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by
FLORIAN WIESER

ABSTRACT

Recent academic debates have emphasised the ways globalisation fluctuates between more and less integration over time, producing anti-global sentiment through the overwhelming experience global contacts entail. Basing itself on these ideas, this paper seeks to investigate the origins and development of racist ideology in a Global History context, arguing that such ideology, too, is produced from intercultural encounters. In examining that ideology in particular, the observation is made that discourses of the racialised body have historically been connected to those of bodily sex. They form a "sex-race matrix" together that could be wielded by European powers against the effects of globalised cultural contact. Limiting itself to analysing a mere piece of that history in detail and focussing on the masculine sex only, the paper takes a selection of sources from the sixteenth- to the seventeenth-century Spanish Empire to trace the workings of three such sex-race constructions applied to populations that the empire encountered throughout its expansion. These are the moros (Moorish/Muslims), the *indios* (Native Americans), and *moro-indio* Filipino people (exemplified by the Visayans). The sources, both narrative and judicial, contain such varied examples as sex-changing surgeons, well-endowed prostitutes, impotence-inducing bloodletting, and bejewelled penises, that is, bewildering Others that threatened Spanish definitions of masculinity and thus humanity itself. In analysing these, attention is paid not only to the internal coherence of the constructs, but also to their relations to the Spanish self-image and each other. All of this ultimately lends itself to an attempt at a model depicting the interrelationship between the social hierarchies of race, sex, and gender.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Florian Wieser completed his B.A. in History at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University, Munich in 2017 with a thesis on Spanish colonial representations of Aztec homosexuality that was subsequently published. He is now writing his M.A. thesis on leadership structure among Spanish- American maroons at the same institution and has been working as a Student Assistant there for the past two years. His research generally concerns the impact of Early Modern colonialism upon identities and ways of thinking and has been enriched by his stays in Madrid and Seville.

INTRODUCTION

Two observations inspire this paper: First, that from "Latin Lovers" to "Angry Black Women," modern conceptions of race are deeply connected to images of bodily sex, gender expression, and (sexual) behaviour. Second, that race as a concept is the product of experiencing globalisation, i.e. the horizon of a community broadening beyond what it can identify with, and stable connections arising between areas whose inhabitants would, in most cases, never encounter each other in person. These observations lead to a number of questions: How do race, sex, and gender relate to each other? How and why are they produced? How are they fixed in time? How do they develop across it? No single study can answer these questions fully, of course. Instead, I want to examine them in a limited fashion, analysing one of the many scenes that make up the process I term the "sex-race matrix," the entanglement of mutual reference and construction between these two concepts.

Limits cannot be drawn too freely here, though. The fact that the sex-race matrix is framed by such experiences of globalisation is central to its constitution. On this matter, I want to engage with ideas raised by the debate between Jeremy Adelman, Richard Drayton, and David Motadel regarding the challenges facing the discipline of Global History during the current resurge of nationalism.[1] Drayton and Motadel characterise nationalism as a "response to increasing connection,"[2] a stress reaction to deal with the overload of globalisation. I believe that a certain layer of the development of racism can be investigated in a similar way, by viewing it as a simplifying process applied to a world unbearably diversified by globalisation, while at the same time recognising that this simplifying narrative was immediately used to establish the dominance of one's own group over others.

To follow this train of thought and to preserve the connection Adelman and Drayton and Motadel have observed between globalisation and nationalisation, I have chosen to draw the limits of my study so as to investigate "globalisation in one state," a sum of globalisation experiences as found across territories controlled by a single state. The setting for this investigation will thus be the expanding Spanish Empire of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Within this setting, I will attempt to show how sex and gender were sources of cultural anxiety, especially where cultures with different notions of these concepts came into contact. An ideological discourse then

1 Jeremy Adelman, "What Is Global History Now?," *Aeon* 2 (March 2017); Richard Drayton and David Motadel, "The Futures of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 13 (2018): 1-21.

2 Drayton and Motadel, "Futures," 2. In his response, Adelman himself further notes that nationalism is also transmitted and exchanged globally, see Drayton and Motadel, "Futures," 18.

developed that sought to alleviate these anxieties by tying the bodily sex to the bodily race, helping to confirm the social order as it was.[3] To further sharpen the focus of my work, I would like to limit myself to addressing only issues of the masculine sex here, the "superior sex" the preservation of which would have been more pressing.

Thus, three source groups shall be examined as examples: encounters of the Spanish with *moro* and *morisco* (Muslim and Muslim-descended Christian) men in their homeland, with *indio* men of the Americas, and with men of the Visayan people in the Philippines. My aim is to show how the sex-race matrix was constructed within that temporal and cultural framework, and how this construction fits into the larger discursive continuum of sex and race.

SEX, RACE, AND CULTURE

Before any statement can be made about specific historical manifestations of race, sex, and gender, their nature as such must be considered. While Judith Butler's characterisation of gender as a discourse and performance has been one of the most influential contribution on that matter,[4] her attempt to define sex and thus the body in a similar way has been met with more criticism.[5] Caroline Bynum has rightfully pointed out that the body has diverse functions in society that cannot all be reduced to language;[6] the body must be admitted a material minimum. Nonetheless, it is not "just an accumulation of flesh and liquids" either, as Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun have cautioned, but an object of "symbolic and metaphorical quality" within society.[7] Thus, when I speak of sex in the following, I want to carefully define it as a discourse designating which elements of the material body are pertinent to assigning a certain sex role to an individual. By this I mean that while sex is generally a category of the body, the question of which body parts (genitals, chromosomes, hair, humours, etc.) identified a certain sex was not stable across historical eras and cultures.

