

Sexual (Mis)Encounters in the Mariana Islands

Tracing Sexuality in Spanish Policies and CHamoru Responses to Contact and Colonization, 1521-1769

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TESI DOCTORAL UPF / 2021

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A mis padres

Agradecimientos/Acknowledgements

La elaboración de una tesis doctoral es un trabajo en el que se combinan esfuerzos colectivos e individuales. Durante los tres meses de confinamiento que vivimos el año pasado en el Estado español con motivo de la pandemia mundial ocasionada por el virus SARS-CoV-2, fui más consciente que nunca de la importancia de ese carácter colectivo de la investigación académica. Por esta razón, quiero comenzar esta tesis agradeciendo a todas aquellas personas que han contribuido, de distintas maneras, al desarrollo de este trabajo.

En primer lugar, esta tesis está dedicada a mis padres, Andrés y María, por todo el apoyo emocional y económico que me han brindado a lo largo de mi formación académica. Sin ellos, esta tesis doctoral nunca habría visto la luz. También me gustaría agradecer a mi hermano mellizo Andrés y a mi hermana pequeña Paula todo el ánimo y los momentos de desconexión que me han ofrecido a lo largo de estos años. A mi abuela Georgina le debo el haberme inculcado, desde muy pequeño, el amor por la escucha y el interés por aquellos pasados que nunca viví.

El segundo agradecimiento va dirigido a mis directores de tesis, Sandra Montón Subías y Joan Pau Rubiés Mirabet, por haberme guiado y aconsejado durante la gestación de este trabajo. Ocho años atrás, cuando aún estaba cursando mis estudios en arqueología, Sandra me animó a embarcarme en esta investigación sobre las islas Marianas. Durante todo este tiempo, ella me ha enseñado y alentado a mirar hacia el pasado desde una perspectiva crítica, feminista y anticolonial. Con Sandra he aprendido también los entresijos del quehacer académico, así como la importancia de rastrear los orígenes de las ideas y conceptos que utilizo en esta tesis. Además, durante el primer año de doctorado Sandra me ayudó a conseguir la financiación necesaria para llevar a cabo este trabajo. Joan Pau ha sido otro pilar fundamental de esta tesis. Su ayuda fue clave a la hora de obtener el contrato de investigación

predoctoral que me ha permitido desarrollar esta investigación. Asimismo, sus inspiradores comentarios y recomendaciones bibliográficas han contribuido enormemente a mi formación como historiador.

A mis compañeras de despacho y amigas, Carmen Á. Granell, Laura Díaz, Aurora Muriente, Verónica Peña, Yvonne Ramírez, Aurora Rivera Hernández, Rocío Sola y Laura Trellisó les agradezco todo el apoyo emocional e intelectual que me han dado a lo largo de estos años. Gracias a ellas, la academia y la universidad son para mí espacios más humanos y habitables. Además, Carmen, Verónica e Yvonne leyeron algunos de los capítulos de esta tesis, realizando valiosas sugerencias y correcciones. La ayuda que me ha prestado Verónica desde el comienzo de esta investigación merece un excurso momentáneo. Fue ella la que me orientó cuando llegué por primera vez a la Universitat Pompeu Fabra, hace más de cuatro años. Durante los primeros pasos de esta investigación, me guió a través de las fuentes y de los archivos, cuando a mí aún me costaba desentrañar la caligrafía y las abreviaturas de los manuscritos. Asimismo, en 2018 Verónica y yo fuimos juntos al Archivo General de la Nación en México, donde su apoyo y compañía fueron cruciales. Esta tesis es, en más de un sentido, la hermana pequeña de la suya, que leyó en enero de 2020. *Gràcies per tot, amiga meva*. También quiero agradecer el acompañamiento y el estímulo intelectual que me han prestado las integrantes del grupo de investigación *Colonialismo, Género y Materialidades* (CGyM), al que pertenezco, así como las personas que han participado y participan en los encuentros de lectura que organiza dicho grupo. Algunas de ellas ya han aparecido en estos agradecimientos, como Sandra Montón-Subías, Carmen, Yvonne, Aurora Muriente y Verónica, a las que se suman Konrad Antczak, Matilde Carbajo y Javier Maravall, cuyos aportes y reflexiones han enriquecido enormemente esos encuentros.

From 2016 to 2019, I participated in four excavation campaigns organized by the ABERIGUA project on Guåhan. My time on this island has allowed me to meet people who, in one way or another, have contributed to this thesis. First, I would like to thank Rosanna Perez Barcinas for the affection and care she gave me during the first time I

visited Guåhan, as well as for introducing me to part of the LGTBIQ+ community of the island. Although several reasons have kept us apart in recent years, she has been very present in my mind during the writing of this thesis. Second, I am very grateful to Jacy Moore Miller for her unfailing sympathy and for letting me stay at her home for several days the first year I went to Guåhan. I would also like to express my thanks to archaeologist Boyd Dixon for the books he gave me from his personal library five years ago, which have been of great help in the course of this research. In addition, I want to thank the community of Humåtak for the warmth with which they received us during the 2017, 2018, and 2019 excavations. In particular, I thank Tyler Aguon, Detra Santiago, Gabriella C. Topasna, and the rest of the community that participated in the excavations, for making fieldwork instructive as well as fun. Finally, I am indebted to Omaira Brunal-Perry, director of the Spanish Documents Collection at the Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center of the University of Guåhan, for all the help with the documentary sources and for the excellent treatment she has given me and the rest of the archaeological team every time we have met her on the island.

Por otra parte, me siento profundamente agradecido a varias personas que, a lo largo de mi formación, me han ayudado a moldear mis intereses y perspectivas académicas. En primer lugar, a Almudena Hernando le doy las gracias por haberme introducido al feminismo—tanto a nivel académico como personal—y por haber dirigido mi trabajo de fin de grado sobre arqueología y teoría *queer*, germen de muchas de las ideas que figuran en esta tesis. A Richard Cleminson le agradezco el haberme iniciado en el estudio histórico de la sexualidad en situaciones coloniales, durante la tesina de fin de máster que elaboré bajo su supervisión. Asimismo, me gustaría mostrar mi más profundo agradecimiento a las arqueólogas feministas Lourdes Prados, Marga Sánchez Romero, Carmen Rísquez, Carmen Rueda Galán y Dolors Molas, por haberme invitado a dar clases y seminarios en sus universidades y centros de investigación y por haber sido una fuente inagotable de estímulo y reconocimiento durante el desarrollo de esta tesis.

A mis compañeras de la carrera de arqueología, Julia Aramendi, Jorge Canosa, María Fernández, Mikel Herrán, Mayte Martínez, Renata Martínez y Alejandra Valiño les agradezco el acompañamiento y los ánimos que me han brindado a lo largo de estos años. A Jorge, en particular, le debo el haberme mantenido con un pie dentro de la arqueología a medida que mi tesis se iba desplazando desde los objetos y los espacios construidos hacia la palabra escrita. Asimismo, agradezco a Mikel, a Aitziber González y a Toni Higuero por ser para mí un referente de lucha transfeminista, no solo dentro de la academia, sino también en la militancia y la divulgación. Quisiera agradecer también a todos aquellos colegas y amigos que, en diferentes congresos y seminarios, han aportado valiosos comentarios y matizaciones a este trabajo, de entre quienes destaco a Beatriz Marín Aguilera, con la que tuve el placer de coorganizar una mesa sobre matrices de dominación, colonialismo y espacios *engenerados* en el TAG Ibérico de 2020, en Lisboa.

Más allá de la academia y de la universidad, me siento en deuda con mis amigas y compañeras de vida de Ciudad Pegaso y alrededores, Alberto, Alicia, Dani, Gonzalo, Guillermo, Marta, Raúl y Vera, por todo el ánimo y los buenos momentos con los que me han obsequiado durante el desarrollo de esta tesis. Javi Lara, con quien conviví—junto a Carmen Á. Granell—durante los tres primeros años de esta investigación, ha sido un pilar emocional básico en el desarrollo de esta tesis, y le doy las gracias también por su ayuda con la bibliografía final de este trabajo. Por último, Alfred Castán me ha acompañado y cuidado durante el final de este trayecto, manteniéndome siempre con los pies en la tierra, lejos de la torre de marfil.

Finalmente, esta tesis ha sido financiada, en primer lugar, mediante un contrato de investigación predoctoral FI-DGR concedido por la Secretaria d'Universitats i Recerca del Departament d'Empresa i Coneixement de la Generalitat de Catalunya y por el European Social Fund, contrato que comenzó en abril de 2017. El Departament d'Humanitats de la Universitat Pompeu Fabra, donde he llevado a cabo mi investigación, extendió en 2020 dicho contrato por un año para cumplir con el nuevo EPIF (Estatuto del Personal Investigador en

Formación). Asimismo, quisiera agradecer a dicho departamento por haberme permitido utilizar el programa de ayudas COFRE para financiar varias estancias de investigación y la asistencia a diversos congresos durante la elaboración de esta tesis doctoral.

Hospitalet de Llobregat, 20 de diciembre de 2021.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis explores the role that sexuality played in the first contacts between the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands (Micronesia, western Pacific) and the Europeans, as well as in the subsequent Spanish colonization of the archipelago. While studies on sexuality and Spanish colonialism have generally focused on the American continent, and historical analyses on sexuality in the Pacific usually depart from the 18th century, this thesis addresses the inclusion of a Micronesian archipelago in the colonial network of the Spanish empire between the 16th and 18th centuries.

Likewise, this research focuses on both sexual encounters and the institutions that regulated them, such as the native *guma' ulitao*, the Jesuit seminary, the Catholic sacrament of marriage or the Inquisition. Through a critical and exhaustive analysis of historical documentation, this work examines the most public, strategic and conflictive dimension of sexuality in colonial situations. In doing so, it shows that sexual encounters, far from being alien to colonialism, constitute essential structures of colonization.

Resumen

Esta tesis doctoral explora el papel que desempeñó la sexualidad en los primeros contactos entre los habitantes de las islas Marianas (Micronesia, Pacífico occidental) y los europeos, así como en la posterior colonización española del archipiélago. Mientras que los estudios sobre sexualidad y colonialismo español se han enfocado generalmente en el continente americano, y los análisis históricos sobre la sexualidad en el Pacífico suelen arrancar a partir del siglo XVIII, esta tesis aborda inclusión de un archipiélago micronesio en la red colonial del imperio español entre los siglos XVI y XVIII.

Asimismo, esta investigación se centra tanto en los encuentros sexuales como en las instituciones que los regularon, tales como la *guma' ulitao* nativa, el colegio jesuita, el sacramento católico del matrimonio o la Inquisición. Mediante un análisis crítico y exhaustivo de la documentación histórica, este trabajo examina la dimensión más pública, estratégica y conflictiva de la sexualidad en situaciones coloniales. De este modo, demuestra que los encuentros sexuales, lejos de ser ajenos al colonialismo, constituyen estructuras esenciales de colonización.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

“The rape of Oceania began with Guam.”¹

In 2019, the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid held a retrospective exhibition of Rogelio López Cuenca’s work. For this exhibition, the artist created, together with Elo Vega, an installation called *Las Islas* (The Islands). This installation occupied an entire room, dimly illuminated by three screens that, from the back of the place, offered evocative tropical landscapes to the audience. Several white mannequins dressed in Hawaiian shirts with bright colors and patterns covered the space between the entrance and the screens (Figure 1.1). At first, the exuberance of the colorful garments and screened landscapes inspired visual excitement on the viewers. However, this initial enthusiasm soon faded as one approached the pieces and observed them carefully. In doing so, among the floral patterns one could observe fragments of historical engravings and contemporary advertisements that depicted racialized women being sexualized and abused by white men.

Through the overlapping meanings between the Hawaiian shirts and the images printed on them, Rogelio López Cuenca and Elo Vega showed how the stereotypical representations of nature and racialized women forged in Europe since the 15th century are perpetuated in sexual and racial fantasies promoted by consumption and tourism at present.² The artists further suggested that these imaginaries and fantasies have always been plagued by sexual violence. In addition to historical engravings, in

¹ Douglas Oliver, *The Pacific Islands* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961), 334, quoted in Laura Marie Torres Souder, *Daughters of the Island. Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam* (Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America, 1992), 29.

² Sayak Valencia, “La isla es exótica, el archipiélago es post-exótico,” in Manuel Borja-Villel, María Salgado, Sergio Raimondi, Marco Baravalle, Kike España, Gerald Rauning and Sayak Valencia, *Yendo leyendo, dando lugar. Rogelio López Cuenca* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2019), 190.

the installation the interrelation between colonialism, sexuality, and violence was also emphasized by means of a small screen that, located on one side of the room, incessantly reproduced Michele de Cuneo's renowned letter in which the Italian navigator narrates how he beat and sexually abused an indigenous woman who had been given to him "as a present" by Admiral Christopher Columbus.³



Figure 1.1. *Las Islas*. Art installation created by Rogelio López Cuenca and Elo Vega at the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid, 2019.

In this thesis I will explore the inception of the sexual and racial imaginaries raised in the installation by Rogelio López Cuenca and Elo Vega. As in *Las Islas*, sexuality will play a major role in these pages, along with power and violence. The context of my research is the Mariana Islands, an archipelago located in the western Pacific. The history of Spanish colonialism in this archipelago has much to contribute to the scholarship on sexuality and empire in the early modern world since, as the quote that opens this section claims, Guåhan (Guam)—along with the rest of the Mariana Islands—was the scenario of the first (mis)encounters between Oceanian and European populations. The European “rape,” both in a figurative and physical sense, of the Pacific territories and peoples therefore began in this archipelago. The processes that the Mariana Islands underwent between the 16th and 18th centuries were the breeding ground of those that would affect the rest of the Pacific archipelagos during the subsequent centuries, with

³ I reproduce part of this letter at the beginning of Chapter 5, 161-2.

reverberations that reach the present, as suggested by the artistic work of López Cuenca and Vega.

1.1. Purpose of the Thesis

Scholarship on sexuality and early modern Spanish colonialism has mainly focused on the American continent,⁴ leaving other areas of the Spanish empire, such as Micronesia, essentially unattended. On the other hand, researches on sexuality and colonialism in the Pacific often depart from the late 18th century, ignoring the previous experience of Spanish colonialism in the area and its impact on Micronesian populations.⁵ In the historiography of the Mariana Islands, sexual matters have constituted a fringe issue, only partially and superficially addressed in works focused on broader subjects.⁶ This thesis aims to cover these historiographic voids by exploring the role that sexuality and sexual encounters played in the incorporation of the Mariana Islands by the colonial network of the Spanish empire. For this purpose, I will focus on the period that spans from 1521, when the first contacts between CHamoru and European populations took place, to 1769, when the Society of Jesus, that is, the religious order in charge of the evangelization of the archipelago since 1668, was expelled from the islands. The use of the word “CHamoru” is worthy of clarification. This term was initially used by some indigenous rights activists in the 1990s. Present-day indigenous inhabitants of the Mariana Islands refer to themselves as Chamorro or CHamoru. Although the latter term is gaining relevance in recent years, especially in Guåhan, the former is still widely used. However, since 1994, Guåhan’s *Kumisión I Fino’ CHamoru* (Chamorro Language Commission of Guam) adopted CHamoru in

⁴ Asunción Lavrin, “Sexuality in Colonial Spanish America,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, ed. Jose C. Moya (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 132-52. In section §1.3. I will further address recent contributions and historiographical voids on the study of sexuality and early modern Spanish colonialism.

⁵ Patty O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse. Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 17-8.

⁶ For certain exceptions, see section §1.3.

place of Chamorro in its efforts to revitalize indigenous language.⁷ It is in recognition of this important revitalization work that, in this thesis, I have prioritized the use of CHamoru.

Initially, this thesis was conceived as an archaeological project. Inspired by Historical⁸ and Queer⁹ Archaeologies, my early purpose was to examine the role that certain materialities played in the establishment, opposition against, and perpetuation of the sexual policies that the Spaniards sought to implement in the Mariana Islands. My approach was profoundly influenced by the works of Barbara Voss.¹⁰ This archaeologist has examined the sexual consequences of missionization on Native Californians on the basis of late prehistoric and colonial architecture,¹¹ as well as the structural consistencies that can be traced between imperial policies and sexual practices in two different contexts: the Spanish settlement of the San Francisco Bay region in the late 18th century, and the influx of Chinese immigrants to the same region in the mid-19th century.¹² From these works, Barbara Voss concludes, together with Eleanor Casella, that “intimate encounters are not merely

⁷ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall. A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 299 note 6.

⁸ Sandra Montón-Subías and Luis J. Abejez, “¿Qué es esa cosa llamada Arqueología Histórica?” *Complutum* 26, no. 1 (2015): 11-35.

⁹ Thomas A. Dowson, “Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction,” *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 161-5.

¹⁰ Barbara L. Voss, “Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California's Spanish Colonial Missions,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Robert A. Schmidt (London: Routledge, 2000), 35-61; Barbara L. Voss, “Image, Text, Object: Interpreting Documents and Artifacts as ‘Labors of Representation,’” *Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 4 (2007): 147-71; Barbara L. Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire,” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 191-203; Barbara L. Voss, “The Scale of the Intimate: Imperial Policies and Sexual Practices in San Francisco,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism. Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor Conlin Casella (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 173-92.

¹¹ Barbara L. Voss, “Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California's Spanish Colonial Missions,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Robert A. Schmidt (London: Routledge, 2000), 35-61.

¹² Barbara L. Voss, “The Scale of the Intimate: Imperial Policies and Sexual Practices in San Francisco,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism. Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor Conlin Casella (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 173-94.

by-products of colonial projects but are fundamental structures of colonization.”¹³ Although I finally decided to abandon the archaeological approach for reasons that I detail in section §1.4. on methodology, the influence of Voss’s research is still very present in this thesis, nuanced by the contributions of other authors devoted to the historical study of sexuality in colonial contexts.

After dismissing the archaeological approach, I opted for a perspective closer to Cultural History. The main sources of my research then became written, and this focus on documents opened new avenues for training and research for me that entailed new questions and goals. From that moment on, the main purpose of this thesis was to explore the role that sexuality and sexual encounters played in the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands. However, my interest is not to analyze *any* aspect of sexuality or sexual intercourses. Returning to Barbara Voss, in one of her articles she argues that archaeological scholarship on households in colonial contexts has at times “domesticated” imperialism “by locating the processes and outcomes of colonization within interpersonal family relationships.”¹⁴ This perspective masks the power relations that crossed intimate encounters in colonial situations, such as sexual regulation and coercion. Against this “domestication” of imperialism, Voss argues that “interracial sexual contact between colonizers and colonized was often violent, strategic, and public, rather than consensual, domestic, or private.”¹⁵ During the first year of my doctorate, this quote stuck in my mind and helped me decide which dimensions of sexuality were most compelling to me. In this thesis, my interest will focus, therefore, on examining those conflictive, strategic and public aspects of sexual encounters in colonial situations. The main purpose, stated above, is then split into five specific aims:

¹³ Eleanor Conlin Casella and Barbara L. Voss, “Intimate Encounters. An Archaeology of Sexualities within Colonial Worlds,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism. Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor Conlin Casella (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

¹⁴ Barbara L. Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire,” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 191.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 200.

- *Identify the different discourses on sexuality (re)produced by colonial agents.* One of the purposes of this thesis is to analyse the diverse ways in which colonizers dealt with sexuality in their documents. I will elucidate if the colonial discourse on sexuality was unique and monolithic, or if there were rather several discourses depending on the authors' positions and particular interests. Likewise, I will define the effects that these discourses disclosed on the islands, both on CHamoru populations and on the colonizers themselves, taking into account the representations, stereotypes, and prejudices that such narratives (re)produced. In line with the strategic role of sexuality in colonial contexts, I will also examine the striking presences and absences in such discourses, showing the interests and objectives they respond to.
- *Scrutinize the strategic role that sexuality and sexual encounters played in the colonization of the Mariana Islands.* Another purpose of this work is to trace the strategies involving sexuality that colonial agents put into practice to achieve their objectives. Likewise, I will inquire into the interests that guided the colonizers' writing, compromising what they decided to tell—or remain silent—on sexual matters in their documents.
- *Analyze the colonizers' public sexual politics and their impact on the public sphere of the archipelago.* I will also examine the relevance of sexuality in the measures that Spanish colonizers—both missionaries and civil authorities—sought to implement in the Mariana Islands. As Alexandre Coello de la Rosa claims, “[t]he evangelization of Chamorro society required the strict control and substitution of their sexual customs and beliefs with Catholic ones.”¹⁶ The colonial agents' interest in modifying the sexuality of the CHamorus shows, as stated above by Voss and Casella, that sexual encounters are fundamental structures of colonization. In this thesis, hence, I will examine how these structures were forged, and how the emergence of a new sexual

¹⁶ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins. Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas (1668-1769)* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 233.

order in the Mariana Islands was assumed, negotiated or resisted in the public arena. Lastly, in relation to this public dimension of sexuality, I will pay special attention to the exemplary role that certain institutions and punishments played in regulating and normalizing the sexual behaviors of the archipelago's inhabitants.

- *Explore the conflicts, resistances, and violence that revolved around sexuality or involved sexual intercourses during the Spanish conquest and colonization of the islands.* As I just pointed out, Spaniards sought to modify CHamorus' traditional lifeways, including their sexuality. In this work I will delve into the tensions that the colonizers' policies concerning the sexual practices and beliefs of the colonized unleashed between both groups, as well as CHamoru agency and responses to such colonial measures, ranging from collaboration to resistance. Likewise, I will focus on the harsher side of the sexual colonization of the islands, that is, the violence and sexual abuses against CHamoru women committed during the different stages of the Spanish colonial period. Finally, it is often assumed that, in colonial contexts, confrontations mostly emerge between colonizers and colonized; however, in this thesis I will also pay attention to the conflicts that sexuality triggered among the colonizers themselves.
- *Trace, in the written sources, the interrelation between materiality, sexuality and power in the Spanish colonization of the Mariana archipelago.* Although I have indicated that the focus of this thesis is no longer archaeological, I will pay attention to those cases that show the role that materiality played in the implementation and reproduction of—as well as in the opposition to—a new sexual and colonial order on the islands. This return to materiality responds, on the one hand, to my training as an archaeologist, which prevents me from overlooking the presence of objects and constructed spaces even in the written sources. Likewise, during the development of this research, I have participated in

four archaeological campaigns led by the ABERIGUA project¹⁷ in the island of Guåhan, between 2016 and 2019. During the first year, excavation works were conducted in the north of Guåhan, in the Guam National Wildlife Refuge of Litekyan (Ritidian). There, the objective was to locate the remains of a colonial building known as *Casa Real*. The three subsequent campaigns took place in the colonial church and cemetery of San Dionisio in Humåtak (Umatac), south of the island. My participation in these campaigns was a continuous reminder of the importance of materiality in colonial projects. As a result, where possible I will address the relationship of certain materialities with sexuality and power throughout the Spanish colonial period in the archipelago.

In sum, this thesis aims to contribute to a critical history of the Spanish colonialism in the Mariana Islands. By focusing on sexual encounters, this work also seeks to enrich recent contributions that, from a CHamoru perspective, emphasize the role that sexuality can play in the deconstruction of colonial logics of the present and the past in the archipelago.¹⁸ Finally, scholarship on sexuality and empire can be significantly informed by the history of the Mariana Islands, since the early European colonization of this archipelago in the 17th century, together with the marginal position it occupied within the territorial network of the Spanish empire, provide interesting insights for broader discussions on the role of sexuality in colonial situations.

1.2. Context of the Research

The geographical context of this thesis is the Mariana Islands. This archipelago is comprised of 15 separate islands of volcanic origin that run north to south, located in Micronesia, western Pacific (Figure 1.2). The archipelago is arrayed in two crescent-shaped arcs: on the one hand,

¹⁷ For more information, see <https://aberigua.upf.edu/proyecto-aberigua/>.

¹⁸ Francine Marie San Nicolas Naputi, "Decolonizing Sexuality: CHamoru Epistemology as Liberatory Praxis" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 2019).

the northern arc, known as *Gani*,¹⁹ which is made up of the islands of Farallón de Pájaros, Maug, Asomsom (Asunción), Agrigan, Pagan, Alamagan, Guguan, Sariguan, Anatahan, and No'os (Farallón de Medinilla).²⁰ The fact that this arc has received a proper name since pre-colonial times shows that “these islands were traditionally considered apart from the southern islands.”²¹ Second, the southern arc, which encompasses the oldest and largest islands: Saipan, Tinian, Aguigan, Luta (Rota), and Guåhan (Guam). Since the early settlement of the archipelago, the islands of the southern arc have concentrated much of the human presence. In fact, most of the events referred to in this thesis took place on the islands of Saipan, Tinian, Luta and Guåhan, especially in the latter.

The archipelago's climate, from the past to the present, is characterized by two well-defined seasons: wet and dry. The dry season runs from January to May, and the rainy season from July to November, with June and December being transition months.²² The wet season concentrates the highest amount of typhoons, although these storms can also hit the islands during the dry season.²³ The average temperature on the archipelago is about 26 degrees Celsius (80 degrees Fahrenheit), and daily temperatures seldom go above 32 degrees Celsius (90 degrees Fahrenheit) or fall below 21 degrees Celsius (70 degrees Fahrenheit).

Regarding chronology, the conventional periodization of the history of the Mariana Islands encompasses five major stages. In the case of Guåhan, this periodization comprises the Prehistoric Period, Spanish Occupation, the First American Period, Japanese Occupation, and the Second American Period.²⁴ The rest of the Mariana Islands, officially known today as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands,

¹⁹ Mike T. Carson, “La vida antigua en las islas Marianas: desde el primer asentamiento hasta el periodo Latte,” in *I estoria-ta. Guam, las Marianas y la cultura chamorra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Museo Nacional de Antropología, 2021), 30.

²⁰ Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1965), 2.

²¹ Athens, “Latte Period Occupation,” 317.

²² J. Stephen Athens, “Latte Period Occupation on Pagan and Sarigan, Northern Mariana Islands,” *Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 6, no. 2 (2011): 316.

²³ Carano and Sanchez, *A Complete History*, 5.

²⁴ April, “Talagi Pictograph Cave,” 54.

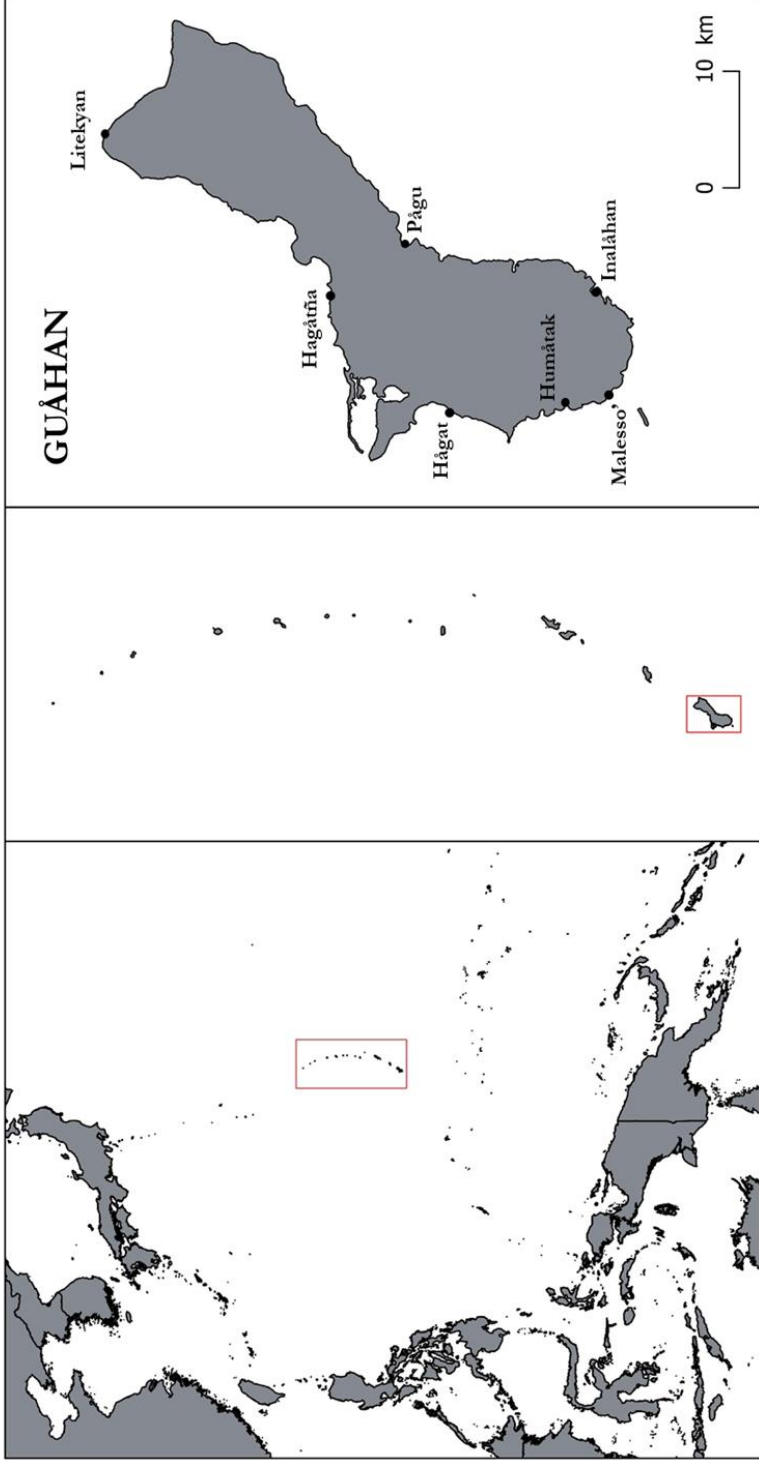


Figure 1.2. Maps of the Mariana Islands within the western Pacific (left), the Mariana archipelago (center), and the island of Guåhan (right). Prepared by the author with the help of Jorge Canosa Betés.

share the first two stages with the history of Guåhan, but after 1898 they underwent different periods: German Possession, Japanese Mandate, and Post-World War II United Nations Trusteeship and Commonwealth.²⁵ Different authors have nuanced this broad periodization, partitioning each of the stages into shorter phases. For instance, the Prehistoric Period—also known as Pre-Contact²⁶—is often subdivided into two main stages: the Pre-Latte and Latte. The Pre-Latte Period began with the first human settlement of the islands, around 1500 BC,²⁷ and ended between AD 800²⁸ or AD 1000.²⁹ This stage led to the Latte Period, which receives its name from a unique construction tradition of the Mariana Islands: the building of houses on stone pillars. These pillars or latte stones consisted of a support (*haligi*) and a hemispherical cap (*tasa*), on which houses were built with perishable materials. The end of the Latte Period is a matter for scholar discussion.³⁰ Some authors establish it in 1521,³¹ after the first contact between CHamoru and European populations, while others lengthen it until 1700 to underscore the persistence of certain CHamoru practices and beliefs through the early Spanish colonization of the archipelago.³²

After the Latte Period, conventional periodization establishes that the Spanish Occupation of the archipelago began, stage in which this thesis is focused. Here I will not dwell into this period, since I will address it throughout the following chapters. Spanish domination of the Mariana

²⁵ Don A. Farrell, *History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan: Commonwealth of the Mariana Islands Public School System, 1991), xiv-xv.

²⁶ Scott Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo'na: *Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), 166.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 101; Carson, “La vida antigua,” 30.

²⁸ Rosalind Hunter-Anderson, “Cuando el Viejo Mundo europeo y el Viejo Mundo de los CHamoru cruzaron sus caminos en 1521: una perspectiva arqueológica del periodo Latte en Guam,” in *I estoria-ta. Guam, las Marianas y la cultura chamorra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte, Museo Nacional de Antropología, 2021), 51.

²⁹ Carson, “La vida antigua,” 35-6.

³⁰ For an in-depth discussion about the debate on the chronological limits of the Latte period in recent scholarship, see Verónica Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas Marianas (Pacífico occidental): Introducciones, adaptaciones y transformaciones alimentarias durante la misión jesuita (1668-1769)” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2019), 8-10.

³¹ Lon Bulgrin, “FINA'OKSO' ANTIGU. Prehistoric Soil Mounds in the Interior of Rota,” *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, no. 1/2 (2006): 32.

³² Carson, “La vida Antigua,” 36-7.

Islands finished in 1898, with the end of the Spanish-American War. In the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded Guåhan, along with other colonies such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines to the United States. A year later, the Spanish government sold the rest of the Mariana Islands to Germany, thus dividing the fate of the archipelago. Thereafter, Guåhan remained under the rule of an American naval government, while the Northern Mariana Islands were a German possession until the end of World War I, when they passed into Japanese hands. During World War II, Guåhan was occupied by Japan from 1941 to 1944, and the rest of the archipelago continued under Japanese mandate until the end of the war. Once the conflict was over, the American rule was re-established in Guåhan, which became an unincorporated territory of the United States until the present. Today, the island's self-determination movement is gaining momentum, although it remains a minority. As for the Northern Mariana Islands, after World War II they remained under the United Nations trusteeship until 1986, when they formed a commonwealth in political union with the United States that lasts to this day.

In parallel to these conventional historic periods, current CHamoru revisionist movements claim for a new periodization. According to these revisionist trends, traditional periods define the history of the Mariana Islands in relation to outsiders—whether Spanish, American, German, or Japanese. The Storyline of the CHamoru people, as stated by Laura Marie Torres Souder, “is hidden in plain sight.”³³ Table 1.1 shows the periodization proposed, from a CHamoru perspective, by the Culture and Technical Committee that designed the current content exhibit of the Guam Museum. In preparing this table, I have relied on the organization and discourses of the museum's galleries,³⁴ as well as on the conference by Laura Marie Torres Souder entitled “CHamoru

³³ Laura Marie Torres Souder, “MARC Seminar Series - 10th Installment: Laura Marie Torres Souder, PhD. CHamoru Revision: Redefining Historical Periods” *YouTube*, 19 June, 2019. Accessed December 7, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CR0cJ290Jg&t=721s>.

³⁴ “Fanatahguiyan I Ha’ani – Time of Change,” *Guam Museum (Google Sites)*. Accessed December 7, 2021. <https://sites.google.com/view/guammuseum/english-main/gallery-4>.

Revision: Redefining Historical Periods,” delivered in the MARC Seminar Series on December 11, 2018.³⁵

Table 1.1. CHamoru Revisionist Historical Periods for the Spanish Colonial Era

<i>I Inásodda' I Manmo'fo'na Na Taotao-ta Yan I Taotao Sanlagu Siba</i> (First Encounters with People from the West)
<i>I Tinilaiika Ginen I Sanbiyong (La Nao de China Trade)</i>
<i>I Kilu'os Yan I Sapble (The Cross and the Sword)</i>
<i>I Inachâken I CHamoru Siba: U Manumuyi Pat U Fanlâ'la?</i> (The Chamoru Dilemma: Rebellion or Survival?)
<i>Gi I Pâpa' I Banderan Española (Under the Spanish Flag)</i>
<i>Pirâta, Biabehu, Yan Bayaneru Siba (Pirates, Explorers and Whalers)</i>
<i>I Hiniyong I Manmestisu Na CHamoru (Emergence of a Hybrid Colonial Identity)</i>

Although the periodization proposal by the Guam Museum and Laura Marie Torres Souder is more extensive, this table only comprises the periods in which my thesis is chronologically framed, that is, those that range from the first contact between CHamorus and Europeans in the 16th century to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the archipelago in the 18th century. As seen in the table, this CHamoru periodization attaches greater relevance to the experiences and perspectives of the indigenous communities from the Marianas, by focusing on their encounters (*inásodda*) and exchanges (*tinilaiika*) with foreigners, as well as on their own dilemmas (*inachâken*).

Drawing from both conventional and revisionist periodizations, this thesis is framed in three main periods. The first one starts with the initial encounter between CHamoru and European populations in 1521, as a result of the visit of the Magellan-Elcano expedition to the Mariana Islands—then baptized by the Europeans as the Islands of the Lateen

³⁵ Laura Marie Torres Souder, “MARC Seminar Series - 10th Installment: Laura Marie Torres Souder, PhD. CHamoru Revision: Redefining Historical Periods” *YouTube*, 19 June, 2019. Accessed December 7, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CR0cJ290Jg&t=721s>.

Sails (*Islas de las Velas Latinas*) or Islands of the Thieves (*Islas de los Ladrones*).³⁶ This period is characterized by the exchanges between the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago and the European crews of the ships that, over the decades, passed by its shores. At this stage, the Mariana Islands became a “contact zone,” defined by Mary Louise Pratt as a “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.”³⁷ The exchanges between both populations were also sexual since, as Zeb Tortorici argues, “historical contact zones necessarily involve sex—a central component of the ‘ongoing relations’ between the colonizer and the colonized.”³⁸ In addition to exploring the role that sexuality played in these initial encounters, I will also outline CHamoru sexual practices and beliefs during this contact period and, by extension, prior to the arrival of the Europeans to the archipelago. Even though I will not examine archaeological sources from the Latte period, the first European journals and accounts concerning the Mariana Islands provide clues on CHamorus’ sexual habits before their contact with the *guirragos*,³⁹ as I will argue in Chapters 2 and 3. This first period ended in 1668, with the founding of a Jesuit mission in the archipelago led by the Jesuit Diego Luis de San Vitores. The permanent presence of these missionaries in the Marianas intensified contacts between CHamoru and European populations, and the former’s evangelizing project disrupted the social, cultural, and power dynamics of the islands, inaugurating a new stage in their history.

The second period begins with the aforementioned establishment of a Jesuit mission in Guåhan, in 1668. The Spanish missionaries arrived

³⁶ Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo’na, 324 note 16.

³⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 6.

³⁸ Zeb Tortorici, *Sins against Nature. Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 7.

³⁹ *Guirragos* is the word that CHamorus used to refer to foreigners during the early years of the missionization of the islands. See “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, Real Academia de la Historia (hereinafter RAH), Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 12v.

with one main objective: the evangelization of all CHamoru populations from the archipelago. Although at first local communities gave a warm welcome to the foreigners, the increasing tensions between both groups soon resulted in hostilities, as I argue in Chapter 4. The Jesuits then decided to instill the Catholic doctrine by force of arms, and the number of soldiers and military authorities allocated from the Philippines and New Spain to the Marianas increased. This period is marked, therefore, by the “Spanish-Chamorro conflicts,”⁴⁰ as well as by CHamorus’ diverse responses to Spanish evangelization and conquest. As CHamoru revisionist periodization indicates, this was a time of dilemmas for the indigenous peoples of the islands, whose responses to the presence of the Spaniards ranged from cooperation to armed resistance. In Chapter 4 I will show that sexuality had a major impact on these confrontations. Finally, this period concludes with the forcible concentration of all CHamoru populations in a few villages in Guåhan at the end of the 17th century. This relocation, known in recent scholarship as *La Reducción*, “dis-located Chamorros from their ancestral lands,” putting at stake “the very structure of their own world,”⁴¹ and marking the dawn of a new era.

The last period initiates around 1700, once the Spaniards conducted the reduction of all CHamoru communities. This stage, known in CHamoru historical revisionism as “*Gi I Pápa’ I Banderan Española*” (Under the Spanish Flag), stands out for the consolidation of Spanish domination over the archipelago. The reduction of CHamoru people entailed the disruption and loss of most of their traditional lifeways—although some of their cultural traits survived.⁴² In Chapter 5 I will show that,

⁴⁰ Francis Hezel, *When Cultures Clash. Revisiting the ‘Spanish-Chamorro Wars’* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2015).

⁴¹ Sandra Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities in the Early Modern Globalization: Guam 1668–98,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (2019): 414.

⁴² For instance, certain aspects of their traditional foodways. See Verónica Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas Marianas (Pacífico occidental): Introducciones, adaptaciones y transformaciones alimentarias durante la misión jesuita (1668-1769)” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2019). See also Sandra Montón Subías and Almudena Hernando Gonzalo, “Modern Colonialism and Cultural Continuity Through Material Culture: An Example from Guam and

throughout this period, certain governors' corruption and malpractice—including sexual abuses against CHamoru and Mestizo (*mestisu*) women—were frequent. Likewise, indigenous population decreased due to the previous century's conflicts and the diseases and harsh working conditions to which they were subjected.⁴³ Besides, institutions devoted to the regulation and normalization of sexual conducts in the archipelago, such as the Inquisition, experienced their most active years in this stage, as I will argue in Chapter 6. The expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the archipelago in 1769 marks the end of this period, despite the fact that Spanish rule over the Mariana Islands would extend for more than a century, until the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898.

The almost two and a half centuries covered by this thesis allow me to offer a long-term perspective on the role that sexuality and sexual encounters played during the first contacts between CHamoru and European peoples, as well as during the subsequent Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands. As for the geographic context of this research, I consider that this Micronesian archipelago provides the ideal scenario to scrutinize the dynamics of the Spanish empire on its margins, challenging the inexorability and omnipresence of the colonial policies and presenting early modern empires as dynamic and contested entities.⁴⁴

CHamoru Plaiting,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10761-021-00626-3>.

⁴³ David Atienza, “A Mariana Islands History Story: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography,” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (2013): 20; Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 142.

⁴⁴ In her doctoral thesis, Verónica Peña Filiu already raised identical challenges and pointed to these conclusions based on the analysis of foodways in the Mariana Islands during the Spanish colonial period. See Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo,” 4-5.

1.3. Theoretical Approach and Existing Literature

More than 50 years ago, influential feminist Kate Millett noted that:

Coitus can scarcely be said to take place in a vacuum; although of itself it appears a biological and physical activity, it is set so deeply within the larger context of human affairs that it serves as a charged microcosm of the variety of attitudes and values to which culture subscribes. Among other things, it may serve as a model of sexual politics on an individual or personal plane.⁴⁵

Since the publication of Millet's *Sexual Politics*—the book that contains the previous quote—in 1970, the political dimension of sexual encounters has become an increasingly recurring subject of historical analysis. Also influenced by the works of Michel Foucault, different scholars have explored the interrelation between sexuality and power, especially in contexts of domination such as colonial situations. Therefore, recent scholarship on colonial studies has “deprivatized” sexual encounters, that are now approached from a political and historical perspective. In the words of historian Joan W. Scott: “the history of sexuality is no longer just a history of ideas about the relationship between men and women, it is a political and social history, in its broadest definition.”⁴⁶

At an epistemological level, this thesis is framed within the aforementioned historical trend that underscores the political dimension of sexuality and sexual encounters in colonial contexts. My interest in exploring, from a historical perspective, such dimension stems from two different sources. In the first place, from my personal experience as a gay man, which has shown me, since I was a child, the political consequences of living outside the sexual norm. Likewise, these consequences are also evident in my social context, through recent

⁴⁵ Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (London: Virago, 1979 [1970]), 23.

⁴⁶ Joan W. Scott, “Préface,” in Elsa Dorlin, *La matrice de la race. Généalogie sexuelle et coloniale de la Nation française* (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 2009), 10, *l'histoire de la sexualité n'est plus seulement une histoire des idées concernant les relations entre hommes et femmes, c'est une histoire politique et sociale, dans sa définition la plus large.*

events such as the #MeToo movement, the recurrent sexual abuse of Moroccan seasonal workers by their employers in the strawberry fields of Huelva, or the tragic murder, in July this year, of Samuel Luiz in the streets of A Coruña for being “maricón” (a faggot). These political impacts of sexuality in the public sphere inevitably shape my perspectives towards the past.

On the other hand, my academic background has influenced the way I approach the historical study of sexuality and its interrelation with power. For instance, my first contact with queer archaeologies and transfeminism, eight years ago, led me to take a critical stance towards normative and hegemonic discourses on sexuality. Likewise, anti-colonial feminisms have played a fundamental role in the design of this thesis, defining a significant part of the theoretical and methodological tools displayed throughout this work. Finally, in this research I draw from the approach of my research group, CGyM, to explore the consequences of colonialism on the daily life of both colonizers and colonized from a long-term perspective, in order to account for changes and continuities.

This theoretical background has allowed me to undertake the study of sexuality during the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands, but not without difficulties. A first theoretical challenge that I faced at the beginning of this research was whether sexuality could be a feasible category of historical analysis. As Zeb Tortorici states, this concept only emerged in the 19th century, so its use for the examination of previous epochs can be anachronistic. In this sense, Tortorici claims that the equivalent Spanish-language term for sexuality, *sexualidad*, “appears in not one of the hundreds of archival documents on which [his] book is built.”⁴⁷ Likewise, that term is absent from all the historical sources consulted during the development of this thesis. However, as Merry Wiesner-Hanks argues, early modern peoples “had sexual desires and engaged in sexual actions that they talked and wrote about, but they did not think of these as expressions of their sexuality.”⁴⁸ In the historical

⁴⁷ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 5.

⁴⁸ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World. Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010 [2000]), 3.

documentation consulted, I have often come across those “sexual desires” and “actions” mentioned by Wiesner-Hanks, and this is why I have also decided to use the term “sexuality” throughout this research.

Once acknowledged the feasibility of sexuality as a category of historical analysis, I proceed to define what I understand by this term. Sexuality is generally conceived as the way in which people experience and express themselves in relation to sex. Besides, the works of Michel Foucault have brought new dimensions to this concep. The French thinker conceived sexuality as:

the name that can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.⁴⁹

Michel Foucault’s emphasis on discourses, power, control, and resistance around sexuality has profoundly influenced this thesis, as will be seen throughout its pages. Furthermore, the intangibility and intimacy of sexual encounters sometimes makes them a difficult matter to trace in historical documents. For this reason, in this thesis by sexuality I will understand both sexual encounters and the “ideas and institutions [that] regulate and shape (or attempt to regulate and shape) sexual norms and conduct.”⁵⁰ These institutions, such as CHamoru *guma’ ulitao* and “repudiation,” the Jesuit school, the Catholic sacraments of marriage and confession, or the Inquisition, are easier to trace in the written sources.

With this definition of sexuality in mind, I will briefly review recent scholarship on sexuality and Spanish colonialism in the Mariana Islands.

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, *Historia de la sexualidad. 1. La voluntad de saber*, eds. Julia Varela and Fernando Álvarez-Uría, and trans. Ulises Guiñazú (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2009 [1976]), 111-2.

⁵⁰ Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality*, 3.

Ann Stoler argues that sexuality has gained momentum in colonial studies over the past 25 years, to the point that “issues of sexuality and power are now [...] high on the intellectual and political agenda.”⁵¹ As I have indicated in the previous sections, despite this momentum, sexuality has been a subject largely overlooked in the historiography of the Mariana Islands. This is due, in part, to the fact that most studies on sexuality and Spanish colonialism have focused on the American continent.⁵²

These studies have focused on different issues and periods. Some of the most widely discussed subjects have been marriage⁵³ and family.⁵⁴ Besides, other works have addressed, more directly, the interrelation between sexuality and power.⁵⁵ However, as stated before, sexuality and sexual encounters have received little attention in the historiography of the Mariana Islands. In most researches, references to sexuality during the Spanish colonial period are anecdotal and fragmentary. Furthermore, when sexual issues are mentioned, the information provided is usually reproduced from historical documents with no further discussion. In those works that do allude to sexual issues, the most recurrent subject is the *guma’ ulitao*, a CHamoru institution that aroused the Jesuits’ interest due to the “abominable” sexual practices that CHamoru youth practiced in it, as I will indicate in Chapters 3 and 4. However, no comprehensive and critical research has been conducted on this institution to date.

⁵¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire. Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), vii.

⁵² For an exhaustive compilation of the works developed in this line, see Lavrin, “Sexuality in Colonial Spanish America.”

⁵³ Asunción Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

⁵⁴ Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

⁵⁵ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York & Oxon: Routledge, 1995); Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Power, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Merrill D. Smith, ed., *Sex and Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Exceptionally, some works focused on the Spanish colonial period in the Mariana Islands have addressed sexual matters in more detail. The first is Erhard Schlesier's monograph on Micronesian "men's houses," published in 1953.⁵⁶ Although Schlesier refers to the *guma' ulitao* in his research, his analysis is based solely on secondary sources, so he does not get at the deeper meanings of this institution. After Schlesier's publication, no other research put the focus on sexual matters until the 21st century. In 2007, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa published an interesting article on the "transoceanic bigamists" of the Mariana Islands, which I will refer to in Chapter 6.⁵⁷ Likewise, this author has analyzed the inquisitorial prosecution against the Jesuit Francisco Javier Reitterberger, accused of sexually abusing some of the female members of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light during the mid-18th century.⁵⁸

More recently, Francine Naputi's doctoral thesis has suggested, from a postcolonial, feminist, and queer perspective, the implementation of a curriculum on sexual education in the educational system of Guåhan. Naputi bases this curriculum on a "CHamoru epistemology" that she elaborates through a historical evaluation of the sexuality of CHamoru communities from the Latte Period to the present.⁵⁹ Her work raises the deconstruction of colonial logics, together with the creation of new places of cultural resurgence. Moreover, in one of the chapters of his book *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World*, Ulrike Strasser alludes to the role that sexuality played in the evangelizing project of the Jesuits during the early years of the mission, focusing on the figure of the

⁵⁶ Erhard Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen in Mikronesien* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1953).

⁵⁷ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Bígamos transoceánicos: reconciliación de abuso y perversión de la 'santidad' del matrimonio en las Islas Marianas, siglo XVIII," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 117-56.

⁵⁸ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras: la efímera congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Luz en las islas Marianas (1758-1776)," in *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar. Siglos XVI-XX*, eds. Alexandre Coello, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2012), 223-55.

⁵⁹ Francine Marie San Nicolas Naputi, "Decolonizing Sexuality: CHamoru Epistemology as Liberatory Praxis," PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/66223>.

missionary Augustinus Strobach.⁶⁰ Drawing on these investigations, in this thesis I will provide a more general, and at the same time, detailed overview of the role that sexuality and sexual encounters played in the inclusion of the Mariana Islands in the colonial network of the Spanish empire.

1.4. Methodology

Sexuality is an elusive subject. The intangibility of sexual encounters rarely leaves a trace in the written and material records. At the beginning of the research process, this untraceability of sexuality led me to several methodological problems. First, in the previous sections I already put forward that my doctoral dissertation departed from an archaeological approach. However, the archaeological study of sexuality is only possible in those contexts where exhaustive and systematic excavations have been conducted during several campaigns. Unfortunately, in the Mariana Islands most archaeological interventions have been carried out at Latte Period sites⁶¹ and within the framework of contract archaeology. Historical Archaeology has gained momentum only in recent years⁶² and, therefore, most of the Spanish colonial sites in the archipelago remain unexcavated.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ulrike Strasser, *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World. German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021).

⁶¹ Mike T. Carson, "An Overview of *Latte* Period Archaeology," *Micronesica* 42, no. 1/2 (2012): 3.

⁶² Sandra Montón-Subías, James M. Bayman, and Natalia Moragas Segura, "Arqueología del colonialismo español en la Micronesia: Guam y las poblaciones chamorras," in *Repensar el colonialismo. Iberia, de colonia a potencia colonial*, ed. Beatriz Marín-Aguilera (Madrid: JAS Arqueología, 2018), 316.

⁶³ Two interesting exceptions are the salvage excavations carried out by the International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc. at the Malesso' *Combento* during 2005 and the archaeological interventions conducted by the ABERIGUA project at the colonial church and cemetery of San Dionisio, Humatak, from 2017 to the present. See Sandra Lee Yee, *Archaeological Monitoring, Salvage, Data Recovery, Burial Recovery, and Mitigation at the Combento in Malesso, Guam* (Honolulu: International Archaeological Research Institute, Inc., 2011); Sandra Montón-Subías, Natalia Moragas Segura, and James M. Bayman, "The First Missions in Oceania: Excavations at the Colonial Church and Cemetery of San Dionisio at Humatak (Guam, Mariana Islands)," *Journal of Pacific Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (2020): 62-73.

Considering the scarcity of archaeological data for my research period, I decided to set the material record aside and attempted to “dig” the materiality through the archives. My aim was to trace in the texts the role that certain materialities played in the configuration of a new sexual and colonial order in the Mariana Islands. However, after a first glance to the historical documents I realized that working with written sources triggered new research questions that had to be addressed from a different methodological approach. The analysis of sexuality on the basis of materiality assumed, therefore, a subsidiary position in my research, even though it will be present throughout the thesis when addressing subjects such as dress or certain constructed spaces (e.g., the *guma’ ulitao*⁶⁴ or the Jesuit seminary).

Tracing sexuality from the written sources also entails methodological problems. The first challenge for an archaeologist is to access the very content of the manuscripts. The different Early Modern handwriting styles, from the Court (*cortesana*) and Secretary (*procesa*) scripts typical of 16th century to the spread of the Italic (*itálica*) script from the 17th century onwards represent a first barrier to the reading of documents. Besides, the numerous abbreviations that clutter the manuscripts also affect their readability. Once the handwriting and abbreviations were deciphered through hours of practice in the archives, the methodological question that arose was how to transcribe the texts in order to reproduce them in the dissertation. In this sense, I have opted for direct archival transcriptions to preserve, in the words of historian Zeb Tortorici, “the original linguistic flavor and materiality of the documents.”⁶⁵ Consequently, in literal quotations from written sources I will not modernize either spelling or punctuation. Likewise, I have decided to reproduce the longer fragments in the body of the text, leaving the original in grey and the translation in black. Unless otherwise stated, all English translations are my own.

Another methodological problem concerning historical documents is that, as various archaeologists claim, while materiality shows what people really did, the written and spoken word only reveals what they

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3.

⁶⁵ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, ix.

decided to tell about themselves or about others.⁶⁶ Therefore, documents are biased by different factors, such as the authors' interests or their relationship with the addressees. In colonial situations, these biases become even more obvious. For instance, in the Mariana Islands the only written testimonies available for the Spanish colonial period are those of the colonizers, who often applied the standards of their own society of origin when dealing with CHamoru communities. In so doing, they incurred numerous patriarchal and racial biases, some of which I will evince throughout this thesis. Since documents are crossed by the colonizers' gaze and interests, a first methodological caveat is to challenge the information—or the absence of information—contained in the sources.

The subject of this research also involves certain methodological challenges. Sexuality and sexual intercourses are rarely mentioned in the written sources. Although at times the allusion to sexual conducts is explicit, as in the journals of certain European navigators of the 16th and 17th centuries or in the files of the Inquisition, in most documents references to sexuality are anecdotal and fragmentary. For instance, the missionaries of the Society of Jesus should only refer “edifying matters” in the correspondence with their Superiors in Europe, as St. Francis Xavier specified in the guidelines he forwarded to the Jesuit priests allocated in the Moluccas.⁶⁷ Any unedifying affair that deviated from the interests of the Jesuits' evangelical labor should be omitted. In this sense, the missionaries of the Mariana Islands only mentioned sexuality to underscore the chastity shown by certain CHamorus or in pursuit of specific objectives, as I will indicate in the subsequent chapters.

Added to this edifying mandate is the modesty of most civil and ecclesiastical individuals of the time. During archival research, I have often come across formulas that the authors used to avoid detailing the

⁶⁶ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten. An Archaeology of Early American Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1996 [1977]), 11; Barbara L. Voss, “Image, Text, Object: Interpreting Documents and Artifacts as ‘Labors of Representation,’” *Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 4 (2007): 147-71; Almudena Hernando, *La fantasía de la individualidad. Sobre la construcción sociobistórica del sujeto moderno* (Madrid: Katz, 2012), 16.

⁶⁷ Charles R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1770* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 94-5.

most explicit aspects of sexual affairs. For instance, in 1720 Commanding Officer Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, when alluding to the abuses committed by Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel (1709-20)⁶⁸ against six girls that he retained in his palace, indicated that “in the discourse of time many things have been known, *unworthy to be written.*”

⁶⁹ Likewise, Fray Joseph de San Buenaventura, provincial father of the Augustinian Recollects in Manila, addressed a letter to the king in 1770 to report the sexual excesses perpetrated by the Jesuit Francisco Xavier Reitemberger against the CHamoru and Mestizo women of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light in Guåhan. Instead of detailing the Jesuit’s abuses, Fr. San Buenaventura wrote: “I prevent myself from relating to your Catholic Majesty the dishonesties that were committed *in order [not] to offend your chaste ears.*”⁷⁰ These (self)ensorships hinder the task of the historians of sexuality, since they prevent us from knowing the specific sexual practices that took place in each case.

One way to overcome these methodological obstacles is to redefine the notion of sexuality. As indicated in the previous section, I understand sexuality not only as the way people experience and express themselves sexually, but also as the different institutions and practices that regulate such experiences. These institutions and practices are, in turn, much easier to trace in the documents. Another strategy to address the methodological difficulties outlined above is the exhaustive consultation of a wide variety of written sources, from the accounts and travel journals of the first European navigators who arrived in the Mariana Islands to the inquisitorial procedures and sentences from the second half of the 18th century, without forgetting the Jesuit Annual

⁶⁸ In each chapter, the first time I mention the name of a Governor of the Mariana Islands I will specify in brackets the years of his term of office. In the case of those individuals who served as governors during several periods, I will specify only the term that is being referred to in the text.

⁶⁹ Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, “Consulta sobre irregularidades de Juan Antonio Pimentel,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 May 1720, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter AGI), Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, *En el discurso del tiempo se han llegado a saber muchas cosas indignas de Escribirse*. Emphasis is mine.

⁷⁰ Fray Joseph de San Buenaventura, “Carta del provincial fray José de San Buenaventura al rey,” in Manila, 29 July 1770, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 627, Exp. 28, *excuso relatar a vuestra majestad católica las deshonestidades que se hacían por [no] ofender vuestros castos oídos*. Emphasis is mine.

Letters and relations, rich in information about the daily life of the CHamoru populations. Most of these sources I have consulted in the following archives:

Table 1.2. List of Archives

Archive	Acronym	City/Country
Real Academia de la Historia	RAH	Madrid, Spain
Archivo Histórico Nacional	AHN	Madrid, Spain
Archivo General de Indias	AGI	Seville, Spain
Arxiu Històric de la Companyia De Jesús a Catalunya	AHCJC	Barcelona, Spain
Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu	ARSI	Rome, Italy
Archivo General de la Nación	AGN	Mexico City, Mexico
Spanish Documents Collection, Micronesian Area Research Center	MARC	Mangilao, Guåhan

These archives comprise the majority of the documentation on the Spanish colonial period in the Mariana Islands. Unfortunately, there are two institutions that I have not been able to physically visit during the research process: The Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), in Rome, and the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP), in Manila. However, part of the collections of these archives are reproduced in other institutions. For instance, the Arxiu Històric de la Companyia De Jesús a Catalunya holds digital copies of most of the documents on the Mariana Islands from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, which I have been able to consult in Barcelona and thanks to the generosity of Verónica Peña Filiu. On the other hand, the archive of the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales of the CSIC, in Madrid, hosts reproductions of some documents related to the Marianas from the National Archives of the Philippines. Although I had the opportunity

to access this collection, the majority of documents were from the 19th century and did not provide remarkable information for the purposes of my thesis. Finally, I have complemented this documentary corpus with several edited primary sources—detailed in the final bibliography—and with Rodrigue Lévesque’s 20 volumes of the *History of Micronesia*, which contain original documentation on the Mariana Islands transcribed, translated, and edited by the author.

