1985).

6. —, 13, 71.
7. Author's observations of the sauna.
8. Author's interview with Khun Toc.
9. Author identified only as Newman, "Stepping into Paradise, umm, Babylon," an article written in 1995 and archived in 1998 on *Yawning Bread*, at the time of research at http://www.yawningbread.org/guest_1998/guw-025.htm
10. Norberg-Schulz, 56.
11. —, 59.
12. Newman.
13. Richard Rhodes, "Death in the Candy Store," *Rolling Stone*, November 28, 1991, 62–71.
14. —, 62–71.
15. Scot Barmé, *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 5. See also "Thais ban dictionary over 'city of prostitutes' slur," *The Independent*, July 6, 1993, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/thais-ban-dictionary-over-city-of-prostitutes-slur-1483226.html>
16. Rhodes.
17. Leslie Ann Jeffrey, *Sex and Borders: Gender, National Identity and Prostitution Policy in Thailand* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 38–9.
18. Barmé, 112–5.
19. Jeffrey, 107
20. —, 107.
21. For details of Thaksin's rise via the telecommunications industry, see Phongachit and Baker, 41–51, 57–9.
22. Duncan McCargo and Ukrist Pathmanand, *The Thaksinization of Thailand* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2005), 84.
23. At the time of research at <http://www.thaksin.net/life.html>
24. Quoted in Phongachit and Baker, 171.
25. From a press advertisement that ran a month before the election. Trans. L. A. Jeffrey, 84–8.
26. "Govt Endorsement: Homosexuality 'not a disease,'" *The Nation*, December 27, 2002. <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/search/read.php?newsid=71491&keyword=homosexuality+2002>
27. Peter Jackson, "Performative Genders, Perverse Desires: A Bio-History of Thailand's Same Sex and Transgender Cultures," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, Issue 9 (August 2003), 3, at the time of research at <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue9/jackson.html>
28. Tamara Loos, *Subject Siam: Family, Law and Colonial Modernity in Thailand* (Bangkok, Silkworm Books, 2002), 114.
29. Peter Jackson, *Buddhism: Legitimation and Conflict: The Political Functions of Urban Thai Buddhism* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990), 94–112.
30. I am grateful to historian Terdsak Romjampa for this account and the translations. See Terdsak Romjampa, "The Construction of Male Homosexuality in the Journal of Psychiatric Association of Thailand," unpublished paper presented at AsiaPacifiQueer 3 Conference, Singapore, August 13–19, 2003, 2. Romjampa quotes

- Sood Saengvichien, "Anatomy and Hormones of Lag-ga-Phates," *Thailand Medical Society Bulletin* (July 1961), 44:7, 442.
31. Trans. and quoted in Terdsak Romjampa, 3. From Sompotch Sukavatana, "The Treatment of Homosexuality," *Journal of the Psychiatric Association of Thailand* (April 1973), 18:2, 119.
 32. "Government endorsement: Homosexuality 'not a disease,'" *The Nation*, December 27, 2002, <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/page.arcview.php3?clid=2&tid=71491&tusress=1>
 33. "Healthy attitudes to homosexuals," *The Nation*, December 27, 2002. <http://www.nationmultimedia.com/search/read.php?newsid=71476&keyword=homosexual>

Chapter 17

1. Stuart Koe, "Journal," September 15, 1997, at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/> Reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
2. —, "Biography," June 28, 1999, at the time of research at <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/8869/BIO.HTM>. Reposted at <http://www.stuartkoe.com/>
3. —.
4. See Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) for an extensive discussion of these concepts of Confucian manhood, from which this section is summarized.
5. —, 24.
6. Futoshi Tage, "East Asian Masculinities." In Michael Kimmel, Jeff Hearn, and R.W. Connell, eds., *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2005), 130.
7. —, 19.
8. —, Chapter 2 in particular.
9. —, 54.
10. Michael Hirsch, "Rethinking Confucius: Lee Kuan Yew Recants," *Newsweek*, web exclusive story, January 28, 2001, at the time of research at <http://www.singapore-window.org/sw01/010128nw.htm>
11. Louie, Chapters 1–3 in particular; quotation from p. 43.
12. Koe, "Biography," June 28, 1999. The "gym-rat himbo" comment comes from one of his online profile postings on Fridae.com.
13. —, June 28, 1999.
14. Author's interview with Stuart Koe, May 5, 2004.
15. Robert Yeoh died in July 2007. For more information, including tributes to him, see Sylvia Tan, "Fridae Co-Founder Robert Yeoh Passes On," *Fridae*, July 11, 2007, <http://www.fridae.com/newsfeatures/article.php?articleid=1973&viewarticle=1>
16. Author's interview with Stuart Koe, May 5, 2004.
17. Cherian George, *Contentious Journalism and the Internet: Towards Democratic Discourse in Malaysia and Singapore* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), 106.
18. On the closure of Sintercom, see George, 114–66.
19. The section on homosexuality in the Singapore Ministry of Education sex education packet at time of research is archived at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2001/