For the era here examined, the "one-sex model" described by Thomas Laqueur is deciding. As

3 John Huxtable Elliot, *The Old World and the New: 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) is the classic text questioning whether the encounter of Europe with America actually caused cultural anxiety. However, as the following will show, the way in which I speak of anxiety and its alleviation is in fact in line with Elliot's ideas of averting anxiety through reference to tradition.

4 Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40 (1988): 519-531; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, London: Routledge, 1990).

5 Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 7f; Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (New York, London: Routledge, 1993), 1-3.

6 Caroline Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the Body?: A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1995): 5f.

7 Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun, "Introduction," in *Embodiments of Cultural Encounters*, eds. Sebastian Jobs and Gesa Mackenthun (Münster e.a.: Waxmann, 2011), 8.

Laqueur observed, Early Modern Europeans, inspired by Ancient Greek thinkers, assumed that there was only one type of human body. It wore certain parts either outside or inside, making the vagina nothing more than an inverted penis, the womb an inverted scrotum, woman an inverted man. A hierarchy of the sexes was directly written into this model, with different body temperatures giving the bodies shapes of differing perfection.[8]

This can be seen to tie directly into race, another system of ranking bodies. However, even more so than the modern, analytical terms "sex" and "gender," "race" is problematic to use in this context. I will continue using "race" analytically in the following, but to do so I must problematise it first. On the surface, the term may seem very appropriate to my topic, as it does have its origins in Early Modern Spain. Originally meaning a flaw in a piece of cloth,[9] to have *raza* came to mean over the course of the sixteenth century having flawed blood polluted by Moorish or Jewish descent.[10] The first problem with this is that *raza* cannot yet have positive meaning here the way the modern term allows (e.g. speaking proudly of a White, Aryan, etc. race). Secondly, "race" is inseparable from "racism," a term usually describing the systematic, pseudo-scientific ideology that blossomed from the eighteenth century forward. Yet in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the rationalist foundations for this ideology were still to arise, and notions of the human body and its differences were ruled more by humoralism and theology.

This has been shown clearly by Max Sebastián Hering Torres for the case of *conversos*, Jewish converts to Christianity who only gradually came to be a physically rather than just religiously distinct group.[11] Following his discussion of the thoughts of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, I will address the racialising ideologies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only as "proto-racism" in the following.[12] This proto-racism, being produced by a sex-race matrix, also takes its place within the genealogy of race-sexuality entanglement described by Ann Laura Stoler. She has shown how a differentiation in descent and

8 Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1990), especially 8, 26-28, 63-66, 70.

9 Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Vocabulario español-latino*, facsimile edition (Madrid: Alicante, 2005), fol. 86r: "Raça del paño. panni raritas."

10 Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, Vol. 2 (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), fol. 3r: "Raza en los linages se toma en mala parte, como tener alguna raza de Moro, o ludio."

11 Max Sebastián Hering Torres, *Rassismus in der Vormoderne: Die 'Reinheit des Blutes' im Spanien der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus, 2006). See also the discussion of the lack of physical markers of Jewishness in José Pardo Tomás, "Physicians' and Inquisitors' Stories?: Circumcision and Crypto-Judaism in Sixteenth–Eighteenth Century Spain," in: *Bodily Extremities: Preoccupations with the Human Body in Early Modern European Culture*, eds. Florike Egmond and Robert Zwijnenberg (Oxon, New York: Ashgate, 2003), 171f.

12 Hering Torres, *Rassismus in der Vormoderne*, 206.

sexual conduct served to establish the identity of the White coloniser as superior. Colonial ethnography thus shaped not only the view of the Other, but also of the Self.[13] It is from her as well that I take inspiration in identifying (proto-) racism as a response to cultural anxiety.[14] Although Stoler deals primarily with the nineteenth century, she stresses that the roots of its racism lie in the sixteenth century, and particularly in the aforementioned discrimination of *conversos*.[15]

With these caveats, I see the foundation laid for my analytical use of race, sex, and gender in the following. Gender will only play a minor role, complementing sex where they most strongly overlap. The primary focus will instead be on the bond between sex and race – sex as the discourse specifying bodily characteristics pertinent to assigning a sex role, and race as a discourse differentiating and grouping human beings based on another set of bodily characteristics that includes sex. In this, the latter category must be recognised as still being formulated during the period in question. The following examples shall serve to show how this process played out and to attempt a partial answer to the questions raised in the beginning.

13 Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's* History of Sexuality *and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1995), 4-7, 22, 39.
14 Ibid., 31f.
15 Ibid., 26f, 50-52.

"LARGE NATURAL PARTS" – MASCULINE BODIES OF *MOROS* AND *MORISCOS*

The inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula had known Muslim groups ever since those had overrun the Visigothic Kingdom in the eight century. Thus, Muslims had been present both as enemies of and as subjects within the kingdoms that arose from the so-called Christian reconquest of Iberia. Due to this long acquaintance, the corpus of Spanish sources on the varied peoples lumped together as *moros*[16] is as large as for few other ethnic groups. Here, however, I will examine only two exemplary cases, both from court records.