The documents from the archives and sources mentioned above could be grouped into five categories, according to the chronology and the authors or institutions that produced them:

- *First European accounts on the Mariana Islands*: These sources cover the period from the arrival in 1521 of the Magellan-Elcano expedition in the archipelago to the establishment of a Jesuit mission in 1668. Documents in this category stand out for their variety, ranging from navigation journals to missionary accounts, written in several languages—such as Spanish, French, Italian, or German. This group also comprises the travel collections subsequently edited and printed in Europe, which echoed the navigators’ relations on the Mariana archipelago, as well as the illustrations from such collections, some of which will also be analyzed. Regarding sexuality, these documents show the first sexual “exchanges” between CHamorus and Europeans, as well as the impressions that such exchanges caused on the latter’s imaginaries. However, information from these sources is often shallow and fragmentary, since most Europeans visited the islands only for a few days and were deeply unaware of local customs and language.
- *Jesuit Correspondence, Annual Letters, and Relations (1668-1769)*: This category encompasses the documentation elaborated by the missionaries concerning their evangelizing labor in the archipelago. It comprises three types of documents: First, the Jesuits’ personal correspondence, often with companions from the Philippines, New Spain and Europe. Second, the Annual Letters, that is, annual reports that they addressed to

their superiors, accounting for the development of the mission. Finally, the Jesuit relations, more extensive accounts that subsumed information from several sources. This group also includes certain works edited by other Jesuits in Europe, usually hagiographies of those missionaries who died in the Marianas or general histories of the archipelago. Although the Jesuits' perspective was compromised by their proselytizing interests and ethnocentric biases, their documents offer outstanding information regarding CHamoru sexual practices and institutions. However, this documentation is more abundant at the end of the 17th century than during the 18th century. After the forced reduction (*reducción*) of CHamoru communities to a few villages in Guåhan and Luta, the missionaries stopped informing their superiors so often. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 18th century both the CHamoru population and the number of Jesuits allocated in the islands fell drastically, which explains the decline of the latter's documentation throughout that period.

- *Documents produced by civil authorities:* This documentation includes Royal Decrees, correspondence between the administrators and governors of the Mariana Islands and those of the Philippines and New Spain, letters from the Audience of Manila and the Council of the Indies, and the prosecutions and trials of residence against certain governors. Although scarce, documents prepared by civil authorities in the archipelago and in other enclaves of the Spanish empire occasionally alluded to sexual matters, providing a different perspective from that of other colonial agents, such as the missionaries.
- *The paperwork of the Novohispanic Inquisition:* This set of sources is the most coherent of all, since they come from the same archival branch (*ramo*) and originated from the same institution. It includes those documents issued by the inquisitors of Mexico and their representatives in the Mariana and Philippine Islands. Such documents range from general

edicts of faith to trial procedures, and sexuality has a strong presence in them since some crimes prosecuted by the Inquisition were deeply related to sexual conducts, such as bigamy or solicitation. In general terms, the inquisitorial paperwork allows an understanding of which sexual practices the Holy Office considered criminal, as well as of the capillary and transoceanic functioning of this institution within the Spanish Empire.

- *The accounts of 19th-century explorers*: Throughout the 19th century, various explorers and naturalists stopped by the Mariana Islands during their expeditions around the globe. Although the accounts of these Europeans exceed the chronological framework of my thesis, they provide relevant information on certain Chamoru sexual institutions and practices prior to the Spanish colonization of the archipelago. Likewise, I will reproduce some of the colorful illustrations contained in these documents to visually support certain passages of the thesis, even though I am aware that the use of such images may be anachronistic.

Through this documentary corpus—fraught with silences, (self)ensorships, biases, and vested interests—I will explore the most public, strategic and conflictive dimension of sexuality and sexual encounters in the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands. In so doing, I will use a “promiscuous” methodology, borrowing various concepts and methodological tools from the theoretical approaches and authors that I mentioned in the previous section. A considerable part of such concepts and tools have been developed by thinkers from the Global South, such as María Lugones,⁷¹ Iki Yos Piña Narváez,⁷² Silvia

⁷¹ María Lugones, “Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System,” *Hypatia* 22, no. 1 (2007): 186-209.

⁷² Yos (Erchxs) Piña Narváez, “No soy queer, soy negrx. Mis orishas no leyeron a J. Butler,” in *No existe sexo sin racialización*, eds. Leticia Rojas Miranda and Francisco Godoy Vega (Madrid: Colectivo Ayllu, Matadero Centro de Residencias Artísticas, 2017), 38-47.

Rivera Cusicanqui,⁷³ and Rita Segato,⁷⁴ as well as by CHamoru researchers like Francine Naputi,⁷⁵ Anne Perez Hattori⁷⁶ or Laura Marie Torres Souder,⁷⁷ among others. As a male European scholar, I am aware that by using these authors' proposals in my own work, I run the risk of falling into "epistemic extractivism,"⁷⁸ that is, of "taking advantage" (*usufructuar*) and appropriating their work of thinking.⁷⁹ Although I am not sure that I can completely escape this extractivism, in this dissertation I will always quote and acknowledge the authorship of those ideas that are not my own. Thinking with all these authors will allow me to face the complexity that the historical study of sexuality in colonial situations entails.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into five chapters, preceded by this introduction and followed by the conclusions. Although the chapters are arranged in roughly chronological order, not all of them deal with a specific period of time. Only Chapters 2, 4, and 5 cover particular stages in the archipelago's history. The chronological limits that circumscribe these three chapters are not arbitrary, but rather respond to processes that altered the social, cultural, and power dynamics in the islands. Although

⁷³ Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa. Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón y Retazos, 2010).

⁷⁴ Rita Laura Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2016).

⁷⁵ Francine Marie San Nicolas Naputi, "Decolonizing Sexuality: CHamoru Epistemology as Liberatory Praxis," PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 2019. <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/66223>.

⁷⁶ Anne Perez Hattori, "Textbook Tells: Gender, Race, and Decolonizing Guam History Textbooks in the 21st Century," *AlterNative* 14, no. 2 (2018): 173-84.

⁷⁷ Laura Marie Torres Souder, *Daughters of the Island. Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam* (Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America, 1992).

⁷⁸ Ramón Grosfoguel, "Del «extractivismo económico» al «extractivismo epistémico» y «extractivismo ontológico»: una forma destructiva de conocer, ser y estar en el mundo," *Tabula Rasa* 24 (2016): 132-3.

⁷⁹ Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, *Ch'ixinakax utxiwa. Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón y Retazos, 2010), 67-8; Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui and Silvia Federici, "Diálogo Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui y Silvia Federici [XVIII Feria Internacional del Libro en el Zócalo 2018, México]." *Vimeo*, 2019. Accessed December 7, 2021. <https://vimeo.com/335774684>.

in each of these chapters I will address different subjects using varied sources, certain continuities can be traced between them, as I will detail in the conclusions. For their part, Chapters 3 and 6 explore two institutions that played a fundamental role in the regulation of sexuality in the Mariana islands: the *guma' ulitao* and the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, respectively.

The thesis' second chapter examines the first (sexual) contacts between the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands and those Europeans who visited the archipelago since 1521. Here I focus on how CHamoru bodies and sexual practices were recorded by European navigators and missionaries in their journals and accounts. I argue that European discourses on CHamoru sexualities show remarkable presences and absences, which responded to the authors' interests and entailed different effects. The narratives of European navigators reflect their fascination and curiosity for indigenous bodies and sexual practices, especially those of women. Through the inscription of such bodies and practices in their writings, European sailors sensualized and alterized CHamoru women. I further argue that this sensualization of indigenous women involved long-lasting consequences for them, and constituted the germ of similar processes that would affect other Pacific archipelagos during the ensuing centuries. Missionary discourses, for their part, addressed the sexuality of CHamoru populations in more subtle forms, eluding those sexual practices and institutions that went against Catholic doctrine. European priests, thus, sought to depict CHamorus as innocent barbarians, underscoring the viability of their evangelization.

Chapter 3 offers an extended analysis and discussion of one of the most relevant CHamoru institutions concerning sexuality: the *guma' ulitao*. In this chapter I conduct a critical examination of the treatment that this institution has received in the recent historiography of the Mariana Islands, unveiling the uncontested information and biases contained in certain scholarship. The bulk of this chapter explores the role of the *guma' ulitao* in the sexual socialization of CHamoru youth, based on a systematic compilation of the references to this institution found in the Jesuit documents. Furthermore, I argue that the presence or absence of the *guma' ulitao siba* in such documents stems from the proselytizing

interests of the missionaries, who strategically mentioned—or eluded—these “public houses” to achieve certain objectives. To get at the deeper meanings of the role of the *guma’ ulitao* in CHamoru populations, other sources are considered here, such as European expedition reports of the 19th century and information from archaeological excavations. Moreover, in this chapter I also discuss the participation of young CHamoru women in the *ulitao* system, often unrecognized or overlooked in recent scholarship.

The next two chapters focus on the most convulsive stages in the Spanish colonial history of the archipelago. Together, both chapters show the bitterest dimension of the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands and its implication on sexual matters. Chapter 4 explores the sexual dimension of the conflicts that erupted between CHamoru and Spanish populations after the establishment of a Jesuit mission on the islands in 1668. I argue that part of these conflicts revolved around two institutions that promoted two different, rather incompatible ways of ordering and living sexuality: the *guma’ ulitao* and the Jesuit school. I show that this was a period of dilemmas—of “*inachâken*,” as noted by recent revisionist positions—for the CHamorus, whose attitudes ranged from cooperation with the Spaniards—thereby ensuring their physical survival, at the expense of their traditional lifeways—to confrontation. Consequently, this chapter also traces indigenous resistance against the only models of sexuality that the Spaniards considered valid and attempted to impose “by force of arms:” celibacy, on the one hand, and monogamous and indissoluble marriage, on the other. Sexuality was so relevant in the confrontations between CHamorus and Spaniards that I consider such hostilities as “ethnosexual conflicts,” in the words of Barbara Voss.⁸⁰

Chapter 5 alludes to the new sexual order that arose in the Mariana Islands after the forced reduction (*reducción*) of CHamoru populations to a few villages in Guåhan and Luta at the end of the 17th century. Here I show how ethnosexual violence did not cease with the end of the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts, but continued throughout the 18th century. This chapter also examines the relevance of sexual abuse by

⁸⁰ Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism,” 196.

military superiors against the wives of their subordinates in forging and perpetuating hierarchies within the archipelago's militia. Likewise, this chapter emphasizes the tensions that sexual matters triggered not only between CHamorus and Spaniards, but also between the colonizers themselves. Finally, I demonstrate how the "matrix of domination"⁸¹ that emerged in the islands after the reduction of CHamoru populations increased the vulnerability of CHamoru and Mestizo women to ethnosexual aggressions, as well as to labor exploitation.

In the final chapter, I analyze the documentary corpus of the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands to show the impact of this institution on the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the archipelago. This chapter offers a comprehensive and novel analysis of the establishment and activity of the Holy Office in the Marianas during the nearly three-quarters of a century of Jesuit management. Here I determine which sexual practices the inquisitorial authorities considered criminal, as well as which of them attracted the attention of the inquisitors the most. Furthermore, one of the focuses of this chapter is to analyze the conflicts that this institution unleashed, not only between its representatives and certain civil authorities, but also within the clergy. Likewise, I demonstrate that ethnosexual violence was not only perpetrated by civil and military authorities, as shown in the previous two chapters, but also by certain Jesuit priests. In this sense, I explore the role of CHamoru and Mestizo women as victims of the abuses of such priests, but also as political subjects who denounced their aggressors. To conclude, I outline how the Inquisition, by condemning those sexual practices that contravened Catholic orthodoxy, regulated and to some extent normalized the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.

⁸¹ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 228-9.

CHAPTER 2. MAPPING DESIRE IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS: THE FIRST (ETHNOSEXUAL) ENCOUNTERS, 1521-1668

In colonial situations, the first encounters between two different ethnic groups usually result in “massive gender contacts.”⁸² The expansion of Iberian colonialisms throughout the world since the end of the 15th century brought about a proliferation of this sort of encounters. By that time, European colonizers held firm gender standards, which emphasized the differences between men and women. This fact made the response of these colonizers to other gender systems ambiguous: on the one hand, they found them “strange” and “reprehensible” but, on the other, their novelty and singularities also made them “exciting.”⁸³ The frequent mentions to natives’ nakedness found in the reports made by navigators and chroniclers of the time, as well as their fascination for the bodies of the native women they encountered, reflect the “excitement” that the encounter with the Other caused on European colonizers. During his first journey to America, Columbus mentioned, in his diary entry on December 21, 1492:

Son así desnudos como su madre los parió, así mujeres como hombres [...] y en los otros lugares todos los hombres hacían esconder sus mujeres de los cristianos por celos, más allí no, y hay muy lindos cuerpos de mujeres, y ellas las primeras que venían á dar gracias al cielo y traer	They go naked as when their mothers gave birth to them, both men and women [...] and in the other places all men made their women hide from Christians out of jealousy, but not there, and women have very beautiful bodies, and they were the first to come and give thanks to heaven
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⁸² Peter Stearns, *Gender in World History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 2.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 2.

cuanto tenían, en especial cosas and to bring what they had,
de comer [...].⁸⁴ especially things to eat [...].

The fact that native men used to hide their women due to “jealousy,” that is, in order to avoid contacts—or, possibly, abuses—with Christians also reflects the “massive gender contacts” that accompany the encounter between two different ethnic groups. The Mariana Islands did not remain indifferent to this phenomenon. In the first European record in which the Mariana archipelago is referred, the account of the circumnavigation of Magellan-Elcano made by Antonio Pigafetta, the Italian chronicler described the “beautiful” and “delicate” bodies of native women in a similar manner to the description made by Columbus:

le femine vano nude, senon che Women go naked, except for the
dínanzi, a la sua natura portano fact that they carry in front of
una scorza, streta sotille, come la their nature a narrow, paper-like
carta, che nasce fra l'arbore, et la fabric that grows between the
scorza de la palma, sonno belle sapwood and the bark of the
diligate et bianque, piu che li palm; they are beautiful, delicate
huomini coli capelli sparsi, e and whiter than men, with their
longui negrissimi fino ín tera hair spread out and long, very
[...].⁸⁵ dark, down to the ground [...].

Both testimonies by Columbus and Pigafetta show the prominence of interethnic gender contacts and the “excitement” they produced on European navigators when they met the local populations of the territories they ran into. This chapter aims to analyze the role played by sexuality during the first encounters between the native populations of the Mariana Islands and the Europeans.

⁸⁴ Cristóbal Colón, *Relaciones y cartas de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid: Librería de la viuda de Hernando, 1892), 114.

⁸⁵ Antonio Pigafetta, *Noticia del primer viaje en torno al mundo [Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo]*, ed. Mario Pozzi, and trans. Ana García Herráez (Valencia: Grial, 1998), 17v.

2.1. The Feminization of the Conquered Territories and the Early Ero/Exoticization of CHamoru Women

The expansion of the Iberian powers throughout the world, especially between the 15th and 17th centuries, implied profound changes in the European worldviews of the time. The new territories with which European navigators came across enriched their imaginaries following different processes and mechanisms. One of such mechanisms was the feminization of these territories. The lands of the “New World” were conceived in Europe as “virgin” territories, waiting to be “penetrated” by European explorers; the feminine was equated with the landscapes and the subjects that inhabited them, producing a transfer of terms and beliefs from one space of knowledge to the other.⁸⁶ This ideology was reflected in the European imaginaries of the time, through the accounts of missionaries and chroniclers, travel and exploration literature, cartography, engraving and, centuries later, natural sciences and landscape painting.⁸⁷ The mermaids and sirens that cover the seas and oceans in the unknown margins of the cartographic representations of that time give a good account of this feminization of the new and uncharted territories (Figure 2.1).⁸⁸

Another representation that shows the feminization of the “New World” territories is the renowned engraving by Jan van der Straet that presents the cartographer and explorer Amerigo Vespucci facing the American continent (Figure 2.2). In the image, America is depicted as a voluptuous woman, half naked, lying on a hammock with her hand extended, as an offer, to the Florentine cartographer. Vespucci, in contrast, appears standing, fully armored, carrying an astrolabe, a flag and a sword, the distinctive elements of “imperial mastery.”⁸⁹ The image conveys the idea that America, represented by an indigenous woman

⁸⁶ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 23; Patty O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse. Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 20; Belén Romero Caballero, “La colonialidad de la naturaleza. Visualizaciones y contra-visualizaciones decoloniales para sostener la vida,” *Extravío. Revista Electrónica de Literatura Comparada* 8 (2015): 10.

⁸⁷ Romero Caballero, “La colonialidad de la naturaleza,” 5.

⁸⁸ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 24.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 26; see also Romero Caballero, “La colonialidad de la naturaleza,” 11.

but also allegorically representing the “virgin” lands of the continent, is predisposed, lying down and submissive, to be explored and conquered by European men, technology and “civilization.” Furthermore, this contrast between woman, nature, and barbarism and man, culture, and civilization is emphasized by the elements that appear behind the two characters in the engraving: a ship, in the case of Vespucci, and a myriad of lush plants, exotic animals and a group of cannibals that are roasting two human legs behind America’s back.



Figure 2.1. Detail of the 1562 map of America by Diego Gutiérrez, which shows the representation of two mermaids close to the Strait of Magellan. Original held at the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (no. 1303).

These representations, as well as the imaginaries they produced and by which they were produced, acted as “powerful propaganda” for European colonial ventures.⁹⁰ These images generalized the idea that the “new” vast territories outlined in the boundaries of the world hitherto known by Europeans were plagued with resources and women predisposed to be owned by the colonizers, and this certainly encouraged explorers, conquerors and merchants to set sail for these

⁹⁰ O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 21.

“new” territories. Moreover, the allegory between the unknown lands and the native women who inhabited them not only served to legitimize the conquest of those territories, but also contributed to the constitution, by antithesis, of Europe and the European man—in the gendered sense of the word. From the 15th century, European imaginaries began to include under the umbrella of “nature” the women, the indigenous people, the savages, the cannibals, the body, etc., and all this opposed the umbrella of culture, which included technology, civilization, the mind, the science.⁹¹ From then on, a series of structures of domination and hierarchy in terms of gender and race were produced and assimilated, structures that would enable and promote the colonial domination of later centuries.



Figure 2.2. *Americen Americus rexit, & Semel vocavit inde semper excitam*, engraving by Theodor Galle after a drawing by Jan van der Straet (ca. 1580), in the later’s work *Nova Reperta*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁹¹ Romero Caballero, “La colonialidad de la naturaleza,” 4-5; see also Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (London: Free Association Books, 1991), 210.

The allegorical feminization of the territories from the “New World”—America—and the “Newest World”—*Novísimo Mundo*, Oceania—originated along with the erotization, by European colonizers, of the native women that inhabited them. These women are often described in European accounts as “desirable.” Pigafetta, as noted above, refers to CHamoru women as “beautiful” (*belle*) and “delicate” (*dilicate*). However, some features of native women, apart from their geographical location, made them strange and exotic for the European eyes. In the case of CHamoru women, their permanent nudity (Figure 2.3) would undoubtedly be one of those signs of exoticism and barbarism, but also other bodily practices, alien for the Europeans, such as the dyeing of both men’s and women’s teeth, referred by Pigafetta himself: “they have red and black teeth, because they consider it a very beautiful thing.”⁹² According to Piña Narváez, this intersection between desirability and the strangeness gives rise to a especial kind of racialization of the Others’ bodies, that the author terms “eroexotización” (*eroexotización*).⁹³ Through the eroexotization of native women, their bodies, such as the territories they inhabited and the resources they held, were coded as “consumable,” “devourable” by the colonizers.

This eroexotization of native women was not only reflected in the texts contained in the European accounts, but also in the pictorial representations that accompanied such documents. In September 1600, the expedition of the Dutchman Olivier van Noort—also known as Olivier du Nord—made a stop in Guåhan during his circumnavigation of the globe. In the report of the expedition,⁹⁴ which appeared in French two years later, van Noort’s description of the Mariana Islands is accompanied by illustrations in which CHamoru women and men are represented. One of the images, made by the Dutch engraver Baptista Van Deutecum, shows three CHamoru people: a woman occupies the

⁹² Pigafetta, *Noticia del primer viaje*, 17v, *anno li denti rossi et negri p[er] che la reputano bellissima, cosa*.

⁹³ Yos (Erchxs) Piña Narváez, “No soy queer, soy negrx. Mis orishas no leyeron a J. Butler,” in *No existe sexo sin racialización*, eds. Leticia Rojas Miranda and Francisco Godoy Vega (Madrid: Colectivo Ayllu, Matadero Centro de Residencias Artísticas, 2017), 41.

⁹⁴ Olivier van Noort, *Description du Penible Voyage Faict entour de l’Univers ou Globe Terrestre, par Sr. Olivier du Nort d’Utrecht* (Amsterdam: Chez Cornille Claessz, 1602).

centre, flanked by two men (Figure 2.4). Men carry spears in their hands and hats on their heads, while the woman, covered only by a leaf on her genitals, raises her arms demonstratively towards the landscape.



Figure 2.3. *Ladrones*, the two first representations of the *Boxer Codex* (ca. 1590). The Lilly Library Digital Collections. Indiana University Bloomington (LMC 2444).

This engraving is one of the first visual representations of men and women from the Pacific.⁹⁵ O'Brien points to the "Europeanization" of the island woman depicted in the image, as she bears a strong resemblance to contemporary European representations of the Biblical Eve. For the author, this resemblance is not accidental: by visually relating the native women from the Pacific with Eve, they were also attributed, intentionally or unintentionally, features of the second such as her "sexual allure," "temptation," and "shame." This metaphor, which relates Chamoru women to Eve, is not limited to the aesthetic pattern of the representation suggested by O'Brien. In van Noort's account, the Dutchman makes this comparison explicit: "women wear their hair long and men wear it short, just like we see, at home, *Adam*

⁹⁵ O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 23.

and *Eve* in paintings.”⁹⁶ This case shows how the European imaginary produced exotic people, specifically women, through a Christian prism, transferring values of biblical and Edenic figures to the populations the Europeans contacted in the “Newest World.”⁹⁷



Figure 2.4. *Les habitans de l'Ysle de la Drones*, from van Noort, *Description du Penible Voyage*, 34.

Despite their codification through pre-existing prisms of the European imaginary, these representations of “exotic” people from the Pacific also produced new imaginaries in Europe. The values attributed to Pacific women when compared with the *Eve* of *Genesis*—lust, sexual allure—reinforced the vision of native women as predisposed to be “possessed,” “penetrated” by European conquerors. Van Noort himself, in his account, defines *Ladrones*—both *CHamoru* men and women—as very lustful:

<p>Ces <i>Ladrones</i> sont d'une couleur tannee & semblent estre fort luxurieux, & sans Loy, se meslans avecq les femmes en commun :</p>	<p>These <i>Ladrones</i> are of a tanned color and seem to be very lustful, and without law, mingling with women in common: indeed,</p>
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⁹⁶ Van Noort, *Description du Penible Voyage*, 34, *elles portent longs cheveux & les hommes courtz, proprement comme on voit chez nous Adam & Eva en peinture.*

⁹⁷ O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 23-4.

car il y en avoit plusieurs qu'estoyent mal en ordre aux outilz, a aucuns avoit la verolle demangé le visage & le Nez, tellement quilz n'avoient qu'un petit pertuis en la bouche, & nous monstroyent du droict que cela leur venoit de la verole, ainsi que nous nous pensions arrester au coing S.E. de l'Isle.⁹⁸

several of them were not well in their tools,⁹⁹ and some had the face and the nose eaten by pox; to such an extent that they only had a small hole for their mouth and indicated with their finger that it was a consequence of the pox, so we thought we would stop at the southeast corner of the island.

The Dutchman also points out that, due to the lust and promiscuity of native men and women from the islands, many of them showed signs of a disease similar to pox in the nose, mouth and genitals. By stressing the lust and promiscuity of the CHamoru people and associating it with a disease, van Noort contributed to the inception of a “geography of perversion”¹⁰⁰ in the Baroque imaginary, which would later evolve to the consideration of these Pacific territories as “porno-tropics,”¹⁰¹ as I will argue below.

2.2. Libidinous Indian Women in the European Imaginaries

Women were mainly absent on the European ships that crossed the Atlantic and the Pacific to establish trade routes and search for new territories. Their absence was often imposed by the institutions that authorized or sponsored the expeditions. From the 67 orders given by Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, to Miguel López de Legazpi concerning the expedition in which he would take official possession of the Mariana islands for the Spanish crown, order number 17 prohibited the recruitment of women “of any quality and condition:”

⁹⁸ Van Noort, *Description du Penible Voyage*, 34.

⁹⁹ In this case, by “tools” van Noort is metaphorically referring to genitals. Therefore, when he claims that they “were not well in their tools” (*estoyent mal en ordre aux outilz*) he means that some Ladrones had diseased genitals.

¹⁰⁰ Will Roscoe, “Mapping the Perverse,” *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 4 (1996): 860.

¹⁰¹ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22.

Y otrosi no consintireis q[ue] por via ni manera Alg[un]a se embarquen ni bayan en los dichos navíos. yndios ni yndias, negros ni negras ni mugeres alg[un]as. casadas ni solteras de qualquier qualidad y condicion q[ue] sean salba asta una dozena de negros y negras de servicio. los quales rrepartireis en todos los navios como os paresciere.¹⁰²

And in other cases, you will not allow the recruitment or presence of Indian men or women in the ships, or black men or women, or any woman at all, married or single, of any quality and condition, except by up to a dozen black man and women of service that you will distribute in all ships as you please.

Despite the absence of women in the ships of the early modern European expeditions, their presence was manifest in most of the shores where the vessels landed.¹⁰³ As O'Brien points out, in the Pacific "indigenous women were at the forefront of contact,"¹⁰⁴ often intermediating in the negotiations with Europeans. In the previous section I exposed how these contacts between European seafarers and indigenous women resulted in an ero/exoticization of the latter. Over time, this ero/exoticization would generalize certain colonial stereotypes about those indigenous women in the European imaginaries, such as their consideration as "lustful women." The first references to the lust of the native women from the "New World" appear at the beginning of the colonial expansion through these territories, in the accounts attributed to Amerigo Vespucci.¹⁰⁵ In his best known account, *Mundus Novus*, written after his third expedition to America, Vespucci refers directly to the "excessive lust"¹⁰⁶ of the native women of the continent that today bears his name:

¹⁰² "Traslado de la Instrucción de la Audiencia de México a Miguel López de Legazpi para el descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente," in México, 1 September 1564, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R. 12, 8r-19v, 10v.

¹⁰³ Michelle Burnham, *Transoceanic America. Risk, Writing, and Revolution in the Global Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 93.

¹⁰⁴ O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality. Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 66; Romero Caballero, "La colonialidad de la naturaleza," 12.

¹⁰⁶ Romero Caballero, "La colonialidad de la naturaleza," 12.

<p>Q[ua]n[do] se christianis iungere poterant, nimia libidine pulse: omnem pudicitiam contaminabant atq[ue] p[ro]stituebant.¹⁰⁷</p>	<p>When they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves.</p>
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Similarly, in the same document Vespucci describes a curious custom of these native women from America, a practice that highlights even more their “excessive lust:”

<p>Alius mos e[st] apud eos satis enormis et preter omnem humanam crudelitatem. Nam mulieres eorum cum sint libidinose faciunt intumescere maritorum inguina in tantam crassitudinem. ut deformia videantur. et turpia et hoc quodam earum artificio et mordicatione quorundam animalium venenosorum. Et huius rei causa multi eorum amittunt inguina: que illis ob defectum cure facescunt, et restant eunuchi.¹⁰⁸</p>	<p>They have another custom, very shameful and beyond all human belief. For their women, being very lustful, cause the private parts of their husbands to swell up to such a huge size that they appear deformed and disgusting; and this is accomplished by a certain device of theirs, the biting of certain poisonous animals. And in consequence of this many lose their organs which break through lack of attention, and they remain eunuchs.</p>
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There are well-founded doubts that the text containing these quotes, *Mundus Novus*, was written entirely by Vespucci.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, the

¹⁰⁷ Amerigo Vespucci, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de’ Medici, and Giovanni Giocondo. *Mundus Novus* (Augsburg: Magister Joha[n]nes Otmar: vindelicæ impressit Auguste, 1504), held at the John Carter Brown Library Rare Books [F] H504.V581mS). In other versions of the text, such as the Rothschild 1949 (VI, 2 [bis], 20) preserved in the Département des Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the last part of the fragment (*atq[ue] p[ro]stituebant*) is omitted.

¹⁰⁸ Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*. Rothschild 1949 (VI, 2 [bis], 20), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Département des Manuscrits.

¹⁰⁹ Alberto Magnaghi, *Amerigo Vespucci: studio critico, con speciale riguardo ad una nuova valutazione delle fonti. Vol. I.* (Roma: Istituto Cristoforo Colombo, 1924), 28; Stefan Zweig, *Américo Vespuccio. Relato de un error histórico* (Barcelona: Acanilado, 2019 [1931]), 109; Luciano Formisano, “Introducción,” in Vespucci, Amerigo. *Cartas de viaje*, ed.

document achieved great popularity at the time: in a few years, it was translated into German, Dutch, French and Italian,¹¹⁰ becoming part of most of the collections of travel accounts ever since. The engraving workshop of the Flemish-born Theodor de Bry edited one of these collections, in which Vespucci's letters are referred to elaborate part of the tenth volume—*America Pars Decima*—of de Bry's series *America*. The quality of its engravings endowed with great notoriety this compendium, which was simultaneously edited in Latin, French and German. In the ninth part of the collection, *Nona Partis America*, Johann Theodor and Johann Israel, sons of de Bry, continued their father's work adding, in the *Additamentum* of that volume, part of Olivier van Noort's account. The passage of the Dutch navigator on the Mariana Islands is entirely reproduced, including the fragment in which van Noort explains the "libidinous mood" of the *Ladrones*: "[they have] a very libidinous and shameless mood, to such an extent that men and women intermingle promiscuously with each other."¹¹¹ Unlike the French original from 1602,¹¹² in this Latin version the de Bry brothers make explicit that this "libidinous mood" led some Chamorus to suffer a kind of illness, now unequivocally "venereal" (*venerea*):

<p>Nam quorundam inter eos pudenda admodum contaminata ac defoedata comparebant. Quibusdam lue venerea, nasus ac labia, faciesq; tota quasi exesa erat, adeò, ut foramen exiguum oris loco emerit. Qui digitis ac signis, malum id à lue profluxisse, intendebant.¹¹³</p>	<p>Indeed, some have shared contamination and defilement of their genitals. Some also have a venereal disease of nose and lip and face; all had been almost completely consumed, to such an extent that only their mouth stands out as a small hole. They, through finger and sign, indicated</p>
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Luciano Formisano, and trans. Ana María R. de Aznar (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1986), 23-6.

¹¹⁰ Zweig, *Américo Vespuccio*, 31; Formisano, "Introducción," 15-6.

¹¹¹ Johann Theodor de Bry and Johann Israel de Bry. *Americae Nona & Postrema Pars* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthæus Beckerus, 1602), *Additamentum* 57, *animo admodum libidinosi & procaces, adeò, ut viri ac foeminae promiscuo inter sese concubitu premisceantur*.

¹¹² See pages 42-3 in this thesis.

¹¹³ de Bry and de Bry, *Americae Nona & Postrema Pars*, *Additamentum* 57.

that this injury came from the disease.

The fact that the de Bry brothers point out here that the pox suffered by some natives was venereal—something that is not made explicit, in these terms, in van Noort’s account—probably responds to the need to give their works a sensational language with which to increase the number of sales and the distribution of their volumes.

The de Bry brothers also reproduce in the work an engraving (Figure 2.5) in which they combine the two images about the Marianas that appear in van Noort’s account,¹¹⁴ showing the two CHamoru men completely naked—except for their heads, covered with hats—and the CHamoru “Eve,” carrying only one leaf on her genitals. In the same volume, another engraving (Figure 2.6) shows the moment in which several CHamorus, all of them naked, approach in their canoes van Noort’s ship to offer food and water to the crew. This engraving resembles the first illustration of the *Boxer Codex* (Figure 2.7), although the resemblance is surely fortuitous since this manuscript, drawn up in the 1590s, was not reprinted and did not reach Europe until possibly 1605.¹¹⁵

The two engravings mentioned above are not the only representations of CHamoru people elaborated in the workshop of Theodor de Bry. CHamoru men and women appear on at least two more occasions: first, in the tables and engravings section of the seventh and eighth parts of de Bry’s *America* collection—*Septimam et Octavam Americae Partem*. This engraving (Figure 2.8) depicts the arrival of the ships of the English privateer Thomas Candisch to the Mariana Islands in 1588, and shows several CHamorus approaching the vessels in their canoes carrying food to trade. Almost all natives represented in the image are men, and they are not completely naked: they all wear a skirt made of leaves around their waist, covering their genitals. These skirts made of leaves are not

¹¹⁴ One of them is Figure 2.4 in this chapter, the other a map of the island of Guåhan—with the title *Isle of Thieves*—that appears on page 33 of van Noort’s account, cited above.

¹¹⁵ John Crossley, “The Early History of the Boxer Codex,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 24, no. 1 (2014): 123.

IX.
LADRONES INSVLAE
DESCRIPTIO.



INSVLA hac humilis est ac depressa, arboribus ac scopulis frequentibus aspera. Ex re nomen ea insula obtinuit: cuius incolae admodum furaces sunt & dolosi, adeo, ut satis sibi à furto eorum Hollandi cauere minime potuerint. Nudi ambulanti, nisi quod praesuspensio folio pudenda sua femina obuolent. Corpore fusco sunt. Viri capillos radunt: feminae promissos alunt. Sine legibus inter sese pecudum ritu cohabitant, coeuntque. Unde fit, ut multorum corpora luis venerea veneno misere corrupta & defædata conspiciantur.

ccc 2

Figure 2.5. *Ladrones insula descriptio*, plate IX from Johann Theodor de Bry and Johann Israel de Bry, *America Nona & Postrema Pars* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthæus Beckerus, 1602).

mentioned in the European sources, which only address that women covered their genitals with a leaf or other plant fabric. The fact that these skirts appear in the engraving, dressed by Chamoru men, shows how the engravers often included foreign elements in their works to give an even more exotic touch to those people they portrayed. Chamoru people are also represented in a third work from the de Bry's workshop: The Appendix to the work of the de Bry brothers' *America*

X.
QVID IN LADRONES IN-
SVLA HOLLANDIS ACCIDERIT.



L N hac insula ad Hollandorum nauem 200. circiter Canoas confluerunt, quarum qualibet duos ternosue ferebat. Hi in contractibus & commercijs supra modum fraudulentum inuenti sunt. Permutationes ita fiebant. Hollandi è naue funiculum, cui fragmentum ferri appenderant, deorsum ad Canoas demittebant. Ferrum Indi auide arripentes, funi sacculum oryza plenum appenderunt. Qui tamen sacci pleriq, cum effunderentur, vix semipleni reperi fuerunt, quod superne quidam oryza cerneret, fundus vero sacci folijs ac rebus inanimis alijs confertus esset. Sed & hoc accidit. Quidam ex illis nauem ascenderant. Ibi vnus, discepta occasione, incauto Hollando gladium è manibus extricat, & cum eo in mare deorsum insiliit, ac infra undas ad insulam pernatat. Cum ergo Generalis crebris iniurijs offensior in eos sclopetis desulminasset, confertim pleriq, ex canois exilientes, aliquandiu sub aquis latitarunt. Qui cum suis nauiculis emeris fuerant, hi ranarum modo adnatabant, & canoas suas conuertentes priore situ locabant. Nauicula eorum oblonga sunt, angusta q, quibus inconuersis mira agilitate nunc prorsum nunc deorsum vela facientes vtuntur.

ccc 3

Figure 2.6. *Quid in Ladrones insula Hollandis acciderit*, plate X from de Bry and de Bry, *America Nona & Postrema Pars*.

Pars Undecima. This volume contains the account of the circumnavigation to the globe made by the Dutch Joris van Spilbergen, which took place between 1614 and 1617. During this expedition, van Spilbergen stopped at the Mariana Islands to stock up on food and water. In the de Bry brothers' image (Figure 2.9), dozens of CHamoru proas surround five European ships, while three CHamoru people observe the scene from the shore. Two of them are long-haired women, naked except for a leaf that covers their genitals; the other one is a man,

with the genitals in sight and the head covered by a hat. These four engravings were reprinted in other works of de Bry's workshop, as well as in the editions of the *America* collection in languages other than Latin—mainly in German.



Figure 2.7. First image of the *Boxer Codex* (ca. 1590), which depicts several CHamorus approaching a European ship with food to exchange. The Lilly Library Digital Collections. Indiana University Bloomington (LMC 2444).

De Bry's volumes allowed a wide spread of European travel accounts in Europe, impacting on the imaginaries of the society of the time. Alfredo Bueno Jiménez states that the printing press enabled these volumes to be available even to the popular classes at book fairs, where they were sold at a lower cost than manuscripts.¹¹⁶ The reproduction of de Bry's engravings in travel account collections, philosophical treatises, prints and literary writings contributed to the creation of a vision of these "New Worlds"—America and the Pacific—that, far from fading away over time, persisted until the Enlightenment.¹¹⁷

The diffusion of these images brought about the generalization of certain stereotypes and prejudices. As historian Peter Burke points out, "images were not created, for the most part at any rate, with the future historian in mind. Their makers had their own concerns, their own

¹¹⁶ Alfredo Bueno Jiménez, "Hispanoamérica en el imaginario gráfico de los europeos. De Bry y Hulsius," PhD diss., Universidad de Granada, Granada, 2014, 15.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16.

XII.
 QUIDAM INDIANI DUCEM
 CANDISCH IN ITINERE
 adoriuntur.



Um Thomas Candisch ad Insulas LADRONES appulisset, venerunt ei obviam ex istis Insulis ultra 60 CANOAS, omnis generis cibo, pomis frugibusq; onusta, quas cum Anglis permutare decreuerant. Fraque Angli, quantum ipsis opus erat, acceperunt, & omnis generis ferramenta ipsis dederunt, cum vero solvere rursus constituissent, tanta copia & tumultu Indiani eos insecuti sunt, ut Angli cogerentur tormenta sua aenea in eos emittere. Quo viso, magna velocitate in mare sese partim miserunt, partim CANOIS suis euastrunt, ita ut nec intersectorum corpora amplius apparuerint.

d

Figure 2.8. *Quidam indiani ducem Candish in itinere adoriuntur*, plate XII from Theodor de Bry, *Tabula & imagines as Septimam et Octavam America Partem* (Frankfurt am Main: Matthæum Becker, 1599).

messages.”¹¹⁸ Far from trying to be extremely realistic, the engravings of the time such as those by de Bry often represented the natives of the

¹¹⁸ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 34.

DELINEATIO INSULARVM
DE LAS VELAS SEV LADRONES.

Insulæ Ladrones primum inventæ sunt à Magellano Anno 1519. quæ eas Ve-
las primum propter navium velatarum quæ ibi reperiuntur multitudinẽ,
postea vero Ladrones, ob furandi quæ hominibus istis inest libidinem appel-
lauit. Litera A. Est admiral. Hollandorum siue sol. B. Est Viceadmiral. siue
Luna. C. Est Lucifer. D. Est Æolus. E. Est Venator; omnes naues Hollando-
rum, quas Indi nauculis suis, quasi apum examina circumdabant. F. Capri-
ua naus in quam Hollandi aliqui impositi fuerunt. G. Sunt nauculæ ipsorũ,
quas remigiis impellunt. Quæ autem prominent è lateribus eas in
æquilibrio seruant. H. Sunt naues ipsorum qui-
bus vela faciunt. I. Barbarorum siue
ladronum habitus.

XVI. Por-

Figure 2.9. *Delineatio Insularum de las Velas seu Ladrones*, plate XV from Gothardi Arthussi Dantiscani, *Sequuntur veræ vivæque incognitarum hactenus regionum, insularum et gentium* (Frankfurt: Ioannis Hoferi, 1620).

“New World” following pre-existing aesthetic codes. For example, Chamoru women, as noted earlier in the case of the image that accompanies van Noort’s account, are represented with long hair and voluptuous bodies, in the same way as the Biblical Eve was depicted in most Renaissance and Baroque paintings—as in the cases of the Eves

by Titian or Rubens. This aesthetic similarity involved the extrapolation of part of the biblical figure's attributes to native women from the Pacific, as mentioned above: their association with an Edenic primitivism, and with features such as nudity, beauty, sexual allure, or lust.

The generalization of these sexual stereotypes about the native women of the "New World," including those of the Pacific, had strong repercussions within the Spanish imperial strategy. On the one hand, the definition of these women as sexually available served as imperialist propaganda¹¹⁹ to, among other things, increase the number of sailors who enrolled in European expeditions throughout the world, as "access to the bodies of local women was an expectation of seafarers."¹²⁰ In addition, O'Brien points out that these stereotypes served to legitimize in some cases the sexual exploitation of the natives, as well as they also "dehumanized indigenes, providing justification for massacre, enslavement, dispossession, and sexual violence."¹²¹ The stereotype that depicted island women as libidinous contributed, as mentioned above, to the configuration of a "geography of perversion."¹²² In turn, such geography of perversion led European peoples to consider themselves as sexually restrained and civilized in opposition to this "barbaric" lust, to these "carnal and carnival-sexualized spectacles of Others and Otherness," in Nagel's terms.¹²³

2.3. *Desvergonzadas*: CHamoru Women as Libidinous "Commodities"

The American experiences had taught European crew members who ventured into the Pacific that sexual contacts between seafarers and native women often resulted in armed conflicts.¹²⁴ Proof thereof is the

¹¹⁹ O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 21.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 25.

¹²¹ Ibid., 30-1; see also Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 66.

¹²² Roscoe, *Mapping the Perverse*, 860.

¹²³ Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 200; see also Romero Caballero, "La colonialidad de la naturaleza," 4-5.

¹²⁴ Burnham, *Transoceanic America*, 93.

fact that official expeditions sponsored by institutions such as the Spanish crown often decreed that the crew should, by any means possible, avoid such encounters. This is the case of the first European expedition to reach the Mariana Islands, led by Ferdinand Magellan. In May 1519, King Charles V transmitted to the Portuguese captain a series of 74 orders to comply during his expedition, of a very diverse nature: on how to record the trip, the use of weapons, navigation techniques, the provisioning of the vessels, the distribution of the rations between the crew, etc. In order number 28, the monarch prohibited the crew of the expedition from touching or committing sexual aggressions (*acometimientos*) against the native women they encountered:

En lo que descubriéredes aveis de mirar de tratar la gente de manera que huelguen de contratar con vosotros [...] y la principal cosa de que nos ternemos por muy deservidos y mandaremos castigareis a los q[ue] hizieren delito y acometimiento con las mugeres de la tierra y sobre todo en ninguna manera aveis de consentir que ninguna persona toq[ue] a mujer porque esta es la principal cosa que se a de mirar a causa que en todas aquellas partes son gentes que por esto antes que por otra cosa haran qualquier daño y rebelion y menos consentiran tener paz ni aver trato en la tierra ni se les a de tomar cosa ninguna de qualquier calidad que sea contra su voluntad. ¹²⁵	In what you discover, you must treat people in a way that they want to deal with you, [...] and the main thing that will make us feel disobeyed, and that we will order you to punish, is those who commit crime and rush against the women of that land, and above all, you cannot consent in any way that any person touches a woman, because this is the main thing to be careful with, since in all those parts the people for this issue, rather than for anything else, will do any harm and rebellion, and even less will they consent to have peace or treatment on the land, nor should they be taken anything, of any quality, against their will.
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¹²⁵ “Instrucción de Carlos I a Fernando de Magallanes y a Ruy Falero, y requerimiento de Fernando de Magallanes a la Casa de la Contratación,” in Barcelona, 8 May 1519, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R.8, 5v-6r.

According to Pigafetta's account, the crew complied with this order until the death of Magellan in Cebu in late April 1521. However, when Juan López de Carvalho was elected captain general of the expedition, the prohibition of establishing contacts with native women began to relax. After an incident with Sultan Siripada from Brunei, the Spanish crew captured sixteen native men and three women, with the aim of delivering the latter as a present to the Queen of Spain. However, Carvalho decided to keep for himself the three women imprisoned during the brawl. In Pigafetta's words: "we held sixteen men of the most important to take them to Spain and three women on behalf of the Queen of Spain; but Gioan Carvaio usurped them for his cause."¹²⁶ Despite occasional disobediences, royal institutions continued to issue such provisions to the expeditions they sponsored. In the voyage led by Miguel López de Legazpi, the viceroy and president of the Royal Audience of the New Spain Luis de Velasco gave him an order, number 53, practically identical:

<p>y esp[ecia]lm[en]te les p[r]ohibireis y mandareis q[ue] no tengan comunicacion con las mugeres de aq[ue]llas p[ar]tes porq[ue] demas q[ue] es bien q[ue] se estorben las ofensas de dios. las tales comunicaciones suelen causar grandes dagnos. y q[ue] aunq[ue] ellas. se huyan a v[uest]ros alojam[ien]tos, o navios no las admitan antes las mandareis volber a sus pu[eblo]s hazien[do]les todo buen tratam[ien]to.¹²⁷</p>	<p>and especially you will forbid them and command them not to establish communication with women from those parts, because apart from the fact that we must avoid the offenses to God, such communications usually cause great damages, and although they flee to your settlements or ships you will not admit them, and before that you will order them to return to their villages, making them all good treatment.</p>
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¹²⁶ Pigafetta, *Noticia del primer viaje*, 44r, *retenissemò sedizi homini ptu principali per menarli in Ispagnia et tre donne in nome de la regina de Spagna; ma Gioan Carvaio le usurpo per sue.*

¹²⁷ "Traslado de la Instrucción de la Audiencia de México a Miguel López de Legazpi para el descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente," in México, 1 September 1564, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R. 12, 8r-19v, 17r.

In spite of these proscriptions, the stereotype of island women as beautiful and lustful encouraged contacts between such women and the men on board the European expeditions. This stereotype reappears in several accounts written by the first Europeans who reached the Marianas, beyond the aforementioned by Pigafetta and van Noort. Francesco Carletti, a merchant and slave trader who visited the archipelago with his brother in 1596, highlights the nudity of Chamoru people, who walk “without covering any of their parts that are shameful among us.”¹²⁸ Likewise, he mentions, regarding their lust, that “they have everything in common, even women.”¹²⁹ Decades before, another European had already noted the lust of the natives from the Marianas, during the Legazpi expedition. Rodrigo de Espinosa, pilot of one of the expedition ships that passed through the Marianas in January 1565, describes Chamoru people in his journal as follows: “they are well proportioned and apparently very strong people, some of them bearded, and very beautiful but shameless women.”¹³⁰ Rodrigo de Espinosa designates both men and women as “shameless,” because the former offered the latter to the crewmen:

<p>son tan desbergonçados que nos conbidavan con sus mugeres y nos las traian abordo en las canoas y nos dezian si las queriamos y a ellos y a ellas les dava muy gran risa [...].¹³¹</p>	<p>they are so shameless that they invited us with their wives and brought them on board in the canoes and told us if we wanted them, and both men and women laughed loudly to it [...].</p>
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Rodrigo de Espinosa’s testimony emphasizes a recurring topic in the Pacific historiography: the exchange of women as “commodities” in negotiations between European crew members and Pacific islanders.

¹²⁸ Francesco Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti, fiorentino, sopra le cose da lui vedute ne’ suoi viaggi si dell’Indie Occidentali, e Orientali come d’altri paesi* (Florence: Stamperia di Giuseppe Manni, 1701), 129, *senza coprirsi [...] nessuna di quelle parti, che sia appresso di noi vergognosa.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 129, *tenerano ogni cosa a comune, insino le donne.*

¹³⁰ Rodrigo de Espinosa, “Derroteros y relaciones del viaje a las islas del Poniente de la armada de Miguel López de Legazpi, hechos por los pilotos de la expedición,” 1564-1565, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R.16, 37v, *es gente muy dispuesta y al parecer de muy grandes fuerças algunos dellos barbados y las mugeres bien agestadas aunque muy desbergonçadas.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 37r.

Several authors have pointed out that Pacific travel narratives usually conceived native women and their bodies as mere commodities, as “one resource among many,”¹³² to the point that McClintock states that male travels of the time could be defined as “erotics of ravishment.”¹³³ This is partly because island women were in many cases responsible for dealing—sexually and commercially—with European seafarers. In certain cases, the items to exchange in those transactions were the native women’s own bodies.

Apart from Espinosa’s statement on how some CHamoru men offered “their” women to the Spanish crew, another European visitor depicted, sixty years later, CHamoru women as objects of exchange between the natives from the archipelago and the European seafarers. Austrian nobleman Christoph Carl Fernberger arrived in the Mariana Islands on March 30, 1623, while circumnavigating the globe. In his account of the journey, which is currently held in the private archives of the Counts of Harrach in Vienna,¹³⁴ Fernberger briefly recounts his experience during the three short days he spent in the archipelago. Despite his brief stay, his testimony offers remarkable information regarding the sexuality of the CHamoru people and their contacts with occasional European visitors. He claims that, when they were docked in front of one of the islands, several native men approached in their canoes to trade:

<p>ihre frauen etliche die kamen auch mit ans schiff, nahmen ihre kinder so knäblein sein mit; ob sie zwar schwarz sein sie doch wol gebilt, aber sehr geil den sie weissen uns dass wir solten unzucht mit ihnen dreiben, wie es auch von etlichen beschehen, aber es hat ihnen übel bekommen,</p>	<p>some of their wives came with them to the ship and had their male children with them; although they are black they are well shaped but very wanton because they showed us that we should do prostitution with them, which some of us actually</p>
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¹³² Burnham, *Transoceanic America*, 94; see also O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 116; Romero Caballero, “La colonialidad de la naturaleza,” 11-2.

¹³³ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22.

¹³⁴ Karl R. Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript Record of the Chamorro, Micronesia,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 189-190.

dass sie es mit den todt bezahlen muessten.¹³⁵ did, but they had to suffer for it and to pay with their deaths.¹³⁶

The text, transcribed and translated into English by Karl Wernhart, is extremely interesting due to the proximity with which Fernberger narrates the events. As it was his personal journal, the Austrian admitted that some of the crew (“some of us”) agreed to have sexual relations with CHamoru women, something that he could not have acknowledged in an official document. However, the context in which such sexual encounters took place is controversial. According to Wernhart’s translation, CHamoru women wanted to prostitute themselves (“do prostitution”) with European seafarers. However, the word Wernhart translates as “prostitution,” “*unzucht*,” does not always receive that meaning. On the contrary, it is often translated as “fornication,” referring to a “violation of sexual morality,”¹³⁷ especially to sexual contacts that take place outside marriage. When the word is preceded by *Gewerbs-* (from *Gewerbe*, “business” or “trade”), as *Gewerbsunzucht*, it genuinely means “prostitution.”¹³⁸ A more accurate translation of the fragment, hence, would be: “they showed us that we should commit fornication with them” (*sie wissen uns dass wir release unzucht mit ihnen dreiben*). Since it was not explicitly about prostitution, then, it is not certain that CHamoru women received a payment in exchange for the sexual intercourses and, hence, it is not clear that it was a proper material exchange or reciprocity.

The particular interest of this fragment is that, according to Fernberger, women themselves were the ones willing to engage in sexual intercourses with the European seafarers, and not their “husbands,” as in the case reported by Rodrigo de Espinosa. However, this is perhaps not enough to admit, as Wernhart does, that “[t]he Chamorro woman had a very high social position. She could decide over herself and her body.”¹³⁹ Fernberger also notes that CHamoru women had to “pay”

¹³⁵ Ibid., 192-3.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 192-3.

¹³⁷ *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* (Mannheim: F.A. Brockhaus, 1986), 648, s.v. “Unzucht.”

¹³⁸ Hans Welzel, *Das Deutsche Strafrecht in seinen Grundzügen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1949), 206.

¹³⁹ Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript,” 192 footnote 10.

(*bezahlen*) with their deaths for having engaged in such sexual relations. However, he does not develop this statement: he does not indicate whether they died at the hands of their “husbands,” perhaps because of jealousy, or at the hands of the Europeans themselves. Uncertainty about the reason for the deaths of these women, as well as about the intention of their sexual offerings, shows the difficulties that exist when it comes to understanding, from a historical perspective and methodology, the experiences and lives of these women. As Burnham notes: “Because the experiences of women in the early Pacific were recorded and interpreted by European men –whose inadvertent and wilful misunderstanding shaped their representations– they have been notoriously challenging to understand and reconstruct.”¹⁴⁰

As noted above, the circulation of testimonies such as those of Espinosa, Fernberger and others through transoceanic travel collections spread the idea of Pacific women as “lustful” and “shameless” in the European imaginaries. According to Burnham, “[e]xplorers and merchants regularly consulted earlier Pacific narratives for information about navigation and geography and resources, but as they did so they would also have absorbed descriptions that teetered between ethnography and pornography as they integrated indigenous female sexuality into an ideology of imperialism and commerce.”¹⁴¹ Given the “loaded nature” of these sexual accounts, such descriptions certainly impressed the European audience and generated “powerful and lasting images” of the indigenous women of the Pacific.¹⁴² William Dampier, a British buccaneer that visited the Marianas in 1686 and in 1710, stated in one of his journals from 1697 that sexual access to women from the Pacific played a political role, since it was part of commercial and diplomatic strategies with the native men of the islands.¹⁴³ He profusely described the seafaring sexual culture of the late 17th century, stating that in many places in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, trafficking in women and prostitution were settled “customs.”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Burnham, *Transoceanic America*, 94.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁴² Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 67.

¹⁴³ Burnham, *Transoceanic America*, 94.

¹⁴⁴ O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 25-6.

CHamoru women were portrayed in the accounts of the Europeans who visited the Marianas between 1521 and the mid-17th century as “beautiful” (Pigafetta and Espinosa), “promiscuous” (Espinosa, Carletti, and van Noort), “shameless” (Espinosa) and “lustful” or “wanton” (van Noort and Fernberger). These depictions, together with similar descriptions of other native women from the Pacific and the Americas, led CHamoru women to become part of the “geography of perversion” born in early modern Europe. This geography of perversion is a “discourse on unauthorized sexuality”¹⁴⁵ that criminalizes those sexualities that Europeans found ec-centric—both as bizarre and as out of (ec-) the center (-centric), i.e., the metropolis. Sodomy, but also promiscuity, were part of the practices that included the places from the “New World” where they were recorded in the geography of perversion. Over time, this discourse would contribute to the primitivization of these non-European “perverse” subjects. It would also lead to the construction of modern western sexuality,¹⁴⁶ which would use those “barbarian” and “perverse” others as counterexamples to define themselves as restrained, demure, and civilized.

2.4. CHamoru Sexual Practices According to the First European Accounts

European documents elaborated by the seafarers who stopped in the Mariana Islands between 1521 and 1668 provide scarce though valuable information for the analysis of the sexual practices of their inhabitants. These data should be treated with caution, since references to the sexuality of the natives in European accounts are anecdotal, fragmentary and deeply ethnocentric: seafarers often use terms such as “husbands” or “marriage” when talking about CHamoru people and their customs. However, a critical approach allows triangulating and contrasting this data and offers, if not certainties, at least plausible sexual patterns of the pre-colonial CHamoru society.

¹⁴⁵ Roscoe, *Mapping the Perverse*, 860.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 861; Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 67.

In the previous sections some aspects of the CHamoru sexual practices that aroused the attention of the Europeans have already been analysed. The most characteristic one, which appears with no exception in all European travel accounts about the Marianas during the 16th and 17th centuries, is the nudity of the CHamoru people. Nudity of both men and women is usually stressed indicating that, nevertheless, the latter cover their “shameful parts” with some kind of fabric or even with a turtle shell.¹⁴⁷ However, CHamoru nudity aroused conflictive views among the Europeans. For some, it was a sign of their “barbarism,” as for historian Marcelo Ribadeneira. In the 19th chapter of the first volume of his book on the history of China and other archipelagos and kingdoms of Asia and the Pacific (Figure 2.10), the Franciscan collects the story of Fray Antonio de los Ángeles, a priest of the same order who spent a year in the Mariana Islands, from 1596 to 1597.¹⁴⁸ Although the account written by Fray Antonio de los Ángeles is lost, Ribadeneira had access to it and, in addition, he was able to speak with two of the seafarers who returned from the Marianas with the Franciscan friar.¹⁴⁹ The chronicler speaks of the CHamoru people’s nudity in the following terms:

<p>fray Antonio de los Angeles, movido con un impulso interior, que le impellia eficazmente a desear la salvacion de aquellos barbaros (mostrando que lo son asi en la desnudez total de sus cuerpos, como en la codicia tan grande q[ue] tienen de solo yerro, y por otras cosas) pidio licencia al</p>	<p>Fray Antonio de los Ángeles, moved with an inner impulse which effectively impelled him to desire the salvation of those barbarians (showing that they are so in the total nudity of their bodies, as in the great greed they have for iron, and for other things) he requested a license</p>
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¹⁴⁷ Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida y descubrimiento del galeón “San Felipe”*, ed. Jesús Martínez Pérez (Ávila: Institución “Gran Duque de Alba” de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Ávila, 1997 [1603]), 450.

¹⁴⁸ Marjorie G. Driver, “The Account of a Discalced Friar’s Stay in the Islands of the Ladrones,” *Guam Recorder* 7 (1977): 19.

¹⁴⁹ Marcelo Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboya y Japón, y de lo sucedido en ellos a los religiosos descalzos de la orden del seráfico padre San Francisco, de la Provincia de San Gregorio de las Filipinas* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Gabriel Graells y Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 76.

q[ue] yva por su prelado, para from his prelate, to remain
quedarse entre aquella gente.¹⁵⁰ among those people.

According to Ribadeneira, the nudity of the CHamoru people was an unequivocal sign of their barbarity. However, another contemporary religious of Ribadeneira and Antonio de los Ángeles, also belonging to the same order, offers a different perspective. Franciscan lay brother Juan Pobre de Zamora spent seven months in the Mariana Islands in 1602. When referring to the nakedness of the CHamoru people, far from describing them as barbarians, he points out that despite the absence of clothing they lacked any “shamelessness” (*desvergüenza*), even in their dances, where European Christians, with their dresses, were even more “shameless:”

Y aunque, como he dicho, andan And although, as I said, they are
todos desnudos, no he visto de día all naked, I have not seen
desvergüenzas entre ellos, aunque shamelessness among them
en sus bailes y danzas hacen during the day, although in their
algunas, aunque no tan grandes dances they do some, although
como se hacen entre cristianos, not as great as the ones
cuando bailan aquel maldito y Christians do, when they dance
endiablado baile [...] que aun no that damn and devilish dance
lo oso poner aquí, que no sé qué [...] that I still do not dare to put
ojos cristianos se ponen a la mira it here, as I do not know what
de baile tan deshonesto y Christian eyes would look at
desvergonzado.¹⁵¹ such dishonest and shameless
dance.

Along with nudity, a recurrent feature of CHamoru sexuality referred in the European accounts is promiscuity. As mentioned above, Francesco Carletti claims, regarding his visit to the Marianas in 1596, that CHamoru people (although he is only referring to CHamoru men) “have everything in common, even women.”¹⁵² Similarly, van Noort writes in his account, on his visit to the archipelago four years later: “These *Ladrones* [...] seemed to be very lustful, and without law,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 75.

