VIR. Perceptions of Manliness in Andalucia and Mexico 1561-1699
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Chapter One

A Total Man and a Total Woman
'Textual' Effigies and the New postColonial Historian

'Entender el amor'

Sal de ti mismo, explora el abismo
que al fondo se enciende una luz
esa mirada perdida en la nada
buscando lo mismo que tú
aprender algo en la vida
entender a tope el amor
descubrir como es el mundo
inventar una ilusión.

Mónica Naranjo, Palabra de Mujer

In 1626, as Alonso Díaz Ramírez de Guzmán, a Spanish ensign, sat on a stone cliff in front of a palace in Genova, a "gallant and well-dressed Italian soldier" sporting a grand wig of many locks, approached him and asked, "Sire, are you a Spaniard"? To which Alonso responded, "yes". In that case, mused the Italian soldier, "your lordship must be quite haughty and arrogant, like most Spaniards, although you are not the proud heroes you tend to boast about". "I", retorted Alonso, look upon Spaniards as "quite manly in every respect". "And I", insisted the Italian soldier, "take them all for great lumps of turd". Alonso stood up and cautioned the well-dressed gallant, "Do not, sire, utter such words, for the worst Spaniard is better than the best Italian". The two men drew their swords and began to 'swash and buckle'. The Italian soldier then fell to the ground as "many others, their swords drawn" came to his defense and Alonso fled.

Actually, a couple of years earlier, Alonso, an ardent defender of early modern 'Spanish' bravado, had fled from his native San Sebastián in the Basque land and made his way south to the harbours of Andalucía, lured there by the excitement of 'commerce and galleons'. Like so many young men before him, Alonso became a grummet and in 1602, he boarded one of those galleons in the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda and set sail for the Indias. Alonso Díaz arrived first in Cartagena de Indias, before embarking
for Colombia, Panamá, Perú, Chile and México. Along the way, Alonso secured "two slaves—one black, the other, a different colour; and one Negra, who sauteed his meals".²

In the course of his stay in the Indias, Alonso garnered a number of mercantile and military appointments, having distinguished himself for his business acumen and his sense of bravery. When a group of Araucano Indios in Valdivia, a port in Chile just southeast of Santiago, killed his company's ensign and deprived the company of its standard, Díaz and the other soldiers set off in pursuit of the Indios and the company's banner. When Alonso, in triumphant form and "with particular valour", reached the cacique who had usurped the company's standard, Díaz snatched it from him and killed the Indio. The retrieval of the company's flag, itself tantamount to 'honour' and 'Empire', earned Díaz the military rank of ensign.³

Alonso Díaz had come to represent the ideal attributes of the 'new Spanish Vir' in early modern Spain-New Spain. In the peninsula, many of the well-positioned theologians, casuists, and literary writers of the epoch, a school of thought roughly referred to as the moralists, had begun to nurture a sort of 'textual construct' in the words of Mason¹ or their notion of the new Spanish man during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

A more detailed account of the Spanish intelligentsia's newly fabricated epistemological construct follows below and is further elaborated in chapter two. Here, I wish briefly to emphasize that around 1492 and throughout the early modern period, in an effort to buttress its imperial politics whether against the Moors, Jews, sodomites, or Indios, Spain's intelligentsia had unveiled and nurtured its discursive description of the new 'Spanish man,' a concept riddled with sexist, religiously intolerant, and xenophobic visions of power. When I speak of 'man' in early modern Spain, I refer to what theologians of the Thomistic Scholastic defined as Vir. These theologians defined man as an associate or collaborator of God. As such, man constituted a continuous process of creation, for it is in him, in his seed, in his semen that the potential for new and future beings is harboured. This theological construct, also portrayed the labour of 'woman' in the procreation process as 'naturally' purely passive, one always oriented towards procreation. 'Naturally' then, these theologians believed that the predetermined function of the sexual act constituted the creation and continuation of new beings.⁵

The 'genteel and gallant' Díaz, who was 'always well-dressed,' had studied Latin early in life and could also read and write both Spanish and "Vascuence".⁶ Our 'resolute and chivalrous' fellow not only possessed an accentuated bravado, he too displayed his own healthy brand of
xenophobia and Catholic zeal. At one point in his life, lost somewhere in the "Andes, tired, barefoot, his feet injured", Alonso "stood next to a tree and cried for the first time in his life". As he stood next to the tree, Alonso "prayed and invoked his salvation in the name of the most holy Virgin Mary and Joseph, her husband". On the following morning, the "heavens above opened up when he saw two Christian men" come before him, one of whom eventually took Díaz to his wife's estate for lodging and repose. The couple, who had a "Mestiza for a daughter" or the offspring of a "Spaniard and an India" offered her hand in matrimony to the ensign. But Alonso refused to marry the wealthy merchant's daughter, for in his words, that "poor girl was just too black and too ugly, just like some devils", in short, "contrary to his liking". Instead, Alonso preferred women with "pretty faces". Indeed, our learned fellow Alonso Díaz embodied the notion of the caballero perfecto/the perfect new Spanish gentleman, a discursive description widely disseminated by early modern moralists.

Unfortunately, Alonso's otherwise brilliant career began to display shades of tarnish. As he journeyed throughout the Indias, the ensign had already endured at least four 'platonic' relationships with different women and had admittedly killed more than fifteen men, including his only brother, all in defense of his 'manly honour' or in defense of the 'Spanish nation'. The ensign's shenanigans finally caught up with him. In Chile, as in Perú, Alonso had enjoyed an infamous reputation as a reckless, brawling, gambler. In 1620, while in Perú, local officials arrested him and charged him with murder. Alonso, finding himself in quite a bind, summoned his confessor and simply 'revealed' himself to the priest. In his defense, Alonso ingeniously argued that a secular court could not pass sentence in his case, for he professed to be "a nun", moreover a "virgin", actually named Catalina de Erauso, and as such, his case fell under ecclesiastical, and not secular jurisdiction. Apparently convinced of his story, the secular officials relegated the case to the ecclesiastical authorities.

In the "most discrete manner" the confessor, with the assistance of some comadres confirmed Alonso's original sexo and Catalina's 'virginity'. After these requisite examinations, Agustín de Carvajal, Bishop of Cuzco, concurred with Alonso's story and upheld the ensign's appeal. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical officials confirmed that Catalina had served as a novice in a Basque convent but had never actually taken her vows as a nun. The Bishop confirmed, too, the number of years Alonso had served "his King, and the various valiant deeds he had performed on numerous occasions, as well as the number of honourable distinctions" he had received as an ensign. Notwithstanding the numerous decorations, the Bishop of Cuzco required Alonso to "dress in a nun's habit", much to Alonso's dismay, and
"ordered her return to Spain". Alonso, "dressed as a nun", later disembarked in Cádiz, before the curious gaze of a "multitude of people" drawn there once her story had become public lore.

Months later, Alonso, was sitting outside a friend's palace in Genova, en route to Rome where he intended to relate his story to Pope Urbano VIII. Previously, Alonso had met King Felipe IV in Madrid, who had rewarded the ensign yet again, this time with a "pension for life" and the "licence to dress like a man". Catalina de Erauso had assumed the identity of a man, but not just any man.

On what basis did an historical actor like Catalina de Erauso, who preferred the pseudonym Alonso Diaz, secure 'permission' from both the Spanish Monarchy and subsequently from the Holy Roman Catholic Church to transcend their rigidly defined 'gender' system in the early modern period? Why did Catalina de Erauso evade the ire of the early modern Inquisitorial Tribunals or other secular courts, given the propensity of these to eagerly discipline and punish any type of 'defiance' during the early modern period?

The early modern Spanish courts, were especially severe on sodomites who overstepped neatly defined 'gender borders' or those individuals who subscribed to other forms of 'sexual transgressions'. But, the courts did not prosecute Alonso-Catalina, in fact, quite the opposite. Alonso-Catalina garnered further 'acceptance' and more fame after his-her 'coming out'. This chapter interrogates how one can go about contextualizing a 'close reading' of the sodomy discourses produced by the early modern moralists. I investigate their reasons for having justified or even tolerated some ruptures in their 'neatly' defined category of 'gender', especially when these ruptures reinforced their notions of new Spanish man-- a notion bound to imperialist ambitions. These men of privilege and power --theologians, casuists, literary writers, court-appointed scriveners, and historiographers--functioned within the realm of the Spanish Monarchy and Catholicism. Again, I do not imply, nor do I believe, that this particular 'class' of men constituted a monolith in early modern Spain-New Spain. Rather, I have focused on their ideological writings in support of Empire, their notions of Vir and of sodomie.

In my effort to trace the epistemological history of 'manliness' as depicted in, what Siegel has identified as, the 'autobiographical writings' of Catalina de Erauso, I have juxtaposed her manuscripts with those of the learned fellows referred to above --all in combination with a vast array of archival documents identified in the prologue-- to help explain how she-he and they, circumvented the rigidity of early modern 'gender codes' to legitimate the existence of Alonso Díaz, on the one hand, and deny that
same legitimation to sodomites of any *sexo*. Finally, this chapter proposes that the discursive contents adhered to by Catalina de Erauso and any notions of Spanish 'manliness' are best understood within the context of an expanding discourse in support of Empire both in the peninsula and in the *Indias*.