- imp-081.htm In May 2009, the Ministry of Education issued a press release stating that it did “not promote alternative lifestyles to our students. MOE’s framework for sexuality education reflects the mainstream views and values of Singapore society, where the social norm consists of the married heterosexual family unit.” The ministry announced it was discontinuing a vendor-provided educational supplement that seemed to “convey messages which could promote homosexuality.” At the time of research at <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/press/2009/05/moes-statement-on-sexuality-ed.php>. See also <http://www.moe.gov.sg/education/programmes/social-emotional-learning/sexuality-education/>
20. The section on homosexuality in the Singapore Ministry of Education sex education packet at the time of research is at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2001/imp-081.htm
 21. —.
 22. Author’s interview with Stuart Koe, May 5, 2004.
 23. Quoted in Amy Tan, “Singapore Gays Find Tacit Acceptance but Some Seek More,” *Reuters*, circulated July 2001, at the time of research archived at http://www.yawningbread.org/apdx_2001/imp-082.htm
 24. The government, though, did continue to occasionally prosecute heterosexuals, such as a bizarre case in which an adult son caught his 56-year-old mother giving oral sex to his 65-year-old great uncle. He reported her and the police arrested the uncle for sodomy. A report on this case can be found at Alex Au, “Don’t Turn the Doorknob,” *Yawning Bread*, <http://www.yawningbread.org/index2.htm> (January 2004).
 25. Christopher Gunness, “Out in Asia,” *British Broadcasting Corporation*, Nov. 13, 2000. Transcript posted in *Yawning Bread*, “Radio Journalists Ask the Gay Question,” at the time of research at http://www.yawningbread.org/arch_2000/yax-216.htm
 26. All statistics are based on a study of Fridae undertaken during the final two weeks of December 2004 using Fridae’s own search engine to find different “types” of men. During this study period, Fridae added about 3,000 profiles; the percentages cited in the text were always checked against the most current total number of profiles. Random checks of percentages calculated at the beginning of the period were made with percentages calculated at the end of the period, to see whether significant changes had occurred in particular categories. There were only slight fluctuations, usually of less than half a percent. A fuller description of the results can be found in Gary Atkins, “My Man Fridae: Re-producing Asian Masculinity,” *Seattle Journal for Social Justice*, 4:1 (Fall/Winter 2005), 67–100.
 27. See, for example, Richard Fung, “Looking for my Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn.” In *How Do I Look: Queer Film and Video*. Edited by Bad Object-Choices (1991). Although Fung’s article was written two decades ago and it is now possible to find many examples of the Asian male penis on display in Internet pornography, many of his points are well taken.
 28. The results from the blogs on Fridae are summarized from an unpublished paper presented by the author, Gary Atkins, “Wen, Wu and Winckelmann: The Poetics and Politics of Gay Manhood in a New Asian ‘Nation,’” presented at the 9th Asia Oceania Congress of Sexology, Bangkok, Thailand, November 2006.

29. Franz Roh's original book is *Nach Expressionismus, Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei* (Berlin: Leipzig, Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). A translation, "Magical Realism: Post-Expressionism," is available in Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris, *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 19.

Chapter 18

1. For a discussion of the spatial concepts of "center" and "periphery" and how they might be recast in the case of Thailand, see Sant Suwatharapinum, "The Centre of Periphery: The Case of Contemporary Bangkok's Gay Spaces," paper presented at the conference on Queer Space: Centers and Peripheries, University of Technology, Sydney, Australia, February, 2007. Suwatharapinum asks, for example, "Do Thai gays need to identify themselves as repressed, oppressed, and positioned in the site of the *imaginary Western periphery*, while in fact the place of the *real-Thai centre* has never been fully recognized?" At the time of research at http://www.dab.uts.edu.au/conferences/queer_space/proceedings/cities_suwatharapinum.pdf
2. Pasuk Phongachit and Chris Baker, Thaksin: *The Business of Politics in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2004), 168.
3. —, 68.
4. Denis Gray, "Thailand's 'Mr. Clean Aims To Sweep Out Sleaze," Associated Press report, *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 2002, at the time of research at <http://articles.latimes.com/2002/jul/07/news/adfg-moral7>. See also Douglas Sanders, "'Colorful Shows' and 'Social Order': Gay bars and moral campaigns in Bangkok," March 24, 2004, 7, a revision of a paper presented at the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Singapore, August 2003.
5. Scot Barmé, *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex and Popular Culture in Thailand* (Bangkok: Silkworm Books, 2002), 115–9.
6. Yuwadee Tunyasiri, "Law change urged to get at mistresses," Bangkok Post, April 4, 2001; and "Purachai has lost his way," Bangkok Post, April 13, 2001.
7. Mukdawan Sakboon, "In-flight warnings proposed," The Nation, July 2, 2001, 6A. Quoted in Sanders, 7, a revision of a paper presented at the International Convention of Asia Scholars, Singapore, August 2003.
8. From the translation of Franz Roh's *Nach Expressionismus, Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten Europäischen Malerei* (Berlin: Leipzig, Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1925). In "Magical Realism: Post-Expressionism," Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris, *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 28.
9. See discussion in Chapter 8 and in Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Australia: Penguin Books, 1989), 144. Image no. 25 between pages 148 and 149.
10. Descriptions in this paragraph are based on the author's observations at various times, 2001–07.
11. Sanders, 4.
12. Pona Antaseeda, "Killjoy clampdown sends nightlife reeling," *Bangkok Post*, August 26, 2001.

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imperial thinking . . . This idea was that, above the earth is heaven, or tian, and there's one man – and underneath is everybody else. And when Thaksin wants to control the government, police, army, judges, businesses, TV, newspapers – that's bringing everything under him. No Thai leader in history has ever tried to do this.

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Note: Individuals are indexed according to prevalent cultural custom. Thus, Thais are alphabetized under the personal first names by which they are predominantly known, such as “Toc, Khun” and “Thaksin Shinawatra.” Singaporeans are indexed by their family name with the English name written with commas and the Chinese name without commas: “Koe, Stuart” and “Lee Kuan Yew.”

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