¹⁵¹ Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida*, 450.

¹⁵² Carletti, *Ragionamenti di Francesco Carletti*, 129, *tenevano ogni cosa a comune, insino le donne*.

Dios, y otros semejantes, estan muy eternizados en la memotia de los Indios, conociendo que son castigos merecidas por sus pecados, y sirven de escarmiento. Para que temiendo a Dios, guarden su ley y obedescan a lo que los religiosos les enseñan para guardarla mas perfectamente.

CAPITV. XIX. COMO VN
religioso Descalço estuuo en las Islas delos ladrones.

EN el viage que se haze desde nueua España a Manila, se reconocen algunas Islas, que llamã delos ladrones, que por ser muy diestros aquellos Indios en hurtar yerro, les han puesto este nombre: son los Indios que della salen en sus barquillos, muy bien hechos, grandes de cuerpo, algo blancos. Y quando pasan nuestros nauios vienen a trocar esteras de palma muy bien hechas, y cocos, y pescando, por yerro, de que se muestran muy codiciosos, no estimando el oro ni plata. Viendo pues esto vn religioso, de veynte y dos que yua, llamado fray Antonio delos Angeles, mouido con vn impulso interior, que le impellia eficazmente a desear la saluacion de aquellos barbaros (mostrando que lo son ansi en la desnudez total de sus cuerpos, como en la codicia tan grande q̄ tiene de solo yerro, y por otras cosas) pidio licencia al q̄ yua por su prelado, para quedar se entre aquella gente. Y pensando el comisario que lo dezia de burlas, se la concedio. Y el frayle entendiendo q̄ era de veras, lleuado de su buen zelo, no reparado en el peligro a q̄ ponía la vida, por no se tener experiencia dela condiciõ de aquella gēte, tomado solamēte vna cruz, y el breuiario se dexo caer en vn barquillo (delos muchos que vinieron) que estava mas cerca del nauio, sin poderse lo impedir persona alguna, ni mandar le el prelado que no fuese. Y como el despues dezia, queriendo se lo mandar no pudo hablar. Por lo qual entendio, q̄ era la voluntad diuina que fuese, y ansi hecho su bēdiciõ,

Porque se llaman ladrones.

Buen espiritu de un frayle.

viendo

Figure 2.10. First page of Fray Antonio de los Ángeles's account, from Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 75.

mingling with women in common.”¹⁵³ Rodrigo de Espinosa and Christoph Carl Fernberger also allude to this promiscuity, when they

¹⁵³ Van Noort, *Description du Penible Voyage*, 34, *Ces Ladrones [...] semblent estre fort luxurieux, & sans Loy, se meslans avecq les femmes en commun.*

refer to CHamoru women as “wanton” (*geil*)¹⁵⁴ as well as when they relate how they offered themselves or were offered by their “husbands” to engage in sexual relationships with the European seafarers.¹⁵⁵

However, despite this emphasis on the promiscuity and “communality” of CHamoru people (especially women), it is significant that from 1521 to 1668 no European mentioned the natives’ “public” or “bachelor” houses, which decades later would fill the letters and accounts of the Jesuits settled in the Marianas. These buildings, that will be thoroughly analysed in the following chapter, were spaces where young CHamoru males gathered and lived before their initiation into adulthood. According to the first Jesuits who aimed at evangelizing the islands in the second half of the 17th century, these young males engaged “promiscuously without anyone preventing it”¹⁵⁶ in sexual intercourses with single women from their village. Therefore, it is remarkable that not even those like Antonio de los Ángeles or Juan Pobre de Zamora, who spent several months in the archipelago, mention in their accounts these buildings and what happened inside them. One of the possible causes of this silence could be that both religious wanted to offer a kind vision of the CHamoru people for proselytizing reasons, representing the natives of the Marianas as subjects easy to evangelize. It is also probably for this reason that Pobre de Zamora compares CHamoru people with Christians when talking about the nudity of the former, claiming that the latter are even more shameless in some of their dances.

Another CHamoru practice associated by the Europeans to promiscuity is the sexual offer of native women to foreign men, at the initiative of women themselves or of their “husbands.” This practice is cited in the

¹⁵⁴ Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript,” 192-3.

¹⁵⁵ Rodrigo de Espinosa, “Derroteros y relaciones del viaje a las islas del Poniente de la armada de Miguel López de Legazpi, hechos por los pilotos de la expedición,” 1564-1565, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R.16, 37r.

¹⁵⁶ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” in Manila, 24 May 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Legajo 10 9/2676 (8), 4v, *pr[o]miscuam[en]te sin q[ue] aya quien se lo impida*.

aforementioned testimonies of Espinosa¹⁵⁷ and Fernberger.¹⁵⁸ A detailed analysis of both texts shows that, in the case of Espinosa, when native men offer “their” women to Spaniards, both CHamoru men and women “laughed loudly to it.”¹⁵⁹ However, Espinosa does not give any indication that the Spaniards accepted the offer or that there were any sexual contacts at all between native women and Spanish seafarers. Therefore, it is possible that these offerings were not serious, but simply a joke for foreigners—since CHamoru people, as the Jesuits will later refer, were very much given to jokes and laughter. According to Fernberger, though, CHamoru women offered themselves to the European crew, and in this case the sexual contacts seem to have occurred. However, it is not certain that native women received any material compensation in exchange for sex, as Wernhart’s translation (when he indicates that CHamoru women “prostituted themselves” with the seafarers) is not accurate. Consequently, despite the fact that sexual encounters did take place between women from the Marianas and foreign men in contexts of commercial exchange, it cannot be assured that these encounters were explicitly involved in such exchanges. The documentary evidence suggests that these encounters happened at the will of women themselves and that they were used as a means to joke with foreigners, rather than taking part in a traffic in women.

Written sources also mention that among the CHamoru people there was a union between men and women which Spaniards ethnocentrically termed as “marriages.” Juan de Medina, in his 1630 manuscript on the history of the Order of Saint Augustine in the Philippines, narrates the way in which CHamoru women chose their “husbands” (*maridos*). The Augustinian friar relates how, as he passed through the Mariana Islands, multiple native proas approached his vessel. In one of the proas came a “robust young man” (*mancebo robusto*) in search of a Castilian man who, according to Medina’s account, had been his “captive” (*cautivo*) after

¹⁵⁷ See page 56 in this thesis.

¹⁵⁸ See pages 57-8 in this thesis.

¹⁵⁹ Rodrigo de Espinosa, “Derroteros y relaciones del viaje a las islas del Poniente de la armada de Miguel López de Legazpi, hechos por los pilotos de la expedición,” 1564-1565, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R.16, 37r, *les dava muy gran rrisa*.

escaping in the Marianas of the Santa Margarita carrack. When the young man and the Castilian met, they hugged and greeted each other. Medina notes that the young CHamorus:

Venía todo lleno de señales de bocados, y preguntada la causa dijo el español, que por la estancia entre ellos sabía algo de su lengua y costumbres, que aquel había poco que se había casado, y el dote que había dado había sido recibir con valor aquellos bocados de su muger las cuales de aquella manera eligen y escogen a los que han de ser sus maridos. ¹⁶⁰	came all covered with bite marks, and when the cause of this was asked the Spaniard, that due to the stay between them he knew something of their language and customs, said that he had married recently, and the dowry he had given had been to receive with courage those bites from his wife, which in that way they choose those who are to be their husbands.
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Although it is necessary to be cautious regarding the interpretations that Spaniards made in their documents on CHamoru practices, it seems certain that the practice of marking with bites the bodies of the beloved ones existed among the natives of the Mariana Islands. Ribadeneira also mentions this custom from Fray Antonio de los Ángeles' account:

Dice pues que entre aquella gente [...] en señal de amor se muerden unos a otros en los brazos, y aun hacen a veces llagas, y no las curan. Porque por ser hechas con amor dejan al tiempo que las cure. ¹⁶¹	He says that among those people [...] as a sign of love they bite each other in the arms, and sometimes they even do sores, and they do not heal them. Because as they are made with love, they let the time heal them.
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Decades later, once the Jesuit mission was established in the archipelago, one of the missionaries informs of the “successful” extinction of this practice. In 1682, Fr. Luis de Morales writes: “that

¹⁶⁰ Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp, 1893 [1630]), 22.

¹⁶¹ Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 76.

barbaric habit of biting and scratching with the blindness of their awkward love was extinguished.”¹⁶²

Spanish documents also offer evidence concerning the way in which CHamoru people carried out these unions. The information comes from the two Franciscan friars who spent several months in the Marianas between 1596 and 1602: Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora. The first one asserts in his account that in CHamoru unions “the man sends a present to the father, or master of the woman, and they invite him and send another one, and they all go to the house of the man, and with this they are married and live together.”¹⁶³ The CHamoru rite of union between men and women, therefore, would be carried out through an exchange of presents between the man who is going to unite and the father of the woman involved in the union, in a sort of dowries given reciprocally. The patriarchal tone used in the quote is remarkable, especially when referring to the “father, or master of the woman.” Several authors have pointed out that, according to the material and textual evidence, CHamoru societies prior to the Spanish colonization of the archipelago were quite egalitarian, and therefore the power asymmetries between men and women were limited or non-existent.¹⁶⁴ The reference to the “master of the woman,” therefore, is surely due to a Eurocentric bias in the gaze of Antonio de los Ángeles (or in the one of Ribadeneira, when reproducing the former’s account) and not so much to the practices of the islands. The end of de los Angeles’ quote is equally interesting. He refers that, once the exchange is done, everyone goes to the house of the man and the couple is considered “married” and go to live together. However, it is not clear if the couple will live at the man’s house or if they simply go there at the end of the rite. The distinction is important since, in the first case, it

¹⁶² Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” 1682, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, no. 151, *estinguiose aquella barbara costumbre de morderse y arañarse con la seguedad de su torpe amor.*

¹⁶³ Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 78-9, *el varon embia un presente al padre, o amo de la muger, y ellos le combidan y embian otro, y vanse todos a casa del varon, y con esto se dan por casados y viven juntos.*

¹⁶⁴ Sandra Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities in the Early Modern Globalization: Guam 1668–98,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (2019): 410-1.

would mean that CHamoru people had a patrilocal pattern of residence. This would challenge, at some point, the previous assumption about the matrilineality of the pre-contact CHamoru society,¹⁶⁵ since matrilineal societies usually follow matrilineal patterns of residence—but not always.¹⁶⁶ However, CHamoru people’s matrilineal tracing of kinship is not fully proven in the historiography of the archipelago.¹⁶⁷ In addition, as Antonio de los Ángeles’ testimony is ambiguous at this point, current evidence does not allow a firm conclusion about the pattern of residence of the CHamoru society prior to contact.

Pobre de Zamora’s testimony, however, differs from that of Antonio de los Ángeles. In his account on his stay in the Mariana Islands, Pobre de Zamora points out that “when [...] these Indians get married, they celebrate and feast, and in his way he gives her the dowry, as all Indians that have been discovered do.”¹⁶⁸ According to his report, the dowry for marriage would be given by the man to the woman (or, presumably, to her family). It would not be, as pointed out by de los Ángeles, an exchange between both parties, but a unilineal dowry from the “husband” to the “wife.” Despite the differences, both evidences show that, in these unions, the man granted a dowry to the woman and her family, although it is not clear if it was reciprocated with another dowry on her part.

Regarding the sort of unions according to the number of spouses, most European documents for the period of 1521 and 1668 suggest that CHamoru unions were monogamous, that is, between a man and a

¹⁶⁵ Rosalind Hunter-Anderson and Brian Butler. *An Overview of Northern Marianas Prehistory* (Saipan: Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report, 1995); Laura Marie Torres Souder, *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro women organizers of Guam* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), 227-8; Laura Thompson, *The Native Cultures of the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1945), 11-2; Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 49.

¹⁶⁶ David M. Schneider, “Preface,” in *Matrilineal Kinship*, eds. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), ix-x.

¹⁶⁷ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities,” 408.

¹⁶⁸ Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida*, 446, *cuando [...] llegan a edad de casarse estos indios, hacen fiesta y banquete, y en su manera da él a ella el dote, como hacen todos los indios, que se han descubierto.*

woman. Only the testimony of Christoph Carl Fernberger breaks this rule, when he states:

ich liess auch fragen ob einer mer als ein frau hat, sagten sie, das die macht bey den frauen sey sovill männer zu nemen als sie wolt [...]. ¹⁶⁹	I also asked if one man has more than one wife; they said that it was the power of the women to have as many men as they like [...]. ¹⁷⁰
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Fernberger points to a possible polyandry in pre-colonial CHamoru society. Although this type of polygamy is not alien to the peoples of the Pacific, and exists in societies such as those of the Marquesas Islands,¹⁷¹ the fact of being a testimony so isolated and so contradicted by the rest of contemporary accounts does doubt its veracity.

Despite the alleged monogamy, these unions were not lifelong bonds. Both Pobre de Zamora and de los Ángeles mention that “marriages” terminated with relative ease for several reasons: due to anger, fights, betrayals by the “husband” to the “wife,” extramarital sexual relationships (*amancebamientos*) of the “husband,” or simply because one of the partners liked someone else. Pobre de Zamora refers to it in an enlightening fragment:

En llegando, como he dicho, a casarse y juntarse en una casa marido y mujer, aunque estén casados veinte y treinta años, si el marido hace traición a la mujer o está amancebado, si ella se enoja demasiado se sale de casa y toma todos los hijos que tiene con todo el ajuar de la casa, y se va a casa de sus padres o parientes y se está	Getting, as I said, to get married and live together in a house husband and wife, even if they are married for twenty and thirty years, if the husband betrays the woman or lives in cohabitation with other woman, if the wife gets too angry, she leaves the house and takes all the children and the household items with
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¹⁶⁹ Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript,” 193.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁷¹ Nicholas Thomas, “Domestic Structures and Polyandry in the Marquesas Islands,” in *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact*, eds. Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 65-83.

allí. Y en todo este tiempo no reconocen los hijos al padre, aunque pasen junto a ellos, y ha de ser muy rogada de los parientes del marido para volverse a él. Harto menos que cuando ella le hace traición, que más fácil es alcanzar el perdón del marido, por ser este pecado más grave en los varones que entre las mujeres.¹⁷²

her, and goes to her parents' or relatives' house and stays there. And in all this time the children do not recognize the father, although he passes by them, and the relatives of the husband have to beg the wife a lot to get her back with him. This is less severe when she betrays him, as it is easier to achieve the forgiveness of the husband, because this sin is more serious in men than among women.

Pobre de Zamora addresses several interesting topics in this fragment. The first and most explicit of all is the ease with which CHamoru unions between men and women were undone by the aforementioned causes. However, he also gives clues about the tracing of kinship of the pre-contact CHamoru society. He points out that, when man and woman separate, it is the woman who takes the children to her parents' or to a relative's house, and those children do not recognize their previous father. This kind of filiation, in which children are related to their mother and her family, and not to that of the biological father, is characteristic of systems of matrilineal descent.¹⁷³ The Franciscan friar also indicates that it is the woman who takes the "household items" with her, which could be related to a matrilineal inheritance of property. Likewise, when Pobre de Zamora indicates that the woman goes to her parents' house after the separation, he gives us evidence about the CHamoru patterns of residence. If the woman does not live with her parents after "marriage," this means that either she lives with her "husband's" family (which would indicate a patrilocal pattern of residence), or the couple, after joining, goes to live to a new home (neolocality). Finally, if women have the ability to "leave" the house

¹⁷² Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida*, 447.

¹⁷³ David Schneider, "Introduction. The distinctive features of matrilineal descent groups," in *Matrilineal Kinship*, eds. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 8.

with their children and household belongings, and if it is easier for the “husband” to forgive the “betrayals” of the woman than in the opposite case, this reinforces the premise that in pre-colonial CHamoru society the differences of power between men and women were scarce or non-existent, since the latter had the capacity to decide on their families, children and material goods.

Additionally, Antonio de los Ángeles offers in his account data that support some of the points indicated by Pobre de Zamora. Ribadeneira, in his summary of the Franciscan’s text, indicates that man and woman:

viven juntos hasta que se enfadan, o riñen o gustan mas de otra persona. Y si deja el primer marido a la muger parida, y ella se casa con otro, el hijo es del segundo marido, o del tercero si deja el segundo. La primera vez que la mujer esta preñada, vase a casa de su padre, o del mas principal. Y alli todos le llevan presentes de lo que tienen. Y cuando siente que se acerca el parto, se va a casa de algun pariente, adonde la pueden mejor regalar. Y en el parto no se ha de quejar, por mayores dolores que tenga. ¹⁷⁴	they live together until they get angry, or argue or like someone else. And if the first husband leaves the woman who had recently given birth, and she marries another, the child is the son of the second husband, or of the third if she leaves the second. When the woman is pregnant for the first time, she goes to her father’s house, or to that of the most principal [man]. And there everyone carries present to her from what they have. And when she feels that childbirth is approaching, she goes to a relative’s house, where they can best flatter her. And during childbirth she must not complain, no matter how much her pain is.
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De los Ángeles also mentions that CHamoru unions were easily undone after arguments between the “spouses.” He narrates that, in case of separation, the son belongs to the new “husband” of the mother. The children remain with the mother, as Pobre de Zamora pointed out,

¹⁷⁴ Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 78-9.

although de los Ángeles—or Ribadeneira, when reproducing his account—says “if the first husband leaves the woman,” instead of talking about a mutually agreed separation or a separation due to the woman’s decision. He also states that the children are “of the second husband, or of the third,” instead of claiming that they belong to the mother. These nuances are surely due to the Eurocentric and patriarchal biases from which de los Ángeles or Ribadeneira write. Regarding the CHamoru pattern of residence, de los Ángeles’ testimony points to a neolocal or patrilocal system, since he states that, when the woman becomes pregnant for the first time, she goes to her parents’ house, and that implies that she does not live with them.

A comparison of the testimonies of both Franciscan friars sheds light on the CHamoru kinship and filiation systems prior to the Spanish colonization of the archipelago. The accounts by Pobre de Zamora and Ribadeneira agree that the children of a couple are affiliated with the woman’s family and, in case of separation, they recognize the mother’s new “husband” as a father, ceasing to recognize the former one. This statement is also supported by Christoph Carl Fernberger’s account, when he claims that:

sagten sie [...] die kinder gehören den frauen, diweil sie es auferziehen, so mögen sie mit ihnen leben wie sie woollen.¹⁷⁵ they said that [...] children belong to the women, because they are brought up by them and they may live together as they like.¹⁷⁶

Like the Franciscan friars, the Austrian aristocrat also states that children “belong” to women. In addition, Pobre de Zamora indicates that women keep the “household items” with them. Both facts, the “possession” of children and of household belongings by women, point to a matrilineal filiation and inheritance of property. However, regarding the pattern of residence, both testimonies agree that the new couple does not live in the house of the woman’s parents or family, in general terms. This opens up the possibility that CHamoru people were a society with a matrilineal tracing of kinship, as the historiography of the

¹⁷⁵ Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript,” 193.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 193.

archipelago has traditionally pointed out. However, their pattern of residence after marriage would be patrilocal or neolocal. Although it may seem contradictory, this combination of matrilineal kinship and patrilocal residence exists in several human groups, such as the Trobriand people from Papua New Guinea.¹⁷⁷ These conclusions, however, are not definitive. It is essential to keep into account that de los Ángeles and Pobre de Zamora were not modern ethnographers, but European religious who lived for a short period of time in the Mariana Islands, without even knowing the native language upon arrival. Therefore, the information provided by their accounts should be taken with caution, since it is filtered by a Eurocentric and patriarchal bias; it indicates only possible clues about the cultural patterns of the CHamoru people, and not firm evidence of their customs and ways of life.

In the previous quote by de los Ángeles, a CHamoru practice related to reproduction is also mentioned: childbirth. The Franciscan friar affirms that when a woman gives birth for the first time, she goes to her father's house or "to that of the most principal."¹⁷⁸ By "the most principal," he probably refers to the "*principales*" (the main ones), CHamoru community leaders whose position was determined more by age-acquired status than by a factual exercise of power.¹⁷⁹ Once at the house of her father or principal, the rest of the community gives gifts to the pregnant woman, until the day of delivery. At childbirth, de los Ángeles points out that women should not complain, even if they suffer very strong pain.

In addition, the European documents offer information regarding a topic unusual in written sources: child sexuality. In his travel journal, Austrian Christoph Carl Fernberger writes, about his very brief stay at the Marianas in 1623:

¹⁷⁷ Annette B. Weiner, *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea* (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1988), 94. Weiner uses the term "virilocal" as a synonym for "patrilocal."

¹⁷⁸ Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas*, 79.

¹⁷⁹ Montón-Subías, "Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities," 409.

[...] ihren knäblein thun sie allen [...] they [women] put nails
 nögl durchs haubt von ihrer through the head of their boys'
 mänligkeit und krümben penis and bend them so that the
 dieselben umb, dass sie es nit children cannot remove them;
 herausskrigen; und wan sie es only when the mother finds
 muetter vor vogtbar [Salzburg them procreative she removes it
 MS: fruchtbar] erkundt, so thuet because, they say, otherwise they
 sie ihnes herauss, sonst sagen sie would get spoiled in early years
 wurden sich in ihren jungen [...].¹⁸¹
 jahren verderben [...].¹⁸⁰

Fernberger claims that CHamoru mothers bound their children's penises around a nail to "preserve" their sexuality, so as not to corrupt it. The first thing that draws attention to the fragment is how Fernberger was able to access this conclusion. According to his account, as his ship was reaching the islands several natives approached in their canoes and "some of their wives came with them to the ship and had their male children with them."¹⁸² It is possible that, at that point, Fernberger saw that the children had bound penises, and asked for explanations. However, to understand how he could communicate with the CHamorus, the Austrian gives a clue later in his text: he states that one of the natives could speak Spanish, and was able to communicate with a member of the crew.¹⁸³ The CHamoru man could have acquired the language due to the presence of de los Ángeles or Pobre de Zamora in the islands, as well as the rest of the—voluntary and involuntary—shipwrecked people who arrived in the Marianas. If correct, Fernberger's explanation would imply that CHamoru women used bandages and nails—that they possibly obtained from trade with Europeans¹⁸⁴—to control the sexuality of their male children.

¹⁸⁰ Wernhart, "A Pre-Missionary Manuscript," 192-3.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 192-3.

¹⁸² Wernhart, "A Pre-Missionary Manuscript," 192-3, *ihre frauen etliche die kamen auch mit ans schiff, nahmen ihre kinder so knäblein sein mit.*

¹⁸³ Ibid., 193.

¹⁸⁴ Frank Quimby, "The *Hierro* Commerce: Culture Contact, Appropriation, and Colonial Engagement in the Marianas, 1521-1668," *The Journal of Pacific History* 46, no. 1 (2011): 8.

The European documents refer one last sexual practice: “dishonesties” and, in particular, sodomy. However, the Spaniards do not mention its existence among the natives from the Marianas but, on the contrary, its absence. Pobre de Zamora, in his account, indicates:

Y se conciertan también los muchachos unos con otros de guardarse esta amistad para siempre, y esto con grandísima limpieza, harto más de la lastimosa y miserable costumbre, que en muchas partes de la Europa se usa, que es digno de llorar /y más entre cristianos/. Preguntando algunas veces los españoles a estos bárbaros, si entre ellos se acostumbraba algún vicio contra naturaleza, hicieron tantos ascos y espantos de oírlo, que dijeron que jamás en todas sus islas tal se había visto ni oído, ni se sabía vocablo para decirlo, y que si alguno entre ellos lo hiciese, los parientes luego lo matarían de mala muerte. ¹⁸⁵	And boys also agree with each other to keep this friendship forever, and this with great cleanliness, even more in relation with the pitiful and miserable custom, which in many parts of Europe is used, which is worth crying /and more among Christians/. Sometimes the Spaniards asked these barbarians, if among them they used to practice any vice against nature, and they made so many disgust and fears when hearing it, that they said that in all their islands such thing had never been seen or heard, and there was no word to name it, and if any among them did it, his relatives would later kill him with a bad death.
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According to the Franciscan friar, among the CHamoru boys there was no such “miserable custom” (he refers to sodomy) that, on the contrary, was present in Europe. In addition, he states that, at the very mention of it, CHamoru people said that if anyone would commit it, his relatives would later kill him. Although Pobre de Zamora’s testimony might be correct, it should be remembered that, as in the aforementioned case about “shamelessness” in dances, the Franciscan offers in his writing a vision of the CHamoru people as “innocent barbarians,” worthy of receiving the Catholic faith. This representation of the natives as good

¹⁸⁵ Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida*, 446.

barbarians can be seen in that, both in the previous quote and in when addressing the “shamelessness” in the dances, Pobre de Zamora compares the CHamoru people with the Spaniards and Europeans to say that the former are nobler, less “shameless” and “dishonest” than the Christians from Europe themselves. Diego Luis de San Vitores will retake this topic in his letters and requests to the royal authorities, when he tries to found a permanent mission in the Mariana Islands during the 1660s. This discourse on the “innocent barbarian” precedes for a century and a half the discourses on the “noble savages” of the Enlightenment. However, while the former emerges for proselytizing purposes, the recovery of the image of the good savage in the Enlightenment will respond to the intention of showing that “man” is good by nature.

Finally, the discourse on the innocent barbarian shows, as has been seen throughout this section, that when Europeans refer in their writings sexual issues of the natives from the Marianas—or from other parts of the “New” or “Newest World”—they always do it from a biased point of view, often Eurocentric and patriarchal, and even with vested interests. Therefore, the information that emerges from such documents should be treated with caution, assuming that it can indicate cultural patterns, but never absolute and unequivocal certainties about the sexual practices of pre-colonial CHamoru groups.

2.5. Conclusion: Pre-colonial Sexualities, Porno-Tropics, and the Inception of a Sexual Coloniality of the Gaze

The first European incursions into the Pacific throughout the 16th century determined how women from this “Newest World” would be seen in Europe and in part of the world during later centuries. “Ethnosexual sojourners,”¹⁸⁶ whether they were seafarers, captains or religious men, reflected in their travel accounts vivid descriptions of island women and men, sometimes referring to their sexual customs.

¹⁸⁶ Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 14.

Previous imperial experiences in America, Africa and Asia conditioned these descriptions and representations. Likewise, they were also adapted to pre-existing European canons and prisms, often ethnocentric and patriarchal, as well as to the notions of class and gender from within European societies.¹⁸⁷

As Will Roscoe argues, “in the European imaginary, conquest was thoroughly sexualized.”¹⁸⁸ The descriptions and representations of people from the Pacific, including CHamoru women and men, were coded in European documents through metaphors. These tropes, such as the ero/exoticization of island women or the feminization of the conquered territories, were not harmless: eventually, they led to the dehumanization of the natives and served as justification for massacre, exploitation and sexual conflicts, abuses and violence, as will happen in the Mariana Islands in later centuries.¹⁸⁹

European portrays and definitions of Pacific peoples, in turn, contributed to the emergence of new imaginaries about the Otherness in Europe. The great impact reached by the accounts of seafarers and chroniclers such as Pigafetta or van Noort, in the case of the Marianas, stems from their inclusion in travel collections such as the ones by Theodor de Bry. The influence of these volumes on the European imaginaries of the Renaissance and the Baroque was such that, for instance, in his play *The Tempest*,¹⁹⁰ William Shakespeare takes from Pigaffeta’s account the name and figure of Setebos, god of the Patagonian giants, to give life to one of the characters of his work.¹⁹¹

However, European discourses on the native inhabitants of the Pacific were not uniform. In the case of the Mariana Islands, while some navigators emphasized the nudity, beauty, lust, and sexual availability of CHamoru women, giving rise to what I call *voyeuristic discourses*, religious men highlighted the absence of dishonesties and shamelessness among them, in their *elusive discourses*. This shows the extent to which the

¹⁸⁷ O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse*, 18.

¹⁸⁸ Roscoe, Will. “Strange Craft, Strange History, Strange Folks: Cultural Amnesia and the Case for Lesbian and Gay Studies,” *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 3 (1995): 450.

¹⁸⁹ See Chapters 4 and 5 in this dissertation.

¹⁹⁰ Firstly performed in 1611 and published in 1623.

¹⁹¹ Vaughan, Alden & Mason Vaughan, Virginia, *Shakespeare’s Caliban*, p. 38.

Europeans' writing was conditioned by their own vested interests, whether proselytizing or otherwise.

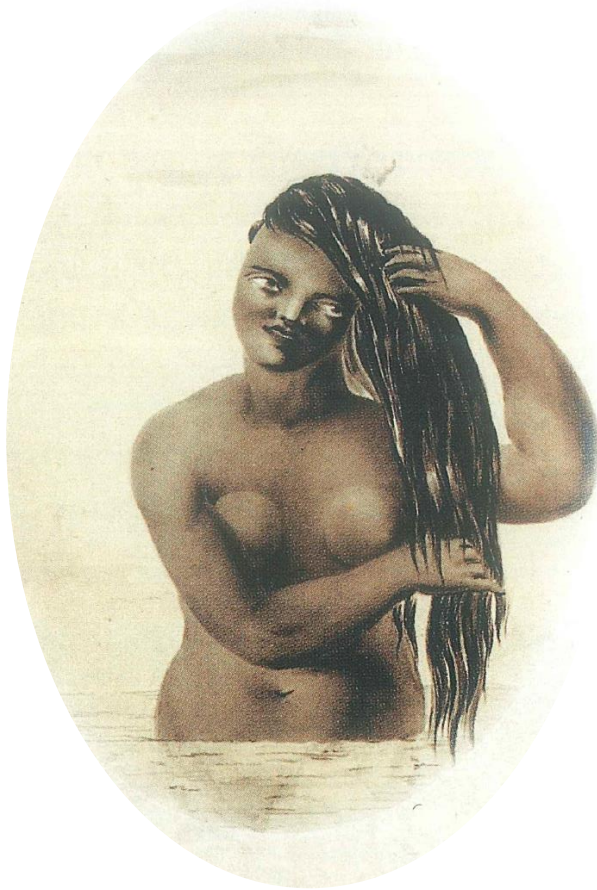


Figure 2.11. *Angelica del convento. Jenne fille d'humata*, depicted by Jacques Arago during the early 19th century, from *The Freycinet Collection. A Unique Collection of 93 Original Images from the Guam and Marianas Section of Freycinet's World Voyage of 1817-20* (Tokyo: Tuttle Antiquarian Books, 1997). I thank Yvonne Ramírez for providing me with this reference.

Despite the diversity of representations, “sexual descriptions had a special capacity to impress readers and to shape powerful and lasting images”¹⁹² of native peoples. Over time, these sexual depictions would constitute the breeding ground for the inception of a “coloniality of

¹⁹² Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*, 67.

seeing.”¹⁹³ This coloniality of seeing, in turn, would transform the Pacific territories into “porno-tropics” for the European imagination, that is, into “a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears.”¹⁹⁴ In the following centuries, different Europeans would travel to these porno-tropics to seek inspiration and sexual experiences, as in the well-known case of Gauguin in Tahiti. The Mariana Islands would also take part in this phenomenon. In the 19th century, they served as a porno-tropic scenario for Jacques Arago, artist of the Louis de Freycinet’s expedition, who portrayed young Angelica del convento, a CHamoru girl, in a quite erotic position (Figure 2.11).

The experiences of Spaniards and Europeans in the Pacific during the 16th and 17th centuries served as an imperial germ for the sexualization and spectacularization of the Other in that ocean, which would end up bringing devastating consequences both for the populations of the such territories and for the Others from Europe and America, negative consequences that, in many cases, have their echoes even today.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Romero Caballero, *La colonialidad de la naturaleza*, 4-6.

¹⁹⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 22.

¹⁹⁵ Sayak Valencia, “La isla es exótica, el archipiélago es post-exótico,” in Borja-Villel, Manuel, María Salgado, Sergio Raimondi, Marco Baravalle, Kike España, Gerald Rauning and Sayak Valencia. *Yendo leyendo, dando lugar. Rogelio López Cuenca* (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2019), 188-97.

CHAPTER 3. THE GUMA' ULITAO AND THE SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION OF CHAMORU YOUTH

Men's houses were, and in some places still are, a widespread institution throughout the populations of the Pacific regions. In some of these buildings, the youth from each community resides for a certain period, generally to be initiated into adulthood. Although the expression "men's houses" has existed for over a century in anthropological research,¹⁹⁶ it presents some challenges today. As Erhard Schlesier points out, it is an umbrella term in which different institutions, buildings and practices are often pigeonholed.¹⁹⁷ For instance, there are male-only houses (such as the *bale mua* in Hawai'i or the *fal-lap* in Lamotrek Atoll), segregated houses for men and women (as in the *mispil* system of Yap), all-gender houses (such as the *'are kariei* of Kūki 'Āirani [Cook Islands]), and meeting houses for young and old men (as the *bai* of Palau).¹⁹⁸ Considering this local variability, nowadays the expression "men's houses" has lost its centrality and is being gradually replaced by local denominations or a multiplicity of options, such as council chamber, clubhouse, bachelors' dormitory, sweathouse, or men's workshop, to name a few.

According to historical sources, an institution similar to men's houses existed in the Mariana Islands prior to the Spanish colonization of the archipelago. Recent historiography refers to these buildings as "men's houses," "bachelors' houses," or "*guma' uritao*." The aim of this chapter

¹⁹⁶ Erhard Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses und das Klubwesen in Mikronesien* (The Hague: Mouton & Co, 1953), 5; Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (London: Virago, 1979 [1970]), 49-50.

¹⁹⁷ Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 10.

¹⁹⁸ For a brief description of the location, culture area, name, description, and function of these institutions, see Table 1 in the appendix from Boyd Dixon, Dennis Gosse, and Scott S. Williams, "Traditional Hawaiian Men's Houses and their Socio-Political Context in Lualualei, Leeward West O'ahu, Hawai'i," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 117, no. 3 (2008): 267-295.

is to conduct an in-depth and critical review of the primary sources related to this institution to define its peculiarities and understand its relationship with both the sexuality of pre-contact CHamoru communities and the role it played in the ensuing colonization of the archipelago. In doing this, I will also examine the information concerning the *guma' ulitao*¹⁹⁹ in recent historiography to debunk the assumptions, absences, and speculations that have been made about it. In short, I will intend to build new and contrasted knowledge about these buildings and the practices that took place inside them.

3.1. The *Guma' Ulitao* in the Recent Historiography of the Mariana Islands

The existence of the so-called bachelors' houses or *guma' ulitao siba*²⁰⁰ in pre-colonial Mariana Islands is a deep-seated belief in the contemporary historiography of the archipelago. The first recorded mention of the CHamoru name for this institution was provided by the French naturalist Louis de Freycinet during his stay in the Marianas in 1819. In his journey report, Freycinet mentioned the "*goma ulitao*," which he translated to "*maisons des célibataires*,"²⁰¹ that is, "bachelors' houses." In the recent historiography of the archipelago, the *guma' ulitao siba* are commonly depicted as houses where young CHamoru bachelors resided once they reached puberty with the aim of being initiated into both manhood and adulthood. In these houses, the bachelors learned

¹⁹⁹ In this dissertation I have decided to use the CHamoru expression "*guma' ulitao*" to refer to this institution for two reasons. In the first place, because in this way I avoid using colonial and patriarchal nomenclatures, coming from both the Jesuit missionaries of the 17th century (such as "public houses" or "bachelors' houses") and from contemporary anthropology (e.g., "men's houses," "clubhouse," etc.). The second reason is that I have prioritized the use of *guma' ulitao* at the expense of other variants, such as "*guma' uritao*," because the former is more similar to the one referred for the first time by Louis de Freycinet at the beginning of the 19th century, as well as it is the one used by contemporary critical researchers from the Mariana Islands working on this institution, such as Scott Russell, Francine Naputi and Edward Leon Guerrero.

²⁰⁰ Plural form of *guma' ulitao* in CHamoru. I am deeply grateful to Edward Leon Guerrero for his advice on using this plural form instead of other variants.

²⁰¹ Louis de Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde, Entrepris par Ordre du Roi. Historique. Tome Deuxième. Première Partie* (Paris: Chez Pillet Aîné, 1829), 108.

from their elders to perform tasks such as fishing, canoe making, navigation or tool construction. Some young unmarried women were sent to the *guma' ulitao* to provide young men with sexual experience. In addition, these buildings also served to host men's gatherings and other community events.²⁰²

Although with variances, most texts from the 20th and 21st centuries share this description of the *guma' ulitao*, without considering a critical review or an in-depth analysis of this institution. Indeed, despite what it might seem from its ubiquity in most Mariana Islands histories and ethnographies, the study of the *guma' ulitao* has been insufficiently addressed by the contemporary historiography of the islands. There is no exhaustive research devoted solely to this institution, only occasional references in works on more general topics. The only exception to date is the research conducted by German ethnologist Erhard Schlesier on the different Micronesian *Männerhauses* (men's houses).²⁰³ Schlesier bases his analysis of the *guma' ulitao* mainly on the renowned history of the Mariana Islands elaborated by the French Jesuit Charles Le Gobien in 1700.²⁰⁴ However, Le Gobien had a second-hand knowledge of the history of the Mariana Islands: he never set foot on the archipelago, but instead he drew on the writings of other authors, especially the Jesuit missionaries, to prepare his work. By relying on a secondary source, Schlesier's research is equally limited when it comes to understanding the institution of the *guma' ulitao* in all its complexity.

The absence of exhaustive studies on the *guma' ulitao* has resulted in the reproduction of biased assumptions in contemporary research. One of these biases consists in the uncritical use of the same moral terms employed by the Jesuits of the 17th century to refer to the *guma' ulitao* and to the practices that took place within it. This bias appears mainly in early 20th-century publications, in which the sexual practices of

²⁰² Kelly G. Marsh and Brian Muna, "Guma' Uritao." *Guampedia*. Accessed July 14, 2021. <https://www.guampedia.com/guma-uritao/>.

²⁰³ Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

CHamoru youth within the *guma' ulitao* are described as “scandalous”²⁰⁵ and as a sort of “concubinage.”²⁰⁶

Likewise, the Jesuits’ opinions concerning the *guma' ulitao* are also uncritically exposed in recent publications. For instance, some authors reproduce the idea that the existence of the *guma' ulitao* responded to the young CHamoru men’s need to “escape” from the strong power of their female relatives. Schlesier argues this point on the basis of the following excerpt from Le Gobien’s work:

Cet empire des femmes sur les maris est cause qu’une infinité de jeunes gens ne veulent point se marier. Ils louënt des filles, ou ils les achètent de leurs parens pour quelques morceaux de fer ou d’écailles de tortuë. Ils les mettent dans des maisons publiques & communes à cette jeunesse, qui vit avec elles dans un libertinage & dans un déreglement, qui fait de la peine à ceux de la nation, qui sont les plus reglez. ²⁰⁷	This power of wives over their husbands is the reason why countless young men do not wish to marry. They hire young women or buy them from their fathers for a few pieces of iron or turtle shells, and take them to public or common houses, where they live with these young women in such a libertine and scandalous fashion that they offend the decency and good customs of those around them. ²⁰⁸
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Without referring to Le Gobien, Hezel also subscribes to this idea, and states that “young men’s houses were not simply brothels, but a welcome escape for young men in a society that even the Spanish

²⁰⁵ Georg Fritz, *The Chamorro: A History and Ethnography of the Marianas* (Mangilao: Micronesia Area Research Center, 1986 [1904]), 47.

²⁰⁶ William Edwin Safford, “Guam and Its People,” *American Anthropologist* 4 (1902): 715-16.

²⁰⁷ Charles Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes, nouvellement converties à la Religion Chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers Missionnaires qui y ont prêché la Foy* (Paris: Chez Nicolas Pepie, 1700), 61-2.

²⁰⁸ Luis de Morales and Charles Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*, ed. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, and trans. Yesenia Pumarada Cruz (Mangilao: University of Guam Press, 2016), 116. For Schlesier’s claim, see Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 26.

recognized as heavily female-dominated and respect-laden.”²⁰⁹ The use of the word “brothel” is equally remarkable. It is true that some of the Jesuits that lived in the Marianas did point out the relative power that CHamoru women enjoyed in their communities, especially within the context of household.²¹⁰ However, Montón-Subías argues that the missionaries made this assumption on the basis of the patriarchal standards of their society of origin, misinterpreting the few power inequalities that existed between CHamoru men and women by claiming that women were the ones who held power,²¹¹ as Fr. Jaramillo stated: “the head of the household was the wife; she commanded and the husband obeyed.”²¹² Fr. Francisco García made a similar claim: “in private homes women are in control, and husbands do not dare to arrange anything against their will.”²¹³ However, the attribution of the existence of the *guma’ ulitao* to such feminine power over men was only formulated by one missionary in the early 18th century, after the destruction of all the *guma’ ulitao siba* by the Spanish militia. This Jesuit, Fr. Joseph Bonani, stated in a letter from 1719 that “as the role of chief was performed by women, many men remained celibate, and some lived together in a house.”²¹⁴ The rest of the missionaries contemporary to

²⁰⁹ Francis Hezel, *When Cultures Clash. Revisiting the ‘Spanish-Chamorro Wars’* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2015), 14.

²¹⁰ Sandra Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities in the Early Modern Globalization: Guam 1668–98,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (2019): 421.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 420-1.

²¹² Antonio Jaramillo, “Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo,” 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 319, *la cabeza de la casa era la mujer, mandando ella y obedeciendo el marido.*

²¹³ Francisco García, *Vida y martirio del venerable padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, de la Compañía de Jesús, primer apóstol de las Islas Marianas, y sucesos de estas islas, desde el año de mil seiscientos y sesenta y ocho, hasta el de mil seiscientos y ochenta y uno* (Madrid: Iván García Infanzón, 1683), 202, *En las casas particulares tienen el mando las mujeres, y no se atreven los maridos a disponer nada contra su voluntad.*

²¹⁴ Joseph Bonani, “Deuxième lettre du P. Bonani au R. P. Pettinati, écrite à Rota, une des îles Marianes, le 27 Mai 1719,” in Luta (Rota), 27 May 1719, Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús a Catalunya (hereinafter AHCJC), Barcelona, FILCAR E.I, a-18. 1677–1750. First Part: 1677–1735. E.I. a-18/1, 101-114, 111, *Comme le rôle de maître était joué par les femmes, beaucoup d’hommes restaient célibataires, at un certain nombre vivaient ensemble en une maison.*

the *guma' ulitao siha* assigned the existence of these “public houses” to the influence of the Devil on the archipelago, as well as to the “abandonment” of CHamoru parents towards their children.²¹⁵ Fr. Bonani may have gotten the idea that the existence of these houses was due to the supposed power of CHamoru women from Le Gobien’s history, which had been published in Paris two decades before the missionary wrote his letter. As noted below, the most likely reason for the existence of the *guma' ulitao* from an anthropological perspective is the role that it played within a culturally sanctioned system devoted to the socialization of CHamoru youth, and not so much the fact that it was an “escape” for young men against the (recently problematized²¹⁶) power of CHamoru women.

The absence of specific studies on the *guma' ulitao* leads, likewise, to the proliferation of information that is not mentioned in primary sources.²¹⁷ For instance, the definition of the *guma' ulitao siha* as “men’s houses,” employed in several publications.²¹⁸ The term “men’s houses” involves several challenges. The first one, pointed out by Schlesier despite the title of his work, is that it is ambiguous: it is often used to designate different buildings, such as “bachelor houses,” “men’s clubs,” or “canoe houses.”²¹⁹ In the Mariana Islands, some evidence points to the existence of canoe houses as independent buildings from the *guma' ulitao* during the *Latte* period.²²⁰ Consequently, the notion of “men’s houses”

²¹⁵ García, *Vida y martirio*, 241-42.

²¹⁶ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 420-21.

²¹⁷ The work by Scott Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo’na: *Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), is a laudable exception.

²¹⁸ Laura Thompson, “The Function of Latte in the Marianas,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 49, no. 195 (1940): 449-65; Lawrence Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1992); Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, *Hale’-ta. Hestorian Taotao Tano’. History of the Chamorro People* (Hagåtña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1994); Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall. A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1995); Hezel, *When Cultures Clash*.

²¹⁹ Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 10-1.

²²⁰ Thompson, “The Function of Latte,” 464; Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo’na, 226-27; Boyd Dixon and Laura Gilda, “A Comparison of an Inland Latte Period Community to Coastal Settlement Patterns Observed on Southern Guam,” *People and Culture in Oceania* 27 (2011): 71; Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 411-12.

is even more confusing when applied to *Latte* societies. Furthermore, in the early Jesuit documents the term used to refer to the *guma' ulitao* is a non-engendered one: “public houses.” When the Jesuits referred to these buildings in a gendered manner, they used to do so by pointing out both genders: “male and female bachelor houses” (*casas de solteros y solteras*²²¹). This is not to say, however, that the Jesuits offered a gender-neutral description of the *guma' ulitao*; on the contrary, in their reports the missionaries granted agency mainly to male bachelors, leaving young women as passive objects of exchange, as I will show below. Therefore, the notion of “men’s houses” implies an androcentric bias that, when applied to the *guma' ulitao*, might suggest that these buildings were only inhabited by young men, undermining the role of young women who, as I will state later, were fundamental to the practices that took place in the *guma' ulitao siba*, practices that in turn had significant social repercussions on young women themselves.

The absence of research based on primary sources results also in contradictory information. This is the case of the presence of married men within the *guma' ulitao*. Some authors argue that, once married, men left the building.²²² However, Cunningham states that these houses were also frequented by married men, so they should be considered “men’s houses:” “Since married men also spent time at the *uritao*, it is also called a men’s house.”²²³ Jesuit sources contemporary to the *guma' ulitao*, however, do not mention anything in this regard. Cunningham also notes that, before entering the *guma' ulitao*, young men took a vow.²²⁴ He bases his argument on the account of Anson’s expedition, which visited the island of Tinian in 1742 (supposedly, several decades after the destruction of the last *guma' ulitao*). However, Anson’s report is extremely vague in this respect:

²²¹ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 4v, 35v.

²²² Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 26-7; Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 37.

²²³ Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society*, 184.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 183.

If the account our prisoners gave us of these structures was true, the island [Tinian] must indeed have been extremely populous; for they assured us, that they were the foundations of particular buildings set apart for those Indians only, who had engaged in some religious vow; and monastic institutions are often to be met with in many Pagan nations.²²⁵

References to a “religious” vow and to “monastic institutions” evidence the Eurocentric bias by which Anson leaked the information about Tinian’s “particular buildings,” probably *latte* structures (Figure 3.1). Therefore, his testimony must be analyzed with caution, without assuming that the practices he mentions refer to those that took place in the *guma’ ulitao*. Cunningham’s work contains other inaccuracies. For instance, the fact that young men residing in the *guma’ ulitao* could pay with *âlas* (shell money) to receive knowledge from adult men²²⁶ does not appear in the primary sources. Likewise, other authors also offer information that does not appear in the Jesuits’ documents: for instance, Rogers, when he affirms that young CHamoru boys attended the *guma’ ulitao* of the village of their maternal uncle.²²⁷



Figure 3.1. *A view of the watering place at Tenian*, plate XXXIV from Anson, *Voyage round the world*.

²²⁵ George Anson, *Voyage Round the World, in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1748), 312.

²²⁶ Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society*, 184.

²²⁷ Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 37.

The biases and unfounded ideas that have just been exposed show the need to conduct a critical analysis of the institution of the *guma' ulitao*, based on information provided by primary sources. The following sections will be devoted to this task.

3.2. Convenient Silences: The Absence of the *Guma' Ulitao* in Pre-Mission Records

The *guma' ulitao* played a relevant role in CHamoru communities as a place of socialization for the youth. This relevance is repeatedly expressed in the Jesuit documents of the 17th century. However, no source prior to the founding of the Jesuit mission in 1668 refers to the *guma' ulitao* or to the sexual practices that occurred within it. As indicated in the previous chapter, some Europeans who visited the Mariana archipelago between the 16th and 17th centuries alluded to the “promiscuity” and “lust” of their native populations. Nevertheless, considering the little time that those navigators spent on the islands, these testimonies are probably based on the Europeans’ own prejudices or on what they observed from their vessels, since it is unlikely that they could witness at first hand the sexual practices that took place within the *guma' ulitao*.

Despite the absence of references to the *guma' ulitao* in pre-mission records, there is a 16th-century testimony that describes one of the sexual customs of the *urritaos*, that is, the young bachelors who inhabited that house.²²⁸ Andrés de Urdaneta, in his account of García Jofre de Loaísa’s expedition to the Moluccas, refers a practice that he observed in Guåhan during his brief stay in September 1526:

²²⁸ Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores y sus compañeros de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15 de mayo de 1669 hasta 28 de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores y sus compañeros,” 1670/1671, Biblioteca del Hospital Real (hereinafter BHR), Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31), Col. Montenegro, 13r; Diego Luis de Sanvitores, “Carta que el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores escribió al padre Joseph Vidal,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 25 May 1671, AGI, Seville, México 47, R. 3, no. 47, 2v.

una costumbre hay en estas islas que todos los hombres solteros que son ya pa mujeres, traense dos varas en las manos y todos ellos y ellas generalmente traen siempre sendas esportillas de estera muy bien labradas y dentro en ellas traen el piña que detrás dije que comían, tienen una libertad los indios solteros que traen las varas que pueden entrar en casa de cualquier indio casado que le parezca bien su mujer y usar con ella lo que quisiere muy seguramente y si por caso al tiempo que el mancebo quiere entrar, su marido está en casa, luego que el otro entra se truena las esportillas de piña y se sale el marido fuera y queda dentro el mancebo, no ha de llegar el casado á casa hasta que sepa que el otro está fuera [...].²²⁹

there is one custom in these islands, that all unmarried men who are ready for women carry two rods in their hands, and both men and women usually carry with them very well-crafted woven baskets and, inside them, they bring the cone²³⁰ that I have said they ate earlier. The bachelor Indians who carry the rods have such a freedom that they may enter the house of any married Indian man whose wife pleases them and make use of her for whatever they like. If, at the time the bachelor wants to enter, the husband happens to be at home, then after the first one comes in, they swap their cone baskets and the husband gets out, staying the bachelor inside; and the husband must not come back home until he knows that the other one has left [...].

Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, chronicler of the Indies, mentions this same practice in his renowned *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, adding some details to Urdaneta's description. For instance, Fernández de Oviedo indicates that the rods carried by young bachelors were "painted or white," and also states that, when a young lad and a married woman were together in the latter's house, the husband could not go to

²²⁹ Fermín de Uncilla y Arroita Jáuregui, *Urdaneta y la Conquista de Filipinas* (San Sebastián: Imprenta de la Provincia, 1907), 347.

²³⁰ Urdaneta is probably referring to the betel nut or *pugua*, in current CHamoru.

another house to swap his basket, on pain of death.²³¹ This same practice also appears in the work of Juan González de Mendoza, when he narrates the journeys of the Franciscan friar Martín Ignacio de Loyola, great-nephew of the founder of the Society of Jesus. To complete his work, González de Mendoza relied on a text lent to him by Loyola himself, the *Itinerary around the world (Itinerario alrededor del mundo)*, in which the Franciscan friar gave an account of his circumnavigation of the globe.²³² During his journey, Martín Ignacio de Loyola stopped in the Mariana Islands, sometime between 1582 and 1583. The Franciscan friar described the same practice referred by Urdaneta and Fernández de Oviedo, adding that young Chamoru bachelors would leave their rods at the door of the married men's houses so that everyone could see them, and the husbands could not enter until the lads had taken the rods away, unless they wanted to be killed by the rest of their people.²³³

It follows from the three previous testimonies that young bachelors from the Mariana Islands could engage, at an age, in sexual intercourse with married women. For this purpose, they would go to these women's houses carrying their rods (the so-called *tunas*, as I will show below) that they would leave at the door to make known what was happening inside. In case of meeting the husbands, the lads would exchange with them their baskets containing betel nuts or *pugua*. While the sexual encounter lasted, the husband could not enter the house or go to another one to exchange his basket. The place to which European testimonies relegate women in relation to this practice is criticized by Rodrigue Lévesque, who affirms that “[t]he macho Spaniards could not have imagined that women of the Ladrones were then considered superior to men, kept

²³¹ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar océano. Tomo primero de la segunda parte, Segundo de la obra* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852), 61.

²³² Diego Solá García, “Juan González de Mendoza y la Historia del Gran Reino de la China: la construcción del relato sinológico desde la Europa del Quinientos,” *Revista Estudios* 32 (2016): 12.

²³³ Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran reino de la China, sabidas así por los libros de los mismos chinos, como por relación de religiosos y otras personas que han estado en el dicho reino* (Rome: Stampa de Vincentio Accolti, 1585), 362.

control over sexual matters, and naturally had a choice in accepting (or rejecting) such young lovers.”²³⁴ Although the notion that CHamoru women were “superior” to men is debatable, as noted in the previous section, Lévesque is correct in indicating that women would not have been a mere object of exchange in those encounters, but surely their decision-making capacity would have been greater than the one reflected in the reports of the Europeans, filtered by their own patriarchal standards and prejudices.

Although Andrés de Urdaneta and Martín Ignacio de Loyola mention this sexual practice, they do not refer to the *guma’ ulitao* in their writings. However, the absence of this institution in their accounts is understandable, since they only spent a short period of time on the islands. Urdaneta was in the Marianas only five days, between September 5 and 10, 1526. González de Mendoza, for his part, did not specify how much time the expedition of Martín Ignacio de Loyola spent in the Mariana archipelago, but according to his account, it was also a technical stop to stock up on food and water, before continuing its way to Manila. However, the absence of references to the *guma’ ulitao* is more suspect in the case of two religious men who remained in the Marianas for a longer period: Franciscan friars Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, Antonio de los Ángeles resided in the Mariana Islands for one year, between 1596 and 1597, and Juan Pobre de Zamora did so for seven months, in 1602. Despite the fact that both priests described in their accounts different customs of CHamoru communities related to food, marriage, or their myths, neither of them mentioned the *guma’ ulitao*. It is possible that both Franciscan friars overlooked the existence of this institution during their stays on the archipelago. However, this ignorance is even less understandable since, according to later Jesuit reports, there was at least one *guma’ ulitao* in each village,²³⁵ so the friars

²³⁴ Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents. Volume 1. European Discovery 1521-1560* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1992), 466.

²³⁵ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 4v.

had to live in close vicinity with at least one of these buildings, regardless of the settlement in which they resided.

Although it should not be discarded that Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora were unaware of the existence of the *guma' ulitao* and the practices that occurred within it, I consider that there is sufficient evidence to claim that their silences could be “deliberate acts of omission,” as is often the case with issues related to sexuality in historical sources.²³⁶ To justify this argument, I must first delve into the role that silences play in archival materials. Some authors designate the archives as “places of power,” understanding their silences and absences not as “passive gaps,” but as “a proper subject for inquiry.”²³⁷ Michel Foucault warned about the “strategic” role of these silences, defining them as “an integral part of the strategies that underlie and cross discourses.”²³⁸ Taking this into account, I consider that the European documents must be read “against the grain” to identify those silences, understand them and, ultimately, to “weaken their power.”²³⁹ In this sense, I consider that Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora probably followed their own interests when they decided to avoid in their writings the *guma' ulitao* and the “promiscuous” and premarital sexual practices that CHamoru youth kept within it. The main reason for their silence is that both friars wanted to evangelize the Mariana Islands, in fact both jumped off their respective vessels when they arrived in the archipelago without waiting for the approval of their superiors, driven by “an internal impulse, which effectively impelled [them] to desire the salvation of those barbarians.”²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Will Roscoe, “Strange Craft, Strange History, Strange Folks: Cultural Amnesia and the Case for Lesbian and Gay Studies,” *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 3 (1995): 452.

²³⁷ David Thomas, “Introduction,” in *The Silence of the Archive*, ed. David Thomas, Simon Fowler, and Valerie Johnson (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), xx.

²³⁸ Michel Foucault, *Historia de la sexualidad. 1. La voluntad de saber*, ed. Julia Varela and Fernando Álvarez-Uría, and trans. Ulises Guinázú (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2009 [1976]), 28.

²³⁹ Valerie Johnson, “Dealing with the silence,” in *The Silence of the Archive*, ed. David Thomas, Simon Fowler, and Valerie Johnson (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), 107.

²⁴⁰ Marcelo Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina [sic], Malaca, Sian, Camboya y Japón, y de lo sucedido en ellos a los religiosos descalzos de la orden del seráfico padre San Francisco, de la Provincia de San Gregorio de las Filipinas* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Gabriel Graells y Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 75.

Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora was well aware of the difficulties that the evangelization of the Mariana Islands entailed, due in part to the fact that there were no resources in them that the Spaniards considered valuable: “in order to evangelize these *indios*, the religious must be brought aboard a ship from Manila or New Spain, and the Spaniards will not want to bring them here unless they are motivated by an interest in gold or silver or in something else of value to them.”²⁴¹ I believe that the proselytizing spirit of Juan Pobre de Zamora could have led him to strategically omit the *guma’ ulitao* and the sexual practices related to it in his account, to offer an idealized vision of the ease with which the native populations of the Mariana Islands could be evangelized, and to avoid adding even more obstacles to their Christianization.

Therefore, to achieve the establishment of a permanent mission in the Mariana Islands from which to conduct the evangelization of local communities, so deeply desired by Juan Pobre de Zamora and Antonio de los Angeles, both Franciscans decided to portray CHamoru people as “noble savages” (or “innocent barbarians,” following the terminology of their time) in their narratives. Pobre de Zamora did so at various points in his account, for instance, when he mentioned “the good will of these *indios*”²⁴² (*el natural bueno de estos indios*²⁴³). In another section of his account, Pobre de Zamora even problematized the CHamoru people’s “barbarism” by claiming that, even though the Spaniards considered them as barbarians, they have “some natural things so virtuous”²⁴⁴ that God could use their conduct as the standard against which to judge both Italians and Spaniards. The Franciscan friar established this comparison between the CHamoru people and the Christians again in other passages of his account to remark the virtues of the former over the latter, for instance when he stated: “I have never

²⁴¹ Marjorie G. Driver, *Fray Juan Pobre in the Marianas 1602* (Manguilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1993), 24, *para la conversión de estos /indios/ ha de venir navío de Manila o de la Nueva España a donde vengan los religiosos, y no los querrán traer los españoles, si no es movidos por algún interés de oro o plata o otra cosa que lo valga*, reproduced in Jesús Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora: historia de la pérdida y descubrimiento del galeón “San Felipe”* (Ávila, Diputación Provincial de Ávila, 1997), 452.

²⁴² Driver, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 24.

²⁴³ Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 452.

²⁴⁴ Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 446, *algunas cosas naturales tan buenas*.

seen any shameful acts committed between them during the daytime. Such things do occur, however, at their dances and other events. Nevertheless, they are not as wicked as the actions between Christians.”²⁴⁵ This comparison between CHamoru people and European Christians, in which the former always fall into the positive pole, is not innocent: with it, Pobre de Zamora suggested, as other religious men such as Bartolomé de Las Casas did in the case of the American populations,²⁴⁶ that the natives of the Mariana Islands already possessed Christian features which would facilitate their evangelization.