The first has gained some fame due to its uniqueness, and considering the extensive discussion it has already received, I will treat it only shortly. It is the inquisitorial case led in 1587/88 against someone calling themselves Eleno de Céspedes.[17] Although the authorities

16 On the complete equation of all Muslim-adherent ethnicities, see Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes y del Norte de Africa en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII: Los caracteres de una hostilidad* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989), 69, 76, 102.
17 I will not attempt an interpretation of Eleno's self-image here. For various attempts at this, see e.g. Israel Burshatin, "Elena Alias Eleno: Genders, Sexualities, and 'Race' in the Mirror of Natural History in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in: *Gender Reversals and Gender Cultures: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Sabrina Petra Ramet (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 105-122; Israel Burshatin, "Interrogating Hermaphroditism in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in: *Hispanisms and Homosexualities*, eds. Sylvia Molloy, Sylvia and Robert McKee Irwin (Durham, London: Duke

stubbornly insisted on calling him "Elena," I will use the pronouns and name he himself specified in his own testimonies. Assigned female at birth and brought before the Inquisition because he had been found in a seemingly sodomitical marriage to a woman, Eleno related that he had indeed once been a woman. Over the course of his life, however, a penis and testicles had sprouted from his loins, and he had perceived himself and lived as a man ever since.[18] Within the one-sex model adhered to in the sixteenth century, this would, so far, not be out of the ordinary. Natural sex changes due to fluctuations in the bodily heat were thought fully possible, though only ones from feminine to masculine, from less to more perfection.[19] The real problem of Eleno's case, however, lay in the details.

Doubts had first been cast on Eleno's sex by the vicar officiating his wedding, who had thought Eleno a eunuch because of his beardless cheeks.[20] Two doctors had then examined Eleno, and given approval for his marriage due to him having a penis that was "well-proportioned to his body"[21] and "testicles shaped like those of any man."[22] Eleno even drew a line on paper to show the inquisitors the size of his member (fig. 1). When the examination was repeated for the trial, however, neither penis nor testicles were found, but only a vagina. Eleno explained this by his masculine parts having been injured and then amputated following a riding accident; the doctors claimed to have been deceived by witchcraft during the first examination.[23] One observation to be made from this is that in spite of their ambiguity, genitals played a large role in the official assignment of sex to an individual.[24] Another is that with

University Press, 1998), 3-18; Israel Burshatin, "Written on the Body: Slave or Hermaphrodite in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in: *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, eds. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 1999), 420-456; Richard Cleminson and Francisco Vázquez García, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites in Iberia, 1500-1800* (London, Brookfield: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 46-50; Patricia Simons, *The Sex of Men in Premodern Europe: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 27-33; François Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and the Transgression of Gender Norms* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 50-95.

18 Sara Cano Fernández e.a. (eds.), *La máscara infame: Actas de la inquisición a Eleno de Céspedes* (Madrid, Zaragoza: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2010), 5-40. For a problematisation of the term "sodomy" and an overview of the literature on it, see Florian Wieser, " '... und ich weiß, dass sie alle Sodomiten sind': Diskurse von Macht, Männlichkeit und Homosexualitäten in Darstellungen des frühkolonialen Neuspanien (Mexiko)," in: *Invertito. Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 19 (2017): 9-39.

19 Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites*, 12-15, 41; Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 101, 106, 127.

20 Cano Fernández e.a. (eds.), *La máscara infame*, 13f, 30.

21 Ibid., 50: "bien proporcionado as su cuerpo." Here and in the following, translations are mine, unless stated otherwise.

22 Ibid., 15: "testiculos como los de cualquier hombre."

23 Ibid., 16f, 21, 34-38.

24 Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 135, 138 and Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender*, 286 argue that self-perception played no role in such cases, but only the body and most of all penis and testicles. Thus, even eunuchs were denied the status of men, see also Edward Behrend-

disbelief and accusations mounting against Eleno, his race reveals its role in the case.[25]

Eleno was described as being "of *mulatto* colour,"[26] with "a slave who was black and [...] of the gentile caste" for a mother.[27] What this comes down to is that he was viewed as *morisco* by his judges.[28] As such, certain elements ascribed to Islam were considered anchored in Eleno's body from birth, including associations with unnatural sexuality and witchcraft.[29] This kind of thinking is also shown vividly in the 1606 pamphlet *Retrato de un môstruo*, a tale of male pregnancy caused by sorcery set in a *morisco* community.[30] Thus, the same sex-race associations appear in Eleno's formal court case and in a popular anti-*morisco* polemic two decades later. However, even when referencing images of infidels and witches, the Inquisition ultimately failed to prove its main accusations against Eleno. He was only sentenced to a whipping and forced labour at a hospital, avoiding the fiery death that awaited witches and sodomites.[31]

The second subject I examine was less lucky. Convicted of sodomy and subsequently burned at the stake in 1616, the story of the Turkish slave named Hamete (or, after his last-minute baptism, Juan) is recorded by his confessor, Friar Pedro de León.[32] A little boy he had raped had denounced Hamete to the authorities. During the interrogations that followed, he then revealed a number of other men involved in a strange case of same-sex prostitution. Having previously committed the nefarious sin of sodomy with an unnamed Spanish nobleman for money, Hamete had helped this man search for "a pair of Moors or Turks who were very potent to buy and keep them for this accursed act," further specified as

Martínez, "Manhood and the Neutered Body in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Social History* 38 (2005): 1073-1076, 1084f. It is interesting that Simons, *Sex of Men*, 29f gives the beard equal importance to genitalia, since this was the very characteristic with which Eleno's case began.

25 Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender*, 94 states that Eleno's claim would have been medically possible. See also Simons, *Sex of Men*, 29 suggesting this was dismissed based on racial prejudice, and Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites*, 45f comparing Eleno's case to that of another person of fluid sex who defended themselves by pointing to their Old Christian heritage.

26 Cano Fernández e.a. (eds.), *La máscara infame*, 16: "de color mulata."

27 Ibid., 26: "esclava, que era negra y [...] de casta de gentiles." *Gentiles* here means non-Christians.

28 On the virtual equation of *moros* and *moriscos* in spite of their religious affiliation, see Bernard Vincent, "The Moriscos and Circumcision," in *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, eds. Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Minneapolis, Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 88, 90.