**A Universal Spanish Monarchy**

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Spanish Monarchy comprised the largest single political entity in Europe. Until the War of Succession, it controlled more than two-thirds of Italy and the whole of Central and South America. With the accession of Carlos V in 1516, Spain acquired a "distinct ideological identity". The Habsburg Monarchy began to depict itself as a "self-assured champion (and exporter) of Christian cultural values, the secular arm of the papacy, and the sole guardian of political stability within Europe".\(^1^3\)

Contemporaries referred to the territories over which the Habsburgs ruled as an empire. After 1556, the Spanish Monarchy became a "conglomerate of six semi-discrete parts", Castilla y León (which encompassed Andalucía), Aragón, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal (between 1580-1640) and the *Indias*. 'Spanish' and 'non-Spanish' political theorists alike perceived the relationship between the Kingdom of Aragón and Castilla y León as a component part of what by the early sixteenth century they termed 'Hispania/Spain'.\(^1^4\) The Kingdoms' former independence was reduced, in Spinoza's words, to 'the specious names of empty forms of liberty'.\(^1^5\)

Debates over the legitimacy of the Spanish Empire began in 1512 and continued well into the eighteenth century. These debates "belonged to a tradition of ritual legitimation that the Castilian crown regularly enacted when confronted by uncertain moral issues". Declarations issued by theologians and jurists on crown policy formed an "important part of the ideological armature of what has some claims to being the first European nation state". Spain's principal "ideological concern became its self-appointed role as the guardian of universal Christendom and to act in accordance with Christian ethico-political principles" enacted by the theologians and jurists. 'Humanists' during the reign of Carlos V like Ginés de Sepúlveda or early modern political theorists like the Italian born Tommaso Campanella vigorously supported a universal sovereignty or a world empire.\(^1^6\)
In Italy, the notion of a "universal empire" was nothing new. In 1313 Dante had argued that only a single universal ruler could bring an end to the factional struggles within Italy. The Italian states, in particular those in the south, seemed vulnerable to the aspirations of the Ottoman Empire. The threats posed by the Ottomans on the one hand and Protestantism on the other, prompted Campanella to champion a "universal—and by this he understood truly world-wide—Spanish Monarchy". Campanella rejected Dante's separation of imperial and papal powers. He instead urged the Castillian crown to exploit these powers for Campanella considered them as crucial for the implementation of "cultural manipulation and political control". The political fray believed that the Crown "under the pretext of honour" should have forced Neapolitan barons to be fully Hispanized by compelling them to "imitate the habits, customs, and manners of Spain". The Turk, civil disorder, economic decay, 'luxury' --'the vulgo'-- had turned the mind of the people, in the eyes of Campanella. This 'mutation of the state' or the radical and complete transformation of systems of knowledge and religion "needed" Spain at the forefront to fulfill God's will and protect the faith. The true Empire should be a single community and the King of Spain had to, as Campanella put it Hispanizare/Hispanize his subjects. Language, as Antonio de Nebrija reminded Queen Isabel, "of course functioned as the prime instrument of Empire".17

Perceptions of New Spanish Vir

Within this context of Empire, the early modern writers had carefully and methodically nurtured the discourses of a 'new Spanish Vir' to champion a universal monarchy. Back in 1487, Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, had already described specific 'manly' customs with respect to law, women, friendship, war and love.18 That particular representation of Spanish man and by extension of his manly attributes had already taken hold among many of Spain's accolades both on the peninsula and in the Indias by the first quarter of the seventeenth-century. Alonso Díaz attempted to emulate those ideals both in his deeds and in his autobiographical writings. One should not dismiss any historical analysis of Alonso Díaz on the grounds that Catalina de Erauso constituted an 'exceptional figure' in the early modern period and, as such, her writings and his representation merit no interpretation, no historical interrogation.19

One should not have to explain Erauso away by simply noting that she he formed part of the Spanish nobility and that this nobility could pretty much do, and did, as they wished. Perhaps, but neither of these two
opinions provide us with a satisfactory account of Alonso's ethos and they mark him no less valid as an historical figure, albeit one who merits a different sort of historical reinterpretation. Catalina de Erauso did not constitute an 'exceptional figure' of 'heroic proportions' as many others have privileged her to have been. Erauso did not represent the likes of a caged, bearded-lady, the sort painted by Ribera or those whom entrepreneurs put on display in modern day circuses for all to gawk at. Many other women in early modern Spain and in other parts of Europe lived under the guise or disguise of a 'man'.

In seventeenth-century Salamanca, Feliciana Enríquez, also dressed like a man. Enríquez followed her beau to the university where she herself undertook studies in literature and received a number of academic prizes before she, too, revealed her 'true' identity. She quickly won praise when she abandoned her 'manly' disguise, resumed her 'womanly' side and married her beau. Even so, the moralists still condemned other women who dressed like men both on or off stage for they felt that 'transvestitism' or 'cross-dressing' led to 'lasciviousness'. In his Instruction for a Christian Woman, Juan Vivés considered women who dressed like men as "past both honesty and shame". In contrast to England, for example, where young boys played female roles, in Spain, women, appeared in theatrical productions in both male and female roles.

Women in the Indias also won praise from some Europeans for their 'manly' attributes. When Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo encountered women warriors amongst the Tupinambain in northern Brazil, he described the women with admiration when he wrote that they wished "to remain chaste: these have no commerce with men in any manner, nor would they consent to it even if refusal meant death". These women had "given up all their prescribed duties and imitated men, and followed men's pursuits as if they did not consider themselves to be women at all". The women cut their hair in the same way as the men and went to war or pursued game with bows and arrows always in the company of men. Each woman had another woman to serve her. The women "treated each other as though married" or just like a "man refers to his wife".

Whether or not one considers these women and their self representations as exceptional is not the point. If one can regard something about Erauso that was exceptional, I would have to point to her written memoirs and the discursive contents of the narrated escapades--a genuine tour de chant of early modern Spanish man in the making. Erauso wrote her manuscripts not as Catalina but as Alonso Díaz. And it is, after all, these ideological descriptions of early modern Spain and of Vir that concern the thrust of this present study.
Colonial authorities accepted the early modern moralists' notion of man and described men of other 'nationalities,' as the complete polar opposite to the idyllic Spanish Vir: 'by nature' physically and intellectually inferior, perverted, vile or filthy, lascivious and languorous, and in early modern Mexico City, 'effeminate'. These descriptions, in particular, legitimised the sodomy laws of the early modern period both in the peninsula and in New Spain. Although, my focus is on the discourses of sodomy as a 'crime and a sin', I also discuss the politics of 'gender' and Spanish-Mexican culture(s) as "inherently intertwined notions of imperial rule." Within the context of 'colonial' Mexico City, Spanish 'manliness' became infused with images of anthropophagy, human sacrifices, the diabolical, cancer, and effeminacy. The prosecution of sodomites in Spain-New Spain reflected early modern Spain's embryonic imperial discourse of bourgeois culture. In this sense, issues of 'manliness,' or what Sinha has labeled 'colonial masculinity', revealed "the multiple axes along which power was exercised either among or with the colonisers and the colonised as well as between colonisers and colonised." Perceptions of early modern 'manliness' manifested themselves within the context of Spain's attempt to culturally reconfigure its peninsular imperial politics.

Alonso Díaz, a Carefully Constructed Episteme

Catalina de Erauso cherished notions of 'manly honour', the 'Spanish nation' and a defense of 'Empire'. Erauso not only emulated the 'perfect man', she also embodied the early modern 'Spanish' depictions of the perfect 'woman'. Catalina, the 'virtuous woman', a virgin, and her devotion to Catholicism constituted, in the eyes of moralists, a woman beyond reproach. For you see, virginity or a state of purity facilitated a closer relationship to God and this implied an even greater status for early modern Spanish women. Notions of delicacy, tenderness, and above all obedience to 'man', in short, 'effeminacy' characterized the ideal portrait of an early modern Spanish woman.

In his El cortesano, Baltasar de Castiglione, a favourite of Carlos V, depicted the ideal woman as a natural appendix of man. As cited above, early modern moralists also held women who thought, acted, and spoke like men in quite high regard. Back in the fourteenth-century, Giovanni Boccaccio, had made use of 'manly' as an adjective of the highest praise for women, a notion that still held some resonance in early modern Spain. A zeal for holy chastity and virginity made a weak young woman or a woman of whatever sort, stronger than many men, some moralists claimed. The
"extreme energy and force" radiated by a woman's chastity shocked even hell and this strength also frightened and dismayed many men.

Catalina, the chaste virgin, a devout Catholic, obedient to man, who 'thought and acted like one', indeed merited great admiration from the early modern moralists.