The Franciscan friar used the same strategy on another occasion, this time to point out the absence of sexual vices among the CHamoru people, claiming that “[b]oys make compacts with one another, and promise eternal friendship, all with the greatest purity –quite contrary to the pitiful and miserable custom that is found in many places in Europe, which is to be regretted, especially among Christians.”²⁴⁷ By that “pitiful and miserable custom” between boys, Pobre de Zamora probably refers to sodomy. In another passage he remarks again this absence of sodomy, or “unnatural act,” in the Marianas:

<p>Preguntando algunas veces los españoles a estos bárbaros, si entre ellos se acostumbraba algún vicio contra naturaleza, hicieron tantos ascos y espantos de oírlo, que dijeron que jamás en todas sus islas tal se había visto ni oído, ni se sabía vocablo para decirlo, y que si alguno entre ellos lo hiciese, los parientes</p>	<p>Occasionally, Spaniards have inquired of these <i>bárbaros</i> whether they engage in any unnatural acts. To this, they have shown repugnance and astonishment and have answered that such things have never been seen nor heard of in any of their islands; nor do they have words to express such</p>
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²⁴⁵ Driver, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 23, *no he visto de día desvergüenzas entre ellos, aunque en sus bailes y danzas hacen algunas, aunque no tan grandes como se hacen entre cristianos*, reproduced in Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora*, 450.

²⁴⁶ Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 207.

²⁴⁷ Driver, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 19-20, *se conciertan también los muchachos unos con otros de guardarse esta amistad para siempre, y esto con grandísima limpieza, harto más de la lastimosa y miserable costumbre, que en muchas partes de la Europa se usa, que es digno de llorar /y más entre cristianos/*, reproduced in Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 446.

luego lo matarían de mala muerte.²⁴⁸

things. Furthermore, if any among them were to do such a thing, his relatives would put him to a terrible death.²⁴⁹

It is remarkable that, regarding the sexual practices of the natives, Pobre de Zamora emphasizes not so much the CHamoru people's virtues, but the absence of vices among them. Therefore, his silence concerning the *guma' ulitao* is more likely a strategic and deliberate act of omission than a result of his oversight or ignorance. Pobre de Zamora aimed at stressing the absence of sexual vices among CHamoru people in his narratives in order to depict CHamorus as "innocent barbarians," and if he had mentioned the practices that took place within the *guma' ulitao*, he would have ruined such idealized image of the natives from the Marianas and disclosed a considerable obstacle to their evangelization. The case of Antonio de los Ángeles is probably similar, although the fact that only part of his lost relation is known through the work of Marcelo Ribadeneira prevents me from deepening into the reasons for his silence.

In short, it is possible that Juan Pobre de Zamora and Antonio de los Ángeles overlooked the existence of the *guma' ulitao* and the sexual practices related to it during their stays in the Marianas. However, my argument is that, even though they had been aware of its existence, both Franciscans had sufficient reasons to avoid its mention in their writings. The silence around the *guma' ulitao*, whether intentional or accidental, was convenient for the proselytizing interests of both friars, since it legitimized the image of CHamoru people as innocent barbarians, easy to evangelize. The absence of the *guma' ulitao* in the documents of both Spanish friars shows the need to treat the silences in the written sources as proper subjects of inquiry, in order to reveal the interests of those who wrote them. In the next section I will consider how these silences were perpetuated after the establishment of a Jesuit mission in the archipelago, and I will analyze what happened when the silence

²⁴⁸ Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 446.

²⁴⁹ Driver, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 20.

shattered and the *guma' ulitao* finally broke into the missionaries' documents.

3.3. “*El Mayor Ídolo que en Marianas Puede Haber Guerra a la Fe:*” The *Guma' Ulitao* in the Jesuit Documents

Reports on the *guma' ulitao* are scarce. The main written sources of first-hand knowledge concerning this institution are the Jesuit documents of the late 17th century, where references to the *guma' ulitao* are rare and fragmentary. Besides the scarce information, the profound biases from which the Jesuits wrote their texts must also be considered. As I have pointed out in previous sections, the missionaries' letters and accounts are sifted by their own standards and interests. For instance, in the conflicts that erupted shortly after the arrival of the Jesuits in the Mariana Islands, the *urritaos*—male bachelors who inhabited the *guma' ulitao*—became the fiercest opponents of the priests. Most of the missionaries and assistants who lost their lives during these confrontations died at the hands of the *urritaos*, such as Fr. Luis de Medina in 1670. Schlesier points out that the Jesuits' partiality when dealing with CHamoru bachelors and the *guma' ulitao* in their texts is, therefore, inevitable, and consequently their letters and accounts must be analyzed “with an extremely critical eye.”²⁵⁰

The biases resulting from the conflicts between the *urritaos* and the Jesuits are not the only ones that cross the missionaries' documents. Other unavoidable prejudices are the Eurocentric and catholic ones: the Jesuits filtered the phenomenon of the *guma' ulitao* through their own moral standards, assimilating it as a “public house” (that is, a brothel²⁵¹), and considering the relationships that CHamoru youth held within

²⁵⁰ Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 22. See also Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 413.

²⁵¹ María Moliner, *Diccionario de uso del español, A-G* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1989), 542.

these buildings as “promiscuous”²⁵² and as “pernicious vices.”²⁵³ Le Gobien even claims that the *urritaos* “live in the most horrible dissolution [understood as depravity of customs] that has been heard of.”²⁵⁴ Besides this Eurocentric perspective, the age segregation of the inhabitants of the *guma’ ulitao* and the sort of practices that were carried out within it hindered the access of the Jesuit missionaries to these buildings, so they probably were not able to contemplate, at first hand, what they narrate about them. There is only evidence of a brief visit, by Fr. Francisco Solano, to a *guma’ ulitao* placed in Guåhan. However, Solano’s report of his visit is equally brief and undetailed, as I will show at the end of the chapter. The Eurocentric prejudices of the Jesuits, together with the fact that their knowledge of the *guma’ ulitao* did not probably come from their direct observation, is one more reason to approach their texts from a critical stance.

The Eurocentrism of the Jesuit documents also entails an androcentric bias. Female issues are underrepresented in the Jesuit writings and, when present, they are briefly addressed and even misinterpreted by the missionaries.²⁵⁵ Regarding the *guma’ ulitao*, in most cases young CHamoru women are represented as mere passive objects of exchange between their parents and the *urritaos*. The Jesuits assumed that the young women’s stay in that institution did not report anything to them, beyond “vices”²⁵⁶ and “bad habits.”²⁵⁷ However, if the androcentric bias

²⁵² “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 4v.

²⁵³ Manuel de Solórzano, “Excerpt from a letter from Fr. Solorzano, undated,” reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 646-54, 647.

²⁵⁴ Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, 269, *y vivoient dans la plus horrible dissolution dont on ait entendu parler*.

²⁵⁵ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 407.

²⁵⁶ Antonio Jaramillo, “Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo,” 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 318.

²⁵⁷ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Carta que el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores escribió al padre Joseph Vidal,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 25 May 1671, AGI, Seville, México 47, R. 3, no. 47, 2v.

of the documents and the resulting under-representation of women are considered, some reports offer clues that indicate that young women were not passive objects of desire for the *urritaos*. On the contrary, they performed a far more relevant role than the one attributed to them by most of the missionaries (and by the later historiography), since the stay of young women in the *guma' ulitao* had crucial implications in their own socialization and in the status they held in their communities, as I will note below. The Jesuits' Eurocentric and patriarchal prejudices suggest that we will probably never have a comprehensive understanding of the social significance of the *guma' ulitao* and the practices it entailed. However, an exhaustive compilation and evaluation of the Jesuit documents available on the *guma' ulitao siba* can provide an overall picture of these houses, both of the buildings themselves and of the institution they embodied.

Before addressing the role of the *guma' ulitao* in the Jesuit documents, it is first necessary to review the relationship of these missionaries with the Mariana archipelago. The arrival of the members of the Society of Jesus to the Mariana Islands started with the landing of a group of missionaries and laypeople on the shores of Guåhan in June 1668, led by the Jesuit Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores. The objective of this contingent was to found a permanent mission from which to evangelize the local populations of the “Islands of Thieves” (*Islas de los Ladrones*), which San Vitores renamed as “Marianas” in honor and recognition of the support of Queen Regent Mariana of Austria. However, San Vitores' attempt to evangelize the archipelago was not the first. Verónica Peña Filiu points out that the initial evangelizing project of the Mariana Islands dates to 1569, when the monarch Philip II granted Miguel López de Legazpi the title of *Adelantado* of these islands and ordered him to “reduce” their local populations to a “good polity” (*buena policía*).²⁵⁸ This implied assigning several missionaries to the evangelization of such populations. However, over time the interest in colonizing the Mariana Islands decreased, and at the end of the reign of

²⁵⁸ Verónica Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas Marianas (Pacífico occidental): Introducciones, adaptaciones y transformaciones alimentarias durante la misión jesuita (1668-1769)” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2019), 64.

Philip II only the introduction of the Christian doctrine was contemplated, apart from the effective colonization of the archipelago. The reasons for this disinterest were, in part, the absence of valuable – from the Spanish authorities’ perspective– resources, such as gold and silver, and the need that the viceroys of New Spain saw in consolidating the Spanish settlements in the Philippines before embarking on a new colonial enterprise.²⁵⁹ For their part, some priests attempted – unsuccessfully– to evangelize the archipelago on their own initiative, such as the aforementioned Franciscans Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora. Finally, after a fleeting visit to the “Islands of Thieves” in 1662 on his way to the Philippines, Diego Luis de San Vitores decided to evangelize the archipelago by all means when he saw “the multitude of souls” who died there without having received baptism.²⁶⁰ Faced with the opposition of the Philippine authorities, San Vitores carried out several strategic moves, writing to his father, Jerónimo de San Vitores, who was part of the Treasury Council of the Crown in Madrid,²⁶¹ and even to the Jesuit confessor of the monarch’s Mother, Mariana of Austria. San Vitores’ efforts led to the promulgation, on June 24, 1665, of a Royal Decree by king Philip IV in which he urged the governor of the Philippines to provide the Jesuit missionary with everything he needed to establish a mission in the Marianas.²⁶² Lastly, and despite the obstacles posed by the governor of the Philippines, San Vitores left the shores of Acapulco towards the Mariana Islands in March 1668.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 66.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 68; David Atienza de Frutos, “La evangelización de las «pobres» islas Marianas y su uso simbólico en Occidente,” in *La violencia del amor*, ed. Desiderio Parrilla (Madrid: Asociación Bendita María, 2012), 195.

²⁶¹ Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo,” 70; Atienza de Frutos, “La evangelización,” 195-6.

²⁶² Verónica Peña Filiu, “No es menester llevar plata, sino algunos géneros y semillas’: alimentación y cultura material en el proyecto de evangelización de las islas Marianas,” *Anos 90. Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul* 28 (2021): 5.

3.3.1. Persistent Topics: “Innocent Barbarians” and the Absence of the *Guma’ Ulitao*

Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived in Guåhan together with a group of religious and lay people on June 16, 1668, disposed to evangelize the archipelago. In the next chapter I will delve into the evangelization process and the resistance that CHamoru communities showed during the early years of the mission. In this section, however, I will analyze the reports offered by the Spanish missionaries in relation to the *guma’ ulitao*. In this sense, the Jesuits’ writings during the first two years of the mission reproduce two of the topics addressed in the accounts of Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora: on the one hand, the idealization of CHamoru people as “innocent barbarians” and, on the other, the silence around the *guma’ ulitao*. San Vitores and his companions had similar reasons to the Franciscan friars’ for keeping silent. As I have claimed above, San Vitores’ evangelization plans for the Mariana Islands did not enjoy the approval of the Philippine governors, and were only partially supported by the viceroys of New Spain, who were more interested in consolidating their power in the Philippines than in expanding to other archipelagos. Consequently, the Jesuit mission in the Marianas hung by a thread. San Vitores and his companions, hence, had to show and reiterate in their reports the viability of their evangelizing enterprise. In his first texts on the Mariana Islands, in which he advocates for their evangelization, San Vitores already outlined the CHamorus as innocent barbarians, taking note only of what he considered their virtues. He held that CHamoru people “do not have more than one wife, nor are they given to other vices, of extraordinary lust, theft, inhumanity, etc., instead they are very peaceful, and treatable.”²⁶³ In other documents he refers to the CHamorus as

²⁶³ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones,” 1665, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereinafter ARSI), Rome, Philipp. 14, 60r-63v, 60v, *no tienen más que una mujer, ni son dados a otros vicios, de extraordi[na]ria lujuria, hurtos, inhumanidad, etc. antes son muy pacíficos, y tratables.*

“these poor people” (*estos pobres*²⁶⁴) and as “gentle and docile people” (*gente apacible y dócil*²⁶⁵).

Several of these adjectives are similar to those employed by other priests to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the Indies with the aim of ensuring their evangelization, such as Bartolomé de las Casas. Las Casas, who in his works even problematized the “barbarism” of the American Indians (in relation to language, he pointed out that “there is no man or nation which is not considered barbarian by some other”²⁶⁶), defined them as “those domestic, humble, meek, and peaceful people.”²⁶⁷ As Las Casas, San Vitores projected and generalized positive and idealized traits on the CHamoru people, falling into a “prejudice of equality.”²⁶⁸ The Jesuit missionary aimed, as Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora did before him, to show the goodness of the inhabitants of the Marianas and their willingness to receive the Christian doctrine. This inclination was expressly announced by San Vitores, when he mentioned “the ease of their conversion” in relation to the CHamorus, “without any resistance, either temporal, spiritual, or moral.”²⁶⁹ Likewise, San Vitores underscored some natural virtues or traits characteristic of the CHamoru people, such as their knowledge of “the immortality of the soul,” which would facilitate “the introduction of Catholic truths”²⁷⁰ in the islands. Other contemporary Jesuits also emphasized the CHamoru people’s predisposition to Christianity, when they wished that the

²⁶⁴ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Luis de Medina, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, “Resumen de los sucesos del primer año de la misión en estas Islas Marianas,” in San Ignacio de Añaña, 26 April 1669, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 5r-8v, 5v.

²⁶⁵ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Carta de Diego Luis de Sanvitores al padre Oliva,” in Taytay, 22 July 1663, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 14, 56r-59v, 57r.

²⁶⁶ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Obras escogidas de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas IV Apologética Historia*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1958), 435, *no hay hombre ni nación alguna que no sea de la otra cualquiera bárbara y bárbaro*.

²⁶⁷ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Las obras del obispo D. Fray Bartolome de las Casas, o Casaus, obispo que fue de la ciudad Real de Chiapa en las Indias, de la Orden de Santo Domingo* (Barcelona: Casa de Antonio Lacavallería, 1646), 111v, *aquellas gentes domésticas, humildes, mansas, y pacíficas*.

²⁶⁸ Todorov, *La conquête de l’Amérique*, 201.

²⁶⁹ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones,” 1665, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 14, 60r-63v, 60v.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 60v.

“moral customs” of many Christians were similar to those of the natives of the Marianas, and that “such customs ease the reduction in faith.”²⁷¹ Similarly, San Vitores and his companions presented the absence of an organized religion among the CHamoru people as an advantage and a sign of the “purity” of their souls.²⁷²

The effort of San Vitores and his companions to project an idealized image of the CHamorus as innocent barbarians also involved their moral and sexual customs. As I have stated above, San Vitores stressed the absence of vices “of extraordinary lust” among the inhabitants of the Marianas. In the report of the first year of the mission, the Jesuit added that “our *Marianos*, despite their nakedness, are more alien to impurities, incest, and adultery than others who are well clothed.”²⁷³ San Vitores once again emphasized the CHamorus’ virtues, even over those of “well clothed” Christians. He also noted, in another aforementioned text, that CHamoru men did not have more than one woman, that is, he appreciated their –supposed– monogamy as a virtue. Therefore, it is not surprising that San Vitores avoided mentioning, out of ignorance or convenience, the existence of the *guma’ ulitao* and the “promiscuous” sexual practices that occurred within it, at least during the first years of the mission, since this institution would have jeopardized the idyllic image that he aimed at projecting of the CHamoru people, posing a great obstacle to their evangelization and to the viability of the Jesuit mission.

²⁷¹ “Llegada del señor gobernador don Manuel de León en la nao de San Joseph a la isla de Guan. Relación de las islas Marianas, hasta ahora de los Ladrones, costumbres de los indios y de lo sucedido en dichas islas al padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus cinco compañeros desde 16 de junio de 68 hasta 17 del mismo mes de 69,” 17 June 1669, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 37r-39v, 37v-38r, *bien se ve de estas costumbres para reducirse a la fe*. Rodrigue Lévesque attributes this report to Fr. Luis Pimentel, see Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents. Volume 4 — Religious Conquest 1638-1670* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 546.

²⁷² Atienza de Frutos, “La evangelización,” 197.

²⁷³ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Luis de Medina, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, “Resumen de los sucesos del primer año de la misión en estas Islas Marianas,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 April 1669, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 5r-8v, 6v, *de las impuridades, incestos, y adulterios de que nuestros marianos, no obstante su desnudez, están más ajenos que otros muy vestidos*.

As in the case of the friars Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora, it is suspicious that San Vitores and his companions were unaware of the existence of the *guma' ulitao*, especially when, later on, the missionaries claimed that there was at least one in every village. Likewise, in the accounts on the first year of the mission they reported several of the CHamorus' "moral customs," such as marriage, adultery, and the repudiation of their wives, so it is hard to believe that they ignored an institution as visible and with such social relevance as the *guma' ulitao*. The silence around this institution in the early documents of the Jesuits results rather from the obstacle that it posed for their evangelizing enterprise, pointed out by authors like Le Gobien: "bachelors' houses represented a great obstacle to the conversion of these Islanders."²⁷⁴ Furthermore, Fr. Antonio Jaramillo referred to the *guma' ulitao* as "the greatest idol that in the Marianas the Faith can fight against."²⁷⁵ Considering the great obstacle that this institution posed for the evangelization of the CHamorus, all the evidence suggests that the absence of the *guma' ulitao* in the Jesuit documents from the first years of the mission was, again, an intentional silence or, at least, a convenient one for the proselytizing interests of the Spanish religious.

3.3.2. The *Guma' Ulitao* According to the Jesuits' Descriptions

Following the documentation that I have consulted, the first mention to the *guma' ulitao* appears in an edited memorial, with no author or date, which most researchers attribute to the Jesuit Andrés de Ledesma and date to 1670, although other scholars date it to 1671.²⁷⁶ In this memorial,

²⁷⁴ Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, 269, *Les maisons de débauche estoient un grand obstacle à la conversion de ces Insulaires*.

²⁷⁵ Antonio Jaramillo, "Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo," 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 306, *el mayor idolo que en Marianas puede haber guerra á la fé*, expression that gives title to section §3.3.

²⁷⁶ Antonio Palau y Dulcet dates the memorial to 1671, see Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano, Tomo undécimo* (Barcelona: Librería Palau, 1958), 145-6, Palau's book codes: 193723, 193724.

the author referred to the *guma' ulitao siba* as “public houses” in the following fragment: “the married men do not traffic with many women or concubines, but the bachelors have some sort of public houses, where they live with all freedom and without any subjection to their parents.”²⁷⁷ Later on, Ledesma mentioned this institution again, when he claimed that “*urritaos*, or young men, [...] live with the unmarried girls in public houses, with no other control, or direction, than what the Devil or their appetite persuade them to, with the freedom of their age.”²⁷⁸ According to this first description, for the Jesuits the *guma' ulitao* was a house where *urritaos* (that is, young bachelors) and unmarried girls cohabited for a period of time, and whose existence the missionaries related to a lack of subjection from their parents and to the devil, as I will show below.

If Andrés de Ledesma is the genuine author of that memorial, then his knowledge of the *guma' ulitao* is second-hand, since at that time he was Procurator-General of the province of the Philippines and did not reside in the Marianas. As the title of the memorial suggests, Ledesma elaborated it on the basis of documents sent by the Jesuit missionaries from the Mariana archipelago. The first direct evidence of the *guma' ulitao* that I have traced in the missionaries' reports is part of the Annual Letter of 1670-1671, signed by Frs. Diego Luis de San Vitores, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardeñoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo. In this letter, the Jesuits described the *guma' ulitao* in very similar terms to those of Ledesma: “the married men do not traffic with many women or concubines; but the bachelors have some sort of public houses, where young boys live without any dependence even on their parents

²⁷⁷ Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores y sus compañeros de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15 de mayo de 1669 hasta 28 de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores y sus compañeros,” 1670/1671, BHR, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31), Col. Montenegro, 4r, *los casados, no tienen uso de muchas mujeres, ni concubinas, mas los solteros tienen unas como casas públicas, donde viven con toda libertad y sin alguna sujeción a sus padres.*

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13r, *urritaos, o mancebos, [...] viven con las solteras en casas públicas, sin otro Magisterio, o dirección, más que lo que les persuade el Demonio, o su apetito; con la libertad de su edad.*

and with all freedom.”²⁷⁹ Both testimonies are so similar that Ledesma most likely relied on the Jesuits’ 1671 report to elaborate his own account, which then would date from 1671. In any case, both documents suggest that the first evidence of the *guma’ ulitao* in the Jesuit records dates from 1670 at the earliest, and quite possibly from 1671, that is, two or three years after the foundation of the Mariana mission. As I suggested above, the Jesuits avoided mentioning the *guma’ ulitao* during that period so as not to tarnish the idealized image of the CHamoru people that they had elaborated in their writings and to avoid compromising the ease with which, according to them, the archipelago could be evangelized.

As in the case of silences, the first mentions of the *guma’ ulitao* are not innocent either. In the first documents in which the Jesuits refer to this institution, they do so to justify the need to found seminaries to educate the archipelago’s youth. For instance, in Ledesma’s memorial of 1670 or 1671, the Jesuit states that:

<p>Se suplica a su Majestad se sirva de fundar un seminario en la Isla de Guam, para la buena institución de los niños de esta tierra, huérfanos por naturaleza, o costumbre de esta nación, en que totalmente están exentos los hijos de la educación, y sujeción de sus padres. La cual barbaridad viene a ceder en más fácil introducción de nuestra crianza, y reducción a dichas casas de seminario, contraponiendo este sagrado, y real seminario a los</p>	<p>Her Majesty is begged to found a seminary on the Island of Guam, for the good institution of the children of this land, orphans by nature, or custom of this nation, where children are totally exempt from the education, and subjection of their parents. Such barbarity will yield to the introduction of our rearing, and reduction to such seminary houses, contrasting this sacred, and real seminary to those that the devil</p>
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²⁷⁹ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, “Noticias de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 y 1671,” 19 May 1671, ARSI, Philipp. 13, 56r-57v, 57r, *No tienen uso de muchas mujeres ni concubinas los casados; mas los solteros tienen unas como casas públicas, adonde viven los mancebos sin dependencia aun de sus padres y toda libertad.*

que tiene fundados el demonio has founded on these islands
 en estas islas [...].²⁸⁰ [...].

Likewise, in the Jesuits' Annual Letter of 1670-1671, the missionaries declared that the best remedy to put an end to those "public houses" was to "establish the children's seminaries in the churches, that the apostle of the Indies required so much."²⁸¹ That same year, San Vitores addressed a monographic letter concerning the children's seminaries to the procurator of the Mariana mission in Mexico, Fr. Joseph Vidal, and asked the procurator to refer it to other authorities, including the Queen Regent.²⁸² In his letter, San Vitores required the foundation of two seminaries, "one for boys and another one where the *Marianas* girls can be raised separately."²⁸³ The Jesuit demanded 3000 *pesos* for the boys' seminary, and more than 2000 for the girls' one. In addition, he asked for dresses to clothe the three or four hundred girls that he intended to educate in that seminary, so that they could "get rid of the cold injuries"—something quite unusual in this tropical archipelago—and to comply with "the Christian modesty and honesty."²⁸⁴ As in Ledesma's memorial and the Annual Letter of 1670-1671, in his letter San Vitores also associated the creation of these seminaries to the destruction of the *guma' ulitao siba*:

La educación también de niñas The education of girls in a
 en casa aparte no es menos separate house is just as
 precisa para apartarlas desde la necessary, in order to take them

²⁸⁰ Andrés de Ledesma, "Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15. de mayo de 1669 hasta 28. de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros," 1670/1671, BHR, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 13r.

²⁸¹ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, "Noticias de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 y 1671," 19 May 1671, ARSI, Philipp. 13, 56r-57v, 57r, *entablar los seminarios de niños en las iglesias, que tanto encomendaba el apóstol de las Indias*.

²⁸² Diego Luis de San Vitores, "Carta que el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores escribió al padre Joseph Vidal," in San Ignacio de Agaña, 25 May 1671, AGI, Seville, México 47, R. 3, no. 47, 1v.

²⁸³ Ibid., 1v, *uno de niños y otro donde se críen aparte las niñas marianas*.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 2v, *librarse de las injurias de frío [...] la modestia y honestidad cristiana*.

primera edad de la perniciosa away, since an early age, from the
 costumbre de la tierra que las pernicious custom of this land,
 aplica a los seminarios que that introduce them into the
 podemos decir tenía el Demonio seminaries that we can say that
 para enseñanza de todas malas the Devil had to teach all bad
 costumbres [...].²⁸⁵ habits [...].

In his letter to Fr. Joseph Vidal, San Vitores outlined many of the measures concerning the education of CHamoru youth that the Jesuits aimed at implementing in the Marianas, including the ones related to gender and sexuality. In the first place, the education of boys is prioritized over that of the girls. This preference is illustrated, for instance, in the budget that San Vitores demanded to establish each seminary: 3000 *pesos* for the boys', and more than 2000 for the girls'. Likewise, other Jesuits reiterated this prioritization, such as Fr. Andrés de Ledesma in his memorial, where he claimed that “*if there were means*, it would be very important to also found a seminary for the *Marianas girls*.”²⁸⁶ Fr. Francisco García reproduces that same phrase in his hagiography of San Vitores.²⁸⁷ In addition, in a memorial addressed by Jerónimo de San Vitores, father of the founder of the Jesuit mission in the Marianas, to a council of different authorities, it is stated that a school should be established for CHamoru boys in the Marianas and, “*if there were means*,” also a seminary for girls.²⁸⁸ However, the memorial continues, that last request should be postponed, since it was more urgent to found a seminary for the *Mariás pobres* of Mexico, requested by the Congregation of Saint Francis Xavier. This preference for the education of boys over girls entailed important consequences in the archipelago. As Montón-Subías points out, the seminaries in the

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 2v.

²⁸⁶ Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15. de mayo de 1669 hasta 28. de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros,” 1670/1671, BHR, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 13v, *Si hubiese medios, importaría mucho fundar también un Seminario de niñas Marianas*. Emphasis is mine.

²⁸⁷ García, *Vida y martirio*, 242.

²⁸⁸ “Apuntamiento de Diego Luis de Sanvitores,” AGI, Seville, Ultramar 562, 529r-533v, 530v-531r.

Mariana Islands functioned as “powerful engendering locations.”²⁸⁹ Prioritizing the education of boys over girls implied that native men were the first ones to access the “new system of knowledge” promulgated by the Jesuits, the one that would regulate the new colonial order in the islands.²⁹⁰ Therefore, the unequal access to education, as well as the access to an unequal education (since boys and girls were taught different tasks and subjects),²⁹¹ resulted in “gender asymmetries,” that is, differences of power between future CHamoru men and women.²⁹² This inception of power asymmetries between boys and girls was promoted by another Jesuit measure: gender segregation. San Vitores stressed the separation of the socialization spaces for boys and girls in his writings, as when he mentions “the education of girls *in a separate house*.”²⁹³ Segregation worked as a technology of gender²⁹⁴ which favored the establishment of “different engendered ways of constructing personhood”²⁹⁵ and enhanced the emergence of a new sex-gender system²⁹⁶ in the archipelago. Finally, San Vitores’ letter to Joseph Vidal reflects a last trend linked to the missionary education of CHamoru youth: making girls’ sexuality the main objective of the missionaries’ sexual policies. As I have pointed out before, San Vitores requested hundreds of dresses to clothe the girls who attended the seminaries and to safeguard their “modesty and honesty.” Over the years, it would become more evident that the Jesuits focused on modifying the sexuality of girls, and not so much of boys, in their effort to bring a new sexual order to the Marianas. To do this, they aimed at

²⁸⁹ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 417.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 416.

²⁹¹ See García, *Vida y martirio*, 510; Lorenzo Bustillo, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión y cristiandad de las Islas Marianas desde Mayo de 90 hasta el de 1691,” in San Ignacio de Añaña, 21 May 1691, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 562, 703r-745r, 728v.

²⁹² Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 417.

²⁹³ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Carta que el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores escribió al padre Joseph Vidal,” in San Ignacio de Añaña, 25 May 1671, AGI, Seville, México 47, R. 3, no. 47, 2v, *la educación también de niñas en casa aparte*. Emphasis is mine.

²⁹⁴ Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender. Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 25-6.

²⁹⁵ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 417.

²⁹⁶ *Sensu* Gayle Rubin, “The Traffic in Women: Notes on the ‘Political Economy’ of Sex,” in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, ed. Rayna R. Reiter (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 165.

transmitting Christian values such as decency, seclusion (*recogimiento*), or the aforementioned modesty and honesty to CHamoru girls through materialities and spaces such as dresses or the seminaries, as I will show in the following chapter.

Another subject that deserves greater attention is the social origin and function of the *guma' ulitao*. As I have indicated above, the missionaries' documents offer three explanations for its existence. First, the Jesuits attributed the origin of these houses and the sexual practices that took place inside them to the “abandonment” and “lack of subjection” of CHamoru parents towards their children.²⁹⁷ Some missionaries saw in this alleged “abandonment” a symptom of the CHamoru people's barbarity,²⁹⁸ and others claimed, from their Eurocentric and Christian standards, that parents allowed their daughters to attend the *guma' ulitao* “for the interest they have on the payment”²⁹⁹ since, as I will show below, parents received several valuable objects (such as tortoise shells or iron) from the *urritaos* when their daughters joined these houses. Likewise, the Jesuits stated that the *guma' ulitao* was a consequence of the devil, and defined this institution as a “university of evil” where CHamoru youth were taught “to grow old in vices.”³⁰⁰ The third cause, raised by Frs. Joseph Bonani and Charles le Gobien and discussed above, is related to the role of the *guma' ulitao* as a refuge for male bachelors from the supposed strong power of their mothers and female relatives.³⁰¹ However, I have already claimed that this assertion is questionable when compared to the testimonies of the majority of missionaries from the Mariana Islands. Although it is true that the

²⁹⁷ García, *Vida y martirio*, 241; Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15. de mayo de 1669 hasta 28. de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros,” 1670/1671, BHR, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 13r.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 13r.

²⁹⁹ García, *Vida y martirio*, 242, *por lo que interesan en la paga*.

³⁰⁰ Antonio Jaramillo, “Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo,” 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 318, *envejecer en los vicios*.

³⁰¹ Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, 61-2.

Jesuits attributed, led by their patriarchal standards, greater power to CHamoru women, especially within the context of household, only Bonani suggested that the existence of the *guma' ulitao* was a direct consequence of such female control.³⁰²

Current historiography on the Mariana Islands, for its part, offers few explanations on the origin and function of the *guma' ulitao*. However, Russell suggests that the *writao* or *ulitao* was a “culturally sanctioned system” in which CHamoru bachelors consorted with young, unmarried women in the houses known as *guma' ulitao siba*.³⁰³ The author claims that the *ulitao* probably shared some similarities with other Micronesian socialization systems, such as the *mispil* from Yap. This Yapese institution involves the ceremonial capture of high ranking, young women by bachelors who took them to live in their “men’s houses.” Russell indicates that bachelors used to arrange these captures with the women’s parents, who received a generous compensation from the unmarried, young men in exchange for their daughters.³⁰⁴ I consider it risky to draw ethnographic parallels between the *mispil* and the *ulitao*, since the study of the Yapese institution may be just as biased as that of the *guma' ulitao*. However, all evidence suggests that the *ulitao* was a dual institution, which implied both the system of sexual socialization of the CHamoru youth and the building that embodied it: the *guma' ulitao*.

Regarding the material description of the *guma' ulitao*, extremely little data are available in order to rebuild its appearance and structure. In current historiography there is an ongoing debate on whether these *guma' ulitao siba* were also canoe houses, or if they were different, separate buildings.³⁰⁵ The first description of a possible canoe house in the Marianas is provided by an anonymous account, attributed by

³⁰² Joseph Bonani, “Deuxième lettre du P. Bonani au R. P. Pettinati, écrite à Rota, une des îles Marianes, le 27 Mai 1719,” in Luta, 27 May 1719, AHCJC, Barcelona, FILCAR E.I, a-18. 1677–1750. First Part: 1677–1735. E.I. a-18/1, 101-114, 111.

³⁰³ Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo’na, 148; see also Laura Thompson, *The Native Culture of the Marianas Islands* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1945), 16.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 149.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 226.

Rodrigue Lévesque³⁰⁶ to Fr. Martín de Rada, member of the Legazpi expedition:

Tienen otras casas grandes como tarazana, que no son de vivienda sino de comunidad, en que ponen los paraos grandes y canoas a la sombra, y en cada barrio hay una atarazana de estas, una de las cuales estaba adonde tomamos el agua, muy hermosa, de cuatro naves, fecha en crucero, que podían estar en ella muy a placer 200 hombres, cincuenta en cada nave; eran muy espaciosas, anchas y altas y muy de buen ver; en esta se dijo misa los días que allí estuvimos. ³⁰⁷	They have other large houses used as boat sheds, not to live in but used as community halls. They place their large proas and their canoes in the shade there. Each village has one of these sheds. There was one of them where we took our water, very nice with four naves, made in the shape of a cross, that could hold 200 men, 50 in each wing. They were very spacious, wide and high, and worth seeing. Inside the above, mass was said on the days we were there. ³⁰⁸
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The community use of these canoe houses suggests that they could serve as *guma' ulitao siba*. However, Russell offers an argument against this idea, and in favor of the existence of two separate buildings. According to the author, in several Micronesian societies there is a taboo around sex and fishing, which prevents both activities from being carried out in close proximity.³⁰⁹ Therefore, and assuming that ancient CHamoru people observed a similar taboo, it is unlikely that the youth engaged in sexual intercourses such as the ones performed in the *guma' ulitao* near the canoes. In any case, I agree with authors such as Laura Thompson that, given the social relevance of both buildings, it is very

³⁰⁶ Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 2 — Prelude to Conquest 1561-1595* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1992), 148.

³⁰⁷ Martín de Rada, “Relación del viaje y jornada que el armada de su Majestad hizo el descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente que partió del puerto de la Navidad el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta y cuatro años de que fue por general el muy ilustre señor Miguel López de Legazpi,” 1564, AGI, Seville, Patronato 23, R.16, 10v.

³⁰⁸ Translation by Lévesque, *History of Micronesia Vol. 2*, 164.

³⁰⁹ Russell, Tiempon I Manmofo'na, 227.

likely that they were *latte* buildings,³¹⁰ that is, constructions of perishable materials on stone pillars (Figure 3.2).

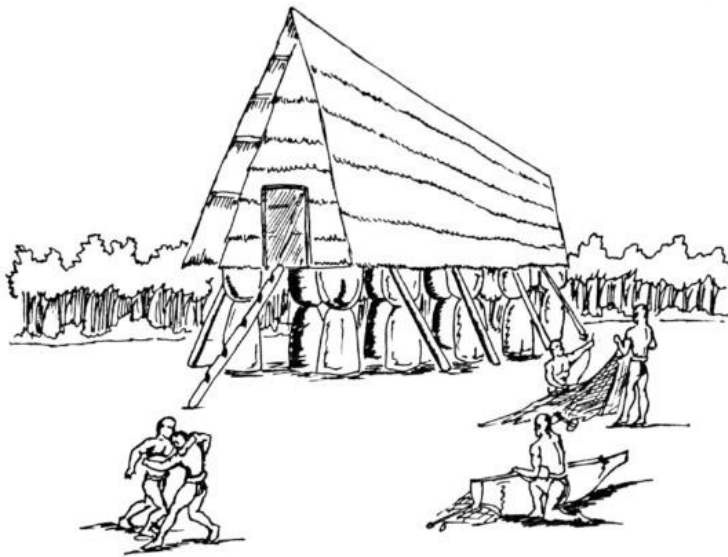


Figure 3.2. *Guma' ulitao* as a *latte* building, figure 15.3 from Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, 184.

The number of *guma' ulitao siba* that might have been in use upon the arrival of the Jesuits to the archipelago is unknown. However, the missionaries claimed that there was at least one in every village, two in the most populated ones.³¹¹ Fr. Jaramillo even stated that only on the island of Guåhan there were more than sixty.³¹² However, the Jesuit documents do not provide further descriptions of these buildings, nor

³¹⁰ Thompson, "The Function of Latte," 461, 464. See also Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 18; Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 33; Dixon and Gilda, "A Comparison," 80; Montón-Subías, "Gender, Missions," 413.

³¹¹ "Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía," 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 4v; Manuel de Solórzano, undated, reproduced in William Repetti, "Conditions in Guam in 1678," *Catholic Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (1947): 432.

³¹² Antonio Jaramillo, "Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the King, dated Manila 29 June 1684," 29 June 1684, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 8 — Last Chamorro Revolt 1683-1687* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 133-155, 134.

their measurements, appearance, or situation within the village. At the present time, the only possible approach to such information comes from archeology. On the island of Guåhan, two potential *guma' ulitao siba* have been archaeologically identified. The first one, analyzed by Boyd Dixon and Laura Gilda, is Feature 20 from the Lost River Village *latte* site, in the South-Central region of the island. This site is located over four miles from the southern coast of Guåhan, and contains at least 33 *latte* sets and their nearby activity areas, arranged in clusters.³¹³ Feature 20 is a six-paired *latte* set (Figure 3.3), the largest and last structure to be built at the site, with a sealed post-erection context dating between A.D. 1260 and 1400.³¹⁴ The large size of this structure leads Dixon and Gilda to suggest that it could be a *guma' ulitao* since, as some authors claim (despite the silence of the Jesuits around this point), it “was normally the largest house in the village, symbolizing its importance.”³¹⁵ According to archaeologists, the magnitude of Feature 20 also indicates that it must have been built by the largest, strongest, and most prestigious group within the community, or by the entire community. As for the relationship of the building with the settlement, Feature 20 is located on the periphery of the village, with small, surrounding structures around it. According to the (limited) tests carried out inside the structure, archaeologists claim that there are no graves inside it, as it is the case of other *latte* buildings, a practice related to ancestor veneration.³¹⁶

The second possible *guma' ulitao* that has been archaeologically recorded is located in the northern part of Guåhan, in a site from Litekyan (Ritidian). It is the *Latte* Building 2, a contact-period *latte* structure, excavated by archaeologist James Bayman and his team (Figure 3.4). Next to this structure is another *latte* construction, of similar size, the *Latte* Building 1. According to archaeologists, similar materials have been found in both structures, although in different proportions, which

³¹³ Dixon and Gilda, “A Comparison,” 72.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

³¹⁵ Francine Marie San Nicolas Naputi, “Decolonizing Sexuality: CHamoru Epistemology as Liberatory Praxis” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 2019), 31.

³¹⁶ Dixon and Gilda, “A Comparison,” 80.

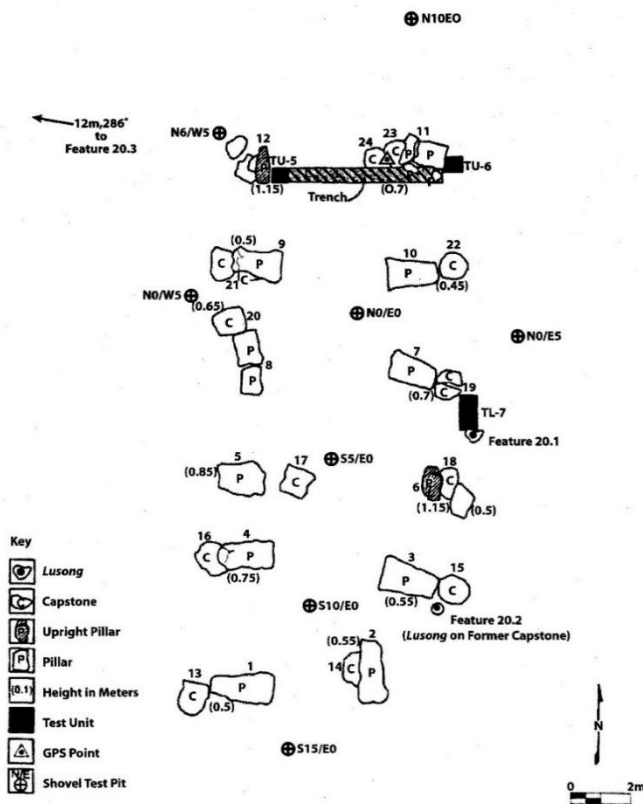


Figure 3.3. Plan view of Feature 20 from the Lost River Village site, from Dixon and Gilda, “A Comparison,” 77.

could indicate the performance of different economic activities in each building.³¹⁷ In Latte Building 1, the remains of broken ceramic vessels, chipped stone, shells, charcoal, and plant microfossils are more numerous, so activities such as food processing, cooking, and storage would have surely taken place inside.³¹⁸ Latte Building 2, however, concentrates the largest number of discarded *Tridacna* sp. shell adzes and finished and unfinished marine shell fishhooks, all of them related to tasks such as fishing and the manufacture of canoes. Archaeologists suggest that this division of economic activities at the spatial level could respond to a sexual division of labor, with Latte Building 1 being a pre-

³¹⁷ James M. Bayman, Hiro Kurashina, Mike T. Carson, John A. Peterson, David J. Doig, and Jane A. Drengson, “Household economy and gendered labor in the 17th century A.D. on Guam,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (2012): 266-67.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

eminently feminine space, and Latte Building 2 a masculine one.³¹⁹ However, they indicate that this sexual division of labor in *Latte* societies was not a sharp one; there was rather a certain degree of overlap in the spatial locations of male and female tasks, since all kinds of materials appear in both buildings, only that in different proportions.³²⁰ Another hypothesis put forward by archaeologists is that both buildings could have been part of one integrated household.³²¹

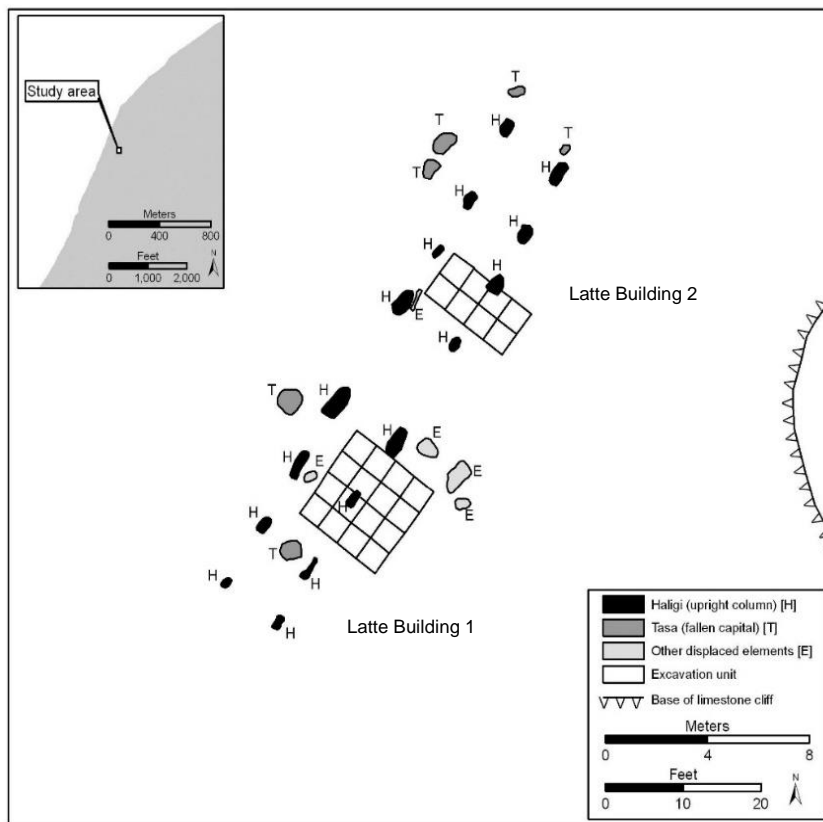


Figure 3.4. Plan view of *Latte* Buildings 1 and 2, Litekyan, Guåhan, from Bayman et al., “*Latte* Household,” 264.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 267.

³²⁰ Ibid., 268.

³²¹ Ibid., 260; James M. Bayman, Hiro Kurashina, Mike T. Carson, John A. Peterson, David J. Doig, and Jane Dregson, “*Latte* Household Economic Organization at Ritidian, Guam National Wildlife Refuge, Mariana Islands,” *Micronesica* 42, no. 1/2 (2012): 269.

In a later work, Bayman and Peterson suggest that Latte Building 2 could have been a *guma' ulitao* due to the large number of materials related to the production of canoes and fishing gear, pre-eminently masculine activities, that have been found in it.³²² Indeed, both structures (Latte Buildings 1 and 2) could have served as *guma' ulitao siba* since, as the Jesuits stated, in the most populated settlements (as in the case of Litekyan³²³) there used to be two of these structures. The presence of elements associated with female activities could reflect the practices of the unmarried, young women who attended the *guma' ulitao*. However, to clarify with greater certainty if these buildings were *guma' ulitao siba* or part of one integrated household, it would be necessary to carry out systematic excavations in extension, during several campaigns, that would shed more light on the disposition of the rest of structures, the activities that were carried out in them and the relationships between different spaces.

Archeology is, therefore, the only discipline available to approach those questions related to the *guma' ulitao* that the Jesuits eluded in their texts. However, despite the two examples that I have shown above, the archaeological study of the *guma' ulitao* still requires open area excavations that could make it possible to clarify the number and interrelation of the different structures of the *latte* sites and the possible practices carried out in each of them. As I pointed out earlier, the Jesuits provided very little data regarding the material and spatial aspects of the *guma' ulitao*. However, they offered more information concerning the practices involved in the *ulitao* system, which will be described and analyzed in the following section.

³²² James Bayman and John Peterson, "Spanish colonial history and archaeology in the Mariana Islands: echoes from the Western Pacific," in *Archaeologies of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism*, eds. Sandra Montón Subías, María Cruz Berrocal, and Apen Ruiz (New York: Springer, 2016), 244.

³²³ Bayman et al., "Latte Household," 262.

3.3.3. The Sexual Socialization of *Urritaos* and *Rajaos* in the *Ulitao* System

The Jesuits were very pragmatic when dealing with the *guma' ulitao* in their texts, as I pointed out in the previous sections. At the beginning of the mission, they omitted this institution from their texts so as not to compromise their evangelical labor, and after two or three years they mentioned it for the first time to request funds and to justify the need to establish seminaries for boys and girls in the archipelago. Their pragmatic writing led the missionaries to elude those aspects of the *guma' ulitao* that were alien to their interests, so the information on this institution is very limited. However, a careful reading of the Jesuit sources sheds light on several practices associated with the *ulitao* system.

According to the Jesuit sources, young bachelors who attended the *guma' ulitao* were called *urritaos*. As for the unmarried, young women who frequented that building, San Vitores mentioned in a letter from 1671 that they were known as *rajaos*.³²⁴ However, it is possible that these young women received different names on each of the islands, since Fr. Bonani stated, in a letter written in Luta (Rota) in 1719, that single women who visited the *urritaos* were called *lao*.³²⁵ Already in the 19th century, the French explorer Louis de Freycinet affirmed that these women were known as *maolitaos*³²⁶ (or *ma' ulitaos*, in recent historiography³²⁷), as I will detail in the following section. This nominal multiplicity in the case of young women could be due to several factors, such as local variability between islands, or the degree of seniority or initiation of young women in the *ulitao* system. However, the data provided by the Jesuit documents are so limited that they do not shed any further light on this issue.

³²⁴ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Carta que el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores escribió al padre Joseph Vidal,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 25 May 1671, AGI, Seville, México 47, R. 3, no. 47, 2v.

³²⁵ Joseph Bonani, “Deuxième lettre du P. Bonani au R. P. Pettinati, écrite à Rota, une des îles Marianes, le 27 Mai 1719,” in Luta, 27 May 1719, AHCJC, Barcelona, FILCAR E.I, a-18. 1677–1750. First Part: 1677–1735. E.I. a-18/1, 101-114, 111.

³²⁶ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 486.

³²⁷ Naputi, “Decolonizing Sexuality,” 32.

Regarding the physical appearance of the *urritaos* and the *rajaos*, the Jesuits indicated that the former used some rods or *tunas* as distinctive.³²⁸ Some authors have pointed out that the *urritaos* used these *tunas* as weapons, emphasizing their warrior character.³²⁹ In section §3.2. I already claimed that some European navigators alluded, during the 16th century, to the use of these bars by CHamoru bachelors. According to the accounts of Urdaneta, Fernández de Oviedo, and González de Mendoza, bachelors carried one or two rods, white or painted, which they left on the door of the house of the married woman with whom they were about to engage in sexual intercourses. As long as the rod was at the door, the husband was forbidden to enter the building. The Jesuit documents confirm the use of these rods by the *urritaos*, although they do not allude to the previous practice. According to the Annual Letter of 1673-1674, bachelors carried these “curiously carved” rods to distinguish themselves from married men, and they dyed them saffron yellow by applying the juice of a root called *mangú*.³³⁰ In the upper part of the rod, the *urritaos* introduced three ribbons, half a yard (*vara*³³¹) long, as tassels that they made from tree bark and thick threads that they obtained from coconuts. On one occasion, General Juan Durán de Monfort, after a brief visit to the Marianas, left a horse as a gift to the Jesuits, causing the admiration of the CHamorus. The missionaries reported that some *urritaos* replaced the coconut threads with which they adorned their *tunas* with the animal’s manes, carrying them as a great favor.³³²

³²⁸ García, *Vida y martirio*, 472; Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, 203.

³²⁹ Schlesier, *Die Erscheinungsformen des Männerhauses*, 25.

³³⁰ Anonymous (probably Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso or Fr. López), “Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674,” 1674, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 201-28, 205; see also García, *Vida y martirio*, 472.

³³¹ The *vara* was a unit of measurement used in Portugal and Spain, which was equivalent to three feet and similar to the Anglo-Saxon yard, although with a different length.

³³² Anonymous (probably Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso or Fr. López), “Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674,” 1674, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 201-28, 205; García, *Vida y martirio*, 472.

The Jesuit documents also mentioned that the *urritaos* used the horse manes to decorate their “lime *coquillos*.”³³³ By *coquillos* (or *coquillas*³³⁴), the missionaries referred to the little baskets that the *urritaos* brought with them, in which they carried some lime. According to Fernández de Oviedo, in these baskets or *esportillas* CHamoru bachelors also carried *bellotas* (betel nuts or *pugna*) and a tree leaf, which they used to chew all together with lime.³³⁵ These small baskets, as I stated in section §3.2., were related to a practice similar to that of the rods: when a bachelor came into the house of a married woman to have sex with her, if the husband was inside at that time, he exchanged his little basket with the young bachelor’s one and left until the sexual encounter was over.³³⁶ The married man was forbidden to enter the building or to go to another house to exchange his basket again. It is remarkable that, unlike *tunas*, which were only used by the *urritaos*, the written sources indicate that these little baskets were also used by married men and even by women.³³⁷ Finally, apart from the *tunas* and little baskets, some missionaries claimed that the distinguished among the *urritaos* also wore ribbons around their heads, made with the bark of a tree, which could mean that within the *urritaos* there existed some kind of gradation.³³⁸

These distinctive materials (the rods, the little baskets, and the ribbons around the heads) served the *urritaos* to differentiate themselves from married men and to reaffirm their group identity by unifying their appearance.³³⁹ As for the *rajao*s or unmarried, young women, the

³³³ Anonymous (probably Fr. Tomás Cardeñoso or Fr. López), “Jesuit annual report for 1673-1674,” 1674, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 201-28, 205.

³³⁴ Pedro Comano, Tomás Cardeñoso, Antonio Sambasilio, and Alonso López, “Relación de los sucesos de las Islas Marianas desde el año de 1673 hasta mayo de 1674; juntamente con el martirio del padre Francisco Ezquerria muerto por la predicación del santo evangelio en el pueblo de Ati. Puerto de San Antonio de la Isla de S. Juan una de las Marianas a 2 de febrero del año de 1674,” in Puerto de San Antonio, 2 February 1674, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 111r-118v, 112r.

³³⁵ Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general*, 61.

³³⁶ Uncilla y Arroita Jáuregui, *Urdaneta*, 347.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 347; Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general*, 61.

³³⁸ Repetti, “Conditions in Guam,” 432.

³³⁹ See Almudena Hernando, *La fantasía de la individualidad. Sobre la construcción sociobistórica del sujeto moderno* (Madrid: Katz, 2012), 133.

missionaries' documents do not offer data on their physical appearance. In an account from 1671, the Jesuits claimed that CHamoru women, at their festivals, wore bands made of flowers, beads and tortoise shells on their foreheads, earrings of red shells, and belts in which they hung pendants around small coconuts.³⁴⁰ In addition, during their dances and chants women played with half-moons in their right hands, and little boxes with bells and shells in the left.³⁴¹ The account also states that women's teeth were stained black and their hair, which they wear long, was dyed white.³⁴² However, the document does not specify whether those who participated in these celebrations were only the *rajaos*, that is, women who attended the *guma' ulitao*, or if all women took part in them. Likewise, a previous report mentioned that women, even very young girls, wore garments called *tifis*, which covered their genitals.³⁴³ Pobre de Zamora shed some light on this sort of clothing: the Franciscan friar pointed out that "only women aged 10 or older bring a turtle shell in front or a leaf of grass, like the palm of the hand, appropriate to cover their nakedness."³⁴⁴ However, the Jesuit sources do not allow to elucidate if these *tifis* were worn only by the *rajaos*, for instance when they entered the *guma' ulitao* around the age of 10, or if there was any social distinction (based on their initiation into the *ulitao* system, for example) between those girls that wore a leaf and those that carried a turtle shell. The profusion with which the Jesuits described the clothing and accessories of the *urritaos* contrasts with the very little information they offered regarding the physical appearance of the *rajaos*. This differential treatment between native men and women in Jesuit sources

³⁴⁰ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, "Noticias de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 y 1671," 19 May 1671, ARSI, Philipp. 13, 56r-57v, 56v.

³⁴¹ Sandra Montón Subías and Enrique Moral de Eusebio, "A Body Is Worth a Thousand Words: Early Colonial Dress-Scapes in Guam," *Historical Archaeology* 55, no. 2 (2021): 273.

³⁴² Diego Luis de San Vitores, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, "Noticias de las Islas Marianas de los años de 1670 y 1671," 19 May 1671, ARSI, Philipp. 13, 56r-57v, 56v-57r.

³⁴³ Diego Luis de San Vitores, Luis de Medina, Luis de Morales, Tomás Cardenoso, and Lorenzo Bustillo, "Resumen de los sucesos del primer año de la misión en estas Islas Marianas," in San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 April 1669, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 5r-8v, 6v.

³⁴⁴ Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 450.

is yet another example of the biased and patriarchal vision of European missionaries, who focused their attention on CHamoru men and overlooked women and most of their experiences.

The Jesuit documents also offer very little information regarding the sexual practices carried out by the *urritaos* and *rajaos* within the *guma' ulitao*. Some missionaries mentioned that, in these “temples of abomination,”³⁴⁵ a typical practice was that several bachelors engaged in sexual intercourses with only one *rajaos*.³⁴⁶ Likewise, and as I pointed out in section §2.3. from the previous chapter, another common practice among CHamoru people, also mentioned by the Jesuits, consisted of biting and scratching each other with their fingernails until they were wounded, leaving scars as a sign of love.³⁴⁷

These sexual practices were not the only activities conducted by the *urritaos* and the *rajaos* in the *guma' ulitao*. Although the Jesuits, at one point, were only interested in stressing the “pernicious vices” that were committed in these houses, ignoring any other activity, undoubtedly the CHamoru youth were also socialized in other tasks and skills during their stay in the *guma' ulitao*. Most young people already attended this institution knowing how to perform different tasks which they had learned from their parents,³⁴⁸ and which they would continue to develop

³⁴⁵ Antonio Jaramillo, “Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo,” 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 306, *templos de abominacion*.

³⁴⁶ Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” 1682, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, no. 151; Antonio Jaramillo, “Jesuit annual report for 1679-1680, by Fr. Xaramillo,” 1680, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 7 — More Turmoil in the Marianas 1679-1683* (Quebec, Canada: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 303-45, 306.

³⁴⁷ Francisco Esquerria, Gerardo Bouwens, Peter Coomans, Antonio María Sanbasilio, Tomás Cardeñoso, Ildefonso López, “Historica narratio illorum, quae in insulis Marianis vulgo de Ladrones dictis, ab a. 1667 usque ad a. 1673 ab operariis apostolicis Soctis. Jesu implantanda et propaganda Fide, pie et laudabiliter gesta,” 1673, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 95r-110v, 97r. For an English translation, see Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 83.

³⁴⁸ Martínez, *Fray Juan Pobre*, 441-2.

together with their peers in the *guma' ulitao siba*.³⁴⁹ Likewise, the sexual socialization of the youth, at least of the *urritaos*, also took place outside these houses, since they not only engaged in sexual encounters with the *rajaos*, but also with other women. For instance, I have already pointed out that, according to different European testimonies from the 16th century, bachelors had sex with married women, leaving their *tunas* at the door of the women's houses and exchanging their small baskets with their husbands. Gabriel de Aranda, in his hagiography of Fr. Sebastián de Monroy, includes a long narration that also refers to the sexual incursions of the *urritaos* outside the *guma' ulitao*. Aranda describes the case of a woman from Litekyan, “worse than the Samaritan woman,” who had sexual relations at the same time and in her own house with “twelve lascivious young men of those they called *urritaos*.”³⁵⁰ Br. Pedro Díaz, in charge of the schools for boys and girls in the Litekyan residence, tried to rectify the behavior of this “lost woman,” that eventually regretted “her bad life” and asked the Brother to keep her away from the *urritaos*. As a result, Br. Díaz took her to the girls' school,³⁵¹ something that would cost him his life, as I will indicate in the following chapter.

This account, although brief, is very dense³⁵² in terms of the practices of both the CHamoru people and the Jesuit missionaries. In the first place, it exemplifies how the *urritaos* also had sexual relations with women outside of the *guma' ulitao*. Besides, Aranda's testimony echoes the aforementioned practice according to which several *urritaos* engaged in sexual intercourses with a single woman simultaneously. Finally, this narration reflects something common in the Jesuit documents of the Mariana Islands and other missions, that is, showing how some native

³⁴⁹ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins. Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas (1668-1769)* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 46; Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society*, 184; Naputi, “Decolonizing Sexuality,” 31; Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, *Hale'ta*, 33.

³⁵⁰ Gabriel de Aranda, *Vida, y gloriosa muerte del v. padre Sebastián de Monroy, religioso de la Compañía de Jesús, que murió dilatando la fe alanceado de los bárbaros en las Islas Marianas* (Seville: Thomas López de Haro, 1690), 320.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 321.