29 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 9n16, 56n69.

30 Pedro Manchego (?), *Retrato de un môstruo, que se engendro en un cuerpo de un hombre, que se dize Hernando dela Haba, vezino del lugar de Fereyra, Marquesado de Cenete, de unos hechizosque le dieron* (Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1606). See also the discussion of the text in Sherry Velasco, *Male Delivery: Reproduction, Effeminacy, and Pregnant Men in Early Modern Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2006), 85-87.

31 Cano Fernández e.a. (eds.), *La máscara infame*, 77-84.

32 Fr. Pedro de León: *Grandeza y miseria en Andalucía: Testimonio de una encrucijada histórica*, ed. Pedro Herrera Puga (Granada: Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Granada, 1981), 589-592.

"having large natural parts."[33]

At this point, Friar Pedro himself felt compelled to state his astonishment that a Spaniard, even one as depraved as a sodomite, would want to *be* penetrated by a *moro*.[34] Furthermore, it is interesting to see a marker of the masculine body, namely the penis, showcased so clearly here. Noted as exceptional, the size of these penises connects to the race of their bodies, a stereotype still alive today. Thus, this "pair of Moors or Turks" was at the same time marked as emasculated by their sodomy and as hyper-masculine due to their physical endowment. This was not a contradiction in Early Modern Spain. There was no heterosexual and homosexual desire in its discourse; instead, all lust formed a single spectrum. Every man felt lust, and thus, every man could, if he let that sinful desire take him too far, fall into sodomy, itself the pinnacle of lust.[35] Therefore, an overabundance in sexual prowess actually put a man in more rather than less danger of becoming unmasculine; excess devotion to women and the pleasures they offered could itself turn a man into an effeminate rather than a stud.[36]

The origin of such sexual tendencies lay not only in the outward shape of the body (itself racially determined), but also, as with Eleno's association with witchcraft, in a more deeply inscribed racial character. Thus, Friar Jaime Bleda in his history of the Andalusian Moors stated that, because Arabia stood under particular astrological influence of Venus, excessive lust was inherent to the *moros* by birth and descent.[37] Shaped by such factors, the *moro* male body was imagined as intrinsically beautiful, erotic, and seductive in its mixture of effeminacy and hyper-masculinity.[38] Contemporaries like Antonio de Sosa framed this racial trait as threatening, fearing that *moros* would use their wiles to seduce Christians into Islam and build whole harems of male apostates.[39] Thus it becomes all the more apparent how Eleno de Céspedes, who changed sex back and forth and married first a man as a woman and then a woman as a man, was seen as a personification of everything dangerous about the *moro*. This danger lay in the *moro*'s body itself, which was interpreted by the Spanish according to preconceived notions that made treachery and libido inherent to it. In the following, I want to compare these notions to those formed around another set of masculine bodies: those of Native American *indios*.

33 Ibid., 589: "un par de moros o turcos que fuesen muy potentes," "moros o turcos que tuviesen grandes naturales."
34 Ibid., 592.
35 Wieser, " '... und ich weiß ...' ," 17, 17n32.
36 Behrend-Martínez, "Manhood and the Neutered Body," 1075; Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 123.
37 Fr. Jaime Bleda, *Coronica de los moros de España* (València: Felipe Mey, 1618), 19f.
38 José R. Cartagena Calderón, *Masculinidades en obras: El drama de la hombría en la España imperial* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2008), 97.
39 Antonio de Sosa (wrongly attributed to Diego de Haedo), *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1927), 52f, 76, 176.

"PHLEGMATIC BY NATURE" - MASCULINE BODIES OF *INDIOS*

The bodily peculiarities of the *indio* provoked discussion in Spain from the first moment on. Christopher Columbus already described the Caribbean natives as having "handsome bodies and good faces" and thus making "good and intelligent servants."[40] This connection between the mind, body, and servitude of the *indio* was to continue for a long time after. Law, theology, and philosophy were drawn upon to decide whether their bodies and mores, both seen as effeminate, marked the *indios* as "natural slaves." Only if they could be proven inherently lesser, could their full enslavement be justified.[41] The Early Modern conflation between being male and being human played a decisive role in this debate. Linguistically, *hombre* still meant both "man" and "human" at this point,[42] and anatomically, as pointed out above, woman was herself only seen as a failed man. Both because of the medical theory of inversion and because of her creation from man's rib, woman owed her very humanity to her similarity to man.[43] In fact, masculine behaviour was something respected and esteemed in women in Early Modern Spain. It made them rank higher on the scale of human perfection. Effeminate men were meanwhile seen as all the more shockingly perverted; even an inborn, purely bodily effeminacy like having fair hair was considered to increase the risk of sodomy.[44]

The Native American body was seen as just such a problem of inherent effeminacy. Generally lacking beards and often long-haired, the *indios* seemed an altogether sexless people, and all the more alien because of it.[45] This did not only call the *indios*' humanity into question but made fixing the sex role of an individual as such an issue. A letter addressed to Emperor Charles V by *conquistador* Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán during his 1530 campaign in Northern Mexico exemplifies the confusion and frustration this caused the Spanish.[46] During a skirmish with

40 Christopher Columbus, *The* Diario *of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America 1492-1493: Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, transcr. and transl. Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. (Norman, London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 66-69 (fol. 9r-v, October 10th): "fermosos cuerpos y mūy buenas caras," "buenos s[er] uidores y de buē ingenio," translated by Dunn and Kelley.

41 For a full discussion of the function of discourses de- and re-humanising the *indios*, see Wieser, " '... und ich weiß ...' ."