By contrast, early modern moralists depicted Vir, 'by nature' as a disciple on Earth or collaborator of God. Together, the two constituted a continuous process of creation, for in Vir, in his seed, in his semen, man harboured the potential for future beings. These same moralists relegated the role of woman in the procreation process to a purely 'passive' state or to that of a vase, one that sat empty until water is poured in. The new Spanish man, of course, possessed 'impeccable customs', and displayed a sense of "gallantry, honour, veneration and worship for his Prince". A 'passionate man beyond reproach' always dignified his manner of dress, and as a purveyor of 'heroic virtues, religious fervour, and piety' knew always how to repent. The early modern moralists in Spain fully expected all morally and politically dignified men to emulate these quite 'noble' attributes. Virtues such as 'humility, charitableness, and a capacity for suffering' all characteristics of the ideal Christian man permeated works such as those of the mystical poet Antonio Panés and his Calidades del varón perfecto, or El Cavallero perfecto, written by Salas Barbadillo at the end of the sixteenth-century.

Alonso Díaz exploited these notions of 'man' and 'nature' as one possible justification for his alternative 'gender'. Catalina's parents had abandoned her at the age of four in a Basque convent where they fully expected her to undergo her novitiate. Catalina became "displeased with that enclosed life" characteristic of so many nun houses.

And so, the ensign, a native of San Sebastián, had fled the convent at the age of fifteen, in part as a result of her discontent and the abuse she suffered at the hands of her aunt, the prioress of the convent. En route to Andalucía, Erauso cut her hair and fabricated the apparel of a man from the remnants of her habit. Erauso dressed and worked as a 'man' in the Indias. Since Erauso dressed and acted like a man, others around him, likened the beardless Alonso Díaz to a eunuch.

Alonso Díaz spent fifteen of his nineteen years abroad at war in the provinces of Chile, without anyone suspecting or discovering his other identity until he returned to Perú. As a soldier in Chile who had fought in many campaigns, the "valiant and honourable ensign had always punctually complied with the orders dictated by any of the four different captains" he had served. Together, the men had "caused great destruction of the enemy in their many battles against the Indios". In 1624, shortly after
arriving in Madrid, the thirty-three year old Catalina de Erauso informed Felipe IV that,

"[. . ] although prohibited for a woman to dress in man's apparel, but since this has already occurred, and having worn this apparel for so many years and with so much valour in continuous warfare, it would be just for His Majesty to provide her with, about 500 pesos to eight reales of rent for life, a pension dignified of her service to the crown[, . . ] His Majesty should also have to decide if it best served his interests for her to dress like a woman, however, His Majesty should know that she has no inclination to change or modify her current habit of dress, which is like a man".31

Erauso's monetary request amounted to some 4000 reales annually or the purchasing power to hire three or four people every day for some three hundred days every year. A hefty sum, no doubt, given that a common labourer in seventeenth-century México earned about two reales per day.32 Erauso eventually met Felipe IV in August 1625 when she presented him with her petition.33 In her petition to Felipe IV, dated March 1626, Catalina de Erauso indicated that she had departed for Perú "nineteen years earlier, dressed like a man" due to her "natural inclination to arms", all "in defense of the Catholic faith, and service to His Majesty the King".34

In support of Erauso's petition, Don Luis de Céspedes Xeria, a Captain General and Governor of Paraguay wrote that he had known Alonso Díaz, who "dressed like a man without anybody discovering otherwise" for "more than eighteen years or ever since the time he had joined the ranks of his other soldiers". The honourable ensign had acted like "a man of very much valour".35 Francisco Pérez de Navarreta, a captain of the Spanish Infantry stated that he had always witnessed "her" act like a "good soldier who always followed orders." "We took him for a man for he always demonstrated courage", admitted Navarreta. Not until 1623 in Lima, had Navarreta seen Antonio in "women's apparel" for then she had unmasked herself. The upshot of this "very notorious thing" concluded Navarreta was that "she became known as la monja de Chile".36

On 19 February 1626, the Royal Council of the Indies in Madrid recommended that Felipe IV grant Catalina de Erauso a yearly pension of "500 pesos at the rate of eight reales". The Ministers also asked the King to rule, whether or not in the "best interest of the Crown" Catalina should "change her habit of dress".37 The King's royal edict of 23 April 1626, indeed granted Catalina de Erauso a 500 pesos per year pension for life and simply did not stipulate any preference about dress for the ensign.38

After meeting Felipe IV, Alonso Díaz left Spain for Rome to meet Pope Urbano VIII. Alonso embarked on a ship commanded by an entire lot of French mariners. The crew spent the entire journey conversing amongst themselves. At one point early in the journey, one French soldier
commented that it "behooved the Spanish Monarchy to arrive at a peace settlement with France". Alonso Díaz, the "lone Spaniard amidst so many Frenchmen" on board the ship "once again demonstrated great courage having overlooked the notorious danger he had exposed himself to". "You have said enough and you have allowed passion and emotions to overcome your sensibilities", declared Alonso, echoing the second Scholastic's sexualization of reason as a 'manly' attribute and emotion and passion as characteristic of womanly functions.39

"You should rather understand", continued Alonso to the visibly irritated French soldier, that the "sons of the Spanish Monarchy" or those who the ensign referred to as 'lions', had the "courage, the strength, and the arms of fire to defend themselves against France's innumerable vassals". Furthermore, argued the ensign, how could the French "base their vain and glorious history on the lamentable trajectories of King Francisco, who lacked any valour in his contingencies of war"? But, postured Alonso, "the valour of my King and his ancestors is so grandiose, that should it become necessary, my King would fight with accustomed magnificence and gallantry in defense of his Monarchy against anybody the King of France should seek to instigate against Spain".40

"Not true", responded the French soldier as he attempted to stand up. Alonso offered him a helping hand and "unexpectedly grabbed the Frenchman by the arms and tossed him into the sea, where the soldier drowned from the blows he received as he fell into the water". The other "French soldiers on board the ship attempted to avenge the death" of their compatriot but not before Alonso himself "jumped into the sea". A short while later, another ship, one that had set sail after the French vessel and which followed less than a quarter of a league behind, quickly navigated towards the ensign, pulled him out of the water and secured his passage to Italy.41

In Rome, Alonso Díaz, dressed in "proper gentleman's apparel, appeared before 'his holiness' Pope Urbano VIII, kissed his feet" and briefly related "the story of her life, her adventures, her sex, and her virginity" to the Holy Father. However "strange" the related escapades might have seemed to Urbano, the "affable Pope", nonetheless, granted Catalina de Erauso a "licence that allowed her to continue dressing like a man for life". The pontiff admonished Alonso to remain "fearful of God and his conscience" and to live a life of "honesty, void of vengeance or injuring another".42

"On 5 June 1626", wrote Pedro Valle Peregrino, "Catalina de Erauso, while in Rome, came to my house for the first time". Valle Peregrino described Catalina as "large in stature and somewhat bulky for a woman
although she had all the appearance of a man". The "flat chested" ensign had "dried up her breasts with some, I don't know what kind of remedy, a sort of jell, given to her by some Italian at a very young age" recalled Valle Peregrino. Catalina had "spread the jell on her breasts and although it had caused her great pain", fortunately, it had not produced "any other harmful effects other than the drying up of the breasts". The ensign, his "head held low looked somewhat tattered". Valle Peregrino attributed this condition "more to his life as a valiant soldier rather than having led the life of a courtesan or experienced the strains of amorous encounters". "Her face", noticed Valle Peregrino, although "not ugly, but not beautiful, appeared somewhat badly treated, but not of much age". The ensign sported "short black hair, with a little bit of a foretop, just like a man, in true fashion of the day". Alonso Diaz "dressed like a Spanish gentleman, shiny sword" and all, revealing his womanly side "only in how she moved her hands, despite their bulky, meaty, and robust appearance". In effect, the ensign "looked more like a eunuch than a woman".43

Alonso Diaz spent the next month in Rome as the guest of princes and the most genteel men of Roman society. The Roman Senate named him an honorary citizen of Rome and they celebrated the ceremony in the Capilla di San Pedro attended by many cardinals. After the ceremony, at a reception hosted in his honour, Alonso suddenly found himself in the presence of three cardinals. Cardinal Magallón turned to Alonso and stated, "your only defect is that you are a Spaniard". "My illustrious Lord" politely offered Alonso, "I believe it is the only good thing I do possess".

Erauso assumed the identity of Spanish man 'not for an evil purpose', revolution or indulging in sexual licence, but only to fulfill her 'natural inclination for military service' to her King and to Spain. Catalina de Erauso, alias Alonso Díaz Ramírez de Guzman, a total man and a total woman, had realized the zenith of one's career.

**Gendered 'Orientalised Others'**

Not everyone who overstepped their rigidly defined gender status fared as well as Alonso Diaz in early modern Spain-New Spain. Hierarchies of class, religion and ethnicity further skewed Spanish perceptions of gender. Consequently, tribunals selectively applied the sodomy laws both in Spain and New Spain. Perceptions of sodomie and the prosecution of sodomites in the peninsula and in the viceroyalty had evolved as 'textual' constructs or as a sort of sexual orientalization of others.
In *Orientalism*, Said has suggested that a 'reconstructed knowledge' about the Orient, itself a blatant exercise in the discursive aspect of imperial power, formed part of late eighteenth-century European political and economic imperialism. Said identified the amassing of such knowledge and its subsequent dissemination as 'Orientalism'. He noted that under political and economic imperatives, imperialism fabricated a certain 'knowledge' of the Orient, itself constituted for the exercise of imperial power; this knowledge produced what would henceforth become the Orient and that phenomenon remains fundamental to understanding one discursive aspect of colonial rule. The need, though, and the ability to restructure societies characteristic of modern capitalist imperialism provided the context for the development of the discourse that Said has identified as 'Orientalism'. For the purpose of elucidating how *sodomie* evolved as one discursive aspect of Spanish colonial rule, I have appropriated the Said's definition of 'Orientalism', as a style of thought based upon an "ontological and epistemological distinction".  