³⁵² Sensus Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York: Fontana Press, 1973), 3-30.

women would go against the “lascivious” practices of their own communities to “rectify” their behaviors towards the chastity and honesty promoted by the Christian doctrine. The Jesuits vindicated these examples of “repentance” and “good zeal” by some native women in their writings since they showed the success of their missional policies and the feasible “salvation” of those women. However, these cases also reflect the importance that the missionaries placed in modifying women’s sexual behaviors, targeting them (and not so much men) as the main objectives of their sexual policies.

The hagiography prepared by Fr. Aranda, which constituted a propagandistic instrument of the evangelizing work of the Jesuits in the Mariana Islands, mentions another similar case of a CHamoru woman whose “strong zeal” led her to confront her own family and community. This young woman, who had been raised in the girls’ seminary of Orote under the care of Fr. Sebastián de Monroy, was requested for marriage by one of the Spanish soldiers.³⁵³ The girl agreed to marry the Spaniard, and Fr. Monroy proceeded to ask for her parent’s consent. However, the young woman prevented him from communicating the future wedding to her father, since “as he was still a gentile, he felt bad about the fact that her daughter was a Christian [...] [and] rather than let her marry, her father would sell her to any of the *urritaos*.”³⁵⁴ Aranda, in his proselytist effort, insists on the young woman’s decision, who placed the Christian marriage with a Spaniard over her own CHamoru family: “what she wanted was to live according to the law of God, [...] and if for this it was necessary to leave her homeland and relatives, she was willing to live wherever the Father considered best.”³⁵⁵ Fr. Monroy agreed to marry the young woman and the Spanish soldier at St. Joseph’s Church in secret, without her parents’ knowledge. However, when the act had not yet finished, the girl’s father came enraged to the church, asking for an explanation for that affront. Sebastián de Monroy interpreted that the father’s anger came from the loss of the economic “interest” that he would have gained by giving his daughter to the

³⁵³ Aranda, *Vida, y gloriosa muerte*, 340.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 341, *que por ser gentil aún llevaba mal el que ella fuese cristiana [...] [y] antes de tomar estado la había su padre de vender a alguno de los urritaos.*

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 341.

urritaos, since they offered the parents a “payment” in the form of turtle shells or iron when their daughters attended the *guma’ ulitao*. To pacify the young woman’s father, the Jesuit told him that, if he consented to his daughter’s marriage, he would offer him more goods than the *urritaos* would have provided for her.³⁵⁶ However, Fr. Monroy’s words further infuriated the father, who summoned other CHamoru men from nearby villages to help him avenge the offense. A contingent of armed CHamorus went with the father to Orote and, after a brief brawl in which the Spanish soldier and Fr. Monroy were almost killed, the belligerent men left the village. After the quarrel, the Jesuit decided to send the married couple to Hagåtña so that they could live safer, although this incident would have fatal consequences, as I will indicate in the next chapter.

With this narration, Gabriel de Aranda emphasizes again the “good zeal” of the girls educated in the Jesuit seminaries, who were capable of leaving their villages and families in return for contracting a Christian marriage with a Spaniard. As I have already noted, the author echoes this case because it exemplifies the success of Jesuit sexual policies on CHamoru girls, providing good propaganda for the missionaries’ evangelical labor. Besides, Aranda mentions a practice of the *ulitao* that I had only outlined until now: the “payment” (*paga*, in the Jesuits’ words) that the *urritaos* offered to the parents of the young women who would live with them. Although some Jesuits claimed that the *urritaos* “chose”³⁵⁷ those women, a report from 1673 states that both the *urritaos* and the *rajaos* could select each other:

³⁵⁶ Ibid., 343.

³⁵⁷ García, *Vida y martirio*, 242; Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra Santa Fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15. de mayo de 1669 hasta 28. de abril de 1670. Sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros,” 1670/1671, BHR, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 13v.

ad hos quæcumque alterius sexus advocatur, aut venit, laudi id vertitur: magna iuventutis, ut per se patit corruptela. Quin imo hi, tanquam in senatum ingrassi, venustiore[m] aliquam e vicinia deligunt.³⁵⁸

to be invited by a member of the other sex, and to come, is considered praiseworthy, so that a large proportion of the youth is exposed to corruption. In effect, they would rather choose one of the more graceful ones in their neighborhoods, to join them in the senate [sic].³⁵⁹

The Jesuits eluded any reference to the consequences of the selection of a bachelor by the *rajaos*. However, the missionaries claimed that once the *urritaos* had chosen a young woman to take her to the *guma' ulitao*, they “bought” or “rented” her to her parents.³⁶⁰ Prior to the arrival of Europeans to the archipelago, the “payment” that the *urritaos* offered to the *rajaos'* parents consisted of turtle shells, very precious to the CHamoru people.³⁶¹ After the first contacts with the Spaniards, the *urritaos* also provided iron objects to the young women's parents, such as barrel hoops³⁶² or swords,³⁶³ highly appreciated among the

³⁵⁸ Francisco Esquerra, Gerardo Bouwens, Peter Coomans, Antonio María Sanbasilio, Tomás Cardeñoso, Ildefonso López, “Historica narratio illorum, quae in insulis Marianis vulgo de Ladrones dictis, ab a. 1667 usque ad a. 1673 ab operariis apostolicis Soctis. Jesu inplantanda et propaganda Fide, pie et laudabiliter gesta,” 1673, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 95r-110v, 97r-97v.

³⁵⁹ Translation by Lévesque, *History of Micronesia Vol. 6*, 83.

³⁶⁰ García, *Vida y martirio*, 201; Gerardo Bowens, “Relación de lo sucedido en la misión de Islas Marianas desde 10 de junio de 1676 hasta mayo de 1677,” 30 May 1677, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 219r-226v, 220r; Le Gobien, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, 61-2; see also Fritz, *The Chamorro*, 29.

³⁶¹ Francisco Esquerra, Gerardo Bouwens, Peter Coomans, Antonio María Sanbasilio, Tomás Cardeñoso, Ildefonso López, “Historica narratio illorum, quae in insulis Marianis vulgo de Ladrones dictis, ab a. 1667 usque ad a. 1673 ab operariis apostolicis Soctis. Jesu inplantanda et propaganda Fide, pie et laudabiliter gesta,” 1673, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 95r-110v, 97v; García, *Vida y martirio*, 201; Gerardo Bowens, “Relación de lo sucedido en la misión de Islas Marianas desde 10 de junio de 1676 hasta mayo de 1677,” 30 May 1677, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 219r-226v, 220r; Repetti, “Conditions in Guam,” 432.

³⁶² García, *Vida y martirio*, 201; Gerardo Bowens, “Relación de lo sucedido en la misión de Islas Marianas desde 10 de junio de 1676 hasta mayo de 1677,” 30 May 1677, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 219r-226v, 220r; Repetti, “Conditions in Guam,” 432.

³⁶³ Repetti, “Conditions in Guam,” 432.

inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.³⁶⁴ The Jesuits filtered this offering of goods in exchange for the *rajaos* through their Christian standards, referring to it as a “payment” and mentioning the “profit” that the girls’ parents made with it. On several occasions the missionaries raged against the CHamoru parents, accusing them of “corrupting” their daughters in exchange for a “miserable payment.”³⁶⁵ However, the Jesuit documents offer evidence that this “payment” or exchange was not a mere economic compensation, but certainly had deeper implications within the *ulitao* system for both the *rajaos* and their parents. For instance, in the case narrated by Aranda, the father of the young CHamoru girl married to a Spanish soldier in Orote became even more enraged when Fr. Monroy offered him more goods than the *urritaos*, only if he consented her daughter’s Christian marriage. The CHamoru father’s anger did not come from losing the goods that the *urritaos* would have offered him, but from the fact that his daughter would not join the *ulitao* system, and that is the possible reason why he became even more angry when Fr. Monroy made his offer. This father’s desire for his daughter to join the *ulitao* can be understood thanks to the evidence contained in the written sources, which mention that the stay of the *rajaos* in the *guma’ ulitao*, far from ruining their reputation, made them more desirable for marriage.³⁶⁶ García claims that the fact that these young women attended the *guma’ ulitao* did not “prevent them from getting married later,”³⁶⁷ and another Jesuit account states that when a *rajaio* left the *guma’ ulitao*, “she [was] restituted to her family, her reputation and value not sullied but increased by the experience, so that she [was] from then on viewed as more mature for whatever marriage.”³⁶⁸ In other words, the passage of the *rajaos* through the *ulitao*

³⁶⁴ Frank Quimby, “The Hierro Commerce: Culture Contact, Appropriation and Colonial Entanglement in the Marianas, 1521-1668,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 46, no. 1 (2011): 1-26.

³⁶⁵ Gerardo Bowens, “Relación de lo sucedido en la misión de Islas Marianas desde 10 de junio de 1676 hasta mayo de 1677,” 30 May 1677, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 219r-226v, 220r.

³⁶⁶ Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society*, 184; Naputi, “Decolonizing Sexuality,” 32; Russell, Tienpon I Manmofo’na, 149; Safford, “Guam and Its People,” 715.

³⁶⁷ García, *Vida y martirio*, 201, *sin que a ellas embarace para casarse después*.

³⁶⁸ Francisco Esquerra, Gerardo Bouwens, Peter Coomans, Antonio María Sanbasilio, Tomás Cardeñoso, Ildefonso López, “Historica narratio illorum, quae in insulis

system made them more mature and desirable for marriage, to the point that some missionaries mentioned that many of them were already married once they left the *guma' ulitao siba*.³⁶⁹

In summary, what the Jesuits conceived as an economic “payment” to the parents in exchange for the sexual corruption of their daughters, for the CHamoru people was, in my view, possibly a compensation, a sort of reciprocity whereby parents obtained valuables from the *urritaos* in exchange for the fact that their daughters joined the *guma' ulitao* and, therefore, the *ulitao* system. This system would eventually bring social benefits for young women themselves, such as greater maturity and desirability for marriage. The case of the “payment” is one more example of how essential it is to read the Jesuit texts from a critical stance, especially when it comes to reconstructing the sexual practices of the native inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.

3.4. The *Guma' Ulitao* in Later Testimonies

The accounts and letters of the Jesuit missionaries sent to the Mariana Islands in the 17th century are the main source of existing information on the *guma' ulitao siba*. The destruction of these houses at the end of that century prevented other Europeans from alluding to them in their reports, with very few exceptions.³⁷⁰ However, there is a document from the early 19th century that contains information on the *guma' ulitao* that the Jesuits never mentioned in their writings: the work by Louis de Freycinet. This French explorer led an expedition around the globe aboard the corvette *l'Uranie*, a journey that began in 1817. One of the objectives of the expedition was to collect scientific and ethnographic

Marianis vulgo de Ladrones dictis, ab a. 1667 usque ad a. 1673 ab operariis apostolicis Soctis. Jesu inplantanda et propaganda Fide, pie et laudabiliter gesta,” 1673, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 95r-110v, 97v, *Postea suis restituitur, nulla inde aut fama, aut pretij iactura, sed potius incremento; ita ut cuicumque matrimonio tum demum matura videatur*. Translation by Lévesque, *History of Micronesia Vol. 6*, 84.

³⁶⁹ Repetti, “Conditions in Guam,” 432.

³⁷⁰ See Joseph Bonani, “Deuxième lettre du P. Bonani au R. P. Pettinati, écrite à Rota, une des îles Marianes, le 27 Mai 1719,” in Luta (Rota), 27 May 1719, AHCJC, Barcelona, FILCAR E.I, a-18. 1677–1750. First Part: 1677–1735. E.I. a-18/1, 101-114.

data from various parts of the world. On March 17, 1819, Freycinet's vessel anchored in the port of Humatak, south of Guåhan, after a long journey from Australia and Timor in which a large part of the crew contracted malaria and dysentery.³⁷¹ The expedition decided to take forces in Guåhan for 80 days and did not weigh anchor until July 5. During that time, Freycinet and his subordinates were devoted to the collection of different scientific and ethnographic data, through interviews with CHamoru and Spanish informants.

Freycinet poured all this information into his major work, *Voyage autour du monde*, published in 17 volumes which included engravings and maps. To prepare the part concerning the history of the Mariana Islands, the French explorer claims that he supplemented his notes with various sources, such as the Guåhan archives, his conversations with the vice-governor and *mestizo*³⁷² Don Luis de Torres, and several History volumes from the Philippine and the Mariana Islands prepared by Spanish and French religious, including that of Fr. Le Gobien.³⁷³ One of the most interesting aspects of the ethnographic data offered by Freycinet is the temporal distance between the events to which he refers and the time in which he collected them. As I will show in the following chapter, the *guma' ulitao* powerfully attracted the attention of the Jesuit missionaries, who conceived it incompatible with the way of life they wanted to implement in the archipelago and, therefore, they devoted their efforts to bring it to extinction. Indeed, when Freycinet's expedition reached the Marianas, the last *guma' ulitao* had been destroyed at the hands of the Spanish militia more than a century ago. However, the Frenchman collects valuable data on this institution that the Jesuits never mentioned in their letters and accounts, which undoubtedly reflects the persistence of the *guma' ulitao* and the practices associated with it in the oral memory of the CHamoru communities of the 19th century.

As I pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Freycinet was the first author to mention the "*goma ulitao*" as the CHamoru name of this building/institution, which the French explorer translated as

³⁷¹ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 92.

³⁷² That is, "Mestizo," in current CHamoru.

³⁷³ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 164.

“bachelors’ houses.”³⁷⁴ According to his report, in these structures people of both sexes met before getting married, joining in “indecent unions” with “the greatest degree of license.”³⁷⁵ As the Jesuit missionaries, Freycinet also reflected his prejudices and moral standards when speaking of the sexual encounters that took place in the *guma’ ulitao siba*, which he defined as “temples of sexual immorality”³⁷⁶ that CHamoru youth used “to indulge in the most shameful libertinism.”³⁷⁷ The French explorer indicates that these houses were widespread throughout the islands, in what coincides with the Jesuit missionaries, and refers a large one in the town of *Chowchowgo* (Chuchugu) where many “young libertines” lived together.³⁷⁸ However, Freycinet also provides information not reported by the missionaries of the 17th century. For instance, he affirms that sexual relations between siblings were consensual among the CHamoru populations, a practice that would have horrified the Jesuits even more than those carried out in the *guma’ ulitao*:

<p>et, chose étrange ! dans un pays où les devoirs des époux et les degrés de parenté qui s’opposent aux alliances étoient clairement définis, le frère pouvoit là, sans encourir aucun blâme, avoir un commerce charnel avec sa propre sœur.³⁷⁹</p>	<p>And, strange to tell, in that country where the duties of spouses and the degrees of relationship that might prevent any matrimonial alliance were very clearly defined, a brother could in the <i>guma ulitaos</i> have full carnal knowledge of his sister and invite no opprobrium.³⁸⁰</p>
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The author does not specify the source of this information, nor does he provide more details about it, so it is impossible to delve into this practice. Another aspect of the *ulitao* system that Freycinet, unlike the

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 180.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 368, *lubriques réunions [...] la plus grande licence*.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 369, *temples d’impudicité*.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 180, *pour se livrer au plus honteux libertinage*.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 180.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 368-9.

³⁸⁰ Louis Claude de Freycinet, *An Account of the Corvette L’Uranie’s Sojourn at the Mariana Islands, 1819*, ed. and trans. Glynn Barratt (Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands: Division of Historic Preservation, 2003), 127.

Jesuits, alludes to is the use of a secret language by the *urritaos*. According to the French explorer, the bachelors that attended the *guma' ulitao* had a “mysterious and allegorical language,” the *fino gwalafon*, that only they understood and which they mainly used in their love songs.³⁸¹ As in the case of the *tunas* (which Freycinet refers to as *tinás*), this language also acted as a distinctive element of the *urritaos* within their community, reinforcing their sense of belonging as a group initiated in the *ulitao* system.

Freycinet’s report also provides considerable information, especially in comparison with the missionaries’ texts of the 17th century, regarding the relationship of women with the *ulitao* system. In his work, the commander of *l’Uranie* describes several practices performed by the *rajaos*, which he refers to as *maowlitaos*,³⁸² and by their mothers. First, he points out that, unlike the European brothels where women were “stripped of all honor” (368),³⁸³ the fact that young CHamoru girls attended the “*goma ulitao*” did not cause any dishonor to themselves or their parents, and, indeed, their mothers even encouraged them to join these houses.³⁸⁴ Certainly, the social recognition of young women increased once they joined the *guma' ulitao*. Freycinet points out that *maowlitaos* enjoyed higher social status than other girls who remained “chaste,” even those that were older.³⁸⁵ For instance, the *maowlitaos* could take part in certain community meetings, known as *tadiw*, which were forbidden for those young “virgins” who had not been initiated in the *ulitao*.³⁸⁶ However, the *maowlitaos* were not obliged to attend such meetings, as were married women, so the former also enjoyed certain privileges with respect to the latter. Regarding chastity, Freycinet states that in Págu, as well as in other villages of Guåhan, young women were not supposed to marry as “virgins,” so often one of the father’s friends offered to have sex with her in order to avoid the fact that she was

³⁸¹ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 370.

³⁸² Ibid., 486.

³⁸³ Ibid., 368, *qui ont dépouillé toute honte*.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 180.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 486.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 486.

accused of being “innocent,” even though Freycinet notes that this accusation was rarely brought against young CHamoru women.³⁸⁷

I have pointed out above that mothers even encouraged their daughters to join the *guma’ ulitao*. In this regard, Freycinet collects an extraordinary testimony: the CHamoru lyrics of a song that mothers allegedly sang to their daughters in order to encourage them to live in the *guma’ ulitao* and have sex with the *urritaos*:

Hodjong akaga makanno!	Go out my dear girl to be eaten
Sa pago naī ōm manngghi	Because right now you are delicious.
Sa gwain la-mōna ōm daghi	Because later, you will be frustrated
Dja ōm hago pōlan sapit. ³⁸⁸	And you will be the one suffering. ³⁸⁹

The first remarkable aspects of the lyrics are the analogies between food and sex. The metaphor of “being eaten” is certainly a reference to the sexual act between the *rajao* and the young *urritaos*. On the other hand, the term *manngghi*, *mannge* in current CHamoru language, means “delicious” and is used to refer to the sexual attractiveness of the young woman to whom the verse is dedicated.³⁹⁰ Likewise, *dahgi*, which Freycinet translates as “frustrated”, is equivalent to *dagge* in current CHamoru, a word used to designate the taro (or any other tuber) that is too ripe to be edible, and in the song it refers to that moment in which the *rajao*, as she grows older, will lose part of her attractiveness and her suitors.³⁹¹ By singing this song to their daughters, CHamoru mothers encouraged them to take advantage of their beauty and youth so as to engage in sexual intercourses with the *urritaos*, before they were no longer so desirable. Freycinet also claims that mothers sang this song to convince their daughters to join the *guma’ ulitao siba*,³⁹² so its lyrics also

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 370.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 369.

³⁸⁹ Michael R. Clement, “*Kustumbre*, Modernity and Resistance. The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 2011), 50.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., 50.

³⁹¹ Ibid., 50.

³⁹² Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 369.

show the social acceptability of the practices that took place in those buildings.³⁹³

Hodjong akaga is not the only CHamoru song recorded by Freycinet. In his report he also described a song of courtship, of which he reproduced both the lyrics and the melody (Figure 5), being the only CHamoru melody documented until the 20th century.³⁹⁴ Fortunately, this song also refers to an element associated with the *ulitao* system: the *pugna'* or betel nut:

Hasngon gof-dja pala-wan-ho,	Deliberately, beautiful woman
Nga ho saddi, gwi mina-ho;	of mine
Ho swoni ngw mamaon,	I place you on my knees in my
Ngw plwplwɔdjon djan pɔgwaon. ³⁹⁵	presence
	I inflame (your desire) with (a
	wad of) betel
	With a betel leaf and (crushed)
	<i>arek</i> nut. ³⁹⁶

The song mentions that a betel nut and a betel leaf were used to “inflame” desire during courtship, as aphrodisiacs. In section §3.3.3. I have already pointed out that 16th century authors such as Fernández de Oviedo stated that CHamoru bachelors carried in their baskets or *esportillas* betel nuts and a tree leaf that they used to chew all together with lime. Other authors claimed that married men also brought these baskets and exchanged them with the *urritaos* while the latter had sexual relations with the former’s wives. Likewise, some Spaniards, such as Fernández de Oviedo himself, mentioned that women wore these baskets too, possibly with betel nuts inside. The song documented by Freycinet allows, therefore, to deepen the relationship between this fruit and the *ulitao* system, since it is possible that it functioned as a catalyst for courtship and as an aphrodisiac for the *urritaos* and the *rajaos*.

³⁹³ Clement, “*Kustumbre*,” 50.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 63.

³⁹⁵ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 397.

³⁹⁶ Clement, “*Kustumbre*,” 63.

Chant. $\text{♩} = n.º 108 \text{ du métronome.}$

Hasngon, gof-dja pa-la-e-an-ho, nga ho sad-di,
 gel mi-na-ho; ho se-e-ni nga ma-ma-on,
 Refrain.
 nga ple-ple-djon djan pa-ga-a-on. Bi-dja-mo, bi-dja-mo,
 bi-dja-mo; ghé-mo, ghé-mo, ghé-ghé-mo. Di-ke,
 di-ke, di lin di li-ke.

Figure 3.5. *Hasngon gof-dja* lyrics and melody, documented by Louis de Freycinet, from Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 398.

According to Freycinet, the *Hasngon gof-dja* song was accompanied by a refrain, consisting of “mysterious phrases” whose meaning only a few people knew but which were easily understood from the gestures of the singers and dancers.³⁹⁷ These mysterious phrases were possibly part of the *fino gwalafon*, the secret language of the *urritaos*,³⁹⁸ and already at the beginning of the 19th century no one remembered their meaning.³⁹⁹ Clement claims that the fact that no CHamoru remembered the song itself in the early 20th century suggests that “knowledge of the past eroded over a long period of time as it was replaced by new introductions, adaptations and innovations.”⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁷ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 397-8.

³⁹⁸ Clement, “Kustumbre,” 63.

³⁹⁹ Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde*, 398.

⁴⁰⁰ Clement, “Kustumbre,” 64.

3.5. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have shown how the *guma' ulitao* is a recurring topic in current historiography of the Mariana Islands. However, so far there had been no in-depth works, based on primary sources, on this CHamoru institution. The absence of critical research has led to the perpetuation of the Eurocentric and patriarchal biases of the Jesuit missionaries from the 17th century, as well as to the reproduction of uncontested and even contradictory information on the *guma' ulitao*. However, and due to the interests of the missionaries themselves, the data available on this CHamoru institution is very limited: as RDK Herman claims, “[a] lot of the Spanish accounts fixated on the sex part, rather than looking at that whole institution of the *guma' uritao*. It was a big part of the culture.”⁴⁰¹ Indeed, at one point the Jesuits were only interested in recording the most “indecent” aspects, from a sexual point of view, of the *guma' ulitao siba* with the aim of raising funds to establish seminaries for boys and girls that would replace these CHamoru “public houses.” The written sources therefore omit a large part of the non-sexual activities that the *urritaos* and the *rajaos* performed inside these buildings, activities that were deeply related to their socialization. In this sense, archeology stands as the only discipline capable of shedding light on every aspect that the written sources decided, consciously or unconsciously, to keep silent about.

The silences around the *guma' ulitao* reveal that it played a strategic role in the missionaries' documents. During the years prior to the establishment of a Jesuit mission in the archipelago, the religious avoided mentioning this institution so as not to tarnish the idealized image of the CHamoru people that they had elaborated to defend the viability of their evangelical labor. To enlist the support of the colonial authorities, they needed to depict CHamoru people as innocent barbarians, willing to receive the Christian doctrine. If the missionaries had alluded to the sexual practices of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, they could have jeopardized the mission project. Consequently, and as happened in other parts of the Spanish empire, instead of

⁴⁰¹ RDK Herman, “Guam: Inarajan – Native Place: Village.” *Pacific Worlds*, 2003. Accessed July 27, 2021. <http://www.pacificworlds.com/guam/native/native1.cfm>.

questioning the vision of a “correct” sexuality, they opted for denying that the sexuality of the natives fell outside it.⁴⁰² However, two or three years after the mission was founded, the Jesuits started to mention the *guma’ ulitao* and the sexual practices associated with it in their writings in order to request funds for the establishment of seminaries where they could educate the CHamoru youth. For the missionaries, hence, the destruction of the *guma’ ulitao siba* was not sufficient, but rather schools had to be built to replace them as the new space for (sexual) socialization of CHamoru boys and girls, as I will analyze in the following chapter. In short, this strategic treatment of the *guma’ ulitao* in the missionary sources shows to what extent they are crossed by power relations and by the colonizers’ agendas.

Another consequence of the power that crosses the Jesuit documents is the underrepresentation of CHamoru women in relation to the *guma’ ulitao*. As I have pointed out throughout the chapter, the Jesuits portrayed the *urritaos* as the main agents of this institution, depicting the *rajaos* as mere objects of desire and exchange in the *ulitao* system. Unfortunately, this patriarchal bias has been perpetuated in current historiography, where the graphic representations of the *guma’ ulitao* are featured only by men (see Figure 3.2). Certain current works completely omit women when dealing with this institution, without even mentioning the *rajaos*.⁴⁰³ However, the presence of the *rajaos* in the *guma’ ulitao* was not incidental. In a letter dated 1672, Fr. Francisco Solano narrates that, when he went in search of an *indio* who had run away terrified by dreaming of *anitis*—ancestral spirits, in CHamoru—, he entered one of the “houses of the *orritaos*” at midnight in which he found “possessed boys and girls,”⁴⁰⁴ which proves that the *rajaos* would sleep in these houses. In addition, the stay of young women in the *guma’ ulitao* brought several social benefits to them, since they gained in maturity and it made them more desirable for marriage, as well as it allowed them to access certain meetings that were forbidden for the rest

⁴⁰² Roscoe, “Strange Craft,” 450.

⁴⁰³ Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, *Hale’-ta*, 33.

⁴⁰⁴ Francisco Solano, “Copia de una carta que el padre Francisco Solano, superior de la misión de los Ladrones, ya Marianas, escribió de dichas islas a la ciudad de Manila,” 26 April 1672, ARSI, Philipp. 13, 82r-87r, 82v, *endemoniados y endemoniadas*.

of the girls of their age. Access to the *ulitao* system was so beneficial to the *rajaos* that even their own mothers encouraged them to attend the *guma' ulitao*, through songs like the one recorded by Freycinet.

Some authors have even hypothesized about the existence of women's houses in the Mariana Islands as separate buildings from the men's houses. Cunningham, for instance, states that “[l]ess is known about the social clubs for women. [...] The women's clubs were probably used as a source of labor for village projects.”⁴⁰⁵ The existence of the *rajaos'* houses is consistent with the fact that Jesuit sources indicate that in the most populated villages there were two *guma' ulitao siba*; it would also explain the relative sexual division of tasks in the two *latte* buildings of similar size excavated by James M. Bayman and his team in Litekyan, as I pointed out in section §3.3.2. *Latte* Building 1, which presented a greater concentration of materials associated with female activities, could be the house of the *rajaos*, while *Latte* Building 2 would be that of the *urritaos*. However, the absence of written testimonies about women's houses in the Marianas does not allow to confirm their existence. In the Jesuit documents there is only one mention to a “house of unmarried women” as an independent, female-only building:

No tienen más que una mujer, pero es a repudiable a su arbitrio, o a su antojo: la cual dejada no les falta otra: que para eso es la casa de las solteras, para que el que lo está escoja de ella lo que se conviniere con él, sin que haya más pactos, intervenciones ni respetos. ⁴⁰⁶	They have only one wife, but they can repudiate her at their choice, or whim: once they leave her, they do not lack another, since that is the function of the unmarried women's house, so that the one who is single may choose from it what suits him, without any further pacts, interventions, or respects.
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⁴⁰⁵ Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro society*, 185.

⁴⁰⁶ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 4v.

The textual and material evidence is still insufficient to affirm or disprove the existence of the *rajaos*' houses. However, it can be affirmed that the *ulitao* was a mixed system, in which both young men and women participated actively. Relegating the *rajaos* to a secondary position when dealing with the *guma' ulitao* implies perpetuating the vision and the patriarchal prejudices of the 17th-century Jesuit missionaries.

Finally, the *guma' ulitao* would play a crucial role in the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts that arose shortly after the arrival of the Jesuits in the Mariana Islands. In the last years of the 17th century, these conflicts resulted in the forced reduction (*reducción*) of all the CHamoru communities to a few villages in Guåhan, and this reduction process entailed the definitive extinction of institutions such as the *guma' ulitao*. However, Freycinet's testimony, in the 19th century, shows the persistence of "subaltern narratives"⁴⁰⁷ such as the *guma' ulitao* and some of the practices of the *ulitao* system in the oral memory of the CHamoru populations, even under centuries of colonial rule.

⁴⁰⁷ Clement, "*Kustumbre*," 11.

CHAPTER 4. FIGHTING FIRE WITH FIRE. ETHNOSEXUAL CONFLICTS AND RESISTANCES DURING THE EARLY COLONIZATION OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS

“[T]here is no longer memory of those old public houses in which many single men put a single woman to contribute to their appetites, because since such houses burned two years [ago], consuming one fire to another fire, no other has been rebuilt again.”⁴⁰⁸

Tzvetan Todorov dedicates his work on the conquest of America to the memory of a Mayan woman who was brutally devoured by the dogs of a Spanish captain. In the opening pages of his book, Todorov reproduces the account of the incident written by the Franciscan friar Diego de Landa, who claims that the young woman had promised her husband that she would not engage in sexual intercourse with any other man, so when she opposed the captain's requests, he ordered to set the dogs on her.⁴⁰⁹ Of all the crimes and abuses mentioned by Todorov in his work, it is not incidental that he chooses this case for his dedication. The brutal murder of this Mayan woman, torn by the dogs of a Spanish captain, shows how in America the conquest of the bodies was, at least, as important as that of the territories. It also demonstrates how this conquest did not take place only on a macro scale, through *cédulas*,

⁴⁰⁸ Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, N. 151, *ya no ay memoria de aquellas casas Publicas antiguas, en que muchos solteros, ponian a una sola soltera, para que contribuyese a sus apetitos, por que desde que [hace] dos años se abrasaron las tales cassas, consumiend un fuego, a otro fuego, no se ha buuelto a reedificar, otra dennuevo.*

⁴⁰⁹ Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982), 7.

decrees, laws, or ordinances, but also on a small level, in daily interactions from person to person. Finally, it reveals how that conquest was extremely violent, and how that violence, especially the one against women, had a clear sexual component.

However, native women reluctant to have sex with Spanish colonizers were not the only ones who ended up in the jaws of the latter's dogs. These animals were also used to punish other sexual attitudes that displeased the colonizers, especially in the case of sexual expressions that escaped European standards. In his *Decades*, Pedro Mártir recounts an episode related to one of the expeditions of Vasco Núñez de Balboa towards the Pacific in which this fact is clearly depicted:

La casa de este [cacique] encontró Vasco llena de nefanda voluptuosidad: halló al hermano del cacique en traje de mujer, y a otros muchos acicalados y, según testimonio de los vecinos, dispuestos a usos licenciosos. Entonces mandó echarles los perros, que destrozaron a unos cuarenta. ⁴¹⁰	Vasco found the house of this [cacique] full of nefarious voluptuousness: he found the cacique's brother dressed as a woman, and many others groomed and, according to the neighbors' testimony, disposed to licentious uses. Then he ordered to set the dogs on them, which destroyed about forty of them.
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Different versions of this incident were reported in later chronicles about the Indies, as in the ones written by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and Bartolomé de las Casas.⁴¹¹ Due to its harshness, it was also reproduced by artists such as Theodor de Bry, to illustrate his work on America (Figure 4.1). Pedro Mártir's testimony, along with the one by Diego de Landa, reflects the violence with which the Europeans colonized the bodies that they found in the New World, as well as the intersections between power and sexuality that took place during that process of colonization.

⁴¹⁰ Pedro Mártir de Anglería, *Décadas del Nuevo Mundo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, 1944), 200.

⁴¹¹ Oscar González Gómez, "Visiones del 'otro': la sexualidad de los pueblos originarios de América en las formaciones discursivas de la expansión ibérica," *Estudios Latinoamericanos* 22 (2008): 131-8.



Figure 4.1. *Valboa Indos nefandum Sodomiae scelus committentes, canibus obiicit dilaniandos.* de Bry represents the *aperreamiento* of forty “Indian Sodomites” by order of explorer Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1513. Plate XXII from Theodor de Bry, *Americae Pars Quarta* (Frankfurt, 1594).

However, colonized populations did not remain passive in the face of this sexual violence. On some occasions, they actively defended themselves against it, and opposed—even through weapons—the imposition of European sexual standards. Archaeologist Barbara Voss defines the struggles caused by this sexual and colonial violence as “ethno-sexual conflicts.” With this term, based on the previous works of Joane Nagel,⁴¹² Voss refers to the “clash between incompatible cultural beliefs and practices related to sexuality.”⁴¹³ This chapter is devoted to analyzing the role played by sexuality in the struggles that emerged between the Spanish colonial agents and the native

⁴¹² Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality. Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴¹³ Barbara L. Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire,” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 196.

communities of the Marianas after the arrival of the former to the archipelago in 1668. I will argue that these clashes, known in the historiography of the islands as “Spanish-Chamorro conflicts,” were also (ethno)sexual conflicts. For this, I will claim that the struggles revolved around two constructed spaces, two places of social and sexual socialization of the native youth that ended up being incompatible: the *guma’ ulitao siha* and the Jesuit schools. I will proceed, then, to expose several cases that show the strong (ethno)sexual resistance that natives showed against the attacks to their sexual beliefs and practices. In doing so, I will challenge some recent research, which ensures that native people from the Marianas offered little confrontation to such assaults. Finally, I will outline the reorganization of sexuality in the new social order that resulted after the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts in the islands, an order known by the historiography of the Mariana archipelago as *la Reducción*.

4.1. The Clash of the Ethnosexual Conflicts in the Marianas

Spanish presence in the Mariana archipelago was strengthened after 1668, when a group of Jesuit Fathers, led by Diego Luis de San Vitores, arrived in Guåhan with the idea of establishing a permanent mission. Initially, the reception of the Jesuits by the local communities was kind, even hospitable. San Vitores had taken charge, even before reaching the islands, of pouring into his letters the idea that the CHamorus were friendly and innocent people, who would easily accept Christian doctrine. In one of his manuscripts, he emphasizes:

<p>La façilidad de su conversion, sin resistencia alguna ni temporal ni espiritual o moral de las que an dado arto que vencer en otras partes, pues ni a entrado en ellas la maldita secta de Mahoma, que tanto estorvo á hecho en este Archipiélago, ni tienen Idolos, ni</p>	<p>[t]he ease of their conversion, without any temporal or spiritual or moral resistance of those who have given enough to overcome in other parts, because neither has entered there the damn sect of Muhammad, who has been so encumbered in this Archipelago</p>
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Religion o Secta alguna de que esten preocupados, ni adoran Sol o Luna u otra cosa.⁴¹⁴ [he is writing from the Philippines], nor have they Idols, nor Religion or any sect of which they are concerned, nor worship to the Sun or the Moon or something else.

Other Jesuit Fathers also pointed out that, at first, the CHamorus had given hope that, with time and with a good treatment, they would engage in the Christian faith more than others, as “they do not have so many impediments to their health, in the outrages of vices, which have been known in other nations.”⁴¹⁵ This representation of the natives of the Marianas as friendly and innocent people, willing to adopt Christian doctrine with ease, responds to several reasons. On the one hand, to the stereotypes of “innocent barbarians” that crossed the European mentalities of the moment. But, as I stated in Chapters 2 and 3, it also responds to the interest of San Vitores to show the mission of the Marianas as a simple and feasible project, given the lack of interest on the part of the Spanish crown in evangelizing the archipelago.

According to Atienza, however, there are four factors that contributed to change the Fathers’ first impression on the naivety of the CHamorus and that ended up triggering the ensuing conflicts: 1) confrontations and wars among clans; 2) the obstinacy of some religious leaders, or *makânas*; 3) the existence of the *guma’ ulitao siba*, which were seen by the missionaries as brothels; and 4) the resistance, in some cases violent, of certain natives to baptism.⁴¹⁶ All these elements modified the previous vision of natural humility hold by the missionaries about the natives from the Marianas, and led them to adopt tougher measures to ensure

⁴¹⁴ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones,” 1665, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 82, N. 8.

⁴¹⁵ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 33v, *por no tener tantos impedimentos de su salud, en los desajueros de vicios, que se han conocido en otras naciones.*

⁴¹⁶ David Atienza, “A Mariana Islands History Story: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography,” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (2013): 17.

the protection of the mission and of the baptized and catechumens. It is at this moment that, in the Jesuits' annual reports and in the letters, the "force of arms" begins to be mentioned as something necessary to reinforce the mission in the archipelago:

porque ya que entró el Evangelio desarmado en estas Islas, como ley de paz, y caridad; para conservarse en ellas, y correr con felicidad, necesita de ir cercado de armas [...] no tanto para herir, quanto para atemorizar.⁴¹⁷ because since the unarmed Gospel entered these Islands, as a law of peace, and charity; to stay in them, and run with happiness, it needs to go surrounded by weapons [...] not so much to hurt, as to frighten.

This climate of tension, together with the murder of some Jesuit Fathers (Figure 4.2), including San Vitores, at the hands of native men, eventually led to what the traditional historiography of the islands calls the "Spanish-Chamorro wars." These armed conflicts would last for almost thirty years, from 1672 to 1699. Hezel argues that, according to the dimension of the fights and the number of casualties, it is exaggerated to refer to these struggles as "wars,"⁴¹⁸ with what I concur, so I will use here the notion of Spanish-CHamoru conflicts.

The prominent role of the *guma' ulitao* in the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts, as Atienza points out, highlights a dimension of these confrontations which until now has scarcely been studied at all: the ethnosexual one. San Vitores himself had stated, in 1665, that CHamoru men "have only one woman, and are not given to other vices, of

⁴¹⁷ Andrés de Ledesma, "Noticia de los progresos de nuestra santa fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15 de mayo de 1669 hasta 28 de abril de 1670, sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros," 1670, Biblioteca del Hospital Real, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 11v. See also "Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía," 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 51r.

⁴¹⁸ Francis X. Hezel, *When Cultures Clash. Revisiting the 'Spanish-Chamorro Wars.'* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2015), 2.



Figure 4.2. Martyrdom of Fr. Sebastián de Monroy occurred during the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts, from Gabriel de Aranda, *Vida, y gloriosa muerte del v. padre Sebastián de Monroy, religioso de la Compañía de Jesús, que murió dilatando la fe alanceado de los bárbaros en las Islas Marianas* (Seville: Thomas López de Haro, 1690).

extraordinary lust, theft, inhumanity.”⁴¹⁹ However, this vision changed when he could observe the “public” or “bachelor houses.” In the

previous chapter I pointed out that these houses were buildings in which young CHamorus were enclosed during their process of initiation into adulthood. I indicated that the youth engaged in collective and premarital sexual intercourses in them, something that displeased the Jesuit Fathers tremendously, since premarital and collective sex was contrary to the Christian doctrine and moral standards that they were trying to implement among CHamoru populations. The repulsion that these houses provoked in the Spaniards was such that colonial soldiers would burn them as punishment after the appeasement of revolts initiated by the CHamorus. I consider that the fact that colonial agents made the *guma' ulitao siba* the focus of their aggressions shows how the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts were also ethnosexual conflicts, that is, a clash between two different ways of understanding and living sexuality: the native, pre-contact one, and the Spanish one.

In the following sections, I will delve more deeply into the role of the *guma' ulitao* in the ethnosexual conflicts that arose between colonizing and colonized groups. However, other factors were also controversial in relation to sexuality. Marriage unions were the most obvious. I already argued in Chapter two that in the CHamoru society prior to colonial contact, the spouses could “repudiate” each other and seek new partners. This practice also displeased the Jesuits to a large extent, since it made it difficult to introduce marriage according to Catholic standards on the islands. In a document of 1673, it is mentioned that the Jesuits applied “light punishments” to those CHamorus who refused to marry by the Catholic rite:

<p>Intimóseles, que acudiesen [a la Iglesia], y que si no serían castigados; y también que los que después del cristianísimo hubiesen recibidos en los nuevos casamientos la ley de la indisolubilidad matrimonial, no</p>	<p>They were urged to come [to the Church], and otherwise they would be punished; and also that those who after baptism had received in the new marriages the law of matrimonial indissolubility, should not return</p>
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⁴¹⁹ Diego Luis de San Vitores, “Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones,” 1665, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 82, N. 8, *no tienen más que una mujer, ni son dados a otros vicios, de extraordi[na]ria lujuria, hurtos, inhumanidad.*

volviesen a su común costumbre del repudio, cuando se les antojaba, porque no lo toleraba eso nuestra santa ley: intimándoles la misma amenaza. Y aunque viéndolos rebeldes en la libertad apostática, en que les quería mantener su rebeldía, se les hicieron algunos castigos ligeros, no aprovecharon, antes les ocasionaron mayor obstinación, y prorumpieron en publicar, y amenazar guerra a la cristiandad, y Españoles, si acaso se instase en obligarlos, a observar dichas leyes.⁴²⁰ to their common custom of repudiation, when it pleased them, because our holy law did not tolerate it: intimating them the same threat. And although, seeing them rebels in apostolic freedom, in which they wanted to maintain their rebelliousness, they were given some light punishments, they did not serve, but they caused them more obstinacy, and they burst forth in publishing, and threatening war against Christianity, and against the Spaniards, if they were forced to observe these laws.

The same document states, later, that when the Fathers saw that the punishments did not intimidate the CHamorus, they decided not to marry any other couple for a time, so as not to generate a greater rejection of the preaching of Catholic doctrine among the natives. The rejection of the Catholic marriage was, therefore, one of the cases of (ethno)sexual resistance on the part of the CHamorus.

Ethnosexual conflicts not only arose between the colonizers and the CHamoru. Instead, these confrontations also took place among the colonial agents themselves. As explained before, the colonization of the Marianas was initially led by the Jesuit missionaries. However, no longer before their arrival, San Vitores and his companions requested to increase the number of soldiers sent to the archipelago to protect them from the CHamoru's attacks as well as to submit them. Likewise, the missionaries considered it necessary to count on the presence of an

⁴²⁰ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 41r.

experienced military man who could guide the garrison effectively.⁴²¹ As a result of these petitions, the first commanding officer (*Sargento mayor*) of the Mariana Islands, Damián de Esplana, was appointed in 1674. Although this new civil authority was welcomed by the missionaries, Esplana's behavior soon caused apprehension and concern among them. According to the Fathers, the captain was willing to fully assume the control of the islands, thus leaving to the missionaries the management of the religious affairs—remaining just in charge of the spread of the gospel.⁴²² Under the missionaries' view, one of the most controversial aspects of this situation was the power that Esplana held over the native population and, specifically, over CHamoru women. In the Annual Letter of 1674-1676, the missionaries explained that CHamoru girls were forced to serve at the captain's house, staying to eat with him, something that was completely inappropriate for the Jesuits:

<p>[...] obligava el Capitan alas muchachas aque entre dia fuesen a servirle asu casa, quedandose a comer con el muchas veces, todo lo qual tenia sus inconvenientes, y fue causa de algunos ruidos entre los Padres y el Capitan.⁴²³</p>	<p>[...] the Captain forced the girls to go to serve him during the day at his house, and they often stayed to eat with him, all of which was inconvenient and caused some noise between the Fathers and the Captain.</p>
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The missionaries' concerns regarding the behavior of Esplana seem to be connected to the lack of control over CHamoru girls—in particular, over their sexuality and moral education—that this situation entailed. As implied in the fragment, when serving at Esplana's house, CHamoru

⁴²¹ Marjorie G. Driver and Francis X. Hezel, *El Palacio: The Spanish Palace in Agaña, 1668-1898* (Mangilao: Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, University of Guam, 2004), 3.

⁴²² Verónica Peña Filiu, "Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas Marianas (Pacífico occidental): Introducciones, adaptaciones y transformaciones alimentarias durante la misión jesuita (1668-1769)," PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2019, 119.

⁴²³ Francisco Gayoso, "Relación de lo sucedido en las islas de los Ladrones, ya Marianas, desde junio de 74 hasta mayo de 76, escrita por el padre Francisco Gayoso al padre Xavier Riquelme, Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas," 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 195r-200v, 195v.

girls were alone with him, something that the Fathers probably saw as inappropriate for young, unmarried women. Moreover, by staying at Esplana's house, CHamoru girls escaped from the influence of the missionaries, hindering their evangelizing project—that aspired to educate these girls in Christian values, such as chastity.

Conflicts related to sexuality between the colonizers did not always involve the missionaries. For instance, Governor Antonio de Saravia (1681-1683), during his tenure, ordered that “no one dared to force any woman,” under pain of death.⁴²⁴ Upon discovering that three soldiers of the garrison had disobeyed this order, the governor sentenced them to die by *garrote*—garroted. In addition, he ordered that those soldiers should be executed in the place where they had committed their crimes, to set an example for the rest of their companions.

Tensions between the Spanish agents involved in the colonization of the Marianas were common during the 17th and 18th centuries. The triggers of these conflicts were diverse.⁴²⁵ As I will show in the following pages, the control over the sexuality of indigenous population was one of the reasons behind the hostilities that erupted between the different colonial agents.

4.2. *Les Hétérotopies de Crise: The Guma' Ulitao and the Jesuit School as Incompatible Spaces of Sexual Socialization*

Barbara Voss argues that ethnosexual conflicts are characterized by the clash between two sets of sexual beliefs and practices that are

⁴²⁴ Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, N. 151, *que nadie se atreviese a hacer fuerza a alguna mug[e]r*.

⁴²⁵ For instance, Stephanie Mawson has analyzed several mutinies led by soldiers in the 1680s, which demonstrate the heterogeneity of the colonizers' goals in relation to the occupation of the Marianas and reveal the tensions that existed among them. See Stephanie Mawson, ‘Rebellion and Mutiny in the Mariana Islands, 1680-1690,’ *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2015), 128-48. Verónica Peña has analyzed the tensions that arose between the colonial contingent in relation to the supply of the islands and the production of food during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Peña Filiiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo.”

incompatible.⁴²⁶ In the Marianas, this incompatibility of sexual epistemologies materialized in the confrontations around two constructed spaces: the native *guma' ulitao* and the Jesuit school. In a letter from one of the Spanish Fathers, this incompatibility is well appreciated, as well as the need to establish schools in order to “fight” the *guma' ulitao siba*:

Se suplica à su Magestad se sirva de fundar un seminario en la Isla de Guan, para la buena institucion de los niños de esta tierra, huerfanos por naturaleza, ò costumbre de esta Nacion, en que totalmente està essemptos los hijos de la educacion, y sugesion de sus padres. La qual Barbaridad viene à ceder en mas facil introduccion de nuestra criança, y reduccion à dichas casas de Seminario, contraponiendo este Sagrado, y Real Seminario à los que tiene fundados el Demonio en estas Islas, de <i>Urritaos</i> , ò mancebos, que viven con las solteras en casas publicas, sin otro Magisterio, ò direccion, mas que lo que les persuade el Demonio, ò su apetito; con la libertad de su edad. ⁴²⁷	His Majesty is requested to establish a seminary in the island of Guan, for the good institution of the children of this land, orphans by nature or custom of this nation, in which the children are totally exempt of education and subjection of their parents. Such barbarity comes to give in easier introduction of our upbringing, and reduction to these seminary houses, opposing this sacred, and royal seminary to those who have founded the Demon in these islands, of <i>Urritaos</i> , or young men, who live with the single women in public houses, without another magisterium, or direction, more than what the Demon persuades them, or their appetite; with the freedom of their age.
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⁴²⁶ Barbara L. Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire,” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 196.

⁴²⁷ Andrés de Ledesma, “Noticia de los progresos de nuestra santa fe, en las Islas Marianas, llamadas antes de los Ladrones, y del fruto que han hecho en ellas el padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros, de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 15 de mayo de 1669 hasta 28 de abril de 1670, sacada de las cartas, que ha escrito el Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, y sus compañeros,” 1670, Biblioteca del Hospital Real, Granada, Caja IMP-2-070 (31) Col. Montenegro, 13r.

Father Francisco Gayoso gave a description of such schools, whose walls were made of palm leaves and sticks attached to each other, with a length of twenty or thirty yards, as well as with an eight, ten, or less yards width (Figure 4.3).⁴²⁸ The length and narrowness of the schools respond to the will of the Jesuit Fathers to transmit certain values to the boys and especially to the girls. Among these values, one would find recollection, modesty and even chastity. Its spatial distribution, its narrow windows, and its single door, resemble the design of other buildings devoted to the accommodation of young women in other Spanish colonies, such as the *monjeríos* (Figure 4.4). Barbara Voss defines these buildings from Alta California as “long, narrow adobe room with high walls, small windows, and a single entrance which could be securely locked from the outside.”⁴²⁹ She claims that the *mojeríos*, as surely happened with the female schools in the Marianas, were “designed to

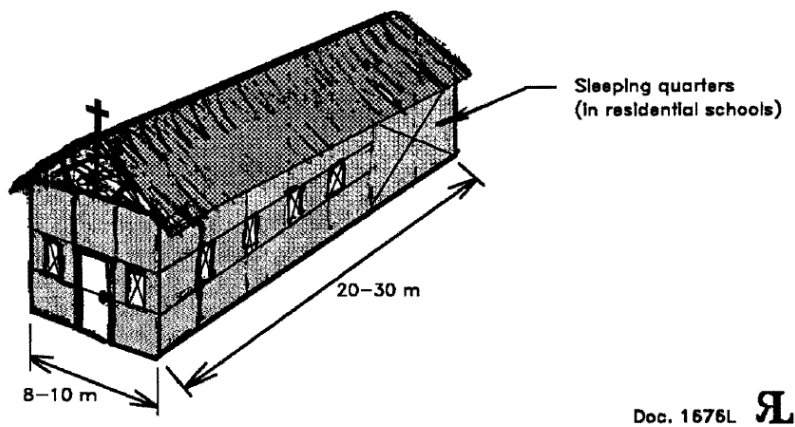


Figure 4.3. Sketch of a school from Hagåtña, ca. 1676, according to the description given by Fr. Francisco Gayoso, from Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6. Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995), 566.

⁴²⁸ Francisco Gayoso, “Carta del Padre Francisco Gayoso para el Padre Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en que le da cuenta de lo sucedido en la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el año de 74 hasta el de 76,” in Manila, 13 September 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 201r-207v, 203r.

⁴²⁹ Barbara L. Voss, “Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California’s Spanish Colonial Missions,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Robert A. Schmidt (London: Routledge, 2000), 43.

inculcate Spanish notions of female virginity and family honor into the girls and women.”⁴³⁰



Figure 4.4. Reconstructed *monjerío* from Mission La Purísima Concepción State Historic Park, California, from Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism,” 44.

Michel Foucault defines the institutions such as the *gyma' ulitao* or the school as “crisis heterotopias”, that is, as “privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are [...] in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.”⁴³¹ He also points out that the school, in its 19th-century form, would also constitute a “crisis heterotopia” and a “disciplinary apparatus.” According to him, 18th-century schools were architectural “apparatuses” (*dispositifs*) with inner discipline policies, in which sexuality, even by omission, was always present.⁴³² In this regard, it is fruitful to remember Beatriz Colomina’s claim that “[t]he politics of space are always sexual, even if space is central to the mechanisms of

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 44.

⁴³¹ Michel Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): 24.

⁴³² Michel Foucault, *Historia de la sexualidad. 1. La voluntad de saber*, eds. Julia Varela and Fernando Álvarez-Uría, and trans. Ulises Guiñazú (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2009 [1976]), 28.

the erasure of sexuality.”⁴³³ In 1674, the first Jesuit school was built in Guåhan, in the town of San Xavier de Rotidian, currently Litekyan.⁴³⁴ Five years later, a larger school was founded, with the name of San Juan de Letrán, in Hagåtña. CHamoru children attended them daily so as to learn how to read, write, and even how to play music.⁴³⁵ Besides these skills, in those schools they also learnt how to behave as proper Christians, assimilating Jesuit assumptions on marriage and sexuality through the constant discipline that would characterize Jesuit schools in the following centuries. The will of the Jesuits to found a school in order to reduce native children to Christian doctrine was present from their arrival to the Marianas. As I just pointed out, Fr. Ledesma begged the King in 1670 to build a seminary in the island of Guåhan in order to release CHamoru children from their “barbarity,” as well as from the apparent “abandonment” of their parents.

The burning of the *guma’ ulitao siba* by Spanish soldiers, indicated in the previous section, resulted in the burning of schools by the *urritaos*, as I will show in the next section. This struggle is another example of the incompatibility between both crisis heterotopias, as well as an evidence of the prominent role played by sexuality in the conflicts between CHamorus and Spaniards.

4.3. Fighting Revisionist Claims: (Un)Existent Ethnosexual Resistances during the Spanish-CHamoru Conflicts

In ethnosexual conflicts, violence is not passively assumed by either party. Ethnosexual assaults often face strong resistance, especially by

⁴³³ Beatriz Colomina, *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 1.

⁴³⁴ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 50r.

⁴³⁵ Jorge Loyzaga, “La Arquitectura Misional en las Islas Marianas,” in *1898: España y el Pacífico. Interpretación del Pasado, Realidad del Presente*, eds. Miguel Luque Talaván, Juan José Pacheco Onrubia and Fernando Palanco Aguado (Madrid: Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, 1999), 486.

native populations. In the case that opens this chapter, Todorov points out how the resistance of a Mayan woman against the sexual proposals of a Spanish captain led her to a tragic end. Similarly, Barbara Voss has analyzed how native settlement organization in Alta California was collectively modified to confront the sexual violence exercised by colonial soldiers. According to Voss, there are notable changes between the native patterns of settlement prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in the area and those of the time of the conquest. Before the colonial contact, various tools related to food processing by women appear in the surrounding areas of the settlements, that were composed of isolated dwellings scattered along the edge of a stream or the shore of a bay. In contact time, however, these activities were reoriented into a perimeter formed by the houses. Based on both the material evidence and documents of the time, Voss argues that this reorientation of female activities to a central location in the villages prevented native girls and women from being seen by colonial soldiers and, thus, from being abused or captured by them.⁴³⁶ Both cases show how inter-ethnic sexual violence in colonial contexts resulted in both individual and collective acts of ethnosexual resistance.

Following the works of Nagel⁴³⁷ and Voss,⁴³⁸ ethnosexual resistance is used here to refer to the refusal to accept alien cultural beliefs and practices concerning sexuality. Undoubtedly, inter-ethnic conflicts related to sexuality in the Mariana Islands gave rise to similar practices of resistance. I pointed out earlier that, in 1673, the Jesuit Fathers had to stop marrying CHamorus according to the Catholic rite, since the latter opposed it with such vehemence that they came to threaten with “war on Christianity.”⁴³⁹ However, recent research denies the existence of acts of resistance in relation to another sexual institution: the *guma*

⁴³⁶ Voss, “Colonial sex,” 39-41.

⁴³⁷ Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality*.

⁴³⁸ Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism.”

⁴³⁹ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía,” 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 41r.

ulitao. Hezel argues, in relation to the destruction of those buildings by colonial soldiers in the Marianas, that:

Similar clubhouses were destroyed in Yap and Palau during German rule at the beginning of the 20th century without strong resistance from the local population. Likewise, the early documents in the Marianas nowhere suggest that the destruction of these houses was likely to provoke strong resistance. No one seriously maintains that the Spanish destruction of these houses was responsible for the ensuing conflict.⁴⁴⁰

Throughout this chapter, several testimonies have already appeared, especially by the Jesuits' own hands, which show that *guma' ulitao siha* had a certain impact on the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts. This contradicts Hezel's argument, when he claims that the destruction of these buildings was not related to the subsequent struggles. However, this is not the only point in which I differ with this researcher. I also disagree with the suggestion that the destruction of these houses did not provoke strong resistance among the local populations of the Marianas. For instance, in 1672, after the killing of some Jesuit Fathers at the hands of CHamoru men, the colonial soldiers carried out a strong campaign of repression, burning several native villages. Three of them, Aniguag, Ascan, and Tunpurigan, decided to capitulate and asked for peace, and Spaniards set three conditions for it: their inhabitants should send their children to the church, attend to mass in the Holydays, and demolish their "public houses." However, as one of the Jesuits' report from 1676 states, they did not meet the last two.⁴⁴¹

CHamoru resistance to the attacks against their sexual beliefs, practices, and institutions went beyond their opposition to demolish their *guma' ulitao siha* when the Spaniards ordered them to do so. Another report

⁴⁴⁰ Hezel, *When Cultures Clash*, 89.

⁴⁴¹ "Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía," 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676, N. 8, 35v.

from 1678 notes that not only did they not destroy their *guma' ulitao siba*, but they even reconstructed some during the conflicts:

havian Buelto á lebantar aun en los Pueblos cercanos sus Imas o cassas Publicas donde segun su Barbara costumbre dan Rienda a toda la guia y liviandad mas luego que presentamos este Yncombeniente al Governador parttio con una buena esquadra de Jentte y las quemó Y echo por tierra amenazandoles que si las Bolvian a lebantar experimentarian mayor Rigor y el no usaria de su costumbrada piedad. ⁴⁴²	They had rebuilt again in the nearby towns their <i>imas</i> ⁴⁴³ or public houses where, according to their barbarous custom, they gave free rein to all guidance and lightness. But after presenting this inconvenience to the governor, he left with a good squad of people and burned and demolished the houses, threatening them that if they were raised again, they would experience greater rigor and he would not use their usual piety.
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In addition, reports from 1675,⁴⁴⁴ 1676,⁴⁴⁵ and 1684⁴⁴⁶ mention that, during the assaults by several CHamorus to three Spanish settlements, they burnt the churches and schools of the villages. By burning those buildings, native populations—most of them *urritaos*, that is, male bachelors—were demonstrating their opposition to the adoption of the institutions that they incarnated, that is, the Christian doctrine in the case of the church and the European-based socialization of children, in

⁴⁴² “Relación de las cosas más notables que han sucedido en las Islas Marianas desde el mes de junio de 1678 hasta mayo de 1679 y del estado en que queda esta cristiandad,” in San Ygnacio de Agaña, 5 June 1679, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9-2677, N. 19.

⁴⁴³ Probably a transcription of the expression “*i gima*,” “the house” in CHamoru, in which the word “*guma*” changes to “*gima*” due to the vowel harmony that occurs when it is preceded by the article “*i*.” See Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga, *Del español al chamorro. Lenguas en contacto en el Pacífico* (Madrid: Ediciones Gondo, 2009), 77.

⁴⁴⁴ Gerardo Bowens, “Muy Reverendo Padre Nuestro en Cristo Juan Paulo Oliva...,” 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 129r-131v.

⁴⁴⁵ Juan de Ahumada, “Obituary of Fr. Monroy, by Fr. Ahumada,” 1677, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of the Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 6 — Revolts in the Marianas 1673-1678* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1995) 369-79.