42 Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro*, Vol. 1, fol. 475r-v. Commented upon by Behrend-Martínez, "Manhood and the Neutered Body," 1073.

43 Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 97.

44 Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites*, 12f; Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender*, 18, 22f.

45 Alex Kerner, "Beard and Conquest: The Role of Hair in the Construction of Gendered Spanish Attitudes towards the American Indians in the Sixteenth-Century," *Revista de Historia Iberoamericana* 6 (2013): 105.

46 The passage I examine has previously been discussed in the controversial Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1995), 68, 88, where Trexler calls it proof of pederasty among the Aztecs. This conclusion must be rejected on two grounds: Firstly, the strong political motivations of Nuño de Guzmán make his writings doubtful as a source on actual cultural fact, and, secondly

the Spanish, a number of *indios* had entrenched themselves on a small island in a river. Among them was an apparently female warrior who "fought [...] so well and so spirited [...] that all were in admiration to see such heart and strength in a woman."[47] Ultimately, the Spanish took the island and captured the warrior. That was when Nuño de Guzmán realised that the warrior was "a man in woman's clothing."[48] How masculinity was ascertained here is not stated precisely, only that it could be "seen."[49] When asked why they were dressed this way, the warrior replied that it was because they had served men as a sexual passive "since boyhood."[50] Nuño de Guzmán then had them burned on the spot. This is not an isolated case, though the only one involving martial prowess. In more peaceful roles, such "cross-dressed men" appear all over early Spanish accounts (fig. 2).[51]

On the surface, this seems like a matter of gender and sexuality rather than sex and race, of a *behaviour*, not a *body*. Yet the fact that the warrior was accepted as a woman from afar, then "seen to be a man" upon closer inspection, shows us what a role the material body must have played in this situation. The body determined whether an action was conforming and correct, or not. For example, in the 1617 case of the sex-changing nun María Muñoz, suspicion was also first raised by María's martial, masculine behaviour and not by any visible change of the body.[52] Furthermore, within the Early Modern logic, behaviour was both caused by the bodily humours and influenced them in turn. Laqueur explains how actions affected body temperature, which then affected the physical manifestation of sex.[53]

Meanwhile, sympathetic clerics like Dominican Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas tried to explain away the disconcerting gender presentation of the *indios* through recourse to their anatomy. Las Casas stressed very strongly that the wearing of femininely gendered attire by masculinely sexed *indios* "cannot have been for the exercise of this

and more damningly, the described event takes place far outside the actual cultural territory of the Aztecs. For a full discussion of same-sex phenomena in Aztec culture see Wieser, " '... und ich weiß ...' " and as a summary of previous literature Caroline Dodds Pennock, *Bonds of Blood: Gender, Lifecycle, and Sacrifice in Aztec Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 141-154.

47 Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán, "Carta á su magestad del Presidente de la Audiencia de Méjico, Nuño de Guzman, en que refiere la jornada que hizo á Mechuacan, á conquistar la provincia de los tebles-chichimecas, que confina con Nueva España (8 de Julio de 1530)," in: *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, Vol. 13 (Madrid: José María Pérez, 1870), 367: "peleó [...] tan bien y tan animosamente [...], de que todos estaban admirados ver tanto corazon y esfuerzo en una muger."

48 Ibid.: "un hombre en ábito de muger." I will refer to the warrior by the neutral pronoun "they," since their address as a man is an outside ascription. Unlike with Eleno, there is no testimony by them on how they perceived their sex and gender themselves.

49 Ibid., 367f: "bióse ser hombre."

50 Ibid., 368: "desde chequito."

51 See Trexler, *Sex and Conquest*, 66 for a number of examples.

52 Cleminson and Vázquez García, *Sex, Identity and Hermaphrodites*, 16

53 Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 126

ugly sin [of sodomy]."[54] Instead, he argued, their situation:

> agrees well with what Galen says [...], that many of the Scythians [...] are like eunuchs, unable to be married, because of which they exert all the offices of women [...]. The reason for falling into this state [...] seems to come from the [...] custom of horseback riding [...]. Because this causes them certain pains [...], they bleed themselves from two veins below the ears [...]; [and these veins] are of such nature that bleeding them causes sterility. [...] This is what may have happened to those *indios* which have been seen in the clothes of women [...], not because of horseback riding, but maybe because of all the blood which they sacrifice [...] from their ears [...].[55]

Even while seeking to justify and protect the *indios*, Las Casas thus contributed to a discourse of the weak and inferior Native American body. However, that discourse and the problem of *indio* masculinity that it sought to address went deeper than just dress. This strange masculinity appeared imperfect not just in performance, but also in its physical manifestation as sex. This was most obvious in the *indios*' beardlessness.[56] I have shown the importance of facial hair in sex assignment with the case of Eleno de Céspedes already. With hair growing only on the head for many Native American ethnicities, a deeper investigation appeared necessary to contemporaries. For instance, two Spanish thinkers, Juan de Cárdenas in the late sixteenth and Friar Gregorio García in the early seventeenth century, each devoted an entire chapter in their works to the beardlessness of the *indios*. A main concern of theirs was that the leading explanation for any bodily characteristic during their time was geographic. Weather, temperature, and astrological alignment (as with Venus and Arabia above) were thought to shape a country's inhabitants. This, then, roused the fear that if the *indios*, perceived as weak and feminine, were so because of their environment, America could have its Spanish colonists suffering a similar fate.[57]

Both Cárdenas and Friar Gregorio thus sought alternative

54 Fr. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologética historia de las Indias*, ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz (Madrid: Bailly, Bailliére é Dijos, 1909), 475: "puede haber sido no por fin de usar aquel feo pecado."