Ahmad questioned Said's "will to portray a 'west' as the same from the dawn of history up to the present, a sense of continuity itself fabricated in post-Renaissance Europe". Furthermore, Said argued that the "ideology of modern imperialist Eurocentrism had already inscribed itself in the ritual theatre of Greek tragedy, later integrated into a transhistorical Orientalist discourse". Tracing the genesis of 'Orientalism' to the ways in which ancient Greeks or medieval Europeans perceived racial or cultural 'others', wrote Ahmad, simply ignored the historical specificity of the material conditions for modern European imperialist systems which are more integrally connected to the social transformations of their time. For Ahmad, Said's ideas are not only ahistorical but also anti-Foucauldian in a methodological sense. Ahmad, has also argued for more historical accounts of imperial social formations and their transformations as the basis for understanding their historicity.  

However, despite Ahmad's criticisms of *Orientalism*, Said has expanded our understanding of how colonial rule employed discursive descriptions to help cement its ideological perspectives. I suggest that the discursive aspect of imperial power embedded as part of eighteenth-century European Imperialism can also apply to early modern Spanish Imperialism. Take for example, the rupture in discourses concerning *sodomie* that began roughly in conjunction with the proclamation of the 1497 *Pragmática*. The moralists nurtured these discourses throughout the early modern period and provided Spain with yet another 'just cause' for cultural domination.
In the style of a more historical account Spanish imperial social formations and their transformations, my histórico-materialist approach to the many ways in which the early modern moralists 'constructed knowledge' of sodomites in Spain-New Spain, and the ways in which sodomites contributed to, contested or mediated this knowledge, differs from Carrasco's reification of the Inquisition's role in the prosecution of sodomy trials in seventeenth-century Valencia or Gruzinski's mentalité approach to the 1657-58 Mexican sodomy cases. The authors of these seminal works on early modern Spanish sodomy prosecutions ignored any link between perceptions of sodomie and the power-knowledge nexus of imperialism-colonialism.49

In early modern Spain-New Spain, those men characterized as the moralists by historians founded a school of thought that envisioned a new Spanish Man. The moralists cultivated distinction after distinction made between Spanish Vir and sodomites. In doing so, the moralists repudiated Moorish Spain and instead emphasized the cultural value of a post-Colombian Spain-- a discursive practice or function that appears to be an "ideological corollary of colonialism".50

Amongst the differently defined cultural values, the moralist defined sodomie as an 'unnatural' sexual practice. Men sodomites, in particular, bore the wrath of an inconsistent, selective, yet brutal politics of sexual repression-- a politics that formed part of a more global form of discursive intolerance in early modern Spain-New Spain. The courts, too, prosecuted women sodomites, albeit fewer in number, throughout the peninsula and to a much lesser degree in México. In chapter two, I have addressed the reasons for this paucity, therein, having sketched brief histories of some women sodomites prosecuted by the Spanish tribunals during the early modern period.

The Spanish courts did not tolerate men or women who engaged in sodomitical practices with others of the same sex or with animals. In sixteenth and seventeenth-century México, colonial officials displayed a particular sense of repulsion for their 'newly' nurtured construct, the 'effeminate' sodomite. Unlike the sodomy cases prosecuted in the peninsula during the early modern period, His Majesty's High Court in Mexico City actively pursued and prosecuted these 'effeminate' sodomites, men who purportedly "dressed like women" and "wallowed" in the 'nefarious crime and sin' contra natura. Unlike the Alonso Díaz case, the Mexican criminal court prosecuted men who instead preferred to be addressed by their female pseudonyms. In short, colonial authorities felt certain that they had discovered a 'subaltern' web of 'effeminate' sodomites in the heart of the seventeenth-century metropolis, a phenomenon often associated with the
diabolical, disease or anthropophagy— all characteristics conspicuously absent in textual references to sodomy prosecutions in the peninsula.

How can historians, in an attempt to make sense of these ever changing processes and discursive descriptions, set out to write about Spain and New Spain? Can one explain the codification of sodomy as a 'crime and a sin', at a given historical juncture, as one more 'just cause' to 'sexually' subjugate and dominate both peninsular and colonial subjects? And, can one attest to how both men and women, in the harbours or in the viceroyalty, contested or mediated the rifts and shifts of these textual constructs within its appropriate, historicised paradigm?

The Discrete Charm of Imperialism as the Primary Category of Analysis

In my attempt to historicise notions of early modern Spanish 'manliness' and of sodomy, I have chosen to focus on Spanish Imperialism and not on 'nationalism' as the primary category of analysis. Ahmad has proposed that historical focuses on nationalism have "frequently suppressed questions of gender and class", not to mention overlooking differences of religion and ethnicity— all of which interacted with early modern Spanish Imperialism. Although 'nation' functions "globally as a component of identity", according to Spivak, the concept cannot register "the multiple and incommensurable differences dividing one nation from another or from itself."\textsuperscript{51}

Often, when one focuses exclusively on the 'nation' —Spain or New Spain— as discrete ideologies, one tends to portray them as two different worlds each fundamentally 'coherent' and 'external' to one another. Thus, one risks being unable to speak of any fundamental differences within particular structures of Spanish imperial politics. The inability to identify differences based on class, religion, ethnicity or of gender formation within these political structures compels one to minimize those kinds of differences and to absolutize the difference between Spain and New Spain.\textsuperscript{52}

For the purpose of this study, I have looked beyond the borders of Spain, New Spain or sodomy and have focused on the discursive aspects contained in the early modern moralists' texts as mechanisms used to constitute what Rubin has referred to as a "sex/gender system" or a way of negotiating back and forth between "chromosomal sex and social gender."\textsuperscript{53} For Sedgwick, this "set of discursive and institutional arrangements" mediate between the physical fact that each person inhabits, at a given time, a particular geographical space, and the far more abstract— citizenship.\textsuperscript{54}

As Spain sought to impose its representation of early modern man as part of its evolving imperial politics, this notion overlapped with other
categories of social control, namely--class, ethnicity, religion and gender. In view of the overlap between these categories, it made greater sense to analyze my interrogation of sodomy prosecutions and perceptions of 'manliness' from a 'global social analytic', or to focus on an imperialist world system that defines 'social' as "the intersection of the political, the economic, and the ideological, none of which can be reduced to any of the others."55

For this reason I have appropriated the memoirs of Catalina de Erauso, the notions of Vir, of sodomie written by moralists and the procesos of sodomy trials prosecuted in the peninsula and in New Spain between 1561 and 1699. The discourses contained therein have made it possible to sketch a portrait for the study of the 'natural' link between notions of Spanish Empire, 'manliness', sodomie, and the 'effeminate colonial sodomite'. In doing so, I will continue to insist that well-articulated hierarchies based on class, ethnicity, religion and gender formation 'determined' and in some instances 'over determined' both the politics and the ramifications of transcending one's own early modern 'manliness'. Thus, from the outset, I shall argue that these categorical hierarchies have 'over determined' the descriptions of early modern Spanish Vir and of sodomy contained in the numerous texts represented in this study.56

Privilege, based on these 'natural' hierarchies, extended to the monarchy, to the nobility, to the officers of the court, to theologians, to the magistrates of the tribunals, to the higher ranked officials who directly participated in the imperial expansion, to the intelligentsia, the literati --men, mostly, in positions of political and economic power. The 'others' --Sodomitas, Moros, Indios, Mestizos, Negros, Mulatos, mariners from other 'nations', others of less humble origin--, these men so often depicted as 'lascivious, filthy,' or exhibiting a 'perverted' type of 'manliness' by the early modern moralists bore the brunt of the sodomy prosecutions in Spain and in New Spain. Spain's 'just causes' in the economy of imperial politics fabricated, molded and changed perceptions of sodomy in order to legitimize the burning of sodomites as an exemplary punishment for such defiance committed against King, Queen or God. The early modern moralists linked notions of manliness, sodomy and effeminacy to the political, economic and religious dogmas that buttressed Spanish Imperialism.