⁴⁴⁶ Gabriel de Curuzelaegui, “Carta del gobernador de Filipinas, Gabriel de Curuzelaegui a Su Majestad,” 27 December 1687, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 562, 28r-38r, 29r.

that of the school. There are four points, then, in which CHamorus showed ethnosexual resistance to the adoption—and imposition—of European sexual institutions and standards is appreciated: their opposition to the institution of Catholic marriage; the refusal to destroy their *guma' ulitao siba*, despite threats of war; the reconstruction of some of these buildings that had been previously demolished by the Spaniards; and the burning of churches and, in particular, Jesuit schools.

Despite these acts of resistance, the colonial agents managed to subdue native populations, relocating them in villages on the islands of Guåhan and Luta, designed to control them better. In the next chapter, I will analyze the role of sexuality in *la Reducción*, the new colonial and sexual order that emerged in the Marianas after the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts.

4.4. *La Reducción*: A New Sexual Order

“Stones”, as well as palm leaves and sticks,
“can make people docile and knowable.”⁴⁴⁷

The reduction, or *reducción*, as referred to in the Spanish documents, brought about a reordering not only of the settlements and inhabitants of the Marianas, but also a reorganization of their relationships and, therefore, of the hierarchies within the colony. Sexuality did not remain outside this rearrangement. As philosopher Michel Foucault demonstrated, sexual beliefs and practices are strongly rooted in systems of power.⁴⁴⁸ Foucault himself stops, in one of his famous writings, to analyze this interaction between sexuality and power in the Jesuit reductions of Paraguay:

The Jesuits of Paraguay established colonies in which existence was regulated at every turn. The village was laid out according to a rigorous plan around a rectangular place at the foot of which was the church;

⁴⁴⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995 [1975]), 172.

⁴⁴⁸ Foucault, *Historia de la sexualidad*.

on one side, there was the school; on the other, the cemetery; and then, in front of the church, an avenue set out that another crossed at right angles; each family had its little cabin along these two axes and thus the sign of Christ was exactly reproduced. Christianity marked the space and geography of the American world with its fundamental sign. The daily life of individuals was regulated, not by the whistle, but by the bell. Everyone was awakened at the same time, everyone began work at the same time; meals were at noon and five o'clock; then came bedtime, *and at midnight came what was called the marital wake-up, that is, at the chime of the churchbell, each person carried out her/his duty.*⁴⁴⁹

In the Marianas, the colonial powers also came to control, to some extent, the sexual practices within the colony. The end of the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts came in 1699, when almost all native communities from the islands were relocated into a few villages in Guåhan and Luta.⁴⁵⁰ *La Reducción* (Figure 4.5) brought with it the definitive disappearance of the native guma' ulitao. According to the quote that opens this chapter, in 1682 there were no longer memories of these buildings, burnt by the Spaniards in the previous years.⁴⁵¹ With them, another kind of “fire” disappeared: the passion with which young male and female CHamorus collectively gave themselves to each other before getting married. Another Jesuit report from 1684 confirms that, by 1680, there were no longer “public houses” in Guåhan.⁴⁵² However, there is news of one of these structures in the neighboring island of

⁴⁴⁹ Foucault, “Of Other Spaces,” 27. The emphasis is mine.

⁴⁵⁰ Hezel, *When Cultures Clash*, 74.

⁴⁵¹ Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, N. 151.

⁴⁵² Antonio Jaramillo, “Letter from Fr. Xaramillo to the King, dated Manila 29 June 1684,” 29 June 1684, reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 8 — Last Chamorro Revolt 1683-1687* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 133-155.

Saipan for 1684,⁴⁵³ what proves that the disappearance of this institution was very gradual, parallel to the process of reducing the natives of all the Marianas to the islands of Guåhan and Luta.



Figure 4.5. *Village of Saipan, Mariana Islands*, 19th century drawing of a *reducción* in Saipan, from Élisée Reclus, *The Universal Geography. Earth and Its Inhabitants, Volume 14, Australasia*, ed. A. H. Keane (London: J. S. Virtue & CO., 1876-1894), 276.

What seems certain, then, is that after the end of the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts and, therefore, of that process of reduction, no other *guma' ulitao* was built or used again in the archipelago. *La Reducción* also marks the end of the ethnosexual conflicts. There would be no longer two incompatible sets of beliefs and practices about sexuality fighting for its imposition or for its survival. However, this does not mean that conflicts around sexuality disappeared. On the contrary, with the new colonial order there was a rebound of ethnosexual violence, practiced almost entirely towards native women. For instance, as I mentioned above, the institution and the constructed space that came to replace the *guma' ulitao* as a place of (sexual) socialization of the native youth in the reduction was the Jesuit school.

⁴⁵³ Peter Coomans, "Letter(s) to Fr. General (& Fr. De Pape), dated Saipan 17 (& 18) May 1684," reproduced in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents, Volume 8 — Last Chamorro Revolt 1683-1687* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1996), 85-101, 99.

Despite the enclosed morphology of the schools, that undoubtedly contributed to the consolidation of values such as recollection (*recogimiento*) and chastity among CHamoru children (especially among girls), these buildings did not prevent native girls from sexual assaults perpetrated by men from their villages. As Fr. Francisco Gayoso stated in a report from 1676, an inconvenience occurred in one of the female schools from Guåhan: some soldiers frequently came into the building during the night, engaging in sexual intercours with the girls. In order to prevent them from doing that, the Jesuits took a “ridiculous measure,” in Gayoso’s terms. They decided to leave two Fathers in the school during the night and to lock the door of the girls’ room. However, the soldiers still managed to get into the building during the night and get into sexual intercours with the CHamoru girls.⁴⁵⁴

La Reducción, therefore, implied a reorganization of the power relations among the people of the island, a reordering of privileges and oppressions affected by sexuality, gender, ethnicity, status and age. All of them were structured in a new matrix of domination,⁴⁵⁵ which will regulate the social relations of the archipelago in the following decades. This new colonial order, however, was not an imposition of the European one, nor a continuity of the native culture prior to contact—although, no doubt, there would be some continuities. On the contrary, a third space was generated, something genuinely new.⁴⁵⁶ Sexual institutions and practices disappeared that would no longer reemerge on the islands, such as the *guma’ ulitao siba* or the practice of biting and scratching to show love, but new ones emerged, some even against the new colonial norm—perpetuated by both colonized as colonizers. In the next chapter, I will analyze the emergence of this matrix of domination and the ethnosexual violence that it entailed during the early years of its existence.

⁴⁵⁴ Francisco Gayoso, “Carta del Padre Francisco Gayoso para el Padre Provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en que le da cuenta de lo sucedido en la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el año de 74 hasta el de 76,” in Manila, 13 September 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 201r-207v, 203r.

⁴⁵⁵ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought. Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), 228-9.

⁴⁵⁶ María Lugones, “Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System,” *Hypatia* 22, no. 1 (2007): 186-209.

CHAPTER 5. SEX AND THE COLONY: ETHNOSEXUAL VIOLENCE AND THE NEW MATRIX OF DOMINATION

Sexual abuse is one of the most recurrent war weapons in armed conflicts and conquests, especially in those in which the struggles occur between people of different ethnic origin.⁴⁵⁷ This is the case of colonial conquests. In the previous chapter I pointed out how the encounter between Spaniards and CHamoru people, during the second half of the 17th century, led to a series of ethnosexual conflicts that resulted in the reduction (*reducción*) of natives to villages built by order of the Spanish colonists. However, this chapter is aimed at showing how the reduction, far from appeasing these ethnosexual struggles, entailed an increase in ethnosexual violence against native women.

Sexual abuse was already a weapon of conquest since the first days of European expansion throughout the world, which took place within the framework of the first globalization. Proof of this is the letter that one of Christopher Columbus' crew members wrote to him, during the second voyage of the Admiral to the American continent between 1493 and 1496. In the letter, dated October 28, 1495, Michele de Cuneo addressed Columbus to tell him how he forced a Caribbean woman who had been captured and handed over to him by the Admiral himself:

Mientras estaba en la barca, hice cautiva a una hermosísima mujer caribe, que el susodicho Almirante me regaló, y después que la hube llevado a mi camarote, y estando ella desnuda	While I was in the boat, I capture a beautiful Caribbean woman, whom the aforementioned Admiral gave me as a present, and after I had taken her to my cabin, and as she was naked as
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⁴⁵⁷ Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality. Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

según es su costumbre, sentí deseos de holgar con ella. Quise cumplir mi deseo pero ella no lo consintió y me dio tal trato con sus uñas que hubiera preferido no haber empezado nunca. Pero al ver esto (y para contártelo todo hasta el final), tomé una cuerda y le di de azotes, después de los cuales echó grandes gritos, tales que no hubieras podido creer tus oídos. Finalmente llegamos a estar tan de acuerdo que puedo decirte que parecía haber sido criada en una escuela de putas.⁴⁵⁸ usual, I felt like laying with her. I wanted to fulfill my wish but she did not consent and gave me such a deal with her nails that I would have preferred never to have started. But seeing this (and to tell you everything until the end), I took a rope and scourged her, after which she shouted great cries, such that you could not believe your ears. We finally agreed so much that I can tell you that she seemed to have been raised in a school for harlots.

The tone of the letter reflects the author's intention to delight the reader with the story, as some scholars have already argued.⁴⁵⁹ In addition, accounts such as that of Cuneo, about the sexual availability—if not predisposition—of native women from the New World, have inspired the works of later authors and artists, also devoted to delight (Figure 5.1). This intention of delight, both visually and through a narrative that would nowadays result brutal and terrible, reflects how the conception of sexual abuse has changed from the time in which Cuneo wrote his letter to the present day,⁴⁶⁰ as well as the importance of analyzing, from a critical stance and without falling into anachronisms, these episodes that allow us to delve into the role played by sexuality in the processes of conquest and colonization.

⁴⁵⁸ Evangelina Folino and Silvia Calero, *Cronistas de Indias: Antología* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Colihue, 2006).

⁴⁵⁹ Tzvetan Todorov, *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982).

⁴⁶⁰ Georges Vigarello, *Histoire du viol, XVIe-XXe siècle* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1998).

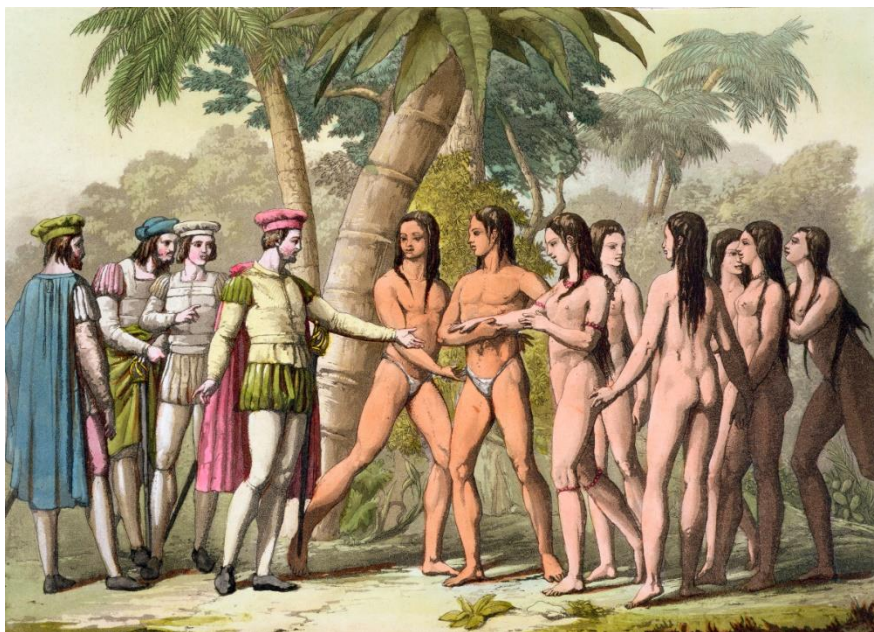


Figure 5.1. *Les Mexicaines données à Cortes par le Cacique Tabasco*. Plate V from Jules Ferrario, *Le Costume Ancien et Moderne, Amerique Vol. 1* (De l'imprimerie de l'editeur, 1820), 44.

In this chapter, I will analyze the role played by sexual abuse in the Marianas after the reduction of their inhabitants to a few villages on Guåhan and Luta. I will show how the process of reduction implied an increase in the vulnerability of local populations, who were exposed to the abuses (both physical and sexual) of the governors and the high commanders of the island. It is important to note that sexual attacks referred in this chapter are only the tip of a much larger iceberg, since only a small part of the abuses committed reached the ears of those interested in reporting them (such as the Jesuits or some personnel of the militia). However, it is necessary to account for these practices, to get an idea of the dimension that sexuality had in the conquest not only of the territories of this archipelago, but also of the bodies that inhabited it.

5.1. The Matrix of Domination in the New *Reducción*

The 18th century begins with a radically new context in the archipelago. The reduction of the CHamorus to new settlements, where colonial authorities could exercise greater control over their lives, had already taken place. This process of reduction brought about very relevant changes, both for the colonizers and for the colonized. However, far from improving the living conditions of the latter, the reduction tended to worsen them. Testimonies of the time point to the alarming loss of native population that the process of reduction caused. Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel (1709-20) indicates, in a letter in which he gives account of his investiture as Governor of the Marianas, the natives' poor conditions:

Y à la fecha de esta puedo afirmar á V.M. que apenas habrá cinco mil por los muchos que han fallecido de cuatro meses á esta parte, con una rigurosa y voraz epidemia, que han padecido, la esquilencia, garrotillo, tabardillo, dolores de costado, fluxiones de sangre por la boca, y monstruosas postemas; á estas anuales enfermedades se atribuye tan gran disminucion de gente como se experimenta. A que se agrega la mudanza de ritos, y costumbres, y á que dichos Padres Misioneros, los han reducido, á vida comun y politica en Pueblos que han formado, sacandolos de sus antiguas rancherias, donde vivian esparcidos , y á los levantamientos, que han intentado, y puesto á tiempo en	And by the time I write this [letter] I can affirm to Your Majesty that there will scarcely be five thousand for the many who have passed away in the last four months, due to a rigorous and voracious epidemic, as they have suffered quinsy, croup, typhoid fevers, flank pain, fluxions of blood through the mouth, and monstrous abscesses; to these annual diseases is attributed as great population decline, as it is experienced, to which the change of rites and customs is added, since the missionary parents have reduced them to common and political life in villages that they have formed, taking them out of their old rancherias where they lived scattered, and the uprisings they have tried and put in execution on time, with the
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ejecucion, con ánimo de acabar con los religiosos y españoles, de que mataron a muchos cuyas reducciones han sido à fuerza de armas, en que perecieron muchísimos naturales.⁴⁶¹

intention of ending the priests and Spaniards, from which they killed many whose reductions have been by force of arms, in which many natives died.

It is interesting to note that Pimentel points out, as a cause of the loss of native population in Guåhan, not only the diseases or the armed conflicts of the previous century, but also the “change of rites and customs” to which the Jesuits subjected the CHamorus. Indeed, the reduction of native populations to these new settlements brought about the de-structuration of their ancient ways of life, and it is remarkable that the governor of the archipelago recognizes the difficulties that this de-structuration entailed on the lives of native inhabitants from the archipelago.

Regarding sexuality, in the new colonial order the sexual conflicts of previous decades resulted in a regime in which ethnosexual violence was exercised systematically against native women. There are several testimonies of such ethnosexual abuses against CHamoru women by colonial agents. In the aforementioned letter by Pimentel, he exposes how Commanding Officer José de Quiroga y Losada, in charge of the government of the islands during the absence or death of the acting governors, carried out “rigorous” punishments against those soldiers who “were mischievous” with the Indian women.⁴⁶² He assures that Quiroga y Losada served as governor on two occasions, during the trip of Governor Damián de Esplana to Manila, and right after his death. In both periods he inflicted “excessive” punishments against the soldiers who committed the “sin of concupiscence,” without considering if the accusations were true and ignoring other sins equally serious for Pimentel, such as robberies and intoxication. The governor affirms that the punishments applied by Quiroga y Losada were so terrible that

⁴⁶¹ Juan Antonio Pimentel, “El teniente general don Juan Antonio Pimentel, gobernador y capitán general de las Islas Marianas, da cuenta a Vuestra Majestad de haber tomado posesión de aquel gobierno a 22 de agosto de 1709,” 24 November 1709, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, N. 9, 100-105, 102.

⁴⁶² Ibid., 103.

soldiers and natives “trembled with horror” just by hearing his name. The different considerations held by Pimentel and Quiroga y Losada towards the seriousness of the sexual crimes committed by soldiers of the militia against native women reveal the tensions that such crimes aroused not only between colonizers and colonized, but also within the own colonizers. As will be pointed out below, these tensions would only escalate during Pimentel’s term, who would be denounced by José de Quiroga y Losada in two letters addressed to the Council of the Indies.

In order to understand the vulnerability to which native women were subjected concerning sexual abuse by colonial authorities, it is necessary to recognize that, throughout the process of reduction, CHamoru women suffered a state of double subordination. Analyzing that double subordination requires understanding the different oppressions that overlapped in those CHamoru women—oppressed because of their gender, their ethnicity, and even because of their marriage with native men. To this end, two theoretical tools derived from feminist standpoints are useful. The first one is intersectionality. The term was coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989.⁴⁶³ She used it to show how black women were crossed by different axes of domination, resulting in an oppression that is not comparable to the sum of each axis separately, but it is something completely genuine. This intersectional approach has received a great reception in different academic fields. However, I consider that the main virtue of intersectionality is also one of its defects: the focus it places on the individual makes it not the most appropriate tool to study how different oppressions are mutually interrelated, produced and sustained from a broader perspective.

While intersectional approaches take the individual as the place, the *topos*, where different axes of oppression intersect, another notion derived from Black feminist academia recognizes the community, the whole of society, as the space in which such oppressions are produced and reproduced: the matrix of oppression. The term, coined by Patricia Hill Collins, is defined in her own words as “the overall social

⁴⁶³ Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (1989): 139-67.

organization within which intersecting oppressions originate, develop, and are contained.”⁴⁶⁴ It is through the matrix of oppression that social diversity is categorized in terms of difference and, in addition, certain differences are taken to establish an inequality and a social hierarchy. The matrix of domination recognizes that everyone is marked by difference, and that where there is oppression, there is also its counterpart, which is privilege. Likewise, another of the advantages of the matrix of oppression against intersectionality is that, while the latter levels the oppressions, the matrix allows a contextual analysis that hierarchizes the oppressions, recognizing that in certain contexts one oppression can determine to a greater extent the life of one individual than any other. This contextual and systemic analysis of the interaction of multiple oppressions concurs with the proposals of decolonial feminists who, like Rita Segato⁴⁶⁵ or María Lugones,⁴⁶⁶ employ terms such as “modern/colonial gender systems” and the “colonial/modern matrix” in their analysis on gender, sex and ethnicity.

I do not mean that scholars should renounce to intersectionality in order to use only the matrix of oppression in studies on different axes of domination. I claim that intersectional analysis is still relevant, especially in individual cases, that is, at the micro level. For a macro perspective, however, the matrix of domination is much more useful when it comes to understanding how such axes are co-produced and reproduced. A good example of the functioning of this matrix of domination in Guåhan during the first half of the 18th century is that of the tasks exercised by native women according to their marriage. In a letter, probably from 1737, the Procurator-General of the Philippines Joseph Calvo argues that:

Antes el trabajo para todo lo dicho se repartía entre millares de Familias; y aora no llegan à	The work for everything said so far was previously distributed among thousands of families,
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⁴⁶⁴ Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001), 228-9.

⁴⁶⁵ Rita Laura Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2016), 24.

⁴⁶⁶ María Lugones, “Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System,” *Hypatia* 22, no. 1 (2007): 186-209.

quinientas las que han de hacer lo mismo. Como pues no han de ir cada año en disminucion! Como no se ha de experimentar, que las Indias cassadas con Indios, ò no tienen hijos, ò son muy pocos; quando al contrario las cassadas con soldados tienen muchos! Y à que otra causa se puede atribuir esta diferencia; sino à que las segundas estan exemptas de el trabajo, y las primeras tan apuradas de el que, ò no tienen virtud para concevir, ò se esterilizan de proposito, por no parir esclavos para el español, como se les ha oydo decir alguna vez.⁴⁶⁷

and now they do not reach five hundred the ones that have to do the same. How, then, should they not go each year in decline! How can one not experience that Indian women married to Indian men, or they do not have children at all, or they have very few; while, on the contrary, those married to soldiers have many! And to what other cause can this difference be attributed, but to the fact that the latter are exempt from work, and the first so rushed from it that, or they have no virtue to conceive, or they sterilized themselves on purpose, for not giving up slaves for the Spaniards, as they have claimed sometime.

Joseph Calvo states that those native women married to soldiers were exempted from any labor, while those who were married to native men should work in the fields. Through a particular intersection between gender and race, marriage defined which women should engage in working in the fields and which ones were released from these duties and the terrible sufferings that they entailed.

⁴⁶⁷ Joseph Calvo, "Joseph Calvo de la Compañia de Jesus...", probably 1737, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 299, N. 33, 2r-2v.

5.2. The Grand Turk's Seraglio: Sexual Corruption in the Marianas

During the first quarter of the 18th century the government of the Mariana Islands was characterized by widespread corruption.⁴⁶⁸ The terms of Governors Juan Antonio Pimentel (1709-1720) and Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle (1720-1725) particularly spread corruption to all areas of daily life. In a letter of May 26, 1720, the aforementioned Quiroga y Losada denounced that, under Pimentel's rule, the islands were "in great misery." This is due, according to the Commanding Officer, to the governor and his mayors (*alcaldes*) exploiting the natives, using them in strenuous tasks in exchange for a few sheets of bad tobacco. In addition, the governor himself had a store, the only one of the whole island of Guåhan, where he sold clothes and food at exorbitant prices, especially in the years when the galleons did not stop in the archipelago. On the other hand, neither he nor his mayors endow the natives or the infantry with clothing, which was in "deplorable situations, even on Holy days." Finally, Quiroga y Losada points out that Pimentel, far from forbidding gambling, promoted it among the soldiers of the infantry, to try to get some profit from it.⁴⁶⁹

In the same letter, Quiroga y Losada notes a final point about the corruption of Governor Pimentel, something "more pitiful:" the "spiritual" situation in which he had the islands. According to the Commanding Officer, the natives at that time were "very meek and Christian." However, the attitudes of the Spaniards and Filipinos who arrived on the island, many of them considered by Quiroga y Losada as the "trash" (*basura*) of the New Spain, were filling the archipelago with "scandals" and "vices of lust," including vices that the Chamorus "did not know before." The promiscuity was such that the Spaniards and

⁴⁶⁸ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Corruption, Greed and Public Good in the Mariana Islands, 1700-1720," *Philippine Studies Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 61, no. 2 (2013): 193-222.

⁴⁶⁹ Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, "Los grandes males que sucede...", San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 May 1720, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 1r-4v; see also Marqués de Rivas, Diego de Zúñiga, Gonzalo Machado, Antonio de la Pedrosa, Gonzalo Baquedano y Marqués de Almodóvar, "Carta del Consejo de Indias," Madrid, 11 February 1722, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 1r-5v.

soldiers, in the words of the Commanding Officer, “do not leave a woman, a maiden or a married one, who do not solicit and deceive, and they threaten even husbands to leave their wives and their houses to them, to their infamous will.” The author of the letter assures that the governor was fully aware of all this, since the Jesuit Fathers denounced these scandals “so brazen and universal” in his sermons, but Pimentel did not remedy the situation, not even in the case of his officers, mayors and servants, who lived publicly in cohabitation (*amancebados*) with women. Finally, he points out:

él mayor Escandalo sale de Palacio: porque siendo este Gov[ernad]or hombre de Edad, y sin muger, ha tenido siempre en su casa, como un colegio de Niñas; el qual al principio no parecio muy mal, pero En el discurso del tiempo se han llegado a saber muchas cosas indignas de Escribirse esto es deformidades, y abominaciones propias de viejos, dexados dela mano de Dios, y que no quieren dexar las mugeres aunque no Esten mas para ellas: ya se ha buuelto en publico escandalo y murmuracion universal assi en Marianas, como en Manila; asta llamar al Palacio deste Gov[ernad]or con el nombre de Serrallo del gran Turco. Estas niñas las casa despues con soldados, unas con bastante consentimiento, otras casi por fuerza, segun dicen ellas. y aun despues de casadas, prosiguen algunas à vivir en palacio

The main scandal comes out of the Palace; as being this governor a man of age and with no wife, he has always had in his house a sort of school for girls, which at first did not seem to be something bad, but in the discourse of time many things have been known, unworthy to be written, that is, deformities and abominations of old godforsaken men, who do not want to leave women even if they are no longer for them: it has become public scandal and universal murmuring in Marianas and Manila, even to the point that the palace of this governor is known by the name of Seraglio of the Grand Turk. He later marries these girls with soldiers, some of them with enough consent, and others almost by force, as they say, and even after they are married, some girls continue to live in the palace, in

amanzadas por el mismo cohabitation with the governor
Gov[ernad]or.⁴⁷⁰ himself.

As the author of the letter confirms, the palace of the governor of the Marianas (Figure 5.2) was so well known for the abuses he committed in it against the girls he sheltered, that in Manila the building was known as the seraglio, that is, the brothel of the Grand Turk.⁴⁷¹ This situation reached the ears of the Council of the Indies, thanks to the remission of several letters from Quiroga y Losada by Andrés de Pes. In the manuscript prepared by the Council about the letters, the cohabitation in which the governor lives with the girls is referred in the following manner: “to which is added the maintenance of a collection (*recogimiento*) of girls and women in his own home with remarkable scandal for the results that it produces.”⁴⁷²

The manuscript also mentions that, although the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have asked the governor both in private councils and in public sermons to put an end to these scandals, Pimentel, far from paying attention to them, banished the Frs. Ignacio de Iburgüen (Vice-provincial Father) and Juan Antonio Cantova (rector of the seminary of the Marianas) with the only argument that they had not delivered the accounts of the school. While at the end of the previous century the conflicts generated by sexual reasons were established between colonizers and colonized, in the early 18th century sexuality (sexual abuses) generated great tensions between the colonial agents themselves, with part of the military commands and the Jesuits Fathers, on the one hand, and the governor and his officers and mayors, on the other. The expulsion of Frs. Iburguen and Cantova was not the only attempt on the part of the governor to get rid of people from the “opposite” part. Already in the letter of 1709 cited above, written shortly after he assumed the position of governor of Marianas, Pimentel suggested with some subtlety the transfer of Quiroga y Losada to the

⁴⁷⁰ Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, “Los grandes males que sucede...,” San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 May 1720, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 1r-4v, 3r-3v.

⁴⁷¹ Title by which the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was known.

⁴⁷² Marqués de Rivas, Diego de Zúñiga, Gonzalo Machado, Antonio de la Pedrosa, Gonzalo Baquedano y Marqués de Almodóvar, “Carta del Consejo de Indias,” Madrid, 11 February 1722, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 1r-5v.

Philippines: “the abovementioned Commanding Officer, has no government instinct, nor is he very capable to the military discipline, and it seems to me a pity the grown salary that he perceives. And saving the Royal opinion of Your Majesty, mine is to transfer him to the Philippines, and give him an *encomienda* to spend in it the few days that are left of his life.”⁴⁷³



Figure 5.2. *Île Guam: Vue du jardin et d'une partie du palais du gouverneur.* Plate 67 from Jacques Arago and Alphonse Pellion, *Voyage Autour du Monde, Entrepris par Ordre du Roi. Atlas Historique* (Paris: Chez Pillet Aîné, 1825).

The abuses against native women not only served to alienate part of the colonial agents. During Pimentel’s term, a whole chain of reciprocity and political-military hierarchy was generated around them. Quiroga y Losada notes that husbands who allowed the governor, or one of his officers and mayors, to lie with their wives were quickly promoted to military positions of lieutenant and captain, while those who refused were punished, or descending of charge, or condemned to the stock and

⁴⁷³ Juan Antonio Pimentel, “El teniente general don Juan Antonio Pimentel, gobernador y capitán general de las Islas Marianas, da cuenta a Vuestra Majestad de haber tomado posesión de aquel gobierno a 22 de agosto de 1709,” 24 November 1709, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, N. 9, 100-105, 104.

“beaten” (*reventados a palos*).⁴⁷⁴ The Commanding Officer also denounces that the governor, on several occasions, has publicly refused to comply with the holy sacraments, specifically with communion and confession, generating a “perverse” example that has been easily followed by natives, Filipinos and Criollos from the New Spain:

Quando se confiessa por la Semana Santa, el efecto ordinario de su confession son rencores, y queexas contra los confesores, contando publicamente los cargos que le han hecho en la confession, y amenazando de cortar las lenguas a los que sospechava, hubiessen noticiado a los Padres de sus Escandalos, aunque eran notorios. Ay algunos que quisieran confessar, y comulgar a menudo, pero no lo hazen por miedo del Gov[ernad]or, y de sus familiares; por que los pocos, que con valor Christiano frequentan los sacramentos, han perdido por esso la gracia del Governador, y algunos aun la plaza.⁴⁷⁵

When he confesses for Holy Week the ordinary effect of his confession are grudges and complaints against the confessors, publicly relating the penances that have been attributed to him in the confession, and threatening to cut the tongues of those who he suspected that would have notified the Fathers of his scandals, although they were notorious. There are some who would like to confess and receive communion often, but they do not do so out of fear of the governor and his relatives; because the few who, with Christian courage, frequent the sacraments have lost the grace of the governor and some even their position.

These abuses, however, did not cease with the end of Pimentel’s term. In times of his successor, Luis Antonio Sanchez de Tagle, they continued to be perpetuated, as evidenced by a letter from the Audiencia of Manila written on July 1, 1726. In it, it is stated that both the governor and his mayors forced native women to work until the

⁴⁷⁴ Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, “Los grandes males que sucede...,” San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 May 1720, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 1r-4v.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 3v.

exhaustion and, in addition, in the case of the mayors, many of them “violented them.”⁴⁷⁶

5.3. Sexual or Power Abuses? The Cases of Some Villages’ Mayors

The power of the governor was manifested in the towns of Guåhan in a capillary way through the figure of the mayors (*alcaldes*, Figure 5.3). These “stewards of the governor,” as described by the vice-provincial father of the Marianas Felipe María Muscati, were the highest authority within each “party” (*partido*) of the island. In a letter dated June 8, 1724, Muscati himself addresses the prosecutor Pedro Bedoya y Osorio to denounce the abuses of authority that these mayors are committing in some of the towns, generating multiple disorders and scandals:

se abusan de tal suerte de una autoridad que haciendose como dueños de todas las mugeres se valen de leves pretextos para castigar cruelmente á sus maridos que selan á sus mugeres, y de estas mismas á las que se les resisten y así en lugar de ser como debieran el trazo derecho del Ministro para evitar los escandalos y promover el servicio divino con ellos, los que mas escandalizan y los que mas	they abuse in such a way of their authority that, making themselves the owners of all women, they make use of slight pretexts to cruelly punish those husbands who watch over their women, and they do the same to the women who resist them, and thus instead of being as they should the right stroke of the minister to avoid scandals and promote divine service with them, [they] are the ones who most scandalize and those who hinder and destroy the spiritual good of souls.
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⁴⁷⁶ Audiencia de Manila, “Una carta de la misma Audiencia [de Manila], fecha 1º de Julio de 1726, con testimonio de autos número 23, sobre la causa seguida al Capitán Don Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle, Gobernador que fue de las islas Marianas por la deserción que hizo de ellas y otros excesos,” 1 July 1726, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 4, *violentando algunas*.

estorban y destruyen el bien
espiritual de las almas.⁴⁷⁷

A week before Muscati wrote his letter, on June 1, the Audiencia and the Royal Chancellery of the Philippine Islands issued the sentencing hearing (*sentencia de vista*) of the residence⁴⁷⁸ made to Juan Antonio Pimentel, for the abuses committed during his term as governor of the Marianas. The residence recognized nine charges against Pimentel and several of his lieutenants and mayors: Juan Núñez, Joseph de Sandoval, Juan de Retana, Juan de Argüelles and Andrés de Arceo. All of them were accused of having “publicly traded” (*comerciado públicamente*) with widows and married women, many of them from the villages in which they ruled, “giving scandal and bad example” to the inhabitants of each settlement. Pimentel, in addition, was accused:

por haber cometido dicho teniente general el mismo exceso durante su gobierno con seis niñas que tenía en su palacio con título de huérfanas, continuado el mismo exceso después que las había casado, con escándalo y castigo de dos maridos de las susodichas y ausencia de otro, marido de ellas. ⁴⁷⁹	for having committed this lieutenant general the same excess during his government with six girls he had in his palace with the title of orphans, the same excess continued after he had married them, with scandal and punishment of two husbands of the aforementioned and the absence of another, husband of them.
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In the judgment it is appreciated how many of these men exercised the mayorship of different towns of the archipelago: Joseph de Sandoval was mayor, for two years, of the towns of Luta and Saipan and, later, of those of Malesso', Humåtak and Inalåhan (Inarajan) by a period of three years. Likewise, Andrés de Arceo had been mayor of Pågu (Pago). The

⁴⁷⁷ Felipe María Muscati, “Carta de Felipe María Muscati, capellán y viceprovincial de las Islas Marianas, al señor fiscal don Pedro Bedoya y Osorio, escrita en las Islas Marianas a 8 de junio de 1724,” 8 June 1724, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 30-4, 32.

⁴⁷⁸ Marqués de Torre Campo, Francisco Martínez, Francisco López Adán, “Sentencia de vista de la Residencia del Theniente General don Juan Pimentel,” in Manila, 1 June 1724, AGI, Seville, Filipinas 99, N. 43, 40v-51v.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 42r-42v.

latter was accused, in addition to having publicly traded with a married woman in the town where he exercised his mandate, for having “severely” whipped a boy of eleven or twelve years, Francisco Ego, to such an extent that he had his buttocks and part of his waist swollen and burst, dying after three weeks. The cause of the punishment was that the young boy had lost a turkey that belonged to the mayor, and the cruelty was such that Andrés de Arceo did not allow the boy’s father to take him to the city in order to receive the sacraments before dying.



Figure 5.3. *Alcade Paysan et Chasseur d'Umata*, plate 195 from Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe*. *Atlas* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833).

If something draws attention to the sentence, it is the resulting impunity. The Audiencia and the Royal Chancellery of the Philippines decided to acquit all the defendants of their charges, except for two: Juan Antonio Pimentel was declared guilty for having committed excesses with six orphan girls in his palace, for which he had to pay 200 *pesos*. For his part, the captain and secretary of the governor Juan Núñez was guilty of having “traded” with the widow Teresa Yda, for which he was condemned to pay a third of the costs of the proceedings.

It is possible that this impunity was responsible for the mayors continuing to commit abuses against the native women of their villages, even after Pimentel's trial and under the mandate of the new governor, Sánchez de Tagle. Five months after the publication of the sentence against Pimentel and his men of trust, a judge was sent from Manila to the Marianas to investigate the alleged abuses that the mayors of some towns perpetuated against their inhabitants. Captain Manuel Díaz Dozal was the investigating judge, who had to interrogate, between November 5 and 19, 1724, sixteen witnesses who arrived from different parts of the island to Hagåtña. This judge had prepared a questionnaire with several questions to ask the witnesses, of which the following are especially interesting:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>16.- Si dicho alcalde en su pueblo los maltrata así de palabra como de obra sin dar motivo suficiente a dichos naturales.</p> | <p>16.- Whether that mayor in his town mistreats them in word and deed without giving enough reason to the natives.</p> |
| <p>17.- Si dicho alcalde ha dado en su pueblo escándalo usurpando a los casados las mujeres, o con otros amancebamientos.</p> | <p>17.- Whether the mayor has given scandal in his town by usurping the married women, or other cohabitations.</p> |
| <p>18.- Si por saber dicho alcalde que los naturales se quejan con el padre por dichas vejaciones los castigan.⁴⁸⁰</p> | <p>18.- Whether for knowing the mayor that the natives complain to the father for those humiliations, he punishes them.</p> |

Although one of the questions, number 17, is specifically devoted to knowing whether women were abused by the mayors of their town, it is significant that the 16 witnesses questioned were all men. According to the testimonies collected by Díaz Dozal, in five of the eleven towns where the witnesses came from, the mayors had committed abuses against native women. The following table shows the list of villages in which these abuses took place:

⁴⁸⁰ Manuel Díaz Dozal, "Auto: En la ciudad de Agaña, por el Capitán don Manuel Díaz Dozal, juez pesquisidor del Gobernador de las Islas Marianas," in Agaña, November 1724, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 38-81, 39.

Table 5.1. List of Villages Where the Mayors Committed Sexual Abuses against CHamoru Women

Villages	Sexual Abuses against Women
Pāgu	-
Hagātña	-
Apotgan	-
Aniguan	-
Humātak	Yes
Mumu	Yes
Malesso'	Yes
Hāgat	-
Luta	-
Inalāhan	Yes
Pueblo Nuevo	Yes

The testimonies that the witnesses gave in front of the questions were very similar, which could mean that mayors carried out these abuses in a repeated way, following a fixed pattern. Felis Ysso, an “Indian” from the town of Umatac, declared that when Joseph de Sandoval was mayor “the village was upside down (*alborotado*),” since he took away the women from the married men and, to those who did not consent, he “reformed” them from their positions in the militia and gave them more tasks and work in the fields, while those who consented were given the positions of captains and Commanding Officers that Sandoval withdrew from the others. He also mentions that Joseph de Sandoval mistreated and punished those women who did not consent with him. Dionisio Gadao, from Malesso’, explained that in his village the mayor asked men to consent that he lie with their wives or daughters and that, to those who did not want to, he harassed them with more work and mistreated them with sticks, doing the same to those women who refused to consent with him. Likewise, Angel Ydi, from the same town, admitted that he heard that the mayor made promises to a “main one” (*a un principal*) that he would make him official if he consented with his wife, or if he gave him another female neighbor of the town.

In the previous testimonies it is appreciated how the traffic in women (and the subsequent abuse of them) served to build and legitimize a network of hierarchies within the Marianas, regulating the concession and withdrawal of military positions, as also expressed by José de Quiroga y Losada in his letter from 1720. The investigations of Judge Manuel Díaz Dorzal are probably the reason why, in 1726 at the latest, these mayor positions were already extinct in the islands. The Jesuit Muscati had already suggested, in his letter written in 1724, the reduction of the number of these offices and the election of more “pious” men:

Al tercero agravio pensarán tener mucho que responder, pues nada sólidamente dirán, primero que tales mayordomos son necesarios como tales para los intereses de la infantería, y como alcaldes para el gobierno de los indios, pero bastará con uno u otro que sin estar de asiento en los partidos fueran a visitarlos de cuando en cuando y cuando sean necesarios. Se había, en escogerlos, de mirar primero al interés del divino servicio, y en segundo lugar al de los hombres, esto es escoger antes unas personas más piadosas y medianamente hábiles que otras más hábiles y menos cristianas.⁴⁸¹

To the third offense they will think they have much to answer, as nothing solidly they will say, first that such stewards are necessary as such for the interests of the infantry, and as mayors for the government of the Indians, but one or the other will suffice if, without being fixed in the parties, they were to visit them from time to time and when necessary. In choosing them, one should look first to the interest of the divine service, and secondly to that of men, that is, to choose before some people more pious and moderately skilled than others more skilled and less Christian.

In a letter of 1726, Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, Sanchez de Tagle’s successor in the position of governor of the Marianas and son-in-law of Juan Antonio Pimentel, states that, as the positions of mayor were

⁴⁸¹ Felipe María Muscati, “Carta de Felipe María Muscati, capellán y viceprovincial de las Islas Marianas, al señor fiscal don Pedro Bedoya y Osorio, escrita en las Islas Marianas a 8 de junio de 1724,” 8 June 1724, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 30-4, 33.

retired from the Mariana Islands, they are now in a “miserable state.”⁴⁸² A year later, the Jesuit Juan Antonio Cantova explained that, in response to the governor’s request, he considered that one of the reasons why the mayor positions should not be returned is because they caused spiritual damage by giving a bad example to the natives of the islands:

Certifico haber sido parecer común de los religiosos y seculares que moran en dichas islas Marianas, que era absolutamente conveniente y necesario al bien común de aquellas islas y de sus habitantes extinguir las plazas de alcaldes que había casi en todos los pueblos de doscientas o trescientas almas entre grandes y pequeños, por el gravísimo perjuicio que se seguía en lo espiritual y temporal a los naturales y poco o ningún provecho al gremio de la infantería. Y me consta que cuando el gobernador interino capitán don Juan de Ojeda que gobernó estas islas en ausencia del propietario capitán don Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle extinguió esas plazas lo hizo no solo con aprobación de los religiosos doctrineros sino también de casi todos los capitanes reformados (que son muchos), los cuales vinieron en

I certify that it was the common opinion of both the priests and the secular people who reside in these Mariana Islands, that it was absolutely convenient and necessary for the common good of those islands and their inhabitants to extinguish the positions of mayors, that there were almost one in all the villages of two or three hundred souls, for the grave damage that was followed in the spiritual and temporal to the natives and the little or no profit to the guild of the infantry. And I know that when the interim governor, Captain Don Juan de Ojeda, who governed these islands in the absence of the captain, Don Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle, extinguished these places he did it not only with the approval of the religious missionaries but also of almost all the reformed captains (which are many), which came into this for the reasons that each one gave in writing and signed it. From all of which it seems inferred, that

⁴⁸² Manuel de Argüelles Valdés, “Carta de Manuel de Argüelles Valdés de 24 de abril de 1726,” 24 April 1726, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 109-112, 109.

ello por las razones que cada uno dio por escrito y lo firmó. De todo lo cual parece se infiere, que fue bien hecha la extinción de dichas plazas de alcaldes, y que de ningún modo conviene restablecidas.⁴⁸³

Father Cantova's testimony reveals, once again, the tensions that existed between the colonial agents as a result of the sexual abuse of mayors against CHamoru women. On this occasion it is the interim Governor Juan de Ojeda (1725) who stands next to the Jesuits to try to stop these abuses, while his successor, Manuel de Argüelles, bet for the restitution of these positions.

5.4. Conclusion: The Traffic in Women, Corruption and Matrices of Domination

In the previous chapter I pointed out how sexuality played a fundamental role in the Spanish-CHamoru conflicts, which resulted in the reduction of the inhabitants of all the islands to fe villages in Guåhan and Luta. However, this preeminence of sexuality in the public arena of the archipelago did not disappear after the reduction. On the contrary, in the process of reduction a new matrix of domination was forged that would order the oppressions and privileges in the archipelago during the successive decades. This matrix of domination was constituted, as I claimed, around a system of trafficking in women, sexual exchanges and abuses that regulated the obtaining and loss of political-military positions, all orchestrated by the governor (especially in cases of Pimentel and Sánchez de Tagle) and their captains and mayors.

Within that matrix of domination, CHamoru women, especially those married to CHamoru men who did not hold any position in the militia, were the most subordinate and the most vulnerable. Marriage, an

⁴⁸³ Juan Antonio Cantova, "Carta del padre Juan Antonio Cantova, en Maysilo, a 18 de junio de 1727," in Maysilo, 18 June 1727, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, 112-119, 113.

institution regulating sexuality, also regulated the ordering of oppressions within the matrix. The reduction of the natives meant, therefore, an increase of the vulnerability of women in front of ethnosexual aggressions, as it had already happened in the case of the female schools during the previous decades. This vulnerability and defenselessness of CHamoru women was even more flagrant if one takes into account that most of the crimes of these sex offenders, especially in the case of Pimentel's men, went unpunished once they were tried.

Finally, while, in the previous decades, ethnosexual conflicts took place between colonizers and colonized, in the early 18th century sexuality began to cause disputes not only between both groups, but also within the colonial agents. Thus, in this chapter I have shown how the tensions and aggressions between, on the one hand, the Jesuit Fathers and part of the positions of the militia (like Commanding Officer José de Quiroga and Losada or the internal Governor Juan de Ojeda), and the high command of the island, the governor (during the mandates of Pimentel and Sánchez de Tagle) and their captains and mayors, were continuous. Sexual abuses against native women generated clashes between the colonial powers or, at least, served as a pretext to justify the hostilities between them.

CHAPTER 6. INQUISITION AND SEXUAL CRIMES IN THE MARIANA ISLANDS

In New Spain, the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition was founded by means of a Royal Decree issued by King Philip II in 1569 and reiterated in 1570. This Royal Decree granted jurisdiction to such Tribunal over the dioceses of Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca, New Galicia, Yucatán, Guatemala, Vera Paz, Chiapas, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Philippines, along with the archdiocese of Mexico, covering just over five million square kilometers.⁴⁸⁴ Therefore, the Tribunal of the Inquisition in the Philippines was, in the words of the nineteenth-century historian José Toribio Medina, an appendix to that of Mexico.⁴⁸⁵ When the Holy Office was established in the Mariana Islands in 1696, it also came under the jurisdiction of the Novohispanic Tribunal. However, as I will indicate throughout this chapter, the representatives of this institution in the islands had occasional contacts with those of the Philippines, given the relative proximity between both archipelagos and the shipping lanes that connected them.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the impact of the Holy Office on the sexual behaviors of the inhabitants of the Mariana archipelago, as well as the role it played within the sexual order of the colony. In this regard, I will focus on those cases related to sexuality that the inquisitorial authorities prosecuted in the islands, crimes such as bigamy, marriage among clergy, or solicitation—that is, the request of sexual intercourse by a priest to his parishioners during confession. Likewise, I will analyze the strategic role that some denunciations and

⁴⁸⁴ José Luis Soberanes Fernández, “La Inquisición en México durante el siglo XVI,” *Revista de la Inquisición* 7 (1998): 288; Pedro Miranda Ojeda, “Las comisarías del Santo Oficio de la Nueva España, siglos XVI-XVII,” *Contribuciones desde Coatepec* 18 (2010): 38.

⁴⁸⁵ José Toribio Medina, *El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en las islas Filipinas* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1899), vii.

prosecutions on these crimes played in the political landscape of the archipelago, as well as the conflicts in which some of these procedures were framed.

To date, no research has focused solely on the study of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, beyond the pioneering works of Alexandre Coello de la Rosa that I will refer below. For this reason, in this chapter I will also provide an overview of the historical background and activity of the Inquisition in the archipelago. In particular, I will outline its inception in the islands and examine its bureaucratic procedures and representatives. As a result, I will fill a historiographic void while offering a better context for understanding those cases associated with sexuality.

The Holy Office is often conceived as a coherent body, that is, as a monolithic institution. However, throughout this chapter I will challenge that vision by acknowledging how the thousands of kilometers that detached the inquisitorial representatives in the Marianas from their Mexican superiors, coupled with a poor communication network and a shortage of personnel, led this institution to become “only, or all too, human.”⁴⁸⁶ Even so, the Holy Office survived the nearly three-quarters of a century of Jesuit rule, remaining in the archipelago even after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus in 1769.

6.1. The Inception of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands

The first attempt to establish a commissionership of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands took place in 1682. Prior to that year, none of the Jesuit missionaries devoted since 1668 to the evangelization of the archipelago had requested the presence of the Inquisition in the islands. The reason for this delay is probably the decree issued by the Spanish Crown a century earlier, on December 30, 1571, which stated that the

⁴⁸⁶ Irene Silverblatt, “Modern Inquisitions,” in *Imperial Formations*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 288.

American Indians ceased to be part of the inquisitorial jurisdiction and depended solely on the bishop of their territory for issues related to morals and the faith.⁴⁸⁷ Therefore, since 1571 the Holy Office could not sit in judgement over the newly Christianized Indians of America or, by extension, of other overseas territories such as the Philippines and the Marianas: its jurisdiction was limited to Spaniards (metropolitans and creoles), Europeans in general, Mestizos, Africans, and Mulattoes. As CHamoru communities were exempt from the inquisitorial jurisdiction, the Jesuit missionaries in charge of their evangelization did not consider the establishment of the Holy Office in the archipelago a priority during the early years of the mission.

Another reason for the delay in the landing of the Inquisition on the Marianas shores is that, during the initial years of the evangelization and conquest of the islands, only few Spaniards and Mestizos lived there. Furthermore, before 1682 allegedly none of them committed a crime prosecuted by the Holy Office or, if they did, no one was willing to report it. The only case concerning the Inquisition prior to 1682 that I have found in the documentation consulted is that of an anonymous soldier who was accused of practicing the nefarious sin⁴⁸⁸ (*pecado nefando*) in Guåhan. As I will show below, after finding the accused guilty, his captain consulted the Jesuits whether the case belonged to the Holy Office and, given the negative response of the missionaries, the soldier was fatally condemned by secular justice.⁴⁸⁹ All the evidence indicates, therefore, that the Jesuit missionaries, feverishly devoted to the evangelization of CHamoru communities during the early years of the mission, disregarded the supervision of the Catholic orthodoxy among their compatriots, leaving the Inquisition out of the archipelago.

Over the years, the growing conflicts between CHamorus and Spaniards resulted in the arrival of numerous Spanish and Mestizo soldiers from

⁴⁸⁷ Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México 1571-1700* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988), 22; Silvia Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions. Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 8.

⁴⁸⁸ That is, sodomy.

⁴⁸⁹ Francisco Gayoso, “Carta del padre Francisco Gayoso para el padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en que se da cuenta de lo sucedido en la misión de las islas Marianas desde el año de 74 hasta el de 76,” in Manila, 13 September 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 201r-206v, 206r.

New Spain and the Philippines to the Marianas. In view of “the increased number of converts [...] and Spaniards,” in 1682 Fr. Baltasar de Mansilla, Procurator General of the Philippine and Mariana provinces in Mexico, requested the Novohispanic Tribunal of the Inquisition the granting of commissioner licenses for some of the missionaries allocated in the Mariana Islands.⁴⁹⁰ Father Mansilla’s greatest concern was to combat the “foreign heresy” (*herejía exterior*) and to absolve those who fell into it in those islands.⁴⁹¹ The extirpation of heresy was, indeed, the primary occupation of the Holy Office, the reason behind its establishment elsewhere, such as in New Spain.⁴⁹² Paradoxically, during the 73 years of inquisitorial activity at the hands of the Society of Jesus, no denunciation was made for this crime in the Marianas. However, the absence of heresies on the islands did not render the commissioners of the Holy Office inoperative; they dedicated their efforts to prosecuting other faults, as I will show in the forthcoming sections.

In his request, Fr. Baltasar de Mansilla suggested the names of three Jesuits to serve as commissioners in the islands: first, Vice-Provincial Manuel de Solórzano, followed by Fr. Antonio Jaramillo and, in the absence of both, Fr. Juan de Ahumada. The Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico decided to endorse Fr. Mansilla’s initiative. However, when Manuel de Solórzano was notified of his appointment as commissioner of the Holy Office, he rejected the position. In his response to the Tribunal, drawn up on June 9, 1682, Solórzano stated that he felt “perplexed and confused” by his designation as commissioner since, although it deeply honored him, as a Jesuit he was prohibited from “admitting dignities outside the Society”⁴⁹³ unless they came from the

⁴⁹⁰ Baltasar de Mansilla, “Petición del padre Baltasar de Mansilla para establecer el Santo Oficio en las islas Marianas,” in Mexico, 10 March 1682, Archivo General de la Nación (hereinafter AGN), Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 313r-314v.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 314r.

⁴⁹² Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 177; Zeb Tortorici, *Sins against Nature. Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018), 12.

⁴⁹³ Manuel de Solórzano, “Carta del padre Manuel de Solórzano a los señores inquisidores del Santo Oficio en México sobre su nombramiento como comisario en las islas Marianas,” in Guãhan, 9 June 1682, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 316r-316v, *perplexo, y confuso* [...] *admitir dignidades fuera de la Compañía*.

Pope. Juan de Armesto y Ron, prosecutor of the Mexican Tribunal, replied in disgust at Solórzano's letter, arguing that several papal bulls granted the inquisitors the authority to appoint commissioners "to any ecclesiastical and regular persons of any religion of their opinion."⁴⁹⁴ In addition, the prosecutor added that in the Marianas there were no priests who did not belong to the Society of Jesus, so the Jesuits appointed as commissioners had to accept the position "under pain of excommunication."⁴⁹⁵

Manuel de Solórzano probably never accepted his designation as commissioner, since he died in July 1684 during a Chamoru insurrection in Guam,⁴⁹⁶ few months after the Mexican prosecutor wrote his reply. From then on, the interest of the Novohispanic Holy Office to extend its jurisdiction to the Mariana Islands plunged into a lethargy until 1695. That year, the Mexican Tribunal sent a letter to Fr. Luis de Morales, then Procurator General of the Philippine Islands, to ask him whether the Fathers who had been appointed commissioners in the previous decade had died or were no longer residing in the Marianas.⁴⁹⁷ Before addressing Fr. Morales' response, I must note that this renewed interest in the Marianas was not incidental: a year earlier, in 1694, Fr. Basilio Le Roulx had addressed a letter to his superiors denouncing the behavior of the governor of the islands, Damián de Esplana (1689-94). Father Le Roulx stated that said governor had uttered statements contrary to ecclesiastical immunity and claimed that the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over him, since he was the representative of the king in the archipelago and the monarch, in turn, was a senior inquisitor, so he was accountable to no one else.⁴⁹⁸ Later I

⁴⁹⁴ Juan de Armesto y Ron, "Respuesta a la carta del padre Manuel de Solórzano sobre su nombramiento como comisario en las islas Marianas," in Mexico, 11 February 1684, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 317r-317v, 317r, *a qualesquiera personas eclesiásticas y Regulares de qualquiera Religión que sean de su parecer*.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 317v, *so pena de escumunion*.

⁴⁹⁶ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins. Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas (1668-1769)* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016), 91.

⁴⁹⁷ "Del Tribunal del Santo Oficio, consulta al padre Luis de Morales, procurador general de las islas Filipinas," in Mexico, 20 February 1695, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 319r-319v.

⁴⁹⁸ Basilio Le Roulx, "Carta del padre Le Roulx," in Agaña, 21 May 1694, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 320r-320v.

will delve into this case and its outcome. For the moment it is enough to underscore that this denunciation caused a great concern among the Mexican inquisitors, especially due to the remarkable position held by the accused. The Tribunal's letter to Procurator Luis de Morales and, hence, its renewed interest in the Mariana Islands was most likely motivated by Governor Esplana's statements against the inquisitorial jurisdiction.

Returning to Fr. Luis de Morales' letter, in his reply to the Mexican inquisitors the Jesuit detailed the fate of the missionaries appointed as commissioners in the previous decade: Manuel de Solórzano and Juan de Ahumada had already died, while Antonio Jaramillo had been transferred to Europe, where he served as Procurator General for the Philippine and Mariana provinces in Rome and Madrid. Taking this into consideration, the inquisitors decided to appoint Frs. Lorenzo Bustillo, Antonio Cundari and Basilio Le Roulx as new commissioners in March 1695.⁴⁹⁹ Thereafter, communications between the commissioners of the Mariana Islands and the Holy Office of Mexico intensified, and the position of commissioner continued without interruption, even after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the archipelago in 1769, when it passed into the hands of the Augustinian Recollect Fray Andrés Blázquez de San Joseph.

In 1695, therefore, Frs. Lorenzo Bustillo, Antonio Cundari and Basilio Le Roulx took the oath of fidelity and secrecy to the Holy Office. Father Bustillo, who was commissioner in the first place, appointed Fr. Miguel de Aparicio as notary of the Inquisition in the islands. However, to formalize the establishment of the Tribunal in the archipelago, the commissioners had to publicly read the general edict of faith and the letter of anathema. These two documents detailed an extensive list of offenses and crimes against the Catholic faith prosecuted by the Holy Office, and their public reading was intended to encourage the audience

⁴⁹⁹ Diego Vergara Gaviria, "Nombramientos de comisarios del Santo Oficio en las islas Marianas," in Mexico, 1 March 1695, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 320r bis 2-320v bis 2.

to denounce those who committed them.⁵⁰⁰ The Mexican inquisitors suggested that Fr. Bustillo read the documents on a public holiday “with the greatest splendor and authority, that is possible.”⁵⁰¹ The intention was to gather the greatest number of persons to imbue them, through a precise *mise-en-scène*, with the rigor and power of the institution. In compliance with these requirements, Fr. Bustillo and his companions decided to wait and read the general edict and the letter of anathema at the beginning of the following year, during the days of the Lord’s circumcision—January 1—and of the epiphany—January 6. In this manner, the commissioners ensured a greater audience in the city of Hagåtña, head of the Mariana Islands: all the missionaries would be there, along with the military people and other Spaniards with their governor. Finally, the general edict of faith and the letter of anathema were read out both days, during the mass offered in the church of Hagåtña. To grant the event the required solemnity, the Jesuits embellished the temple in accordance with the instructions referred by the Novohispanic inquisitors. Commissioner Lorenzo Bustillo wrote a vivid description of the scenery prepared for the reading of the edict and the letter in the detailed account that he remitted to the Mexican Tribunal to notify the public disclosure of both documents:

<p>Previnose y adornose la Yglesia lo mejor q[ue] se pudo p[ar]a el dia se pusieron en la forma, q[ue] dice la Instruccion, en el plan del Altar Mayor encima de las gradas al lado del Evangelio, y alli un tapete y en el silla de terciopelo con un cogen a los pies para asiento del Comissario, y junto a su silla se puso una banca de espaldar</p>	<p>The church was arranged and decorated as best as possible for the day: they were placed, in the manner dictated by the instruction, on the flat part of the main altar, on top of the steps, and next to the gospel, and there a mat and a velvet chair on it with a cushion at its feet as a seat for the commissioner, and next to</p>
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⁵⁰⁰ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition. An Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), 174. Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 75; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 13.

⁵⁰¹ Lorenzo Bustillo, “Relación de lo sucedido en la publicación del edicto general de la fe y la carta anatema en las Islas Marianas,” in Santa Rosa de Agat, 28 March 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, 323r-324v, 323r, *con el mayor lucimiento, y autoridad, q[ue] se pueda*.

cubierta decentem[en]te con un paño para el P[adr]e Notario [...]”.⁵⁰² his chair a bench with backrest was located, decently covered with a cloth for the father notary [...].

This founding act of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands is even more relevant considering that it was the only public event organized by this institution in the archipelago. Indeed, the shortage of means, personnel and, even more importantly, crimes and offenders prevented the celebration of an *auto de fe* in the islands, considered as the ceremony most imbued with meaning, the one that best expressed the inquisitorial power.⁵⁰³ That is the reason why the scenography, the protocol and the pomp gained such significance in the founding act of the institution: they embodied the “splendor” and “authority” of the Tribunal, which should remain etched into the memory of the audience for decades to come.

With the promulgation of the general edict of faith and the letter of anathema in January 1696, the Tribunal of the Inquisition was definitely established in the Mariana Islands, an institution that would outlive the Society of Jesus after its expulsion from the archipelago in 1769. During those decades, the Holy Office kept a low profile on the islands. As Chamoru populations from the archipelago were exempted from the inquisitorial jurisdiction, the Jesuits devoted to their evangelization barely referred to such institution in their writings, beyond the documents specifically addressed to the Mexican Tribunal. The founding act of the institution, indeed, is not even mentioned in the 1696 annual letter, despite the relevance and pomp of the ceremony.⁵⁰⁴ Along with this discretion, the Holy Office under the Jesuit rule was also characterized by the aforementioned paradox: despite the fact that the institution was founded to fight against “foreign heresy,” in the documentation consulted I have not found any procedure against this crime. What was, then, the role of the Inquisition in the islands? What

⁵⁰² Ibid., 324r.