55 Ibid.: "se prueba bien por lo que dice Galeno [...], que munchos de los scitas [...] son como eunucos, inhábiles para ser casados, por lo cual hacen todos los oficios de las mujeres [...]. La causa de venir á caer en él [...] parece ser de la [...] costumbre de andar á caballo [...], porque les vienen ciertos dolores [...] sángranse de ambas á dos venas detrás de las orejas [...]; [y las venas] son de tal naturaleza que sagrándolas causan esterilidad [...]. Así que desta manera pudo acaecer á los indios que en hábitos de mujeres [...] sen han visto, no por andar á caballo, sino por la mucha sangre, quizá, que se sacaron de las orejas [...]."

56 Kerner, "Beard and Conquest," 108.

57 Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999), 34-37.

explanations that would affirm their countrymen's masculinity and explain the effeminate hairlessness of the *indios*. Cárdenas offered that "the *indio* is phlegmatic by nature."[58] This nature had been acquired in remote antiquity, when the *indios* had lived unsettled lives and the harsh weather had made their skin too tough for hair to penetrate.[59] Friar Gregorio, meanwhile, suggested that the hot climate of America had used up the humour needed for hair production over a long time, which had also caused them to be "of little strength and vigour, not very corpulent, not made for too much labour, of little ingenuity for letters, effeminate, and pusillanimous."[60] In both cases, the Spanish colonists were safe from environmental emasculation. Even if America was accepted as a feminine land as such, the effeminacy of the *indios* was caused only by the coincidence of that environmental femininity with an inborn one they had acquired long before.[61]

Arguments like these codified Spaniards and *indios* as inherently racially different. Nonetheless, to make their souls saveable and preserve the logic of God's creation, Native Americans had to be accepted as human at least.[62] They were even assigned a position in the racial hierarchy more positive than that of the *moros* – weak and dependent like women, yet not as dangerously oversexed as raving Muslim sodomites. However, the further expansion of the Spanish Empire led to contact with ever more populations to challenge such systematisations. The following example from the Philippines shows how these categories had to cope with new situations and were ultimately used to fold the whole world into a single racial system.

INDIOS Y ENEMIGOS – MASCULINE BODIES OF THE VISAYANS

When Spain conquered the Philippines in the late sixteenth century, they found peoples closer to the mythical India that gave the *indios* their name, yet less "innocent" than them: Certain Filipino groups were already staunch Muslims instead of malleable pagans. Thus, the colonial imaginations of *moro* and *indio* clashed and mingled as the Spanish considered these peoples, making the racial order solidify and become increasingly self-explanatory. Ethnicities were assigned to the stereotypes of *moro* and *indio* based on religious affiliation, and their behaviours and looks derived as much from that as actually observed.

58 Juan de Cárdenas: *Primera parte de los problemas y secretos marauillosos de las Indias* (Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnología: Mexico City, 1913), 167: "el indio de su propia naturaleza es flematico."
59 Ibid., 169.
60 Fr. Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios de el Nuevo Mundo, e Indias Occidentales* (Pedro Patricio Mey: València, 1607), 150, 161: "de poca fuerça y vigor, no muy corpulentes, para poco trabajo; de poco ingenio para letras, afeminados y pusilanimes."
61 Cañizares Esguerra, "New World, New Stars," 39, 60f.
62 Wieser, " '... und ich weiß ...' ," 29f.

One conspicuous fact is that the Spanish tended to describe their allies as taller and more light-skinned than their enemies.[63] In general, skin colour and the presence or absence of a beard were prime characteristic in assigning a Filipino group to a Spanish-defined race.[64] Out of this great diversity, I have chosen one example to examine in detail: the Visayan people and the penis jewellery they wore, the *sacra*.

Among the pre-Christian Visayans, every male was expected to have his penis perforated during boyhood so that a small rod could be inserted and an adorned ring fastened to that (fig. 3).[65] This is again more behaviour than physical trait, but it resonates strongly with my previous discussion of bodies. The *sacra* had no clear point of reference in Spanish experience, yet it provoked scandalised reactions. The Jesuit Francisco Ignacio Alzina called it "very dirty" and the deaths sometimes caused by it "just punishment from God."[66] As I have shown so far, intact and unquestionable masculinity was intrinsically important to the Early Modern Spanish conception of humanity as such. The modification of the penis was thus tantamount to sacrilege.

All the more surprising it may seem then that while the *sacra* as such was condemned, it was not used to demonise the Visayans themselves, but in fact excused and explained away. This becomes more comprehensible when one realises that the Visayans were pagans and on good terms with the Spanish. They were thus *indios*, and *indios* and *moros* in the Philippines had clear roles: the ones to be converted, the others to be expelled.[67] As *indios*, the Visayans were superficially deluded into sin, but ultimately saveable. Alzina thus offered two explanations for their use of the *sacra*: On the one hand, it was a test of courage, and thus actually proof of masculinity; on the other, it was a concession towards the exorbitant lust of Visayan women, who received additional stimulation when their partner wore the *sacra*. Thus, the whole practice was "not so much for the men as for the women."[68]

Altogether, the Visayans were actually *less* lustful than

63 William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 17f.

64 Carmen Y. Hsu, "Acerca de la representación del archipiélago filipino en los 'Sucesos' de Antonio de Morga," *Hispanófila* 157 (2009): 121; Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. José Rizal (Paris: Libreria de Garnier Hermanos, 1890), 258.

65 For source accounts of the practice consulted here, see Francisco Ignacio Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas*, ed. Victoria Yepes (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996), 32f; Fr. Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables* (Manila: Chofré y Comp, 1893), 58f; Morga, *Sucesos*, 309. For a comparative discussion, see Scott, *Barangay*, 24f.