My focus on Spain's imperial sphere is meant to look beyond New Spain, and even beyond sodomites as discrete cultural monoliths, whereby all that is constituted as exotic or gender-like other becomes homogenized into a "singular cultural formation". Many present day 'colonial' historians have presumed these monoliths to be necessarily superior to yet another discretely homogenized formation-- Spain and its "tradition/modernity"
bipolarity, its colonial relationship with New Spain often re-constructed in
discrete spaces independent of one another. When one emphasizes the
culture of New Spain, over that of Spain—with all its classes, religions, and
ethnicities—, the viceroyalty assumes a 'singularized oppositionality', or a
site idealized, simultaneously, of "alterity and authenticity".57

It follows then that neither the 'colonisers' nor the 'colonised' constituted
homogenous groups in the early modern period. Nor can one assume that
the Spanish nobility, the Spanish Catholic Church, peninsular sodomites or
their 'effeminate' counterparts in the Indias represented concrete categories.
Instead, early modern peninsular cultures and the cultures of New Spain
should be explained in "relation to one another, and as constitutive of each
other" in particular moments of communication and contact.58 Although
these categories may initially appear to have represented 'natural'
differences based on national origin, one cannot assume that Vir, Spain or
the sodomite comprised "fixed or self-evident categories".59 These
'historically constructed' categories coexisted in a perpetual state of
redefinition. Ever-changing "political and economic imperatives of colonial
rule constantly rearticulated their specificity". Thus, historically constructed
discursive motifs such as the 'manly' Spaniard and the 'effeminate' sodomite
emerged as one of Spain's culminating attempts to textualize 'just causes' of
cultural domination should be interpreted in relation to 'specific practices of
ruling,' rather than as a function of a generalised colonial condition.60

In early modern Spain-New Spain, cultural domination, as a specific
practice of ruling, functioned as a major aspect of imperialism and as such
'culture' became a major site of resistance for individuals like Alonso Díaz
or other sodomites, as the findings presented in subsequent chapters will
help to illustrate. But, precisely because cultural contradictions within the
imperialized formations tended to be so varied —sometimes along class or
ethnic lines, as in the case of sodomitical cultural forms— one cannot speak
of a 'totality' of sodomitical culture either in Spain or in New Spain, posited
as a "unified, transparent site of anti-imperialist resistance". To do so, is to
portray sodomites or New Spain, two historically constructed categories, as
"endowed with an inherent tendency towards a 'national' or 'civilizational
singularization'.61

Perceptions of 'manliness', or SoS, in the early modern period reflected
the way in which the 'textual constructs' of 'gender' within the rubric of
Spanish imperialist/colonialist history engaged and propelled each other's
discursive forms. Within an ever-changing imperialist-colonialist formation,
both Spain and New Spain nurtured the multiple attributes indicative of
early modern Spanish 'manliness'.62
The erection of discrete 'national' boundaries, Spain or New Spain, and categorizations such as 'coloniser' or 'colonised' did not by 'nature' constitute an inherent difference between the two. Whatever differences might have existed between 'coloniser' and 'colonised', again appear to have been in a perpetual state of redefinition determined primarily by the nuances of Spain's imperial formation. Also, significant hierarchies of class, ethnicity, religion and gender further exacerbated an already complex portrait of these groups in the peninsula and in the viceroyalty.63

The 'manly' Spaniard, SoS, and the 'effeminate' colonial sodomite exposed issues particular to Spain, issues termed 'just causes' as its colonial apparatus sought to impose its cultural domination in Spain-New Spain. For early modern Spain, this meant fortifying its construct of Vir in combination with its need to discipline a multilingual, multicultural, 'supranational' labour force--tradesmen for the most part, in the cases consulted for this study. Over the course of the early modern period, Spain sought a cultural restructuring of both the peninsula and one of its viceregalities--Hispania Nova.

Beyond Gender

Historians writing about the early modern period cannot hope to further enrich our knowledge of gender specifications in Spain-New Spain on the basis of a bipolar opposition between 'coloniser' and 'colonised' or by situating their work solely within the category of gender. The insistent emphasis on either the bipolar opposition or the discrete category of study 'valorizes' and 'privileges' the categories of 'nation' or 'gender' over other categories of historical analysis. Furthermore, this persistent emphasis on representing Spain in terms of its 'productive system' and New Spain in purely passive terms of having experienced an 'externally inserted phenomenon',64 mirrors the early modern moralists' depiction of woman as a metaphorical vase in relationship to the Spanish Vir. The upshot of valorizing Spain or México along such lines, 'freezes' or 'dehistoricizes' the global sphere within which struggles between the peninsula and the viceroyalty actually took place.

Recent 'feminist' scholarship has ventured beyond an exclusive analysis of any given 'sex-gender system' to interrogate other issues and categories rather than simply focusing on the history of 'women and sexuality'. This new scholarship has defined gender, itself skewed by class, ethnicity and religion overlaps, as a 'useful category of analysis' for explaining the many ways in which (colonial) societies constructed and represented relations of
power. Sangari, Vaid, and Bernstein have argued that 'western' societies and cultures, throughout different modernizing epochs, have gendered all aspects of 'reality'. Thus, gender should function as a mode of interrogating one's efforts at historical reconstruction. However, because other categories of analysis skew the experience of gender, an exclusive focus on gender itself "can never be adequate for a feminist historiography". Alonso Díaz' diatribes on Italians, Indios and Negras, juxtaposed with his representations of the honourable Spanish man provides an example of the way in which the ideology of gender intersected with the categories of ethnicity and xenophobia.

Gender formations should not then be "understood in stable or abiding terms" either within or between the borders of nations. While patriarchy may be universal, its specific structures and embodied effects are certainly not. This insight has challenged the "assumption inherited from nineteenth-century bourgeois feminism that women are naturally or essentially united by their 'common' subordination." The prosecution of sodomites, witnessed in most parts of early modern Europe also functioned differently across space and time.

Most recently, however, so-called 'gay' or 'queer' historiography has remained stagnant within the 'sex-gender' system and has positioned the homopolitical cultures of, say, England, the Netherlands and France in a demarcated 'first world' and simultaneously located or 'frozen' its brother cultures of Spain, Italy and México in another world. In his comparative analysis of eighteenth and nineteenth-century "gender and the homosexual role in modern western culture", the American-based historian Trumbach concluded that,

"It is now clear that Western homosexual behaviour has always operated within the terms of two worldwide patterns. Adult men who married women, had sexual relations with males, who in some cultures were adolescent boys, and who, in others, were adult men who had permanently adopted a transvestite role situated somewhere between the other two genders. The active adult male partner in these acts maintained his dominant gender status; adolescent boys left behind their passivity at manhood; and only the transvestite male undertook a permanent new gender role as a result of his sexual conduct. Homosexual behaviour in the West was always enacted within an illicit subculture, both before and after 1700. It can also be shown that the appearance of the adult effeminate male as the dominant actor in the subculture occurred only after 1700. It is only after that year that the use of the model of the gay minority, with its subculture and its roles, becomes appropriated in the study of Western societies. It is [my] insistent argument that the minority model was fully established by 1750, at least in northwestern Europe, that is, in the Netherlands, France, and England".

To suggest that all "Western homosexual behaviour has always or was always, tit or tat, both before and after this or that year is to argue, in effect,
that *sodomies* originating within social spaces identified as neither ping nor pong are not 'true' Western *sodomies*. In this scenario, the birth of the modern 'Western homosexual', as the categorical 'site' of opposition, with its indelible mark of 'constitution and difference' as its 'metatext', devours cultural heterogeneities into a single metaphor." Trumbach also affirmed that "the adult effeminate male appeared, only after 1700, as dominant actor in the subcultures", in short, "a model of the gay minority fully established by 1750, at least in northwestern Europe". Furthermore, in "1750 there was for women who sexually desired women not yet any role parallel to the new role for male sodomites". Trumbach's assessment of "Western homosexual behaviour" reduces all homopolitan cultures to an 'ideal-type' and implicitly fully expects one to narrate early modern *sodomies* commensurate with that 'ideal-type'. The 'ideal-type' of sodomitical formations assumes that 'gender-sexualities' and 'nation' are themselves "trans-historical, supra-national, or self-identical categories".72

Bhabha's work on 'nationalism' suggests that no "privileged narrative of the nation" nor any "single model could prove adequate" when one attempts to reconstruct its "myriad and contradictory historical forms."73 Balibar has phrased it differently, "nationalisms do not work everywhere the same way: in a sense they must work everywhere in a different way, this is part of the national identity."74 Moreover, a number of other characteristics could account for differences in 'Western' sodomitical formations. Mechanisms of social control such as the discursive weapons of the moralists or the punishment meted out by Spanish Courts all contributed to a distinct form of sodomitical culture in early modern Spain-New Spain. Not only did Trumbach 'freeze' early modern *sodomies* within a 'first-world' sphere, his ethno-sexocentric model conflated the histories of both women and men sodomites.

Trumbach further inflated the histories of northwestern European countries by adding that, "from the documentation it is apparent that by the nineteenth-century the modern Western system of sexuality and its related gender roles were fully in force in the United States as well as in the most modernizing societies of that day, the Netherlands and England".75 However, "at the end of the eighteenth-century it is apparent, however, that Italy, and probably most of southern and central Europe as well, had not adopted the new system."76 Perhaps this was the case. However, shouldn't one instead ask, how, if at all, did *sodomies* in southern Europe differ from their counterparts in the north? And what, if anything, accounts for the similarities or differences?

To do so, is to avoid the conflation of European cultures at any historical juncture and to reject the notion of a privileged narrative of sexuality
emanating from any one culture. If, as Bhabha has suggested, one should not advocate a 'privileged narrative' of the 'nation', then, by extension, one should debunk a privileged narration of homosexuality. "We cannot", as Weeks argues, "understand homosexuality just by studying homosexuality alone", but instead one should go "beyond the confines of homosexuality in particular or sexuality in general" to seek a broader understanding of gender and its intersection with other categories of historical analysis.77

The use of gender as a category for cultural analysis can create a number of interpretive obstacles given the propensity of this category to generate "distinctions and abstractions."78 If one attempts to resist homogenizing interpretations of sodomies, sodomy prosecutions in Spain-New Spain should be analyzed in relation to one another and not within the context of English or Dutch early modern histories. By doing so, one can compare and contrast the peculiar sodomitical formations of Spain-New Spain with sodomy prosecutions within other European imperial orbits and establish whether or not sodomies functioned differently across time and space.