⁵⁰³ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 77.

⁵⁰⁴ “Relación de la conquista y restauración de las islas Marianas,” 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 306r-307v.

endeavors did its representatives perform during the nearly three-quarters of a century of Jesuit commissionership? What impact did this institution have on the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the archipelago? In the following sections I will delve into all these questions, shedding some light on one of the least studied colonial institutions from the Mariana Islands.

6.2. The Activity of the Inquisition under the Jesuit Rule (1696-1769)

To understand the implications of the Inquisition on the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands, it is first necessary to depict the activity of this institution in the archipelago. As I have pointed out above, to date there is no research devoted to this task. Therefore, the aim of this section is to explore the proceedings of the Holy Office in the islands through its paperwork and representatives. The inquisitorial officials from the Marianas depended, as noted earlier, on the inquisitors of Mexico, who were in turn accountable to the *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición* or *Suprema*, the metropolitan tribunal in Spain. In addition, such officials were occasionally assisted by the commissioners of the Philippines, as I will show below. The Holy Office in New Spain constituted, hence, an extensive network with multiple ramifications. Its capillary functioning emanated from the Tribunal of Mexico and spread throughout the rest of its jurisdictions, incarnated in its representatives—such as commissioners and notaries—at the local level.

The statute books that guided the inquisitorial practice in the viceroyalty were the same as those in force in the Peninsula. The Novohispanic inquisitors were governed mainly by a compendium prepared by Cardinal Alonso Manrique, which compiled all the Instructions of the Holy Office, from the ones elaborated by Tomás de Torquemada to those of Fernando de Valdés.⁵⁰⁵ Cardinal and Inquisitor General Diego the Mendoza added further instructions to this compendium in 1570, specifically addressed to the Tribunal of New Spain. The aim of these

⁵⁰⁵ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 69.

instructions was to adapt the institution to the particular conditions of the colony, making it more independent from the *Suprema*, but anchoring it to local administrations. For instance, the sentences of the Mexican inquisitors had to be reviewed and ratified by local lay consultants (*consultores*), and the financing of the Novohispanic Holy Office depended on the viceroy.⁵⁰⁶ In this manner, Diego de Mendoza assured that the Mexican inquisitors, so far from their metropolitan superiors, were supervised by subjects outside the Inquisition to avoid possible abuses of power and irregularities. The overseers of Catholic orthodoxy became thus overseen by other, lay authorities. However, these Instructions endowed the Holy Office of Mexico with great flexibility, adapting it to the local contexts and allowing its survival until 1820.

A peculiarity of the Inquisition's performance in New Spain is that, as I have briefly outlined above, the indigenous peoples (*Indios*) were exempt from inquisitorial jurisdiction. In a Royal Decree of February 23, 1575, King Philip II declared that "since the Apostolic Inquisitors are forbidden to proceed against Indians, their punishment falls under the competence of the Ecclesiastical Ordinaries, whose commandments must be obeyed and fulfilled."⁵⁰⁷ In consequence, the Holy Office in New Spain could only prosecute Europeans—Spaniards included—, Mestizos, Africans, and Mulattoes. Chamoru people from the Marianas were, therefore, also exempt from the inquisitorial authority. This was asserted by the Mexican inquisitors in a letter to Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, second commissioner of the institution in the archipelago. In the document, the inquisitors mentioned an incident in which the governor of the islands and Matheo Delgado, Chamoru and steward (*mayordomo*) of the Tachugña estate (*hacienda*), were involved. Unfortunately, they did not offer any further information on the case, and the original letter from Fr. Cantova is lost. Be that as it may, the

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 587.

⁵⁰⁷ Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias, *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias, Tomo Segundo* (Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de d. Joaquín Ibarra, 1791), 197 [*Ley XXXV, Título 1, Libro VII*], *por estar prohibido á los Inquisidores Apostólicos el proceder contra Indios, compete su castigo á los Ordinarios Eclesiásticos, y deven ser obedecidos, y cumplidos sus mandamientos.*

incident must have concerned the Inquisition in some manner, and Fr. Cantova and the rest of commissioners from the Marianas were warned by their superiors that:

sus criados y los demas q[ue] estubieren ôcupados en las Aciendas ô estancias de su religion no gozan del fuero del S[an]to oficio y que deben contener a d[ic]hos sirbientes en toda obediencia a las justicias y sus lexitimos superiores procurando d[ic]hos comisarios toda buena corespondencia con los Gobernadores y Reales Justicias [...].⁵⁰⁸

their servants and other workers of the estates or farms of their religion, do not enjoy the jurisdiction of the Holy Office and that they must contain such servants in all obedience to the justices and to their legitimate superiors, and said commissioners must seek all good correspondence with the Governors and Royal Justices.

The Novohispanic inquisitors assumed that the servants and workers of the Jesuit estates were indigenous and reminded their commissioners that, consequently, they could not be prosecuted by the Holy Office. However, they instructed the Jesuits to ensure the obedience of these indigenous workers towards their superiors, with whom the representatives of the Holy Office themselves had to maintain good relations for the sake of the institution.

Over the years, some exceptions arose to this exemption from the inquisitorial jurisdiction enjoyed by indigenous peoples: Alberro states that, in 1619, the inquisitors of Mexico requested the *Suprema* to allow them to prosecute those indigenous women who falsely accused their confessors of having solicited them.⁵⁰⁹ Although the metropolitan Tribunal granted the request, the author claims that the Mexican Holy Office did not initiate any procedure against such women. However, it is significant that one of the exceptions to the strict exclusion of indigenous people from the inquisitorial jurisdiction was to prevent

⁵⁰⁸ Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio Palacio, “Carta al comisario de las Islas Marianas,” in Mexico, 26 February 1724, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 328v-329r.

⁵⁰⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 22.

women from defame their confessors by accusing them of licentious behaviors. This gives an idea of the relevance that such sexual accusations had in colonial society, as I will point out at the end of this chapter. In the following section I will analyze the functioning of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands through its bureaucratic apparatus and representatives, in order to show how, despite its scarce personnel, means, and poor communications, the institution managed to survive during the 73 years of Jesuit rule.

6.2.1. The Textual Power of the Inquisition: Documents and Procedures

As Irene Silverblatt states, “the Spanish Inquisition was one of the most modern bureaucracies of its time.”⁵¹⁰ The activity of the inquisitors and their representatives was abundantly recorded in a myriad of papers. The objectification of the inquisitorial practices and the experiences of denouncers, witnesses, and accused into recordable form is what makes the Spanish Holy Office a distinctly modern institution: as Rita Segato announces in one of her beautifully written paragraphs, “modernity, with its colonial preconditions and its patriarchal public sphere, [...] stabilizes norms, quantifies punishments, [...] archives experience.”⁵¹¹ The bureaucratic apparatus of the Spanish Inquisition was, hence, an essential gear of the “textual imperial power,” that is, the paperwork of different institutions—the Crown, the judiciary, and the Church—that supported colonialism.⁵¹²

In the Mariana Islands, inquisitorial documents can be categorized into two distinct groups: those drawn up by the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico, and those prepared by commissioners and notaries from the archipelago. The first group broadly includes the correspondence and instructions sent by the inquisitors to the commissioners, the general and particular edicts (*edictos*), the prosecutions (*procesos*) and the

⁵¹⁰ Silverblatt, “Modern Inquisitions,” 285.

⁵¹¹ Rita Laura Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres* (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2016), 24.

⁵¹² Sylvia Sellers-García, *Distance and Documents at the Spanish Empire's Periphery* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 17; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 3.

sentences (*sentencias*). The second set of documents consists of the commissioners' queries to their superiors, the denunciations (*denuncias*) and reports on possible criminal cases, as well as the certifications of public reading of the edicts. Solange Alberro proposes a mixed category, that of procedures (*trámites*), which would encompass those papers involved in inquisitorial trials: denunciations, isolated testimonies and prosecutions.⁵¹³

Edicts played a prominent role within these documents: their function was to inform the population of the practices prosecuted by the Holy Office, with the aim of collecting denunciations. These texts, therefore, constituted the triggers of the inquisitorial activity. There were two different sorts of edicts: the general, or *edictos generales de la fe*, and the particular ones. The former (Figure 6.1) gave a general description of those practices that the Novohispanic Inquisition considered criminal, such as heresy, solicitation, bigamy, astrology, necromancy, and the reading of forbidden books, among others. The particular edicts, on the other hand, dealt with specific crimes, such as the consumption of *peyote*, showing certain adaptation to the local context.⁵¹⁴

The ultimate function of edicts was, therefore, to disclose the crimes pursued by the Holy Office in order to obtain denunciations. For this reason, edicts had to be read publicly, in front of the widest possible audience, which is why they used to be read out during Mass on holidays or days of large attendance. However, the content of these documents was not always accessible to the bulk of society. Despite being written in Castilian, their drafting style was hardly understandable, and the notions and practices described were alien to a large part of the population. For this same reason, the reading of the edicts was more effective in those regions densely populated by Spaniards and Mestizos, who were familiar with the concepts used in those documents.⁵¹⁵ In this sense, Solange Alberro argues that the number of denunciations obtained after the public reading of an edict revealed the degree of

⁵¹³ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 147.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.



Figure 6.1. Front page of a general edict of the faith (*edicto general de la fe*) from New Spain. AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 2347-7426, Exp. 13, 1r.

“acculturation” of local populations, especially of indigenous peoples,⁵¹⁶ who gradually appropriated these concepts to use them for their own purposes, as in the case of women solicited by Fr. Francisco Xavier Reitterberger that I will show below.

The general audience’s understanding of the edicts was intentionally hampered at times. This is the case of the edicts written in Latin, which used to be addressed to the priests—practically the only people capable of understanding that language in New Spain—and dealt with compromising subjects or practices, which required some discretion. For instance, in a 1760 letter addressed to the inquisitors of Mexico, Fr. Wolfgang Steimbeck, commissioner of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, reported on the reading of various edicts. The Jesuit declared that, of the four edicts received, three had been read out; However, regarding the fourth edict, which dealt with the prohibition of inquiring during confession about the name of the partakers of the sins, Fr. Steinbeck alleged:

Este ultimo Edicto por ser toda prohibicion y el objeto de ella puesto en latin, y no aver aqui en estas Islas, quien lo entendiese, exceptuados los P.P. ^{es} Misioneros, no se leyo en publico con los demas: Mas lo leimos todos los tres sacerdotes, que al presente nos hallamos en estas Islas. ⁵¹⁷	This last edict was not read in public along with the others, as all the prohibition and its purpose were written in Latin, and there is no one in these islands who understands it, except the missionary Fathers: yet we, all the three priests that are at present in these islands, read it.
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Latin, therefore, was used to codify those edicts that were exclusively addressed to the priests, whose content should not be disclosed to the rest of the audience. Furthermore, the use of Latin as a code to encrypt documents and make them understandable only to priests is not limited

⁵¹⁶ Ibid., 76-7.

⁵¹⁷ Wolfgang Steimbeck, “Carta del padre Wolfgang Steimbeck, comisario del Santo Oficio en las Marianas, a los señores inquisidores del Tribunal de la Ciudad de México,” in San Ignacio de Agadña, 30 May 1760, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1065, Exp. 5, 51v.

to edicts. In the instructions of the Holy Office addressed to inquisitors and commissioners, some fragments were written in Latin instead of in Castilian to veil the harshness of certain details, especially in the case of sexual crimes.⁵¹⁸

Edicts, therefore, played a fundamental role in the inquisitorial activity. In New Spain, these documents could only be prepared by the inquisitors of Mexico, who often reproduced those submitted by the *Suprema*. In the case of the Mariana Islands, consequently, most of the edicts arrived from Acapulco aboard the Manila Galleon. Indeed, in the correspondence between the Novohispanic Tribunal and the commissioners of the Marianas there are numerous certifications attesting the receipt and public reading of these documents. However, on certain occasions edicts were sent by other commissioners, especially by those from the Philippines. According to a letter by Fr. Ignacio de Ibargüen, commissioner of the Holy Office in the Marianas, some edicts were even reprinted in Manila for distribution to the Marianas and, possibly, to other parts of the Philippine archipelago. In the words of Fr. Ibargüen: “Here remain, likewise, almost 100 summaries of the above-mentioned edict, printed in Manila, from where they were sent by the superior of that Province for the churches of this mission.”⁵¹⁹ Father Bernardo de Ustáriz, commissioner in Manila, also alluded to the remission of edicts from Manila to the Mariana Islands in a 1753 letter addressed to the inquisitors of Mexico, in which he admitted that no edict had been sent those islands “as for about four years there has been no vessel, and in seven years I only have news that one has gone [to that archipelago], so the communication of these islands with those is very contingent, and spaced in time.”⁵²⁰ In addition, Ustáriz considered that

⁵¹⁸ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 72.

⁵¹⁹ Ignacio de Ibargüen, “Carta del comisario del Santo Oficio en las Islas Marianas, el padre Ignacio de Ibargüen, a los inquisidores generales del Tribunal de México,” in Marianas, 9 June 1722, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 6056-11135, Exp. 15, 1r-1v, *Quedan assi mismo aqui casi 100 sumarios del edicto arriba d[ic]ho impresos en Manila de donde los remitio el superior de aquella Prov[incia] para las iglesias desta Mission.*

⁵²⁰ Bernardo Ustáriz, “Carta del padre Bernardo Ustáriz, comisario del Santo Oficio en Manila, a los señores inquisidores del Tribunal de la ciudad de México,” in Manila, 11 March 1753, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 999, Exp. 26, 408r, *p[or] q[ue] hà cerca de quatro años no avido embarcac[ión] y en siete no tengo noticia aya ido mas q[ue] una. por lo q[ue] la comunicacion de estas Yslas, con aquellas, es mui contingente, y espaciosa.*

correspondence with the Mariana Islands was unnecessary, since almost all of them were “devoid of Indians”⁵²¹ and estimated the population of the archipelago at 500 people.

This brief fragment from Fr. Ustáriz’s letter is, however, very thick in information. In the first place, it reveals, together with Fr. Ibargüen’s testimony, that the activity within the Novohispanic inquisitorial apparatus was not entirely centralized, but that there was a certain codependency, at least occasionally, between the commissioners from different regions. However, communication between these commissioners was not always fluid, as Fr. Ustáriz claims when stating that, for seven years—between 1746 and 1753—, only one ship had gone from the Philippines to the Marianas. This does not mean that the commissioner from the Marianas was totally isolated since, thanks to the Manila Galleon route, he had another communication channel with the Novohispanic Tribunal. However, in a 1752 letter Fr. Joseph Bonani, then representative of the Holy Office in the islands, complained that he had not received a letter from his superiors in nine years.⁵²² During the 1740s, therefore, correspondence between the commissioner of the Marianas and other inquisitorial authorities was extremely rare. One of the causes of this scarce correspondence was the poor conditions of the Mariana Islands during the middle of the 18th century, underscored by Fr. Ustáriz when alluding to the depopulation of the archipelago. The number of people living in the islands was so low that the authorities from New Spain and the Philippines proposed several measures to address it, even considering the abandonment of the colony. Finally, Fr. Ustáriz’s letter reflects the precariousness in which the Holy Office worked in the peripheral territories of the empire, such as the Philippines and the Marianas, where the vast territorial jurisdiction and the shortage of personnel were compounded by the difficulty of communications between commissioners and inquisitors.

⁵²¹ Ibid., “desiertas de Indios.”

⁵²² Joseph Bonani, “Carta a los inquisidores de México dando cuenta de la prisión y el embargo de bienes de Manuel Caballero, por bigamo,” in *Islas Marianas*, 20 April 1752, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 999, Exp. 20, 390r-390v.

The precarious situation of the Mariana mission even affected the preservation of the edicts. In the aforementioned letter by Fr. Iburgüen, this commissioner informed the inquisitors that he was unable to forward them all the old summaries of the general edict of the faith that they had requested. The reason was that some of those documents had printed on their back a decree of the Holy Office from 1712 and a summary of the edict of the confessionals⁵²³ that the commissioner wanted to preserve “for the churches of these Islands, which, since they are made out of straw, suffer a lot during storms, and for this reason the edicts hung on boards near the holy water fonts are usually lost.”⁵²⁴ In a subsequent letter, the same commissioner reported that he had posted a copy of an edict in the Hagåtña church so that the parishioners could read it, but at that time it was “all torn, and erased” due to the heavy wind and rains that lashed the island.⁵²⁵ Father Iburgüen, aware of the inclement weather and the short number of edicts he received from the inquisitors, added that he had kept another copy of the same document in a safe place so that it could be read annually.

Besides the edicts, the inquisitorial records offer other types of documents. The most numerous are those related to the prosecution of criminals by the Holy Office, documents that Solange Alberro groups under the category of “procedures” (*trámites*).⁵²⁶ Within the inquisitorial procedures, the most relevant are denunciations and prosecutions, although they also include isolated testimonies and, although Alberro does not specify it, it could also comprise sentences. In order to illustrate the functioning of the bureaucratic machinery of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, I will delve into each of these procedures

⁵²³ See section § The Crime of Solicitation, in this chapter.

⁵²⁴ Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Carta del comisario del Santo Oficio en las Islas Marianas, el padre Ignacio de Iburgüen, a los inquisidores generales del Tribunal de México,” in Marianas, 9 June 1722, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 6056-11135, Exp. 15, 1r-1v, *p[ar]a las iglesias destas Islas, que por ser pagizas padecen mucho en los temporales, y se suelen perder por esta razon los edictos, que ay en las tablillas cerca de las pilas del agua bendita.*

⁵²⁵ Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Carta del padre Ignacio de Iburgüen al Santo Oficio de México,” in Marianas, 11 May 1724, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 553, Exp. 35, 185r-185v, *del todo rota, y borra[da].*

⁵²⁶ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 147.

starting from a particular case: that of the bigamous Juan Manuel Caballero, alias Manuel Castellanos Alvarado.

The inquisitorial file of this seafarer and soldier from Rioseco, in Castile, has been analyzed by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa,⁵²⁷ and its interest lies in the fact that all the procedures of his trial have survived to date, from the denunciation in 1739 to the sentence given by the inquisitors in 1747. The survival of all the procedures is exceptional, especially in the case of the Novohispanic Tribunal, characterized by what Solange Alberro designates as “inquisitorial disorder” (*desorden inquisitorial*).⁵²⁸ In a vivid description of the Tribunal facilities, the French-Mexican historian details how the papers were scattered on the floor, mixed in an enormous mess in which the folios of old procedures were confused with those of the current ones, “waiting in vain that a diligent prosecutor sewed them with thread and needle.”⁵²⁹

The first procedure which put forward the inquisitorial machinery against Sergeant Juan Manuel Caballero was the denunciation. As I pointed out above, denunciations were often motivated by the public reading of edicts, which informed the audience about the practices that the Holy Office considered criminal. Most denunciations arose, therefore, from the parishioners, and not from the representatives of the Holy Office, although commissioners and familiars occasionally denounced some individuals. The existence of denunciations is, consequently, the result of a certain collaboration between the Christian people as a whole and the Inquisition. For this reason, population density was a fundamental factor in the efficiency of this institution: as Alberro points out, in the most populated areas the number of denunciations was significantly higher as coexistence created conditions that favored mutual surveillance.⁵³⁰ The denouncer enjoyed a strict anonymity that protected him from possible revenge by the accused. However, certain subjects made use of this anonymity to channel their

⁵²⁷ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, “Bigamos transoceánicos: reconciliación de abuso y perversión de la ‘santidad’ del matrimonio en las Islas Marianas, siglo XVIII,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 16, no 2 (2007): pp. 141 ff.

⁵²⁸ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 11.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵³⁰ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 23.

envy, frustration, or revenge against their neighbors. For this reason, Alberro argues that denunciations to the Inquisition revealed and catalyzed tensions, although they also played a stabilizing role: once these documents were registered and archived, the denouncers saw their thirst for revenge satisfied, despite the fact that years and even decades could pass before the Holy Office opened a prosecution against the accused and, indeed, most denunciations never resulted in further procedures.⁵³¹

In the case of Juan Manuel Caballero, the denunciation came from the accused himself: in a letter to the inquisitors of Mexico dated June 18, 1739, Commissioner Joseph Bonani stated that, being in the city of Hagåtña, the Spanish sergeant came before him without being called on and “to ease his conscience he denounced himself for being twice married.”⁵³² The self-incrimination of this sergeant was not exceptional; on the contrary, self-denunciation in front of the Holy Office was a common practice,⁵³³ motivated by the discharge of conscience or offered with the aim of receiving a less rigorous penalty, the real cause behind Juan Manuel Caballero’s confession.⁵³⁴

Shortly after his self-incrimination, Juan Manuel Caballero retracted his confession and refused to sign the denunciation. Even so, the diligent Fr. Bonani forwarded the document to the inquisitors of Mexico, who requested him to inquire “with all restraint, and secrecy”⁵³⁵ about the age, nature, personal traits, children, and marital life and status of the accused. This correspondence between the commissioner of the Marianas and the Novohispanic inquisitors constitute another example of inquisitorial procedure, since it is related to a trial case. Following the

⁵³¹ Ibid., 145.

⁵³² Joseph Bonani, “Carta del comisario Joseph Bonani a los inquisidores de México,” in Agaña, 18 June 1739, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1387, Exp. 1, 2r-3v, 3r, *que por descargo de su conciencia se denunciaba à si mismo, que estaba dos veces casado.*

⁵³³ Rafael Carrasco, *Inquisición y represión sexual en Valencia. Historia de los sodomitas (1565-1785)* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1986), 67-8.

⁵³⁴ Coello de la Rosa, “Bígamos transoceánicos,” 143.

⁵³⁵ Pedro Navarro de la Isla, Pedro Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle and Diego Mangado y Clavijo, “Al comis[ario] de Marianas sobre el matrimonio contraydo por el sarxento Dragon Manuel Cavallero,” in Mexico, 28 March 1740, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 505v-506r, *con todo recato, y secreto.*

inquisitors' orders, Fr. Bonani examined five witnesses regarding the alleged unmarried status of Juan Manuel Caballero upon his arrival in the Marianas and his subsequent marriage in the islands, and the witnesses' testimonies were carefully recorded by Fr. Francisco Xavier Urfahrer, notary of the Holy Office at that time.⁵³⁶

Besides these procedures elaborated in Mexico and the Marianas, the pre-trial case of Juan Manuel Caballero involved paperwork from other parts of the Spanish empire. For instance, Fr. Pedro Agustín Morel de Santa Cruz, commissioner of the Holy Office in Cuba, sent in 1740 different testimonies and copies of documents to the Novohispanic Tribunal relating to Juan Manuel Caballero's first marriage on the island. Once the Mexican inquisitors collected enough evidence, they opened a prosecution against the accused. The Tribunal requested Fr. Bonani to arrest the Spanish sergeant and send him to Manila to be tried, from where he was referred to the secret prisons of the Holy Office in Mexico in 1746.⁵³⁷ As Irene Silverblatt states, "[l]ike most European courts, the tribunal assumed that the accused were guilty unless shown otherwise."⁵³⁸ Once in Mexico, the accused underwent several hearings and interrogations, all of them insightfully recorded in the prosecution of his case, where even the materials and costs of the clothes purchased for his transfer from the Marianas to Manila are detailed (Figure 6.2). If denunciations originated from the Christian people, prosecutions, as seen in Juan Manuel Caballero's case, resulted from the inquisitorial intervention. Above I have pointed out that most denunciations did not lead to prosecutions, and not only due to lack of evidence, but also because some crimes were not considered grave enough to implicate the (scarce) personnel of the Novohispanic Inquisition. Prosecutions also indicate, therefore, which offenses were considered graver, that is, more deserving of the inquisitors' attention.⁵³⁹

The last procedure of inquisitorial trials and, therefore, the scarcest one, are sentences. These documents specified the penalties that offenders

⁵³⁶ Francisco Xavier Urfahrer, "Exámenes de diversos testigos," AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1387, Exp. 1, 5r-5v, 22r-27v.

⁵³⁷ Coello de la Rosa, "Bígamos transoceánicos," 144.

⁵³⁸ Silverblatt, "Modern Inquisitions," 287.

⁵³⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 146.

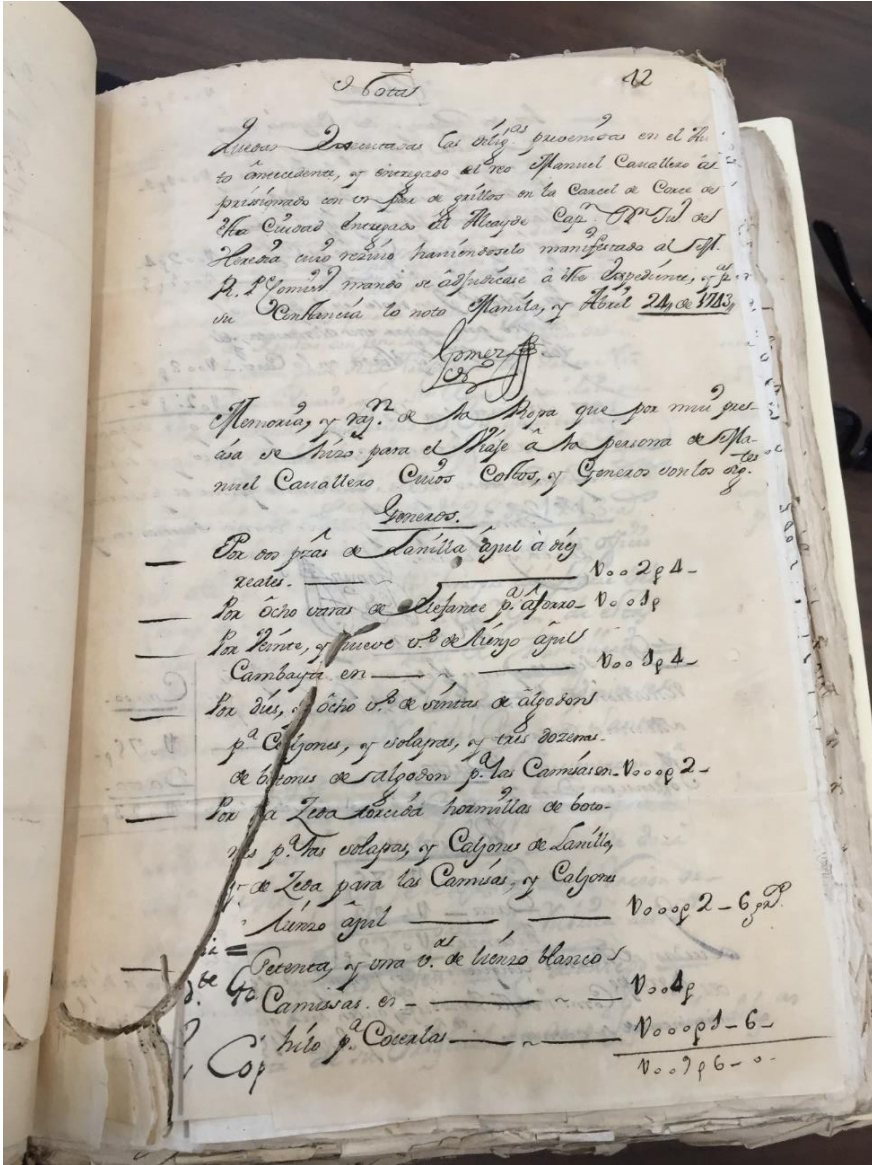


Figure 6.2. Page of the procedure against Juan Manuel Caballero, in which the materials and costs of the clothes purchased for his transfer to Manila are detailed. This folio also shows the activity of bibliophagous insects that jeopardizes the integrity of documents in the archives. AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1387, Exp. 1, 42r.

had to serve. On October 2, 1746, eight years after his self-denunciation as a bigamist in front of Fr. Bonani in the Mariana Islands, Sergeant Juan Manuel Caballero heard his sentence from the inquisitors Pedro

Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle and Luis de Herrera y Barcena.⁵⁴⁰ As the prisoner had offered a full and unreserved confession of his crime, he was spared the lashing. However, the inquisitors condemned him to public humiliations, such as parading through the streets with the dunce hat (*coroza*) and the insignia of the bigamists to the stage where the *auto de fe* was celebrated, in which his sentence was publicly read.⁵⁴¹ In addition, he was exiled for eight years from the Philippine Islands, Madrid and Mexico City, and had to abjure *de levi* for having committed the crime of bigamy. The abjuration was an important part of the penance, since it proved the penitents' repentance and allowed their reconciliation with the Catholic Church. Depending on the seriousness of the crime committed, the repentant had to abjure *de levi*, in the case of minor offenses—such as bigamy or blasphemy—, or *de vehementi*, in the graver ones.⁵⁴²

All these inquisitorial procedures, from denunciations to sentences, constitute the textual power of the Inquisition. Through its bureaucratic apparatus, this institution regulated the discourses and practices of part of the colonial population, in order to preserve Catholic orthodoxy in the territories of the Spanish Empire. The procedures of the Holy Office were, therefore, performative, they had material effects on the lives and bodies of the criminals, who could be arrested, tormented, and even imprisoned for years and decades, awaiting the outcome of their trial cases. In the following section I will delve into the people behind these documents, that is, the officials of the Holy Office, in order to clarify the activity of this institution in the Mariana Islands.

6.2.2. The Representatives of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands

The arduous bureaucratic labor of the Holy Office required numerous officials. However, the personnel of the Tribunal in New Spain was very limited, especially in comparison with the metropolitan districts. Solange Alberro indicates that, while in Toledo there were four

⁵⁴⁰ Coello de la Rosa, "Bígamos transoceánicos," 147.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., 148.

⁵⁴² Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 200.

inquisitors assisted by a prosecutor, four notaries, and numerous assistants, in Mexico the institution only had two inquisitors, a prosecutor, a single notary, and a warden (*alcaide*).⁵⁴³ It is true that, in New Spain, the inquisitorial jurisdiction only affected a small number of the population, since the Indians were exempt from it. Nevertheless, it is also apparent that the territory covered by the Novohispanic Tribunal was vastly greater than the districts of the Iberian Peninsula, since it spread over three different continents: America, Asia and Oceania.

Faced with the vast territorial extension of its jurisdiction and the shortage of personnel, the Novohispanic Holy Office was compelled to adopt different measures to maintain Catholic orthodoxy in its territories. One strategy was to intensify its action in the most visible and populated areas, where the greatest number of Europeans, Africans, Mestizos, and Mulattoes lived. The inquisitors' intention was that their labor in these places served as an example for the most remote regions.⁵⁴⁴ Another measure was, as in the case of the Iberian Peninsula, the appointment of representatives. In the territories furthest from the capital of New Spain, the Holy Office was embodied in the figure of the commissioners, delegates of the inquisitors. These commissioners, in turn, were assisted in the bureaucratic tasks by notaries. In the Mariana Islands, where the number of priests was very limited, the Tribunal of the Inquisition was incarnated in very few representatives: in the best of cases, three commissioners, selected by the Mexican inquisitors and ordered hierarchically, and a notary, appointed by the first commissioner.

The representatives of the Inquisition were not always members of the clergy: there were also secular positions, such as familiars (*familiars*). These laymen were scattered throughout the territory and often settled in those villages where there was no commissioner, to guarantee the presence of the Holy Office in them.⁵⁴⁵ Their duties were to monitor

⁵⁴³ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 30.

⁵⁴⁴ Miranda Ojeda, "Las comisariías [...] siglos XVI-XVII," 39.

⁵⁴⁵ Pedro Miranda Ojeda, "Las comisariías del Santo Oficio. Funciones y funcionarios en la estructura inquisitorial de Yucatán, 1571-1820," *Desacatos* 25 (2007): 170.

the local population and denounce any crime prosecuted by the Inquisition, although in most cases their function was limited to establish a presence for the Holy Office in those communities where it was absent.⁵⁴⁶ In the documentation consulted I have not found any indication that this position existed in the Mariana Islands. The only document that alludes to this inquisitorial title is the account on the founding act of the Holy Office in the islands, prepared by Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo. The Jesuit affirmed that, in the absence of familiars in the archipelago, he handed over the Inquisition rod (*vara*) to Captain Joseph de Carvajal. This Andalusian captain was chosen to carry the insignia of the institution during the founding ceremony for being an “elderly and very exemplary man, and the most decorated among all this militia,”⁵⁴⁷ merits proper to a familiar of the Holy Office. Indeed, inquisitors often chose members from the local elites as familiars to enlarge the prestige and power of the institution.⁵⁴⁸ In turn, being appointed familiar of the Inquisition increased the prestige of the person who held the position, since it was a guarantee of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*) and carried certain privileges and immunities.⁵⁴⁹

In the absence of familiars, the only representatives of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands were the commissioners and notaries. They were in charge of embodying the institution on the archipelago, constituting the finest yarns of a network extended by the inquisitors in their territorial jurisdictions to guarantee social control and Catholic orthodoxy. In the following sections I will delve into both positions, analyzing the personalities who held them and their duties in the colonial society of the Mariana archipelago.

⁵⁴⁶ Gonzalo Cerrillo Cruz, “Los familiares de la Inquisición española (1478-1700)” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, 1993), 14, 20; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 148.

⁵⁴⁷ Lorenzo Bustillo, “Relación de lo sucedido en la publicación del edicto general de la fe y la carta anatema en las Islas Marianas,” in Santa Rosa de Agat, 28 March 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, 323r-324v, 324r, *hombre anciano, y muy exemplar, y el mas condecorado entre toda esta milicia*.

⁵⁴⁸ Miranda Ojeda, “Las comisarías [...] Yucatán,” 170.

⁵⁴⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 68; Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 145.

The Commissioners

Commissioners were the representatives of the Holy Office at the local level, particularly in the most remote enclaves of the empire. As I have already pointed out, the jurisdiction of the Mexican Tribunal included New Spain, New Galicia, New Mexico, and the Philippines. Later, in 1696, the Mariana Islands joined these constituencies. To monitor this vast territorial extension, the Novohispanic Holy Office wove an extensive network of commissioners, ensuring social control even in the most distant regions. In the words of the Lima inquisitor Serván de Cerezuola, these officials were essential so that the Inquisition was not “a body without arms.”⁵⁵⁰

As the arms of the Holy Office, commissioners had to perform most of the inquisitors' duties in their territories: proceed to read the edicts of faith, make district visits, receive denunciations, examine witnesses, accumulate evidence, and examine the boxes and books of the ships that arrived at the docks to avoid the introduction of prohibited books and papers.⁵⁵¹ However, these officials could not arrest people except in very specific cases and neither could they initiate prosecutions against the accused: they should only forward the corresponding documents to the inquisitors in Mexico so that they could decide whether or not to open such procedures. Lastly, the commissioners could not issue sentences either, a power reserved solely to the inquisitors.

I have indicated above that the first attempt to appoint commissioners in the Mariana Islands took place in 1682, as a result of the request made by the Procurator General of the Philippines and the Marianas in Mexico. However, the designated Fathers never came to serve as officials of the Holy Office. In 1695, possibly as a consequence of the words uttered against the inquisitorial jurisdiction by the governor of the islands, Damián de Esplana, the Mexican inquisitors decided to appoint three new commissioners: Frs. Lorenzo Bustillo, Antonio

⁵⁵⁰ Consuelo Juanto Jiménez, “El comisario del Santo Oficio en las Instrucciones Inquisitoriales,” *Revista de la Inquisición (Intolerancia y Derechos Humanos)* 18 (2014): 104.

⁵⁵¹ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 50; Miranda Ojeda, “Las comisarías [...] Yucatán,” 179; Juanto Jiménez, “El comisario del Santo Oficio,” 101-2.

Cundari and Basilio Le Roulx.⁵⁵² The order of the appointees is not arbitrary: the commissioner in the first place, in this case Fr. Bustillo, was the one who actually served as commissioner in the islands, in charge of informing the Mexican Tribunal on any matter concerning the Inquisition. Only in the absence or death of the first commissioner, the second would take over his duties and, if the latter was absent, then the obligations would pass to the third. In this manner, the Novohispanic inquisitors ensured to always have an active commissioner in their jurisdictions, especially in a border territory as risky as the Mariana Islands, where several Jesuits died from diseases or during the armed conflicts between Spaniards and Chamorus.

The performance of a commissioner's duties began with the oath of fidelity and secrecy to the Holy Office. The position did not involve any economic gain to the official himself, since it was exercised "without any stipend being paid,"⁵⁵³ although it entailed certain social prestige, immunities, and privileges.⁵⁵⁴ After the oath, the official received instructions, edicts, and other papers detailing his duties as commissioner.⁵⁵⁵ These instructions⁵⁵⁶ specified, for instance, how to proceed in cases of faith, how to compose the documents and different procedures, how to ratify witnesses, which criminal cases belonged to the inquisitorial jurisdiction and which did not, the secret that the official had to keep in everything he conducted, and certain particularities of specific crimes and procedures.⁵⁵⁷ The remoteness of the Mariana Islands—as of other peripheral enclaves of the Spanish

⁵⁵² Diego Vergara Gaviria, "Nombramientos de comisarios del Santo Oficio en las islas Marianas," in Mexico, 1 March 1695, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 320r bis 2-320v bis 2.

⁵⁵³ Juan de Armesto y Ron, "Respuesta a la carta del padre Manuel de Solórzano sobre su nombramiento como comisario en las islas Marianas," in Mexico, 11 February 1684, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 317r-317v, *sin que por ello se les pague estipendio alguno*.

⁵⁵⁴ Juanto Jiménez, "El comisario del Santo Oficio," 97.

⁵⁵⁵ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, "Carta al reverendo padre Lorenzo Bustillo, comisario en las islas Marianas," in Mexico, 9 March 1712, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 246v-247r.

⁵⁵⁶ "Instrucciones que han de guardar los comisarios del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, en las causas y negocios de fe y los demás que se ofrecieran," AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 834, Exps. 9-10.

⁵⁵⁷ Juanto Jiménez, "El comisario del Santo Oficio," 105.

empire—from the Novohispanic Tribunal further complicated the commissioners’ tasks. Communication with their superiors was irregular and lengthy, as Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo lamented in a 1696 letter:

Y como las circunstancias y empleo Apostolico, en q[ue] nos hallamos los Religiosos de la Compañia de J[esús] en estas Islas Marianas, son tales, q[ue] ordinariam[en]te, no podemos tener recurso; sino de año en año, faltandonos, como nos ha faltado tres años, vagel desde Manila aqui, y este recurso p[or] la via de Acapulco, al pasar p[or] aqui la Nao, o vageles con tanta prissa, q[ue] no ay lugar a q[ue] podamos satisfacer a las mas precisas y urgentes obligaciones, dejandonos atrasados un año. ⁵⁵⁸	And as the circumstances and the apostolic employment in which the priests of the Society of Jesus find ourselves in these Mariana Islands are such, that ordinarily, we cannot have resource; but from year to year, missing, as we have missed for three years, ship from Manila to here, and this same resource by way of Acapulco, when the <i>nao</i> passes through here, or other vessels in such a hurry that there is no chance that we can satisfy the most precise and urgent obligations, leaving us a year behind.
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Even so, the situation in the Mariana Islands was not as dire as in other parts of the Spanish empire: Solange Alberro describes how the diligent commissioner of the Holy Office in New Mexico, Fray Alonso de Benavides, often complained that the correspondence with the capital of New Spain took four years and even more.⁵⁵⁹ However, the difficult communications between the Mexican Tribunal and its representatives in the Mariana Islands lengthened and hindered any procedure or consultation, making the commissioners’ duties even more complex.

Table 6.1. shows a complete list of the Jesuit commissioners of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, indicating the position they held and the period in which they exercised their obligations. To prepare the table,

⁵⁵⁸ Lorenzo Bustillo, “Carta del comisario Lorenzo Bustillo al Tribunal del Santo Oficio,” in Santa Rosa de Agat, 20 March 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, 322r-322v.

⁵⁵⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 23-4.

in exceptional situations I have found documents in which the inquisitors of the Mexican Tribunal specified the names and positions of the Jesuits they appointed as commissioners. Otherwise, I have collated the signatures and dates of the documents on the Mariana Islands held in the *Inquisición* branch (*ramo*) from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. Finally, I have consulted several sources from other archives and publications to contrast the dates in which some of the Jesuits died or left the islands.

The table shows that Fr. Bustillo's commissionership was the longest one, spanning 21 years. However, it was not an uninterrupted mandate. As I indicated earlier, the first Jesuit appointed commissioner, Fr. Manuel de Solórzano, initially rejected the position because, being a Jesuit, he was prohibited from accepting other dignities that did not come from the Society or from the Pope. This incompatibility of dignities reemerged in the case of Fr. Bustillo, who sent a letter to the Novohispanic Tribunal in 1697 informing that, in September of that year, the Provincial Father of the Philippines and the Marianas had ordered him to renounce his position as commissioner on a preventive basis, until he obtained a response on the matter from the Father General of the Order in Rome.⁵⁶⁰ Father Bustillo could, though, serve as notary, since that position was not considered a dignity as it was exempted from judicial responsibilities. Eventually, in 1699 the Mexican inquisitors requested Fr. Bustillo to continue with his duties as commissioner, which he effectively did and recognized in a 1700 letter addressed to said inquisitors.⁵⁶¹

After this brief impasse, which reflects the tensions between the Ignatian Order and the Tribunal of the Inquisition in matters of dignities, Fr. Bustillo's commissionership lasted for another 16 years, until his death. His mandate was so long that it originated a unique situation in the archipelago: the coexistence of two commissioners in the first place. Indeed, in 1709 Fr. Bustillo wrote to the Mexican Holy

⁵⁶⁰ Lorenzo Bustillo, "Carta del padre Lorenzo Bustillo al señor inquisidor de México," in Marianas, 26 October 1697, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 327r.

⁵⁶¹ Lorenzo Bustillo, "Carta de Lorenzo Bustillo," in San Ignacio de Añaña, 21 May 1700, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 543, Exp. 49, 435r-435v.

Office to suggest the appointment of a new commissioner. The causes that the Jesuit adduced were “his increased age” and the serious illness

Table 6.1. Jesuit Commissioners of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, 1682-1769

Name	Position	Starting year	End year
Manuel de Solórzano	1 st	1682	1684†
Antonio Jaramillo	2 nd	1682	1688
Juan de Ahumada	3 rd	1682	1687†
Lorenzo Bustillo	1 st	1695	1716†
Antonio Cundari	2 nd	1695	1709
Basilio Le Roulx	3 rd	1695	1703†
Ignacio de Iburgüen	1 st	1712	1730†
Joseph Bloast	2 nd	1712	1717
Joseph Grimaltos	3 rd	1712	1714
Juan Antonio Cantova	2 nd	1721	1727
Felipe María Furnari	3 rd	1721	1730
	1 st	1730	1737
Joseph Bonani	3 rd	1727	1733
	1 st	1733	1752†
Francisco Xavier Urfahrer	2 nd	1733	1755
	1 st	1755	1760†
Wolfgang Steimbeck	2 nd	1755	1760
	1 st	1760	1767†
Francisco Xavier Reitterberger	3 rd	1755	1760
Francisco Xavier Stengel	1 st	1767	1769

suffered by Fr. Cundari, second commissioner.⁵⁶² In addition, the commissioner in the third place, Fr. Basilio Le Roulx, had died six years

⁵⁶² Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio Palacio, “Recibo de carta del padre Lorenzo Bustillo,” in Mexico, 9 March 1711, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 237r-237v, *su crecida edad*.

earlier, so if Fr. Bustillo suffered any accident, no one else could act as a commissioner in the archipelago. Consequently, and exceptionally, in 1712 the Novohispanic inquisitors appointed commissioners to the three Jesuit priests proposed by Fr. Bustillo: Ignacio de Ibargüen, Joseph Bloast and Joseph Grimaltos.⁵⁶³ However, the last two never served as commissioners. In fact, very little is known about their passage through the Marianas: both Fathers arrived in the archipelago in 1709 and, according to Francis X. Hezel, abandoned it in 1717 and 1714, respectively.⁵⁶⁴ Their presence in the islands is so mysterious that Rodrigue Lévesque, compiler of dozens of documents on the Mariana Islands, refers to the latter as “the *obscure* Fr. José Grimaldo, or Grimaltos.”⁵⁶⁵

The cases of Frs. Bloast and Grimaltos show that the commissioner position was not for life, but could be abandoned in certain circumstances. The most frequent causes of desertion were suspension by superiors, voluntary resignation, and change of residence, as in the case of Frs. Bloast and Grimaltos. In the documents consulted I have not found any case of suspension or voluntary resignation. Among the commissioners in second and third place, the abandonment of the position by transfer to another territory was common, as in the case of Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova, who left office in 1727 after embarking as a missionary to the Caroline Islands.⁵⁶⁶ Commissioners in the first place, though, used to hold the position until death, as shown in some cases in Table 6.1. After the decease of the first commissioner, the one in the second place relieved his predecessor. The only commissioners in the first place who left their positions before their death were Frs. Felipe María Furnari, in the 1730s, and Francisco Xavier Stengel, in 1769.

⁵⁶³ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, “Carta al reverendo padre Lorenzo Bustillo, comisario en las islas Marianas,” in Mexico, 9 March 1712, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 246v-247r.

⁵⁶⁴ Francis X. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands 1690 to 1740* (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 1989), 90.

⁵⁶⁵ Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents. Volume 11. French Ships in the Pacific, 1708-1717* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1998), 514. The emphasis is mine.

⁵⁶⁶ Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo and Pedro Navarro de la Isla, “Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas remitiendo nombramiento de Comisario en 3º lugar,” in Mexico, 22 February 1727, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 380r-380v.

Father Furnari had assumed the position of first commissioner after the death of Fr. Ignacio de Ibarguén in 1730. A few years later, in 1733, he decided to participate in the evangelization of the Palau Islands and departed toward that archipelago, abandoning his position as commissioner of the Holy Office.⁵⁶⁷ However, it is not certain that he reached his destination, since there are very few documents that refer to this father. Rodrigue Lévesque even claims that Fr. Furnari's trace disappeared from the documents a decade earlier, around 1723.⁵⁶⁸ The truth is that from 1733 onwards all the paperwork related to the Inquisition was signed by Fr. Furnari's successor, Fr. Joseph Bonani, underpinning the premise that the former left the Marianas prior to that year. Nevertheless, in 1737 the inquisitors wrote an intriguing letter "to the commissioner of the Mariana Islands, the Reverend Father Felipe María Furnari."⁵⁶⁹ Taking into account that Fr. Furnari did not sign any letter to the Inquisition from 1733 on, and that his name does not appear in any other document, it is most certain that he actually left the Mariana archipelago that year and that the inquisitors addressed the 1737 letter to him by mistake.

The dismissal of Fr. Felipe María Furnari as commissioner sheds light on another interesting aspect of the commissionerships of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands: the power of the Mexican inquisitors to choose their representatives. When Fr. Furnari was about to leave for Palau, Fr. Agustín Soler, Procurator General of the Philippine and Mariana Islands, requested the Mexican Holy Office that, from then on, the position of commissioner was attached to that of Vice-Provincial of

⁵⁶⁷ Pedro Navarro de la Isla, Pedro Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle and Diego Mangado y Clavijo, "Carta al comisario y padre viceprovincial de las Islas Marianas, Joseph Bonani," in Mexico City, 16 March 1733, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 456r-456v; Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 90.

⁵⁶⁸ Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia. A Collection of Source Documents. Volume 12. Carolinians Drift to Guam, 1715-1728* (Quebec: Lévesque Publications, 1998), 558.

⁵⁶⁹ Pedro Navarro de la Isla, Pedro Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle and Diego Mangado y Clavijo, "Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, el R. Padre Phelipe Maria Furnari, de la Compañía de Jesus," in Mexico, 22 February 1737, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 476v-477r, *Al Comisario de las Yslas Marianas, el R. Padre Phelipe Maria Furnari*.

the islands, so that it never remained vacant.⁵⁷⁰ However, the proposal did not please the inquisitors, since it limited their power to choose their officials. They agreed, however, that, in the absence of a commissioner, the Vice-Provincial father could carry out the former's duties until the Mexican Tribunal had chosen "the most suitable subjects" for the position.⁵⁷¹ The inquisitors were not willing to renounce, under any circumstances, their right to select their own representatives in the extensive, capillary network that they wove to the remotest corners of the Spanish empire.

As noted above, two were the first commissioners who did not die in the exercise of their duties. If Fr. Furnari left the position to move to Palau, Fr. Francisco Xavier Stengel did so for another compelling reason: the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Mariana Islands in 1769. From that year on, the commissioners of the Holy Office in the archipelago were members of the Augustinian Recollect Order, being friar Andrés Blázquez de San Joseph the successor of Fr. Stengel. With Fr. Francisco Xavier Stengel, hence, the almost three-quarters of a century of Jesuit commissionership in the Marianas ended, even though the Jesuits would reappear later in the documents of the Holy Office, this time on the side of the accused, as I will show below.

The Notaries

Together with commissioners, notaries were also officials of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands. In the words of Pedro Miranda Ojeda, the notaries symbolized "the legitimacy of the testimonies."⁵⁷² Their functions consisted of transcribing in detail the answers to the interrogations carried out by the commissioners, listing the property confiscated from the prisoners, signing as witnesses, and certifying the legitimacy of different documents. Likewise, these officials had to

⁵⁷⁰ Pedro Navarro de la Isla, Pedro Anselmo Sánchez de Tagle and Diego Mangado y Clavijo, "Carta al comisario y padre viceprovincial de las Islas Marianas, Joseph Bonani," in Mexico City, 16 March 1733, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 456r-456v.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 456v, *sujetos los mas a proposito*.

⁵⁷² Miranda Ojeda, "Las comisarias [...] Yucatán," 188.

report the publication of the edicts of faith to their superiors in Mexico and, after the death or resignation of the commissioner, draw up an inventory of all pending and completed procedures.⁵⁷³ Furthermore, not only did notaries register and legitimize the activity of commissioners, but they also supervised it, reporting any irregularities to the inquisitors.

In the most significant and populated enclaves of the Spanish empire, the notaries of the Holy Office used to belong to the colonial elite, being individuals that held an academic degree.⁵⁷⁴ However, the shortage of personnel in the Mariana Islands led the commissioners to choose their notaries from the few Jesuit priests who lived in the archipelago. Table 6.2 shows a list of the scribes of the Holy Office during the Jesuit rule, indicating their names and period of activity.

Table 6.2. Jesuit Notaries of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, 1695-1767

Name	Starting year	End year
Miguel de Aparicio	1695	1716†
Francisco Xavier Urfahrer	1733	1755
Wolfgang Steimbeck	1755	1760
Francisco Xavier Reitterberger	1760	1767†

Table 6.2 shows that the first notary of the Holy Office in the Marianas was Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, appointed by Commissioner Lorenzo Bustillo in 1695.⁵⁷⁵ His mandate was as long as that of Fr. Bustillo, since both died in 1716, still in the exercise of their duties. After the death of Fr. Aparicio, the position of notary remained vacant in the Marianas for almost two decades, until 1733. Commissioner Ibarguen repeatedly excused himself in front of the Mexican inquisitors for the absence of a scribe. The reason given was the scarcity of priests in the archipelago,

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 178.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid., 177.

⁵⁷⁵ Lorenzo Bustillo, "Carta del comisario Lorenzo Bustillo al Tribunal del Santo Oficio," in Santa Rosa de Agat, 20 March 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, 322r-322v.

since the few present were “old and ailing”⁵⁷⁶ and lived far from Hagåtña, the head of the Mariana Islands where the commissioner exercised his duties. The shortage of personnel led Fr. Iburgüen to perform himself some of the notary duties, such as signing and certifying documents.⁵⁷⁷

This overlapping of functions constituted an irregularity since, as I have indicated above, one of the notary’s responsibilities was to supervise the work of the commissioner, so both position should not fall on the same subject. However, the lack of notaries was not unique to the Mariana Islands, but it was rather common in the rest of the Novohispanic territories. To remedy it, the inquisitors promulgated an instruction in 1659 that empowered commissioners to appoint notaries among the public or royal scribes.⁵⁷⁸ In the Marianas, this lack was overcome with the appointment of the commissioner in the second place as notary, as happened in the cases of Frs. Francisco Xavier Urfahrer,⁵⁷⁹ Wolfgang Steimbeck,⁵⁸⁰ and Francisco Xavier Reitterberger.⁵⁸¹ This strategy allowed such officials to apply the experience gained over years as a notaries to their ensuing position as first commissioners, facilitating their new duties.

The absence of a notary in the Mariana Islands for almost two decades shows the precariousness in which the Holy Office operated in the archipelago. These poor conditions even led to irregularities in the

⁵⁷⁶ Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Certificación y publicación de dos edictos,” in Agaña, 12 August 1717, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 553, Exp. 35, 184r-186v, *viejos y achacosos*.

⁵⁷⁷ Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Denuncia dirigida al Santo Oficio,” in Agaña, 6 August 1716, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 552, Exp. 15, 74r-74v; Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Certificación del padre Ignacio de Iburgüen,” in Agaña, 27 July 1717, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 553, Exp. 35, 186r-186v.

⁵⁷⁸ Miranda Ojeda, “Las comisarías [...] Yucatán,” 178.

⁵⁷⁹ Francisco Xavier Urfahrer, “Carta del padre Francisco Xavier Urfahrer a los inquisidores del Santo Oficio de México,” in Marianas, 2 May 1755, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1558, Exp. 103, 1r-1v.

⁵⁸⁰ Wolfgang Steimbeck, “Carta del padre Wolfgang Steimbeck, comisario del Santo Oficio en las Marianas, a los señores inquisidores del Tribunal de la Ciudad de México,” in San Ignacio de Agaña, 30 May 1760, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1065, Exp. 5, 51r-51v.

⁵⁸¹ Juan de Bárcena y Quijano, Joaquín Arias y Urbina and Tomás Cuber y Liñán, “Al padre Wolfgang Steimbeck comisario en las islas Marianas,” in Mexico, 28 February 1761, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 991, Exp. 7, 126r-126v.

officials' duties, as in the case of Fr. Ignacio de Ibargüen, who served both as first commissioner and as notary. The case of this Jesuit proves that the Inquisition could not guarantee the most fundamental bases of its institutional functioning in the Marianas, such as the need for at least one notary and one commissioner. However, despite the scarcity of personnel and means, the representatives of the Holy Office in the archipelago referred several denunciations to their Mexican superiors, some of which resulted in prosecutions and sentences, which shows the great adaptive capacity of this institution. Even in the most adverse conditions, the Holy Office kept its vast network of officials operational in the farthest corners of the Spanish empire.

6.3. Crimes Prosecuted by the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands

Once the bureaucratic procedures and the attributions of the personnel of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands have been exposed, it is time to scrutinize the different crimes persecuted by this institution in the archipelago. Solange Alberro notes that, for the inquisitorial authorities, the notion of “crime” was ambiguous, since the same practice could be considered as the result of a mere superstition or as a heretical transgression.⁵⁸² The difference depended, according to the author, on the time, context, case and, above all, on the attitude of the accused, which could range from defiance to repentance. This ambiguity in the consideration of crimes was compounded by the fact that not all Tribunals had jurisdiction over the same faults, as in the case of sodomy and other sins against nature, which could only be judged by the Holy Office in the territories of the Crown of Aragon.⁵⁸³ Likewise, jurisdiction over certain crimes, such as bigamy, was in dispute for decades between civil and ecclesiastical courts.⁵⁸⁴ Therefore, it is necessary to attend to the local particularities of each Tribunal to gain a better understanding of which practices were considered as criminal by

⁵⁸² Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 147.

⁵⁸³ See the section §Sodomy, in this chapter.

⁵⁸⁴ Molina, “Casadas dos veces,” 32-3.

the representatives of the Inquisition and which crimes acquired a greater relevance.

In accordance with the purposes of this dissertation, in this section I will focus on those crimes related to sexual conducts. I will indicate that, to ensure Catholic orthodoxy, one of the tasks of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands was to oversee the Christian institutions that regulated sexuality, such as confession or monogamous and indissoluble marriage. For this purpose, commissioners persecuted those practices that damaged the integrity of these sacraments, such as solicitation and bigamy. The analysis of the files on these crimes will allow me to explore the impact that the Inquisition had on the sexual behaviors of the inhabitants of the archipelago. Likewise, and in line with the aims of this work, I will examine the strategic role of some of the denunciations and prosecutions initiated by the Holy Office in the islands, as well as the conflicts in which some of these cases were framed.

Although crimes related to sexual conducts will be the focus of this section, I will briefly address the rest of offenses persecuted by the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands to provide an idea of the proportion and predominance of the former over the latter. Unfortunately, the Jesuit commissioners' archives in the islands have not been preserved, so to prepare this section I have relied on the 1,537 manuscript pages related to the archipelago that I found in the *Inquisición* branch of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico. From the documents contained in these pages, I have prepared two tables (Table 6.3 and Table 6.4) which list, on the one hand, the different cases and denunciations forwarded by the representatives of the Inquisition in the Marianas to the Novohispanic Tribunal between 1694 and 1772 and, on the other hand, the prosecutions derived from some of these denunciations between 1702 and 1774. Although my aim was to collect all the procedures regarding the archipelago, the resulting compilation is partial for two reasons: first, because I may have overlook some files within the vast amount of documents that comprise the *Inquisición* branch, in which the cases related to the Mariana archipelago are often intermingled with those, far more numerous, on the Philippine Islands. The second reason is the “inquisitorial disorder” that, according to

Solange Alberro, reigned in the chambers of the Novohispanic inquisitors and prosecutors, which could be the cause behind the incompleteness of certain files. Consequently, the procedures collected in both tables represent only a part of all the crimes committed in the Mariana Islands. Although partial, this sample provides an overview of the volume of cases that existed for each crime, as well as of the practices that the Jesuits considered criminal, that is, prosecutable by the Holy Office.