66 Alzina, *Historia natural*, 32f: "muy soez," "justo castigo de Dios."

67 Eberhard Crailsheim, "Wandel und Ambivalenz der Darstellung der 'Moros' auf den kolonialspanischen Philippinen (16.-17. Jahrhundert)," in: *Saeculum* 64 (2004), 29, 31; Scott, *Barangay*, 6-8.

68 Alzina, *Historia natural*, 32f: "no tanto de parte de los hombres cuanto de las mujeres."

other peoples, Alzina wrote, and this measured temperament of theirs was rooted in their bodies.[69] That their women, libidinous like those everywhere,[70] could even tempt them that far was, so argued the Augustinian Friar Juan de Medina, due to the Visayans having previously been ruled by Muslims. In Islam, after all, no sin was forbidden. Where Christianity was helping the Visayans to leave their sinful customs behind, Islam had actually reaffirmed them.[71] This shows how far the dichotomy between Filipino peoples was sharpened so that they would fit into the Spanish worldview. The Philippine *moros* were fully divorced from their homeland, seen not as natives, but as the descendants of the expelled Andalusian Moors themselves.[72] *Moros* were considered bloodthirsty corsairs, pagans like the Visayans innocent victims, fully fitting their role as *indios*. How far this strayed from reality is shown by comparison with Chinese accounts, which knew the Visayans as fierce pirates themselves.[73]

Bodies with fixed sex and race were thus assigned to the different Filipino ethnicities based on their behaviours, and their behaviours explained based on their sex and race. Thus, the sex-race matrix of the Early Modern Spanish lent itself to a circular, self-fulfilling logic. Viewed from within, it was without gap and served effectively to simplify the increasingly complex, global world of empire, making it both less threatening and easier to administrate.

CONCLUSIONS

I believe that my findings both underline and broaden the ideas of globalised experience and national response raised in the debate between Adelman and Drayton and Motadel. The expanded horizons of the Early Modern world were uncomfortable even to the European powers that were becoming dominant within it, at least until they could assimilate that world into models of thought that reassured the colonisers in their perceived superiority. A centrally important part of this process was the sex-race matrix, a self-affirming discourse that explained sex through race and race through sex and all behaviours and cultures through sex-race interplay. Closest to this matrix, always inseparable from sex, was gender, and thus I suggest imagining these three factors as the axes of a three-dimensional coordinate system, the social esteem of an individual being represented by how high their coordinates were (fig. 4). The axis of sex is the one-sex model, with man as the highest and woman as the lowest

69 Francisco Ignacio Alzina, *Una etnografía de los indios bisayas del siglo XVII*, ed. Victoria Yepes (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1996), 124, 131.
70 Pointed out as such in ibid., 132f.
71 Medina, *Historia de los sucesos*, 58f.
72 Morga, *Sucesos*, 316, discussed in Crailsheim, "Wandel und Ambivalenz," 30 and Hsu, "Acerca de la representación," 120.
73 William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day Publishing, 1982), 21.

point, and all manner of curiosities in-between. The axis of gender posits woman in a benign middle, between perfect man and abominable effeminate.[74] Lastly, the axis of race was undergoing change in the era in question. Had it previously known only Christians and non-Christians, the Self and Other, it was now becoming ever more complex. Out of the racial categories I have been able to address here, the Spanish themselves of course ranked highest, with the weak but ultimately good *indios* below and the unsaveable *moros* at the bottom.[75]

By the end of the seventeenth century, all three axes were already changing further, as new ideologies like empiricism affected them. The one-sex model was replaced by the hard male-female binary, and proto-racism by racism proper, an intricate affair of catalogues and skull measurements. Thus, this historical "scene," momentary as it may be, takes a marked role in the larger development of racist ideology, exemplified by its relationships to the body, the sexual, and the global.

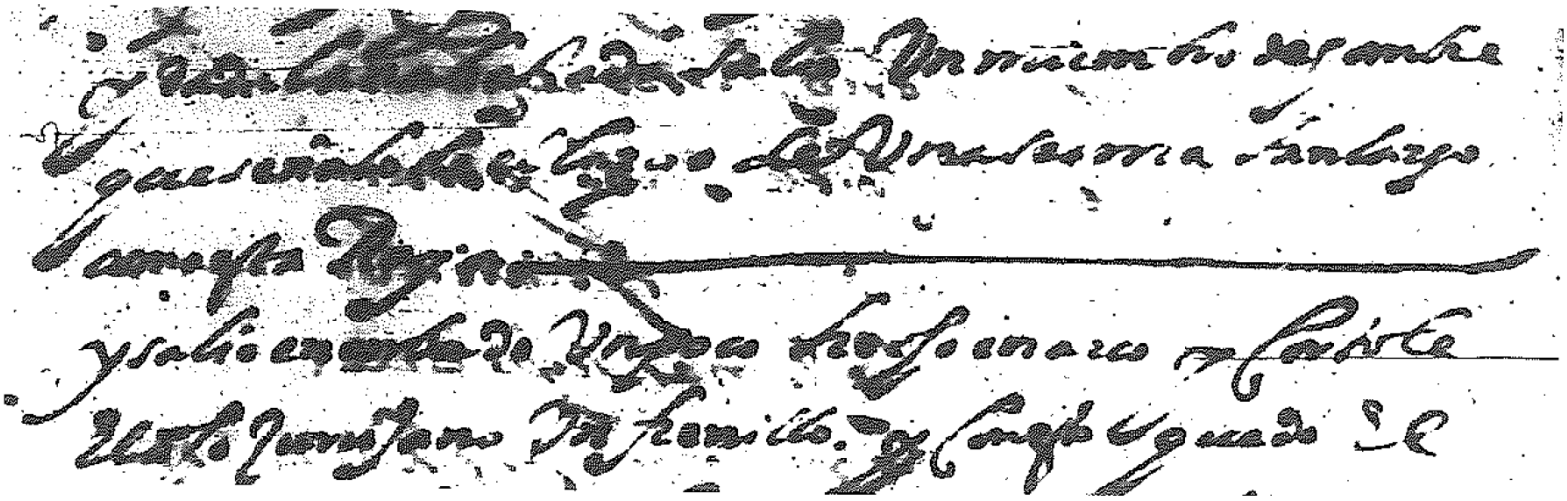

FIG. 1
Line drawn in the court protocol to indicate the size of Eleno de Céspedes's penis. Source: Soyer, *Ambiguous Bodies*, 64.