In his work on the history of homosexuality, Halperin described 'sexuality' as 'culturally variable rather than a timeless, immutable essence'. He, too, rejected the notion that the sexual nomenclatures of the contemporary West functioned as "transcultural, and trans-historical terms, equally applicable to every culture and period." For Halperin, the forms of what might appear to be similar sexual practices in different countries of the West "did not travel well from one historical moment to another". He stipulated, for example, that a 'paederast,' the "classical Greek adult, married male who periodically" enjoyed penetrating a male adolescent differed from the 'berdache', a "native American (Indian) adult male" who from childhood took on many aspects of a woman and was later "regularly penetrated by the adult males" in New Spain. The 'berdache,' too, differed from the "New Guinea tribesmen and warriors who, from the ages of eight to fifteen were orally inseminated on a daily basis by older youths" who eventually married women.79

Halperin, nevertheless, added that "the distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality, far from being a fixed and immutable form of some universal syntax of sexual desire, can be understood as a particular conceptual turn in thinking about sex and desire that occurred in certain sectors of northern and northwestern European society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."80

However, as the findings of this study will demonstrate, this "conceptual turn in thinking about sex" is not limited to the "modernizing societies of northwestern Europe, France, the Netherlands, and certainly England,"81 but was also present in Spain and in New Spain-- albeit in
different forms. Depicting the "West's" history of sexuality by valorizing "northwestern European" models, borders on an ethno-sexocentrism that can sometimes lead to broad generalizations about early modern sodomitical formations.

**Historicised Man**

In Spain-New Spain, its own 'conceptual turn' in thinking about *Vir* took new twists and turns when the notion of an 'effeminate' sodomite in the *Indias* became a main-stay of Spain's politics of 'manliness'. Notwithstanding connotations of 'unmanliness', the supposedly self-identified 'effeminate' sodomites in 1657-58 Mexico City, who had re-appropriated notions of 'effeminacy' for their own exploitation had rearticulated, in the words of Sinha, the "broader shifts in the colonial economy of manliness". That is, the supposedly 'cross-dressed' *Mestizas* in México, who "dressed, walked, and addressed each other as women", substituted a supposedly more 'natural' gender hierarchy between 'manly' and 'unmanly' men in lieu of, say, Spanish 'racial exclusivity'.

While the 'cross-dressed' *Mestizas* might have substituted one category for another, and while this 'effeminate' form of self-representation along with the many 'parties' or "gatherings they hosted acting like women", might have appeared as a "challenge to specific colonial policies," one does well to ask whether or not these so-called self-described 'effeminate' sodomites or even Antonio Díaz for that matter, actually subverted gender forms when they assumed their new identities or postures. My point is, just how 'subversive' can one consider 'cross-dressed' *Mestizas* or Alonso Diaz in seventeenth-century New Spain when these 'men' actually reinforced Spanish 'gender' forms along ethnic and class distinctions? Chatterjee has labeled these political anomalies and the struggle for legitimacy in one's own culture as the paradox of 'subalternity'. Or, more succinctly, as Sarkar has proposed, the self-perception of effeminacy actually constitutes an expression of hegemonic aspirations. The 'cross-dressed' *Mestizas* and Alonso Diaz, then, emerged as products of the contradictions and juxtapositions which characterized Spanish colonial culture.

Writing about sodomy prosecutions in Spain-New Spain from this historicised context allows the possibility of interpreting particular cultural nuances which influenced notions of 'sex and gender' evident in these two early modern metropolitan centres. The practice of sodomy in the peninsula did not begin with the arrival of the Arabs in the thirteen century nor did it cease to exist after Spain 'completed' its re-conquest of the peninsula in
1492. Likewise, I believe it is doubtful that all the men, women and children of the Indias, as many chroniclers of the period have recorded, practised sodomy before the arrival of the Spaniards and then ceased to enjoy such practices with the advent of Catholicism. Rather, I think it is more prudent to evoke the significance of imperialism for a history of these textual constructions and their nuances. In doing so, historians can distance themselves from writing about discrete Western perceptions of sodomy without any reference at all to early modern Spain's supra-political project and its relationship to sodomies.

A more historicised approach aimed at an explaining sodomy prosecutions, their intertwinedness situated within an evolving imperial formation, in early modern Spain-New Spain, thus, implies a closer reading of more traditional interpretations of both Spanish 'manliness' and Mexican 'sexual norms' as discrete forms or mutually exclusive categories of inquiry. The more recent 'gender' historiography of Spain-New Spain has demonstrated a hesitancy to reconceptualize the re-definition of early modern 'manliness' within the context of Spain's imperial formation. The refusal to contextualize issues of 'gender' within the broader category of imperialism-colonialism has resulted in many a 'redundant copula' and limited important contributions to the understanding of sodomy prosecutions such as Gruzinski's 'Las cenizas del deseo,' Trexler's Sex and Conquest and Lavrin's work on sexuality in 'colonial México' because of their predominately 'indigenous' or 'peninsular' frames of references. Murray's totalising narrative, Latin American Male Homosexualities fared even worse.

My discussion of the politics of early modern 'manliness' differs from these more 'classical' interpretations of Spain or México. Heretofore, much of the research on 'homosexuality' in 'colonial' México has mirrored inadequate interpretations of archival documents. In his, Las locas, el sexo y los burdeles, an histórico-literary account of "homosexuality" in México since the arrival of Hernán Cortéz in 1521, Novo, narrated and in some instances fabricated some of the most sensational aspects of the 1657-58 sodomy trials in Mexico City. Novo's preoccupation with the macabre obfuscated the complexities of the colonial institutions, as mechanisms of social control that fuelled a more global and repressive apparatus.

In 1986, about three decades after Novo, Gruzinski utilized the same archival texts in his seminal article titled, "Las cenizas del deseo", the only publication to date on sodomy prosecutions in early modern México. However, Gruzinski's analysis of the 1657-58 sodomy trials explained, in part, as a logical consequence of some neatly described Spanish mentalité dehistorized perceived differences of gender cultures in Spain-New Spain. Gruzinski also failed to explain how, or even if, that particular group of
sodomites prosecuted in the seventeenth-century metropole of México contested or assimilated Spain's attempt at cultural domination.\textsuperscript{91} The focus on Spanish perceptions of 'manliness' as the 'site' for analyzing the relationship between gender and power allows one to move beyond the confines of gender politics to achieve a different understanding of how ideology and culture nurtured these constructs in Spain-New Spain.

My emphasis on the textual construction of 'manliness' and the prosecution of sodomites, as one constitutive principle of imperialism, differs from these works and their 'indigenous' point of departure to explain gender formations in Spanish 'colonies'. Unlike these writers, my focus is on the 'historical specificity' of Spanish 'manliness' rather than on broad historical generalizations about the gendering of the Indias as 'female' and the 'feminisation' of the 'colonised' based solely on perusal readings of contemporary secondary literature. The focus on 'historical specificity' allows for a more adequate discussion of the historical events that produced the 'effeminate sodomite' and rejects any line of continuity between Popol Vuh and early modern New Spain to help explain away gender formations.

If one attempts to explain the historical and material conditions that contributed to a privileged man's definition of Spanish 'manliness' and by extension his disdain for sodomy, from a political, a religious or an economic perspective one would achieve a broader understanding of these constructs within the context of Spain's evolving imperial social formation. The findings presented in the next three chapters on the 'textual constructions' of 'manliness' and the prosecution of sodomites in early modern Spain-New Spain will demonstrate how this broader analytical perspective can help expand our knowledge of these prosecutions, or understandings sometimes rendered opaque by the more 'traditional' interpretations of gender in the peninsula or in the Mexican Viceroyalty during the early modern period.

However, perceptions of 'manliness' are just one dimension of Spanish imperial politics. The "focus on the imperial social formation points not only to the intersection of the imperial with the categories of nation, race, class, gender and sexuality, but also to the essentially uneven and contradictory nature of that intersection".\textsuperscript{92} By venturing beyond simply pointing to the intersection of metropolitan and colonial histories, Sinha has demonstrated the essentially disproportionate and contradictory impact of that intersection-- that is 'imperial' and 'national' without conflating the two.\textsuperscript{93} My discussion of the evolving perceptions of sodomy during the early modern period presented in the next three chapters will point to how this disproportionate and sometimes contradictory rhetoric manifested itself within the context of Spanish imperial history.
The Mexico City sodomy cases, some 125 in total, prosecuted between 1657 and 1658, in addition to other archival documents, revealed the way in which colonial politics tainted issues of 'manliness' and produced different or contradictory perceptions about sodomites in Spain and in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The differences attributed to these perceptions of 'manliness' and of sodomie, the contestations and the mediations of these constructs, all contributed to a continuous redefinition of the early modern sodomite. This 'disproportionate' and sometimes 'contradictory' dialogue constantly replenished notions of 'manliness' within the imperial context. In Spain-New Spain, hierarchies differentiated by class, ethnicity, and religion 'over determined' the gendered constructs of 'manliness' or the 'effeminate' sodomite.

Perceptions of 'manliness', or rather an adherence to such notions, functioned as one 'locus' within the imperial realm for disseminating power in early modern Spain-New Spain. Consequently, I did not limit this study to gender politics of the early modern period, but rather opted for a broader scope, one that focused on perceptions of 'manliness' and the prosecution of sodomy. The mediation or contestation of these constructs, in turn, represented these nicely sketched notions of the gendered orientalized other.

Such a focus helps to re-conceptualize the traditional historiography of gender in early modern Spain-New Spain. This is because an historical understanding of 'Spanish manliness' from the perspective of the political, economic and ideological developments of the early modern period requires extending the "exclusive national frame of reference to recognise its location in a larger imperial social formation."94

A Leveled Field of Study

Throughout my discussion of Spanish 'manliness' and sodomy prosecutions, I have attempted not to privilege gender or any one of the other categories of historical analysis. The contents of the sources discussed in the following chapters will reveal how the multiple scaffolds erected by Spain changed the facade of 'manliness' throughout the early modern period. My discussion of the sodomy cases prosecuted in Sevilla or Granada will highlight xenophobic politics and the codification of sodomy as a 'crime and a sin' as the pertinent contexts for early modern issues of 'manliness'. The Mexican sodomy cases of 1657-58 exposed gender identities in terms of class and ethnicity as important contexts for 'manliness'.

In an apparent contradiction of rhetoric, early modern moralists nevertheless associated sodomitical practices in the peninsula with the
favoured 'manly', or 'virile' fellows rather than with an 'effeminate sodomite', the object of colonial derision. The moralists' focus on 'effeminacy' to distinguish the Mexico City 'sodomite' from the sexually virile peninsular 'sodomite' exposed the contradictions of a discourse that attempted to link sodomitical practices with a distinct and distant homopolitan persona defined in terms of "effeminacy and lacking of manly virility". These multiple attributes of 'colonial effeminacy' which are often disregarded result in neglecting historical analysis of colonial contradictions.95

The transformation of these contradictions occurred as the institutions of social control --led by the courts and the church-- sought to assure themselves of a new society neatly categorized along class, ethnic, religious and gender boundaries. More traditional historiography on 'colonial' Latin American society assumes that postConquest institutions and other cultural formations crystallized at the end of the sixteenth-century and remained stable until the middle of the eighteenth century, a period often referred to as the "mature colonial period" or the "Baroque era." However, institutions of social control and other cultural formations in 'colonial' Mexican society both altered significantly during the seventeenth-century. The prosecution of sodomites in Spain-New Spain formed part of Spain's imperial politics and its effort to cement embryonic differences between its emerging bourgeois classes.

The articulation and re-articulation of these classes, based on religious and ethnic differences, constantly responded to specific changes in Spain-New Spain that have helped explain differences in the perceptions of the peninsular sodomite with respect to his effeminate counterpart in the viceroyalty. Spain nurtured the idea of the 'effeminate' sodomite in the Indias primarily in response to a decaying political and economic domination. In the early sixteenth-century, notions of 'effeminacy' and 'passivity' had loosely characterized all the inhabitants of the Indias. However, by the mid-seventeenth century, colonial authorities deliberately attributed this characteristic specifically to characterize the Mexican sodomite. Over the course of the early modern period 'effeminacy' evolved from a loosely defined attribute associated with the entire population of New Spain, to an attribute associated very specifically with the sodomite.96

In his work on colonial stereotypes and the 'effeminate babu', Bhabha has proposed that both 'coloniser' and 'colonised' had socially or culturally constituted themselves as categories. Bhabha has explained the colonial stereotypes of effeminacy in the context of an 'ambivalence' which results from the simultaneous identification with and alienation from the colonial other in the formation of the colonial subject.97 His notion of 'ambivalence' as
constitutive of the colonial subject has further complicated interpretations of the 'coloniser' and 'colonised' in terms of simple bipolar oppositions, but his insights do not fully explain historical processes that might have contributed to notions of effeminacy. Models of the colonial subject based on supposedly universal gender and sexual dynamics of identity-formation, moreover, do not offer a satisfactory context for the discursive aspect of colonial 'effeminacy'; this is because different historical developments over determined this construct. The recurring shifts in the 'textual' constructs of the sodomite and the 'effeminate' sodomite reflected the way in which economic underpinnings undermined the privileges enjoyed by colonial authorities in Spain-New Spain and the political challenge posed by the sodomites to that particular class.

The intersection of two notions, the 'effeminate sodomite' on the one hand and early modern discourses about 'manliness' on the other, functioned as an over determined context for the concept of 'effeminacy' in the peninsula and reveals one further indication of the unevenness in the intersection of metropolitan and colonial contexts. The elaboration of the promiscuous sexual appetites of the Indios intersected in complex ways with the elaboration of distinct and self-restrained sexual mores of Spaniards. The concept of effeminacy in New Spain embodied notions about cannibalism, human sacrifices and the degradation of all Mexicans. The colonial authorities described 'effeminate' sodomites in terms of social or economic factors or scientific factors such as cancer, widespread disease, contamination-- the emphasis was inevitably on degradation and the diabolical. The popularity of notions of disease, embodied in the concept of effeminate sodomite, does indeed illustrate the essentially interactive process in the deployment of the discursive mechanisms of colonial rule.

'Colonisers' seldom held power unilaterally in 'colonial México'. The production of 'colonial knowledge' in México always entailed a "two-way process, constructed out of the contestation and collaboration" of certain sections of the different classes with the Spanish. The appeal of the early modern politics of 'manliness' was symptomatic of the efforts made by Alonso Díaz, for example, to establish his own hegemony in colonial society. Although Catalina de Erauso renounced her identity as 'woman' and other more traditional forms of sexuality, Alonso Díaz supported the gender prescription of 'virgin' for unmarried women.

The rewards given to Alonso Díaz by men in positions of power and the punishment applied to suspected sodomites in early modern Spain and Mexico revealed a system of contradictions which selectively applied Spanish law, one biased by hierarchies of privilege. Although the Spanish Courts asserted their power to 'protect' or 'accommodate' women and their
differences, in practice, they did so having privileged notions of 'manliness' as their point of reference. Alonso Díaz had emulated the perfect 'man'—a concept conceived by the moralists—in an epoch fraudulently depicted by triumphant histories as Spain's Golden Era, idyllic, for some, gilded for others. Vir began to sow its roots as early as 1492 and by the mid-seventeenth century, the plant had slowly begun to rot.

Indeed, wrote Vallbona in reference to seventeenth-century Spain,

"those were days when adventures, wars of conquest, colonization and fame had all been reserved for men. Those who are not familiarized with the world of the Basques are surprised that Catalina lived on the margins of all conventional norms without an encounter with the Inquisition. In order to better understand that impetuous/anxious spirit and her heroics one must take into account her Basque origins. On the one hand, the Basques have distinguished themselves for their individualism, adventurous spirit, valour, and the self-conscience of their strength as an ethnic group. The prestigious role played by the woman in Basque culture is one worth remembering since recent studies have revealed the matriarchal character of said society".102

Perhaps, however, neither Erauso nor Díaz evoked their Basque origins as a precursor to their alternative forms of dressing and living. In fact, quite the opposite often occurred, especially when Alonso sought to reinstate his 'manly honour' and his defense of Spain as 'nation' and 'Empire'. In 1626, having left behind the notoriety and commotion he had caused in Rome, Alonso Díaz made his way to Naples en route to Spain. One day, as Alonso walked around the quay in Naples, the "laughter and guffaws of two beautiful courtesan dames, who sauntered about in the company of two young men, drew his attention". The dames stared at Alonso. Alonso stared back at the dames, one of whom asked, "Señora Catalina, have you lost the way"? Alonso responded "Señora puta, how would you like one hundred thumps on the scruff of your neck and a hundred slashes to any man who tries to defend you?" The dames and the young men all very quietly slipped away.103

Alonso Díaz eventually returned to the peninsula. On 12 July 1628, Felipe IV instructed the Ministers of the Casa de la Contratación in Sevilla to afford the "Alférez doña Catalina de Erauso" passage to New Spain without requesting any information from her whatsoever.104 In 1630, as the ensign awaited to depart for the Indias, "she sat in the Cathedral of Sevilla".105 Later, Alonso Díaz posed for a portrait painted by Francisco de Pacheco.106 Immortalized for centuries to come, on 21 July 1630 Alonso, by then also known as Antonio de Erauso, along with another 160 passengers, set sail for New Spain under the command of General Miguel de Echazarreta.
Cap. XX ‘Parti de Barcelona a Génova’ 234vto. In, Vida i sucesos de la Monja Alférez, Alférez Catarina, Doña Catarina de Araujo doncella, natural de San Sebastián, prov[inci]a de Guipúzcoa. Escr[ita] por ella misma en 18 de septiembre 1646, bolviendo de las Indias a España en el Galeón San José, Capitán Andrés Otón, en la flota de N[uev]a España, General Don Juan de Benavides, General de la Armanda Tomás de la Raspuru, que llegó a Cádiz en 18 de Noviembre de 1646. BRAH, Colección Juan Bautista Muñoz, 9/4807, fols. 201-231vto. Erauso returned to Spain in 1624 and not in 1646 as indicated in the title of the manuscript. The date is later corrected to 1624 in the last chapter of the manuscript (fol 238vto). Erauso supposedly wrote the original manuscript in 1625 and delivered it to Bernardino de Guzmán, an editor in Madrid. The whereabouts of this original manuscript remains unknown. The manuscript consulted for this study is deposited in the Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. It was copied by Juan Bautista Muñoz on 24 May 1784 from another copy that belonged to Cándido María Trigueros (1737-1801), a Spanish writer often credited with numerous literary ‘falsifications’. For a discussion on the authenticity of the manuscripts the reader is referred to R. de Vallbona, ed., Vida i sucesos, 1-30.