74 See also Wieser, " '... und ich weiß ...' ," 19.
75 The most important groups not addressed here are the *judíos* (Jews) and *negros* (Black Africans) as well as the perceived difference between the Spanish and other Europeans. I intend to develop this model further to include them in my future work.

FIG. 2
Possible depiction of a *xochihua* (right), an Aztec social role possibly filled by masculinely sexed persons wearing femininely gender clothing. Source: Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de nueva España*, Vol. 10, fol. 25v, in: World Digital Library: https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10096/view/3/66/ [07/13/2019].

FIG. 3
Fragment of a drawing of a *sacra*. Source: *Boxer Codex*, fol. 41r, in: Indiana University Digital Library: http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/metsnav3/general/index.html#mets=http%3A%2F%2Fpurl.dlib.indiana.

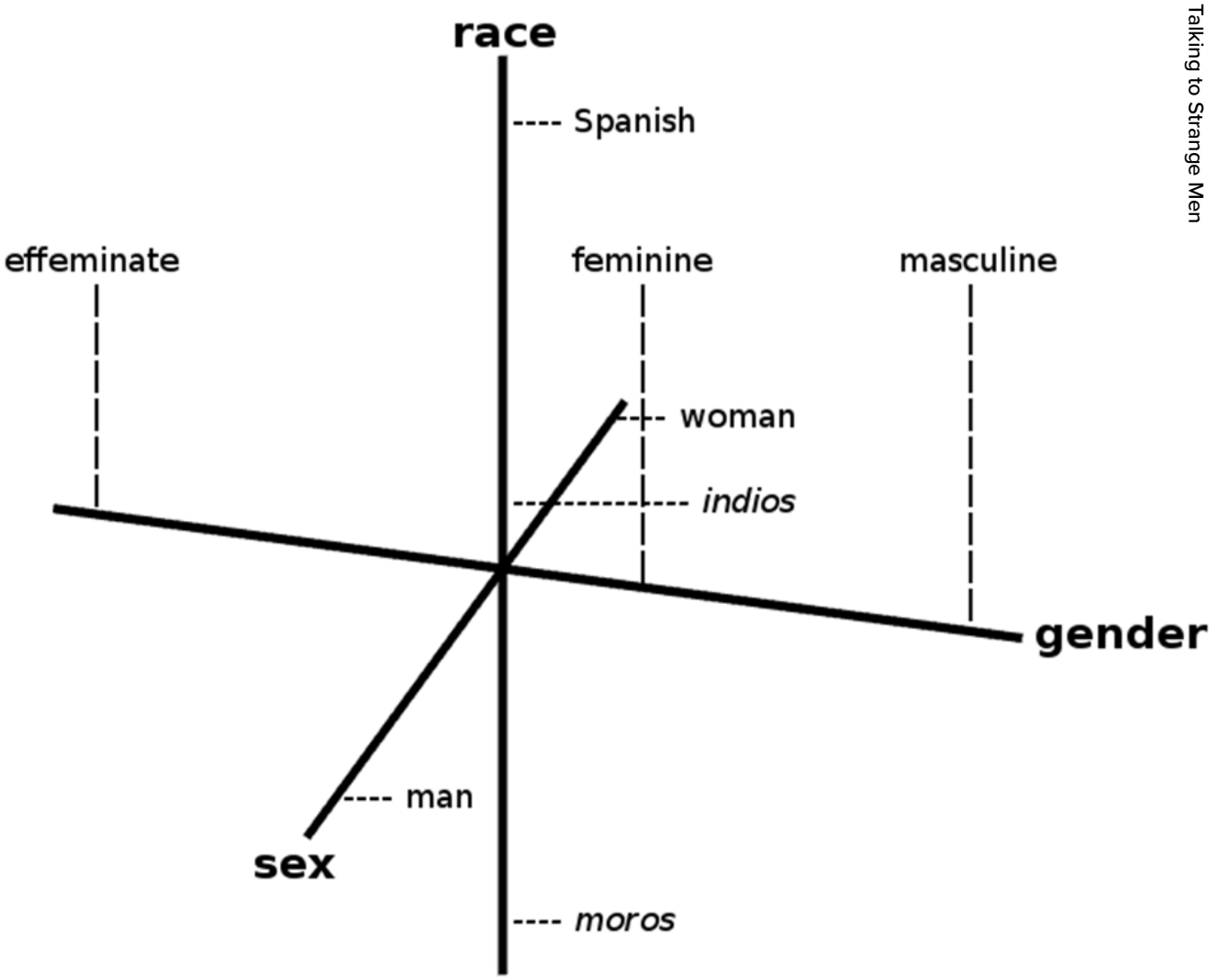

FIG. 4
Visualisation of the relationships between Early Modern Spanish conceptions of race, sex, and gender in the form of a three-dimensional coordinate system. Source: own work.