2 BRAH, Vida y sucesos. 208vto.-209vto.

3 BRAH, Vida y sucesos. 202-03, 213vto.

4 P. Mason, The Deconstruction of America, pp. 1-35.


6 BRAH, Vida y sucesos. 214vto.

7 On chivalry fused with marital, aristocratic and Christian elements in early modern Europe see, M. Keen, Chivalry.

8 BRAH, Vida y sucesos. 216-217.

9 BRAH, Vida y sucesos. 207-208.

10 Segunda parte de la relación de la Monja Alférez, y dizense en ella cosas admirables, y fidedignas de los valerosos hechos desta mujer, de lo bien que empleó el tiempo en servicio de nuestro Rey y señor. México: Hipólito de Rivera, s.f. BLAC, Colección Icazbalceta, N° JGI Varias relaciones: 1, 54b.


13 A. Pagden, Spanish Imperialism, pp. 1-2.

14 A. Pagden, Spanish Imperialism, p. 4.

15 B. de Espinoza, A theoligico-political treatise, p. 344.

16 A. Pagden, Spanish Imperialism, p. 6.


18 E. Temprano, El Árbol de las Pasiones.


21 M. McKendrick, Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age, p. 19.

22 M. E. Perry, "The Manly Woman", p. 91.

23 J. L. Vivés, A very frovtful and pleasant boke called the Instruction of a christen woman.

24 C. Bravo-Villasante, La mujer vestida de hombre en el teatro Español, pp. 149-166.


27Ibid.
28D. Pérez de Valdivia, Aviso de gente recogida, p. 666.
29E. Temprano. El Árbol de las Pasiones.
30AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630.
31AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630.
32A. Ouweneel, Shadows over Anihauac, p. 9.
33Pedro de la Valle el peregrino, en su tomo 3° de su viaje escrito por él mismo en letras familiares, en lengua italiana a su amigo Mario Schipano, impresos en Bolonia 1677, en la letra ó carta 16 de Roma a 11 de julio de 1626, pág. 602. BRAH, N° XXVIII A-70, 233vto.
34AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630.
35AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630, 8-10.
36AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630, 10-12vto.
37AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630, 7vto.
38AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630, 13. Refers also to an edict dated 26 June 1628.
40Vílma y tercera relación, en que se hace verdadera del resto de la vida de la Monja Alférez, sus memorables virtudes, y exemplar muerte en estos Reynos de la Nueva España. México: Hipólito de Rivera, 1653. BLAC, Colección Icazbalceta, N° JG 1 Varias relaciones: 1, 54c.
41Ibid.
43BRAH, N° XXVIII A-70, f. 237-238vto.
44E. Said, Orientalism, p. 12.
46E. Said, Orientalism, p. 12.
47A. Ahmad, In Theory, pp. 159-220.
48A. Ahmad, In Theory, pp. 163-64, 177-78.
49R. Carrasco, Inquisición y Represión. S. Gruzinski, "Las cenizas del deseo".
50E. Said, Orientalism, p. 3. A. Ahmad, In Theory, p. 179.
51G. C. Spivak, "Reading the Satanic Verses", p. 94. On gender and nation see, B. Anderson, Imagined Communities. A. Parker, et.al. Nationalisms & Sexualities. G. L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality, pp. 1-22. Historian G. L. Mosse also concurred with Anderson's work by adding that, "nationalism had a speical affinity for male society and together with the concept of respectability legitimized the dominance of men over women". Mosse proposed a break with paradigms that treated the concepts of nation and sexuality as discrete and autonomous constructs. Mosse discussed the way in which the history of European nationalism and "respectable" sexuality emerged together at the end of the eighteenth century. He described how the proliferation of modern nationalisms in Europe influenced the construction of middle-class norms of the body and of sexual behavior. Finally, he demonstrated the way in which these codes of bourgeois morality facilitated, in turn, the rise of fascist nation-states in the twentieth century. Mosse concentrated primarily on Germany but also consulted materials on Italy, France, and England.
52A. Ahmad, In Theory, pp. 38, 92.
54E. K. Sedgwick, "Nationalisms and Sexualities in the Age of Wilde", p. 239.
55R. Hennessy, Materialist Feminism and the Politics of Discourse.
56Althusser defined overdetermined as a reality irreducibly complex, one subject to multiple causation. Any contradiction to this reality is shaped by and shapes different levels and instances of social formation. See his 'Contradiciton and Overdetermination' in For Marx, pp. 87-127 and his Essays on Ideology.
57A. Ahmad, In Theory, pp. 9, 33.
On the historical constructions of entities such as the coloniser and the colonised see, A. Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories" and "Making Empire Respectable".

On cultural domination see, A. Ahmed, In Theory, pp. 8, 38.

M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 4.

Ahmad described this phenomenon using the Hegelian metaphors of the master-slave to encapsulate the coloniser-colonised binary opposition. See, In Theory, p. 105.

J. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis", pp. 1053-75.


A. Parker, et. al., Nationalisms and Sexualities, p. 4.


Ahmad interrogates the notions of the 'three worlds theory' in his critique of 'Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory'. The reader is referred to, In Theory, pp. 95-122, 287-318. For a discussion on 'metatext' see, Lyotard, Towards the Postmodern.

A. Parker, et. al., Nationalisms and Sexualities, p. 2.

E. Balibar, "Racism as Universalism", p. 19.

Unfortunately, Trumbach's documentation consisted only of secondary sources, although some of this secondary literature had based its findings on archival material.


A. Parker, et. al., Nationalisms and Sexualities, p. 3.

D. M. Halperin, One Hundred Years of Homosexuality, pp. 43-46.


M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 5.

M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, pp. 7-8.


S. Molloy and R. McKe Irwin, eds., Hispanics and Homosexualities. A. Twinam, Public Lives, Private Secrets.

P. Mason, "Sex and Conquest. A Redundant Copula?" In his review, Mason interrogates Trexler's notion of 'punitive gendering' in judicious form by proposing a number of methodological and theoretical lapses. Unfortunately, Trexler refused to respond to any of these misgivings. The reader is referred to his lamentable and vitriolic "Rejoinder to Mason". See too, P. Mason, "Reply to Trexler".

S. Gruzinski, 'Las cenizas del deseo'. R. Trexler, Sex and Conquest. A. Lavrin, "Sexuality in colonial Mexico".

90S. Novo, Les locas, el sexo y los burdeles. Novo conflated the histories of secular and ecclesiastical tribunals. Both held prominence at the time in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. However, between 1521 and 1698, sodomy records exist only for secular tribunals. This evidently changed because, between 1750 and 1850, only the Mexican Inquisition prosecuted sodomy cases as well as other forms of "sexual crimes." On the Mexican Inquisition and sodomy see, M. L. Penyak, "Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico, 1750-1850".

91Gramsci's described "subordinate classes" as a culture in juxtaposition to a "dominant class" in power without relegating the former to paternalistic connotations of "inferiority." See, A. Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.

92M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 2.


94M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 3.

95M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 19.

96M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 17.


98A. Nandy, Intimate Enemy, p. 8.


100M. Sinha, Colonial Masculinity, p. 21-22.


102R. de Vallbona, ed., Vida i sucesos, p. 2. An interesting quote in a well-researched and documented book. Perhaps the fact that the book was published under the auspices of the Basque Government's Eusko Jaurlaritza, EMAKUNDE or the Instituto Vasco de la Mujer slightly slanted Vallbona's beret. See p. vi.

103BRAH, Vida y sucesos, 235vto.

104AGI, Sección de Documentos Escogidos, Legajo 1, N° 87, 1626-1630, 13.

105BRAH, N° XXVIII A-70. 236. "Jueves 4 de julio estuvo en la iglesia mayor la monja Alférez[...] fue monja en san sebastián huyóse e pasó a Yndias en hábito de hombre año de 1603[...] sirvió de soldado veinte años tenida por capón[...] bolvió d España fue a Roma i el Papa Urbano VIII la dispensó i dio licencia para andar en hábito varonil[...] el Rey le dio título de Alférez[...] el Capitán Miguel de Chazarreta la llevó por mozo en años pasados a Yndias i ahora va por General de la flota y la lleva por Alférez."

106J. M. de Ferrer, ed., Historia de la Monja Alférez, p. 120.