Table 6.3. Denunciations and Cases Remitted from the Mariana Islands

Offender	Crime	Year	Reference Code
Damián de Esplana	Minor religious offense	1694	AGN, Inquisición 648, 320r-320v
Baltasar Rodríguez de Oropesa	Bigamy	1700	AGN, Inquisición 718, 416r-417v
Pedro (Joseph) de Sandoval	Bigamy	1711	AGN, Inquisición 750, 252r
Nicolás López (Juan Antonio de Retana)	Marriage among clergy	1714	AGN, Inquisición 758, 575r-575v
Agustín (Juan) de Espinosa	Bigamy	1716	AGN, Inquisición 787, 88r
Joseph Marchena	Minor religious offense	1716	AGN, Inquisición 552, 18r
Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo	Minor religious offense	1716	AGN, Inquisición 552, 74r
Luis Roche Arcturo	Minor religious offense	1717	AGN, Inquisición 553, 261r
Nicolás Alejandro	Minor religious offense	1718	AGN, Inquisición 553, 262r
Joseph Granados	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición 552, 75r
Juan Gregorio de Fuentes	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición 552, 75r
Pedro Manuel de Montúfar	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición 552, 75r

Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 552, 75r
Salvador Avendaño	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición 552, 75r
Juan de Ojeda	Minor religious offense	1719	AGN, Inquisición 552, 76r
Juan Antonio Pimentel	Minor religious offense	1720	AGN, Inquisición 1586, 1r-1v
Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas	Bigamy	1721	AGN, Inquisición 796, 495r
Miguel Mejía	Minor religious offense	1737	AGN, Inquisición 650, 492r-493v
Juan Manuel Caballero	Bigamy	1739	AGN, Inquisición 876, 117r
Bernabé Benavides	Bigamy	1764	AGN, Inquisición, Vol. 1052, 1r
Manuel de Fuentes	Bigamy	1764	AGN, Inquisición 1052, 1r
Francisco Xavier Reitterberger	Solicitation	1770	AHN, Inquisición 3730, Exp. 149, 1v
María Cepeda	Polygamy	1772	AGN, Inquisición 1189, 101r-101v

Table 6.3 shows that 13 of the 23 denunciations and cases reported to the Mexican Tribunal by the commissioners in the Marianas fall into the category of “minor religious crimes,”⁵⁸⁵ which comprises superstitions, premises that challenge the Church’s jurisdiction and truths, and blasphemy. Furthermore, just over a third of all denunciations are for bigamy. The latter, together with the two cases of solicitation and marriage among clergy, make crimes related to sexual conducts account for more than 43% of the total. However, although the volume of these crimes is somewhat lower than that of minor religious offenses, the inquisitors persecuted them with greater impetus, as evidenced by the fact that most of them resulted in prosecutions, as indicated in Table 6.4. According to Solange Alberro, the number of prosecutions initiated

⁵⁸⁵ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 178.

on one crime is a good indicator of the interest that the inquisitors had in condemning it, since denunciations for offenses considered “minor” used to be archived without triggering further procedures.⁵⁸⁶

Table 6.4. Prosecutions From the Mariana Islands

Accused	Crime	Starting Year	Reference Code
Baltasar Rodríguez de Oropesa	Bigamy	1702	AGN, Inquisición 718, Exp. 21, 413v-510v
Pedro (Joseph) de Sandoval	Bigamy	1711	AGN, Inquisición 750, Exp. 6, 251r-326v
Nicolás López (Juan Antonio de Retana)	Marriage among clergy	1714	AGN, Inquisición 758, Exp. 25, 574r-588v
Francisco de Ojeda y Centellas	Bigamy	1722	AGN, Inquisición 796, Exp. 51, 494r-505v
Juan Manuel Caballero (Manuel Castellanos Alvarado)	Bigamy	1740	AGN, Inquisición 1387, Exp. 1, 1r-121v
Bernabé Benavides and Manuel de Fuentes	Bigamy	1766	AGN, Inquisición 1052, Exp. 1, 1r-19v
María Cepeda	Poligamy	1773	AGN, Inquisición 1189, Exp. 13, 100r-101v
Francisco Xavier Reittemberger	Solicitation	1774	AHN, Inquisición 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v

Another interesting fact provided by Table 6.3 is that in just one decade—between 1711 and 1721—15 denunciations were lodged, that is, more than 65% of the total for the 73 years of Jesuit rule as head of the Holy Office. This period of the institution’s most intense activity overlaps with the commissionership of Fr. Ignacio de Ibargüen, whose diligence is one of the causes behind such a high number of

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid., 184.

denunciations. Another fact to note is that there is no denunciation or prosecution for heresy for the Jesuit period, a crime for which the Holy Office was originally founded in the archipelago. The absence of heresy files indicates that the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands, as indicated by some authors for the case of the American continent, was more of an “Inquisition of customs,” concerned with prosecuting and punishing crimes associated with moral transgressions, rather than with the faith.⁵⁸⁷ In the following sections I will delve into each of the crimes to explore the impact of the Holy Office on the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

6.3.1. Minor Religious Crimes

In New Spain, minor religious crimes represented more than a third of the prosecutions for the period from 1571 to 1700.⁵⁸⁸ In the Mariana Islands, the proportion of these crimes was lower, although they amounted for more than half of the denunciations made to the Holy Office in the archipelago, according to Table 6.3. Solange Alberro notes that the category of minor religious crimes comprises different practices, from jokes or insults to heretical propositions, including blasphemy and statements that questioned or damaged the prestige of the Holy Office.⁵⁸⁹

Some of these offenses involved calling upon the Demon to achieve certain purposes. For instance, in 1719 Fr. Juan Antonio Cantova informed the Mexican inquisitors of several of these faults, as the one committed by Josef Granados, who invoked the Demon to help him get a woman, without succeeding.⁵⁹⁰ Likewise, one day in August 1716 Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo, an unmarried soldier of the Hagåtña garrison (*presidio*), appeared spontaneously in front of the commissioner Ignacio de Ibargüen to denounce himself, stating that “being in the stocks by order of his governor to punish him for a testimony he had given, in

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., 197-8; Molina, “‘Casadas dos veces,’” 42.

⁵⁸⁸ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 178.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid., 178.

⁵⁹⁰ Juan Antonio Cantova, “Absolución de penitentes,” in *Marianas*, 20 May 1719, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 552, Exp. 16, 75r-75v.

case he could get rid of the punishment he broke out in these words: if I get angry I will even deny Christ.”⁵⁹¹ On another occasion, the same Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo was summoned by the authorities of the Holy Office that, once in his presence, asked him “if he knows or presumes the reason why he has been called.”⁵⁹² The soldier replied that the reason could be to ask him about some blasphemous words that he had heard from another soldier, Josef de Marchena, who “in the game, when he loses he says that he shits on the saint who prays for him.”⁵⁹³ As Alberro claims, some of the blasphemers’ propositions revealed a rich and picturesque popular imagination, though often also eschatological.⁵⁹⁴

The two previous cases involving Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo illustrate interesting practices by both the suspects and the officials of the Holy Office. First, when the soldier appeared in front of the commissioner to report a crime that he himself had committed, he carried out a “spontaneous” self-denunciation, a relatively frequent practice among criminals persecuted by the Inquisition. With self-denunciations, the offenders sought to stir the inquisitors’ compassion in order to receive lighter penalties. The bigamist Manuel Caballero, as I pointed out in a previous section, also denounced himself spontaneously in front of Fr. Joseph Bonani, although he later retracted his confession—which did not prevent Fr. Bonani from reporting the case to his superiors. The second case, in which Eusebio Hipólito Trujillo accused Josef de Marchena of blasphemy, shows one of the interrogation techniques of inquisitorial officials: asking the witnesses, and even the accused, if they know why they have been called in front of the Holy Office authorities, without revealing the true motive at first. With this, commissioners and inquisitors sought to collect new information and accusations that could give rise to further denunciations. The use of this strategy during

⁵⁹¹ Ignacio de Ibarguen, “Denuncia dirigida al Santo Oficio,” in Agaña, 6 August 1716, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 552, Exp. 15, 74r-74v, 74r, *teniendole su Governador en el xepo para castigarle por un testimonio, que le avian levantado, por ver si se podia librar del castigo prorumpio en estas palabras: si me enfado renegare aunque sea de Christo.*

⁵⁹² Miguel de Aparicio, “Denuncia y varios testimonios para el Santo Oficio,” in Agaña, 17 January 1716, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 552, Exp. 3, 18r-18v, 18r, *si sabe, o presume la causa porque ha sido llamado.*

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 18r, *en el juego q[uan]do pierde, que se caga en el santo, que ruega por el.*

⁵⁹⁴ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 178.

interrogations by the commissioners of the Mariana Islands suggests that they were well acquainted with the instructions and procedures attached to their positions.

Among all the minor religious crimes committed in the archipelago, there is one case that stands out for the position held by the offender and for the political implications that it entailed in the colony. As I have anticipated in a previous section, in May 1694 Fr. Basilio Le Roulx sent a letter to the Novohispanic inquisitors in which he denounced that the governor of the islands, Damián de Esplana, had uttered words and orders contrary to the ecclesiastical immunity and the inquisitorial jurisdiction. When Fr. Le Roulx asked the governor to retract and recognize himself as a subject of the Church, he declared the following: “I say that after God, being in the position I held, I have no other superior than the king our lord and my father of spirit when I am at his feet.”⁵⁹⁵ Likewise, Damián de Esplana maintained that the Holy Office had no jurisdiction over him, and stated: “the Inquisition cannot arrest me because I am the governor and represent the king in everything, and the king is senior inquisitor; and thus being governor I am also an inquisitor.”⁵⁹⁶

The governor’s words constituted a serious challenge to the jurisdictions of both the Holy Office and the Church. Father Le Roulx, aware of the seriousness of the case, requested that several Jesuit priests present in the archipelago signed his letter to support the veracity of its content.⁵⁹⁷ After receiving the denunciation one year later, Diego Vergara Gaviria, secretary of the secrecy of the Holy Office in Mexico, asked the commissioner of the Mariana Islands to undertake further investigations on the governor’s propositions, ordering him to report the result to the commissioner in Manila. However, I have already

⁵⁹⁵ Basilio Le Roulx, “Carta del padre Le Roulx,” in Agaña, 21 May 1694, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 320r-320v, 320r, *Digo que yo despues de Dios estando en el puesto que tengo, no tengo otro superior que al Rey nuestro Señor y mi Padre de espíritu quando estoy a sus pies.*

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 320r-320v, *A mi no me puede prender la Inquisición porque yo soy Governador y represento al Rey en todo, y el Rey es Inquisidor Mayor; y assi siendo yo Governador soy tambien inquisidor y la Inquisición no me puede prender.*

⁵⁹⁷ At the end of the letter, the signatures of Frs. Miguel de Aparicio, Gerardo Bowens, Thomas Cardenoso, and Mathias Cuculino appear in different handwriting.

pointed out that by 1695 none of the three commissioners appointed by the inquisitors in 1682 was present in the islands, so the secretary received no response until 1696. On May 14 of that year, the new commissioner in the first place, Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo, replied indicating that the governor had died, showing signs of being a true Christian, so there was no need of further procedures.⁵⁹⁸ Father Bustillo's letter was accompanied by a certification from the notary, Fr. Miguel de Aparicio, sanctioning the death of Damián de Esplana in 1694 and stating that he died "as a true Catholic,"⁵⁹⁹ having received all the sacraments. Likewise, Fr. Aparicio claimed to have read a letter from the deceased governor addressed to Fr. Le Roulx, in which the former retracted his previous statements, declaring himself subject to the Church and the Inquisition and blaming such statements on the fact that he had "handled more weapons than books"⁶⁰⁰ during his lifetime.

Apart from Damián de Esplana, there was another governor of the Mariana Islands who was involved with the Inquisition. Decades later, Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel (1709-20) was denounced in front of the Holy Office for questioning and confronting the religious authorities of the archipelago. In the previous chapter I already pointed out that the relationships between this governor and the Jesuits were overly tense. This tension exploded on May 20, 1719, when Pimentel signed a decree banishing Frs. Juan Antonio Cantova and Ignacio de Iburgüen from the islands. The latter, as commissioner of the Holy Office, informed his superiors of the incident in a letter dated June 4, 1720. In this document, Fr. Iburgüen claimed, in a conciliatory tone, that the reason for his banishment was not his belonging to the "Holy Tribunal" (*S[an]to Tribunal*), but because he had not handed to the governor the accounts of the alms (*limosna*) that the king had sent to the

⁵⁹⁸ Lorenzo Bustillo, "Carta del comisario Lorenzo Bustillo," in Santa Rosa de Agat, 14 May 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, Exp. 4, 321r.

⁵⁹⁹ Miguel de Aparicio, "Certificación de la muerte del gobernador Damián de Esplana," in San Ignacio de Agaña, 22 May 1696, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 648, 321r-321v, 321r, *como verdadero catolico*.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 321r, *manejado mas armas q[ue] libros*.

Jesuit seminary of the Marianas.⁶⁰¹ As for Fr. Cantova, the governor exiled him for imposing “burdensome” (*gravosas*) penances and for taking many days to absolve some penitents. However, Commissioner Ibargüen also noted that he considered the governor a “true Catholic” (*verdadero católico*), and that a few days after the publication of the decree he retracted his words,⁶⁰² so the Jesuits were never effectively expelled from the archipelago. Thanks to the conciliatory tone of Commissioner Ibargüen and to the retraction of Governor Pimentel, the inquisitors did not pursue further procedures against the latter.

Conflicts between civil authorities and the Inquisition, as in the cases of Damián de Esplana and Juan Antonio Pimentel, were relatively frequent on the American continent. In New Spain, a significant number of civil officials were persecuted by the Holy Office for disobeying the commandments of the Church and of the Inquisition.⁶⁰³ Likewise, the relationship between this Tribunal and authorities such as Viceroy Martín Enríquez were terrible due to disagreements over jurisdictions.⁶⁰⁴ In this sense, the cases of Governors Esplana and Pimentel are not exceptional, since they arose from similar conflicts on jurisdictions. However, the disagreements between the governors and the Jesuits, that the latter forwarded to the Holy Office, reveal the tensions between the colonizers who, far from constituting a homogeneous contingent, formed different groups with their particular interests.

In short, the minor religious crimes committed in the Mariana Islands barely aroused the interest of the Mexican inquisitors, as evidenced by the fact that none of the denunciations on these faults developed into a prosecution. However, the case of Governor Esplana is an exception since, although he was never judged by the Inquisition, his denunciation had far-reaching implications for the colony, such as the definitive foundation of the Holy Office in the archipelago.

⁶⁰¹ Ignacio de Ibargüen, “Carta a los inquisidores de México,” in Marianas, 4 June 1720, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1586, Exp. 19, 1r-1v.

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*, 1r.

⁶⁰³ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 190.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

6.3.2. Offenses against Sexual Morality

The Holy Office was founded to combat heresy within the judicial system of the Roman Catholic Church. However, over time this institution also assumed the function of disciplining Old Christians whose levels of morality and spirituality were considered deficient.⁶⁰⁵ Throughout the 16th century, and especially after the Ecumenical Council of Trent (1545-1563), various sins related to sexual behaviors came to be unequivocally considered as errors of faith, remaining under the inquisitorial jurisdiction. These sins included bigamy, solicitation, clergy marriages, or, in some jurisdictions, sins against nature, such as sodomy or bestiality.

In New Spain, these offenses against sexual morality were more numerous than in the metropolis.⁶⁰⁶ In this section I will analyze the different files on sexual crimes committed in the Mariana Islands with the intention of exploring the impact that the Holy Office had on the sexual behaviors of the inhabitants of the archipelago. The cases I have traced fall into four crimes: bigamy, marriage among clergy, solicitation, and sodomy. Through these cases, I will show how the Inquisition was a fundamental gear in the regulation and normalization of sexuality in the islands, especially among Europeans—including the clergy—and Mestizos, over whom the Holy Office had jurisdiction, but also on CHamorus themselves, through the Tribunal's moralizing and exemplary role.

Bigamy

Bigamy is one of the most represented crimes in the archives of the Novohispanic Holy Office from the 16th century on.⁶⁰⁷ In the Mariana Islands, this fault has been analyzed by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa in

⁶⁰⁵ Fernanda Molina, “‘Casadas dos veces’. Mujeres e inquisidores ante el delito de bigamia femenina en el Virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI-XVII),” *Memoria Americana. Cuadernos de Etnohistoria* 25, no. 1 (2017): 32.

⁶⁰⁶ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 180.

⁶⁰⁷ Soberanes Fernández, “La Inquisición en México,” 286.

his work *Transoceanic Bigamists*,⁶⁰⁸ on which I will draw to elaborate part of this section. The bigamist was a person who, being legally married and his/her spouse still alive, entered into a second marriage before the Church.⁶⁰⁹ Although the files on this crime in the Mariana Islands are scarce, they represent a considerable volume of the inquisitorial documents related to the archipelago. For instance, bigamy is present in six of the eight prosecutions that I have found for the period from 1696 to 1774.⁶¹⁰ As stated above, the number of prosecutions initiated on one crime reflects the importance attributed by the inquisitors to such fault, since denunciations of minor offenses used to be filed without resulting in further procedures.⁶¹¹ In addition, the amount of files on bigamy in the archipelago, though scarce, suggests the existence of dozens of similar cases that did not reach the commissioners' ears, that is, that remained undocumented throughout the whole Spanish colonial period.⁶¹²

Historian Solange Alberro argues that bigamy is inseparable from colonialism, since it was deeply related to the arrival of emigrants, mainly men, to the American continent. Double marriages, according to the author, resulted from geographical and social mobility, as well as from the anonymity offered by the new contexts to the emigrants, who occasionally adopted new names and identities to remarry far from their acquaintances and relatives.⁶¹³ Coello de la Rosa attributes similar causes to the cases of bigamy in the Mariana Islands, although he specifies that double marriages were not only the result of anonymity and geographical and social mobility, but also, and although it may seem paradoxical, of the bigamists' wish to sanction their new unions. In this sense, the author argues that "[t]he 'twice married' undermined the Christian model of marriage, which was based on the belief that a person could develop and commit to a lifelong love, but they did not

⁶⁰⁸ Coello de la Rosa, "Bígamos transoceánicos," 117-56; Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, Chapter 5.

⁶⁰⁹ Coello de la Rosa, "Bígamos transoceánicos," 117.

⁶¹⁰ See Table 6.4.

⁶¹¹ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 146.

⁶¹² Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 223, 240-1.

⁶¹³ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 180.

reject it.”⁶¹⁴ Bigamy implied, therefore, a paradoxical position of the criminal towards the Catholic sacrament of marriage: on the one hand, the offender transgressed it, but he or she did so seeking legitimation of his or her new family situation, following the marriage rules of the Hispanic Catholic society.

According to Table 6.4, bigamy was the most prosecuted crime in the Mariana Islands. Coello de la Rosa claims that the Jesuits’ effort to set the Christian doctrine in the archipelago depended on the acceptance by CHamorus of the Hispanic-Catholic, monogamous, and indissoluble model of marriage.⁶¹⁵ As I pointed out in Chapter 4, CHamoru communities vehemently opposed the adoption of this sacrament, which contravened their practice of “repudiation” (*repudio*), that is, the abandonment of the spouse at will. Double marriages, by perverting this sacrament, jeopardized the missionaries’ evangelizing work, since they constituted a terrible example for CHamorus. Furthermore, the bigamists not only subverted marriage, but also an institution closely related to it: the family, which was the fundamental basis of the new colonial society in the archipelago.⁶¹⁶ The Holy Office’s determination to prosecute cases of bigamy in the Mariana Islands—as in the rest of New Spain—results, therefore, from its attempt to regulate and normalize the models of marriage and family promoted by the Christian doctrine.

I will not delve into all the cases of bigamy that I found in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico, since most of them have been analyzed by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa in his aforementioned work. However, given that one of the objectives of my dissertation is to explore the public, strategic and conflictive role that sexuality played in the colonization of the Mariana Islands, I will underscore one of these cases due to its connection with another event discussed in the previous chapter: the procedure against Pedro de Sandoval, alias Joseph de Sandoval y Rojas. This Creole married in 1700 with the mestizo María de Arrasola in the Valley of Oaxaca. However, gambling debts led him

⁶¹⁴ Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 222.

⁶¹⁵ Coello de la Rosa, “Bígamos transoceánicos,” 137.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 136.

to abandon his home and his wife, and in his flight he ended up landing in the Mariana Islands at the end of 1709.⁶¹⁷ Once in the archipelago, he married Cecilia Ordaz under the false name of Joseph de Sandoval Rojas. However, at the end of May 1711 he was recognized by the chaplain of the ship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, who denounced him in front of the commissioner of the Holy Office in the islands, Fr. Lorenzo Bustillo.⁶¹⁸ Although the re-encounter between Pedro de Sandoval and an acquaintance from his previous life seems very fortuitous, these coincidences were common in the cases of bigamy in New Spain: the same geographical mobility that allowed bigamists to forge a new identity and to enter into a second marriage sometimes favored that they came across people from their context of origin who, upon discovering them, reported their crime to the inquisitorial authorities.⁶¹⁹ As in most cases of bigamy in New Spain, after the denunciation and certain inquiries Pedro de Sandoval was transferred to Mexico to stand trial, where he was imprisoned for a time in the castle of Acapulco.

The final sentence of the prosecution against Pedro de Sandoval is unknown. However, after being tried and possibly punished, he returned to the Mariana Islands under his old alias. Once back in the archipelago, Sandoval forged good relationships with the governors, to the extent that he became mayor of Luta, Saipan, Malessó, Humåtak, and Inalåhan.⁶²⁰ However, his misconduct as mayor at the head of these villages was denounced by several witnesses during the trial of residence against Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel, as I indicated in the previous chapter. Pedro de Sandoval was accused of some sexual charges, such as “disturbing” (*alborotar*) the villages he governed by abusing various women. In addition, a few years later he was also accused of sexual misconduct for “trading” (*comerciar*) with a married woman, this time under the administration of Governor Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle (1720-25). Ultimately, Pedro de Sandoval not only transgressed the sexual norms of his time by marrying a second time, but, once he perverted the sacrament of marriage, his sexual misconduct spread to

⁶¹⁷ Ibid., 127.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid., 129.

⁶¹⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 180.

⁶²⁰ Coello de la Rosa, “Bígamos transoceánicos,” 132.

other practices, such as taking advantage of the power he exercised to abuse women from the villages where he served as a mayor. However, Sandoval was not the only one of Governor Pimentel's subordinates who perverted the sacrament of marriage and transgressed other sexual norms, as evidenced by the case of Fray Nicolás López, alias Juan Antonio de Retana, which I will address in the following section.

Finally, I will analyze a case of bigamy that Alexandre Coello de la Rosa omitted in his study because it exceeded its chronological framework, even though this case also escapes the time frame of my own dissertation. My interest in addressing this bigamy prosecution lies in the fact that it is the only crime judged by the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands committed by a woman. In a letter probably dated 1772, the commissioner of the Inquisition in the archipelago, Fray Andrés de San Joseph, informed his superiors that he had deposited (*depositado*), that is, arrested a woman named María Cepeda for an alleged crime of polygamy.⁶²¹ According to the document, this woman had originally married a man named Juan de Esquerria. However, her husband fled the Mariana Islands and, ten years later, she believed him dead and married Ignacio Matías Ravago, a native of the Caroline Islands. In the same year, a servant of the former governor Enrique de Olavide y Michelena (1768-71) claimed to have seen the accused's first husband, Juan de Esquerria, alive and back in the islands. Consequently, Fray Andrés de San Joseph ordered to take María Cepeda into custody until finding out whether she was responsible for the crime of bigamy.

Unfortunately, the file on María Cepeda consists only of the first page and two brief procedures from the summary part (*parte sumaria*). The absence of the rest of the prosecution could be the result of two causes: first, the "inquisitorial disorder" of the Novohispanic Tribunal underscored by Solange Alberro,⁶²² which would have prevented any prosecutor from sewing the rest of the file to the surviving pages. The second cause would be that the rumors about the alleged return of María

⁶²¹ Andrés de San Joseph. "Carta del padre Andrés de San Joseph, comisario del Santo Oficio en las islas Marianas, a Joaquín del Rosario, comisario en Manila," in Agaña, 24 January (probably) 1772, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1189, Exp. 13, 101r-101v. The year remains illegible in the document, although it is deduced from its content.

⁶²² Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 11.

Cepeda's first husband to the Mariana Islands were false, and that therefore the accused was released from inquisitorial custody. The only additional information on the case comes from the second procedure of the file, in which Fr. Joaquín del Rosario, commissioner of the Holy Office in Manila, informed the Novohispanic inquisitors that, in his opinion, Fray Andrés de San Joseph had been rather hasty in arresting María Cepeda for her alleged crime.⁶²³ Indeed, the assumptions under which a commissioner of the Holy Office could apprehend a suspect were very limited,⁶²⁴ and Commissioner Andrés de San Joseph probably exceeded his functions in arresting the accused, since the evidence of her crime was scarce.

María Cepeda's file illustrates an unusual reality in the inquisitorial archives: the cases of bigamous women. Historian Fernanda Molina has scrutinized the files on female bigamy from the archives of the Peruvian Inquisition, underscoring that it was a crime with a great gender bias: while 151 men were charged with bigamy between 1570 and 1700, only 29 women were prosecuted for the same fault.⁶²⁵ In Peru, as surely in the territories of New Spain, female bigamy was far less frequent or, at least, less denounced and prosecuted than male. Molina argues that this gender difference is partly the result of the control mechanisms established in the Council of Trent to monitor and regulate conjugal unions. From the Council on, marriages ought to take place in front of several witnesses and a parish priest who had to record the names of the spouses, witnesses, godparents, and the date and place in which the union had been consecrated.⁶²⁶ All these requirements made it difficult for someone to enter into a second marriage without being discovered, and from that moment on bigamy became closely linked to geographical mobility. This mobility explains, at least in part, the preeminence of male over female bigamy, since those who embarked on transoceanic routes were mainly men, while women were prohibited, at least on

⁶²³ Joaquín del Rosario. "Carta del padre Joaquín del Rosario, comisario del Santo Oficio en Manila, a los señores inquisidores del Tribunal de la Inquisición en México," in Manila, 18 July 1772, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1189, Exp. 13, 100r-100v.

⁶²⁴ Silverblatt, "Modern Inquisitions," 286-7.

⁶²⁵ Molina, "Casadas dos veces," 38.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

paper, from joining convoys such as those who crossed the transatlantic route or *Carrera de Indias*.⁶²⁷ Finally, Molina points out that, in cases of female bigamy, one of the main concerns of the inquisitors was to find out the “intention” of the accused when contracting the second marriage. The inquisitors’ aim was to clarify whether the woman had committed the crime under the erroneous belief that marrying twice, while the first husband was still alive, constituted a lawful action. In this regard, several of the allegedly bigamous women argued that they had entered into a second marriage since they believed that their first husband was dead,⁶²⁸ as in the case of María Cepeda, which indicates, as the author concludes, that female bigamy, rather than a heretical practice or an error of faith, was just a transgressive sexual behavior.

In conclusion, although bigamy was not the most recurrent crime, it was the most prosecuted by the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands. Bigamists, in their defiance of the sacrament of marriage, questioned the only valid model of sexuality promoted by the Christian doctrine. Likewise, they jeopardized the evangelizing efforts of the missionaries in the archipelago, who had put so much effort into the enforcement of Christian, indissoluble, monogamous marriage among the Chamoru communities. The prosecution of bigamy cases conducted by the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands reveals, therefore, the regulatory and normalizing role of this institution on the sexuality of the archipelago’s inhabitants.

Marriage among Clergy

Members of the secular and regular clergy who got married, thus breaking their vow of celibacy, were occasionally persecuted by the Holy Office. Before the Protestant Reformation, the jurisdiction of the Inquisition over this fault was debatable: some authors argued that the Holy Office could only act when the marriage was public, which implied

⁶²⁷ Fernanda Molina, “La sodomía a bordo. Sexualidad y poder en la Carrera de Indias (Siglos XVI-XVII),” *REMS. Revista de Estudios Marítimos y Sociales* 3 (2010): 14.

⁶²⁸ Molina, “Casadas dos veces,” 40.

a heretical error.⁶²⁹ If, on the contrary, the union took place in secret, the offender was only responsible for violating the law, and was therefore subject to the ecclesiastical courts or the prelates of his Order. However, as a result of the authorization of clerical marriage by the Reformation, in 1563 the Council of Trent established that clerical celibacy was a matter of faith.⁶³⁰ From that moment on, the marriage of clergy constituted an indisputable heresy, prosecuted by the Inquisition.

In the Mariana Islands, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa addresses, in his work on the bigamists, the case of a married priest: Fray Nicolás López, alias Juan Antonio de Retana. This Mercedarian friar, professed in the convent of the order of Santa María de las Mercedes in Guatemala, moved in 1713 to another convent in the mission of Minas of Tegucigalpa.⁶³¹ In this new context, Fray Nicolás López took advantage of his religious status to make “dishonest proposals” to some women, and ended up marrying *in facie ecclesiae* one of them, changing his real name to Juan Antonio de Retana. After committing a murder, he abandoned his wife and moved to the Mariana Islands under his new identity. However, around 1714 he confessed his status as a married priest to his confessor, the Jesuit Peter Cruydolf, who informed the commissioner of the Holy Office in the islands, then Fr. Ignacio de Iburgüen.⁶³²

The sentence of the tribunal and the penalty imposed on Fray Nicolás López for his crime are unknown. However, the inquisitors’ condescending tone in the procedures indicates the double standards of the Holy Office when judging sexual crimes perpetrated by priests. In the case of Fray Nicolás López, the inquisitors even stated that “this tribunal, in consideration of the distress and anguish of the exile in which [the defendant] found himself, does not make with him the

⁶²⁹ Henry Charles Lea, *Historia de la Inquisición española. Vol. III* (Madrid: Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, Fundación Universitaria Española, Instituto de Historia de la Intolerancia, 2020), 751.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, 752.

⁶³¹ Coello de la Rosa, “Bígamos transoceánicos,” 133.

⁶³² Ignacio de Iburgüen, “Carta del comisario Ignacio de Iburgüen a los señores inquisidores de México,” in *Agadña*, 8 May 1714, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 758, Exp. 25, 575r-575v.

demonstrations that he deserved.”⁶³³ Indeed, the married friar had been in exile on Tinian for some time when he confessed his fault to Fr. Cruydolf, and both the exile and his religious status unleashed the inquisitors’ indulgence. However, according to Coello de la Rosa, his conduct on the islands had not been exemplary at all.⁶³⁴ As I pointed out in the previous chapter, this friar figured, through his pseudonym Juan Antonio de Retana, among the mayors and lieutenants of Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel accused of “trading” with widows and married women, giving “scandal” and “bad example” to the CHamorus of the villages where they lived.

The crime of this friar constitutes one of the scarce cases of marriage among clergy persecuted by the Holy Office.⁶³⁵ As Henry Charles Lea indicates, although the penalty for this fault was the loss of all ecclesiastical privileges and relaxation to the secular arm—that is, being burnt at the stake—,⁶³⁶ the low number of cases led to a variety of punishments ranging from admonitions to banishment or the galleys.⁶³⁷ In most cases, as surely in that of Fray Nicolás López, the fact that the accused was a priest led the inquisitors to impose light penalties. Finally, the case of this Mercedarian friar shared some similarities with that of the bigamists of the Mariana Islands, since he also took advantage of geographical mobility to build a new identity with which to get married, an identity that he maintained upon his arrival to the Mariana archipelago.

The Crime of Solicitation

Another offense against sexual morality that appears in the records of the Holy Office on the Mariana Islands is the *crimen sollicitationis*, that is, the crime of solicitation. Solicitation cases occurred when a priest,

⁶³³ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, “Carta al comisario de Marianas,” in Mexico, 4 February 1717, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 758, Exp. 25, 580v, *este tribunal en atenzion a considerarle en el desamparo y angustias del destierro en q[ue] se hallava no haze con el la demostrazion que merezia.*

⁶³⁴ Coello de la Rosa, “Bigamos transoceánicos,” 135.

⁶³⁵ Lea, *Historia de la Inquisición española*, 754.

⁶³⁶ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 193.

⁶³⁷ Lea, *Historia de la Inquisición española*, 753.

driven by a licentious behavior, “solicited” sexual favors from his penitents—both men and women—during confession.⁶³⁸ The consideration of this crime is ambiguous: while, for contemporaneous inquisitors, it was only an offense to the sacrament of penance, for current researchers it is inevitable to introduce the notion of sexual offense, and even abuse.⁶³⁹ From a present perspective, therefore, solicitation was a double crime, involving one act of heresy and one of sexual abuse. However, it is important to note that, for the crime of solicitation to be considered as such, the sexual encounter had to occur during confession, which defiled the sacrament of penance.

The crime of solicitation was constituted, as a legal figure, during the Council of Trent. During the Council, the Tridentine pastoral established, in the face of the Protestant threat, that confession was the only guaranteed means of salvation. In addition, from the 7th century the auricular or private confession had gained popularity, at the expense of the previous public confession. This fact, together with the Tridentine mandate that established that the penitents had to express an exact and meticulous account of the sins committed in front of the confessor, generated an environment of great intimacy between the latter and the penitent, intimacy that in some cases favored the acts of solicitation.⁶⁴⁰

In New Spain, solicitation was, along with bigamy and the reading of forbidden books, one of the most persecuted crimes by the inquisitors throughout the 18th century. Only in the archdiocese of Mexico, researcher Jorge René González has collected just under 800 denunciations between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, all of them lodged to the Holy Office by women solicited by their confessors.⁶⁴¹ However, in the Mariana Islands its incidence—or, at least, its denunciation—was much lower. The first mention of this crime in the archipelago dates from 1711, and is related to an edict on

⁶³⁸ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 267; Jorge René González Marmolejo, *Sexo y confesión. La iglesia y la penitencia en los siglos XVIII y XIX en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 2002), 17; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 165.

⁶³⁹ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 169.

⁶⁴⁰ González Marmolejo, *Sexo y confesión*, 16.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 143.

the confessionals remitted to the commissioner of the islands. On March 10 of that year, the inquisitors of Mexico sent Commissioner Lorenzo Bustillo an edict that dealt with the disposition of confessionals within the churches to prevent certain licentious practices performed by the priests towards their parishioners. The edict, probably that of August 23, 1710, requested the priests to avoid confessing in “hidden parts, and to only confess in the body of the church, sacristies, cloisters and chapels located in them, being the doors open wide.”⁶⁴² Solange Alberro claims that the inquisitorial authorities considered solicitation so common and, apparently, so difficult to fight, that they decided to initiate various strategies to restraint it.⁶⁴³ One of these measures, that arose from the abovementioned edict, was the modification of the spatial conditions in which confession took place. Above I indicated that, after the Tridentine reforms, the sacrament of penance was administered in a climate of intimacy between the confessor and the parishioner that, in certain cases, favored the commission of solicitation crimes. On a spatial level, confessionals, whose use within churches started in the late 16th century,⁶⁴⁴ played a key role as guarantors of such intimacy and, consequently, as catalysts for solicitation. A quick reading of the edict is enough to get an idea of the importance of the spatial location of the confession-box and of its own materiality when promoting or preventing solicitation. In the document, the Mexican inquisitors requested:

<p>que de aqui adelante todas las mugeres precissamente se confiessen por las Rejillas de los Confessionarios, en el Cuerpo de la Iglesia, y no en las Capillas, Claustros ni Sacristias; y que en las Parroquias, y Conventos en</p>	<p>that from now on all women will confess precisely through the confessional grids, in the body of the church, and not in the chapels, cloisters or sacristies; and that in those parishes and convents where there are not</p>
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⁶⁴² Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, “Edicto de fe de 1713 sobre los confesionarios,” in Mexico, 24 March 1713, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 0811-5890, Exp. 3, 1r, *partes ocultas*; y que solo se confessasse en el Cuerpo de la Iglesia, Sacristias, Claustros, y Capillas que en ellas huviesse, estando las puertas abiertas de par en par.

⁶⁴³ Alberro, *Inquisición y Sociedad en México*, 189.

⁶⁴⁴ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 267.

donde no huviere bastantes Confessionarios, se hagan unos cancelillos de madera con su Rejilla, y por ella se Confiesen, estando de la otra parte el Confessor, sentado en silla, o en banco. [...] [Y] assi mismo estando el Confessor, ó Confesores en las Capillas de la Iglesia que caen al cuerpo de ella, sentados de la parte de adentro de la Reja, y esta cerrada, y las mugeres de la parte de afuera en el cuerpo de dicha Iglesia, mediando una zelosia, ó cancel, podrán confessarlas.⁶⁴⁵

enough confessionals, some wooden partitions with their grid will be made, and through it they will confess, the confessor being on the other side, sitting on a chair, or bench. [...] And also being the confessor, or confessors in the chapels of the church that overlook its body, seated in the inside part of the grid, and this closed, and the women in the outside part, in the body of said church, mediating a lattice, or partition, they will be able to confess them.

In the letter attached to this edict, the Mexican inquisitors urged Fr. Bustillo to read the document publicly on a holiday and to post it later on the door of the main church, so that all parishioners could read it. Once this was done, the inquisitors ordered the commissioner:

que pasados ocho días de la publicazion de d[ic]ho edicto haga q[ue] el notario vea y reconozca si en el cuerpo de d[ic]ha Yglesia se an puesto los confesonarios segun y en la forma que se manda y no haviendose êxecutado se notificara al cura que luego y sin dilazion alguna los ponga con

that eight days after the publication of such edict, he must have the notary see and acknowledge whether the confessionals have been placed in the body of said church in the manner prescribed, and not having executed this, the priest will be notified that later, and without any delay, he must

⁶⁴⁵ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, "Edicto de fe de 1713 sobre los confesionarios," in Mexico, 24 March 1713, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 0811-5890, Exp. 3, 1r. Although the document I consulted is from 1713, it includes the previous edict of 1710, undoubtedly the one sent by the Mexican inquisitors to the Marianas in their letter of 1711 that I will refer below.

aperzebimiento de q[ue] por este Santo oficio se prozedera contra el a lo que hubiere lugar y de lo q[ue] en esta razon executare nuestro comissario nos dara quenta.”⁶⁴⁶

display them [the confessionals] with the warning that this Holy Office will proceed against him for what it may ensue, and our commissioner will give us an account of what he will execute in this respect.

The inquisitors, hence, sought to avoid the crime of solicitation in the Mariana Islands by relocating the confessionals in more visible and illuminated places and defining the positions that confessor and penitent should occupy in them. A similar version of this edict had already been published in 1668 and reissued, with some modifications, in 1679, 1692 and 1710. The inquisitors’ concern about the location of confessionals reveals, once again, the role of space as a catalyst for the crime of solicitation. Indeed, the materiality of the confession-box and its position within the church configured an entanglement in which different factors—silence, darkness, the reverence of the act, the proximity of bodies, the whispered voices—converged to originate a climate of intimacy that some priests employed to sexually “solicite” or abuse their parishioners. Despite the inquisitors’ efforts, confessionals maintained their role as enablers of the crime of solicitation over the years, and in 1783 a new edict was issued in which materiality became once again one of the key factors in combating this crime:

Que no se confiesen Mugeressino en Confesonarios cerrados con puertecillas propias; de modo, que el Confesor quede sin que pueda alguna por casualidad, inadvertencia, ó de intento tocar ó ser tocada de sus pies; y las rexillas que necesariamente han de tener á los lados estén

That women should not be confessed but in closed confessionals with their own doors; so that the confessor is unable by any chance, inadvertence, or attempt to touch, or be the woman touched by, her feet; and the grids that must necessarily have on the sides must

⁶⁴⁶ Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio Palacio, “Carta al comisario de las Islas Marianas, el reverendo padre Lorenzo Bustillo,” in Mexico, 10 March 1711, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 650, Exp. 2, 236v-237r.

dispuestas en tal manera, que se perciban las voces sin que quepan por sus huecos, ó taladros los dedos y mucho menos las manos.⁶⁴⁷ be arranged in such a way that voices are perceived without fitting through their holes, or drilled holes, the fingers, and much less the hands.

According to archival evidence, these inquisitorial edicts fulfilled their purpose in the Mariana Islands, since for the Jesuit period there are no reports on solicitation cases. However, after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the archipelago and with the arrival of a new religious order, one case came to light that stands out for its political implications: that of the Jesuit Francisco Xavier (Franz) Reitemberger. His inquisitorial file, analyzed by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa,⁶⁴⁸ began with the briefing order (*auto informativo*) opened by Fray Andrés Blázquez de San Joseph in 1774. Blázquez de San Joseph, the first Augustinian Recollect who served as commissioner of the Holy Office in the Marianas, accused Fr. Reitemberger of having maintained a licentious conduct with some women of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light. The inquisitorial trial was conducted even though the accused had died in October 1767, seven years before the first procedure against him was prepared. Coello de la Rosa argues that the trial took place despite the death of Fr. Reitemberger because the inquisitors' aim was not only to investigate his alleged licentious conduct towards the congregants; besides, within the climate of "suspicion" against the Ignatian order of that time, the prosecution against Fr. Reitemberger contributed to further discredit the reputation of the Society of Jesus, an order suspect of maintaining a "relaxed" and "accommodative" morality.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco Antonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, "Edicto de fe de 1713 sobre los confesionarios," in Mexico, 24 March 1713, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 0811-5890, Exp. 3, 1r. Although the document I consulted is from 1713, it includes the previous edict of 1710, undoubtedly the one sent by the Mexican inquisitors to the Marianas in their letter of 1711, and the one that I will refer to below.

⁶⁴⁸ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras: la efímera congregación de Nuestra Señora de la Luz en las islas Marianas (1758-1776)," in *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar. Siglos XVI-XX*, eds. Alexandre Coello, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2012), 223-55.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 244-5.

Unfortunately, the complete prosecution against Fr. Reitterberger is not preserved. However, his case can be reconstructed from two documents: a copy of the closing arguments of the trial, held at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid, and the prosecution against friars Andrés de San Joseph and Antonio de la Concepción, located at the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico. These friars were accused of breaking the sacramental seal (*sigilo sacramental*) by disclosing the abuses committed by Fr. Reitterberger that the congregants entrusted to them during confession. As I exposed above, women abused by the German Jesuit belonged to the Congregation of Our Lady of Light, which he had founded in the Mariana Islands on May 10, 1758.⁶⁵⁰ The main purpose of this Congregation was to venerate the Lady of Light or of *Lumen*, and its members followed sixteen rules that established the norms of conduct of the congregants and their hierarchy. These rules were once considered lost, since Fr. Andrés de San Joseph claimed to have burned them “by his own hands, with the anger that was renewed in his memory every time he looked at them,”⁶⁵¹ which shows his profound aversion towards the Congregation. However, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa found a copy of the original rules in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico, which allowed him to reconstruct the organization and endeavors of the Congregation members. The author claims that several congregants were married to captains, sergeants and soldiers of the garrison, so one of their duties was to morally oversee the conducts of their relatives and neighbors, “taking upon themselves the role of faithful guardians of the kind of religiosity and ‘public morals’ espoused by the Council of Trent.”⁶⁵²

Most of the abuses committed by Fr. Reitterberger against the CHamoru and Mestizo women of the Congregation occurred during the 1760s.⁶⁵³ Decades later, the Discalced Augustinian Tomás de Santa Rita was appointed delegate (*delegado*) of the case, with the mandate to

⁶⁵⁰ Coello de la Rosa, “Luces y sombras,” 228.

⁶⁵¹ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger,” after 1778, Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereinafter AHN), Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 7v, *por sus propias manos, por la colera q[ue] cada vez q[ue] las miraba se renovaba en su memoria.*

⁶⁵² Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 303.

⁶⁵³ Coello de la Rosa, “Luces y sombras,” 241.

collect evidence and testimonies against the German Jesuit in the islands. To this end, Fr. Santa Rita prepared 26 questions that he posed to 39 witnesses, all of them between the ages of 25 and 60, and of which 28 were women from Hagåtña and members of the Congregation of Lumen.⁶⁵⁴ However, not all the women examined had suffer the same kind of abuses nor, with all certainty, did the Augustinian friar examine every woman assaulted by Fr. Reitterberger. As Coello de la Rosa claims, “[m]ore likely than not, many other women who did not appear in the official records were also victims of Fr. Reitterberger’s misconduct.”⁶⁵⁵ Taking into account that not all women had the opportunity to testify, and that only a small part of the procedure against Fr. Reitterberger has been preserved, the testimonies that I have consulted represent only the tip of a much larger iceberg.

These testimonies, offered by congregants from Hagåtña, Malessó, and Págu, prove that Fr. Reitterberger assaulted them taking advantage of the intimacy originated during the spiritual exercises that took place inside chapels—such as that of the Our Lady of Sorrows—or in the house of the Jesuit’s steward.⁶⁵⁶ In this sense, it is worth recalling that inquisitorial edicts ordered “that priests, and other secular clerics, should not confess in their homes, but publicly in churches and sacristies.”⁶⁵⁷ By abusing the congregants, Fr. Reitterberger also disobeyed this inquisitorial mandate, even though in 1755 he had been appointed third commissioner of the Holy Office in the islands and since 1760 he served as notary of that institution.⁶⁵⁸ In addition, the places where Fr. Reitterberger abused his congregants—such as chapels and his steward’s house—represent one more example of the relevance of space as an enabler of certain sexual behaviors, in this case

⁶⁵⁴ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger,” after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 1v.

⁶⁵⁵ Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 321.

⁶⁵⁶ Coello de la Rosa, “Luces y sombras,” 252.

⁶⁵⁷ Joseph Cienfuegos, Francisco de Garzarón and Francisco OAntonio de Palacio y del Hoyo, “Edicto de fe de 1713 sobre los confesionarios,” in Mexico, 24 March 1713, AGN, Mexico City, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 0811-5890, Exp. 3, 1r, *que los Curas, y demás Clerigos Seculares no Confessassen en sus Casas, sino en las Iglesias, y Sacristias, publicamente.*

⁶⁵⁸ See Tables 6.1 and 6.2.

by producing the intimacy that the German Jesuit needed to force his victims and prevent his assaults from coming to light. When, during the procedure against the Augustinian Recollects Andrés de San Joseph and Antonio de la Concepción, Fr. Santa Rita asked the witnesses if the abuses committed by the Jesuit were public or if, on the contrary, no one knew about them—and, therefore, the friars could only have known them through confession and were guilty of breaking the sacramental seal—the delegate claimed that:

quasi todas las testigos contestan almost all the witnesses answer
q[ue] d[ic]has cosas están ocultas, that these things are hidden,
pues como entraban las mugeres since, as women entered one by
una por una, y estas no decian a one, and did not tell their
sus compañeras cosa alg[un]a de companions anything about
lo q[ue] el reo executaba con cada what the prisoner executed with
una, ni aun a sus propios each one of them, not even to
maridos; de aquí es q[ue] se their own husbands; Hence, they
persuaden q[ue] d[ic]hos excesos are convinced that these excesses
estan ocultos, y q[ue] nada se ha are hidden, and that nothing has
hablado en el publico de ellos.⁶⁵⁹ been said in public about them.

To ensure the silence of his victims, Fr. Reitemberger relied on his authority and on certain practices of coercion. For instance, as founder of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light, he could decide on the acceptance or expulsion of its members.⁶⁶⁰ Likewise, as confessor of most of the congregants he abused, the German Jesuit had the capacity to grant or deny them God's forgiveness, a power he certainly used to coerce the victims and prevent them from reporting his aggressions.

The declarations of the CHamoru and Mestizo women assaulted by Fr. Reitemberger shed light on the different abuses perpetrated by him. Before delving into the particularities of such aggressions, I consider it necessary to reflect on the historical and ethical implications of reproducing the names and testimonies of the victims in this academic

⁶⁵⁹ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, "Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitemberger," after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 3v.

⁶⁶⁰ Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras," 246.

work. The complete declarations given by these women to Fr. Santa Rita have not been preserved. Nevertheless, some of them were partially reproduced in the closing arguments of the trial, as well as in the prosecution against friars Andrés de San Joseph and Antonio de la Concepción. Although incomplete, these excerpts are quite explicit in detailing the abuses suffered by the congregants. For instance, while interrogating Fray Andrés de San Joseph, the delegate Fray Tomás de Santa Rita asked him:

<p>si sabe por confesion q[ue] el P[adre] Xavier mandava poner en quatro pies a las mugeres; y que el susodicho Padre metia la cabeza y lamia la parte verenda de la mujer, y que despues la mandava postrar en cruz, otras veces de rodillas, y que hacia cierto lavatorio con el paño de los mocos mojado con saliva en sus partes, y atras [...].⁶⁶¹</p>	<p>if he knows through confession that Fr. Xavier ordered the women to get on all fours; and that the aforementioned Father would stick his head in and lick the woman's private part, and that later he would order her to lie down like a cross, other times on her knees, and that he would wash her parts, and behind, with the snot rag soaked with saliva [...].</p>
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The expression “private part” (*parte verenda*) was frequently used by confessors, inquisitors and “solicited” women in New Spain to refer to the genitals, especially to those of women.⁶⁶² According to Zeb Tortorici, the “impulse” of the inquisitorial authorities—in this case of Fray Tomás de Santa Rita—to conduct an overly detailed record of those testimonies related to a sexual crime constituted an act of “historical voyeurism.”⁶⁶³ In the words of transfeminist Itziar Ziga, “the guardians of morals and good customs are very morbid.”⁶⁶⁴ The explicitness of the inquisitorial officials when transcribing testimonies of sexual crimes challenges the *elusive discourse* that, as I pointed out in Chapter 2, characterizes most of the texts on sexual issues written by missionaries in colonial contexts. On the other hand, the procedures of

⁶⁶¹ Fray Tomás de Santa Rita, “Examen al padre Andrés de San Joseph,” in Agaña, 8 July 1774, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1162, Exp. 2, 63r-63v.

⁶⁶² González Marmolejo, *Sexo y confesión*, 149.

⁶⁶³ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 80-2.

⁶⁶⁴ Itziar Ziga, *Devenir perra* (Barcelona: Editorial Melusina, 2009), 22.

the Holy Office on sexual crimes are so thorough and explicit because every detail was useful to the inquisitors in determining the juridical “truth” of each case.⁶⁶⁵ By reading and paraphrasing those documents, researchers working on such crimes, including myself, also act as historical voyeurs. In my view, there are two ways to mitigate the negative effects of such historical voyeurism: on the one hand, avoiding the literal transcription of the most explicit fragments on sexuality and violence of the inquisitorial documents; on the other, reproducing them along with their context, that is, stating the particular circumstances in which such documents were elaborated, in order to make both historian and reader, at least, critical voyeurs.

According to the foregoing observations, I have dithered whether to disclose the names and testimonies of the CHamoru and Mestizo women abused by Fr. Reitterberger in this work. I consider that the uncritical reproduction of their names and declarations could result in a double victimization,⁶⁶⁶ as they would be depicted as passive victims with no capacity for resilience against the aggressions they suffered, when the archival evidence suggests the opposite. As authors working on sexual assaults in colonial contexts argue, transcribing the victims’ testimonies, including the most explicit details, without offering the context in which they were uttered and recorded, can lead to a privatization and sexualization of their experiences, displacing them from the public and political to the private sphere. This displacement is very common in rape cases, in which the experience of violence is often privatized, masking its public nature.⁶⁶⁷ In this regard, I consider that the assaults perpetrated by Fr. Reitterberger constitute an example of ethnosexual violence, as defined in the previous chapter, for two reasons: first, because the congregants abused by the German Jesuit were CHamoru or Mestizo women and, as a consequence, those abuses had an ethnic component; and, second, because the violence practiced against such women, although exercised by sexual means, had a political, power-related aim: to grant Fr. Reitterberger complete

⁶⁶⁵ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 51.

⁶⁶⁶ Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres*, 46.

⁶⁶⁷ Natalia Cabanillas, “Incorporando la nación: mujeres africanas ante la Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación sudafricana,” *Nómadas* 38 (2013): 109.

sovereignty⁶⁶⁸ over the congregants and their bodies, as discussed further below. Therefore, it is not enough to represent the victims' moral pain, that is, to reproduce their testimonies stripped of context, but rather, in cases such as that of the members of the Congregation of Lumen, it is also necessary to account for their role as political actors,⁶⁶⁹ as women who discovered their political capacity to intervene and denounce their aggressor.

Considering the above, I have decided to reproduce the names and testimonies of the women abused by Fr. Reitterberger for two reasons. The first one is to show how they became political subjects by denouncing their aggressor in front of a tribunal, with the conviction that his misconduct would ultimately entail judicial consequences for him. Transcribing the names of these women also constitute an act of historical reparation, since, as stated by Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori, "extraordinarily androcentric Spanish historical documents [...] mention no more than a handful of women by name."⁶⁷⁰ Similarly, mentioning their names and testimonies is a form of acknowledging "[t]he power" or, at least, the agency "held by ordinary women in Chamorro society."⁶⁷¹ Finally, it is also a way of acknowledging their contribution to the history of the Mariana Islands in a case as relevant as Fr. Reitterberger's trial, in which phenomena such as the vilification and expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the territories of the Spanish empire and the search for legitimation of the new religious orders that occupied such territories converged.⁶⁷²

Coello de la Rosa claims that, by denouncing Fr. Reitterberger, the congregants "challenged Spanish patrilineal standards of reference."⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁸ Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres*, 18.

⁶⁶⁹ Rita Laura Segato, Interview with Mariana Carbajal. "El problema de la violencia sexual es político, no moral." Entrevista a la antropóloga Rita Segato, una estudiosa de la violencia machista." *Página/12*, 18 December, 2018. Accessed September 30, 2021. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/162518-el-problema-de-la-violencia-sexual-es-politico-no-moral>

⁶⁷⁰ Anne Pérez Hattori, "Textbook Tells: Gender, Race, and Decolonizing Guam History Textbooks in the 21st Century," *AlterNative* 14, no. 2 (2018): 179.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶⁷² Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras," 242.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid.*, 9; Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Gathering Souls: Jesuit Missions and Missionaries in Oceania (1668-1945)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 80.

However, the author does not delve into the specific ways in which they challenged those standards. From my perspective, the interest of the case of women abused by Fr. Reitterberger lies in the fact that they decided to denounce their aggressor, revealing the aggressions they had suffered and kept silent for years. In this, they differed from other CHamoru and Mestizo women, such as the ones sexually and physically assaulted by Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel and his lieutenants and mayors who, as I stated in the previous chapter, were not provided with the opportunity to testify during the trial opened against the governor and his subordinates. The possibility and willingness to denounce their aggressor is what displaces the female members of the Congregation from the category of victims, placing them as political subjects, and it is precisely their willingness to denounce what constitutes the second reason why I have decided to disclose their names and declarations in this work. As I have stated above, Fr. Reitterberger succeeded in preventing the congregants from denouncing his licentious behavior by using his authority as confessor and founder of the Congregation. In fact, I have also claimed that some congregants declared that the abuses were so hidden that even their husbands ignored them.⁶⁷⁴ Some of these women, such as María Thenorio, declared in 1769 that they had never spoken about Fr. Reitterberger's aggressions because they were afraid of revealing the abuses they suffered.⁶⁷⁵ As the new confessors of the congregants, the Recollects possibly attempted to influence their testimonies by instilling in them thoughts contrary to the Jesuits. The more the reputation of the Society of Jesus was damaged, the more legitimacy they would gain to operate in the archipelago.⁶⁷⁶ However, beyond the influence of their confessors, I consider that the act of testifying and disclosing the abuses they suffered shows the courage of these women, who were able to overcome their fear and give a declaration with which to incriminate their aggressor. It is also in

⁶⁷⁴ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, "Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger," after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 3v.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 6r.

⁶⁷⁶ Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras," 244-5.

recognition of that courage that I have decided to reproduce their names and accounts in this work.

As noted above, the complete file of the trial against Fr. Reitemberger has not survived until the present. Lacking the summary part of his prosecution, it is not possible to trace all the questions prepared by Fr. Santa Rita, nor the complete answers offered by the 39 witnesses he examined. However, some of their testimonies are briefly reproduced in the closing arguments of the trial. According to this document, 10 of the 28 congregants examined expressed that they were abused in different ways by Fr. Reitemberger: Susana del Castillo, María Delgado, Rosa Garrido, María Nanagota, Juana Ramírez, Antonia de los Ríos, Josepha Tatacon, Teresa Tenorio, María Thenorio, and Theresa Torres. Undoubtedly, the number of congregants assaulted by the Jesuit was higher, although the closing arguments of the trial only mention the names of these ten women.

A critical analysis of the testimonies reproduced in the aforementioned document requires the acknowledgement of the different filters that detach them from the actual experiences of the witnesses. The first bias comes from the women themselves who, when testifying in front of Fray Tomás de Santa Rita, elaborated a version of the events distorted by various factors, such as the influence of their new confessors or the years that had passed since they suffered the abuses. The second bias stems from Fr. Santa Rita himself who, when examining these women, did not record their testimonies literally, but using the usual procedures and formulas of the time, as revealed by the standardization of the written testimonies and by the recurrence of certain expressions, such as “private parts” (*partes verendas*). In the words of Zeb Tortorici, “[i]n the space between that which is perceived through the senses and that which is subsequently represented as having been seen or heard or felt, we find all manner of misinscription.”⁶⁷⁷ In addition to this second bias or misinscription, some evidence suggests that the declarations reproduced in the closing arguments of the trial were sifted through a final filter. For instance, according to this document, Antonia de los Ríos declared that “when the prisoner cleaned her private part with

⁶⁷⁷ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 49.

saliva or a rag, he would say: Most Holy Virgin, do not allow the Devil's temptation, or any bad thing, to reach this creature."⁶⁷⁸ This fragment is very similar to another one, reproduced above,⁶⁷⁹ from the interrogation that Fr. Santa Rita elaborated for Fray Andrés de San Joseph. Despite the similarities between the fragments—both indicate that Fr. Reitterberger cleaned the parts of one of the congregants with saliva and a rag—, there are also differences between the two: the first mentions that the Jesuit called upon the Virgin and the Demon during the abuses, while the second indicates that he ordered the woman to prostrate on her knees or like a cross. The fact that both texts share similarities, but also differences, leads me to suggest that they draw from the same source, much more extensive and detailed: the original declarations of the congregants recorded by Fr. Santa Rita during the summary part of the prosecution against Fr. Reitterberger. Later, Fr. Santa Rita himself based the interrogation for Fr. Andrés de San Joseph on those original testimonies, and the Mexican inquisitors also relied on the same source to compose the closing arguments of the trial. The third filter that these testimonies passed through was, therefore, that of the Mexican inquisitors, who reproduced in a less extensive and less detailed way the content of the original declarations transcribed by Fr. Santa Rita.

Although all these biases and the ensuing misinscriptions detach the declarations from the original experiences of the women, their testimonies provide evidence of the different physical and sexual abuses disclosed by the congregants and of the contexts in which the aggressions took place. For instance, the aforementioned testimony of Antonia de los Ríos shows how Fr. Reitterberger coerced his victims by claiming that there was no sin in the abuses he infringed on them. On the contrary, the Jesuit stated that his physical contact with the congregants kept them away from “the Devil's temptation, or any bad

⁶⁷⁸ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger,” after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 2r, *q[uando] el reo la limpiaba con saliva ó pannelo la parte verenda, decia: virgen santissima no permitais q[ue] à esta criatura lleguen tentaciones del Demonio, ni cosa mala.*

⁶⁷⁹ See page 245 in this thesis.

thing.”⁶⁸⁰ The same witness professed that the Jesuit told her once that “the prisoner touched her in a similar way as Christ did with the Magdalene, to cast seven demons, or seven sins out of her.”⁶⁸¹ Father Reitterberger used this allegory with several of the congregants, comparing himself with the figure of Christ and the victim with Mary Magdalene. María Thenorio also assured that “the touching that the prisoner had with her was in imitation of that which Christ had with the Magdalene,”⁶⁸² and, similarly, Theresa Torres expressed that “when the prisoner touched her private parts, he told her not to fear any of these things or to be scandalized because Christ had done the same with the Magdalene.”⁶⁸³ In short, Fr. Reitterberger referred to the Magdalene and to her relationship with Christ to claim that his “excesses” entailed no sin, thus coercing his victims and preventing them from making his abuses public.

Apart from the figure of Mary Magdalene, Fr. Reitterberger employed other discursive resources to coerce his victims, such as the allegedly purging and redeeming power of his hands and lips. For instance, Theresa Tenorio stated that “the prisoner told her that by attending the exercises in the Chapel of Sorrows she would have no more sin, because at the contact of his sacred hands all evil would flee.”⁶⁸⁴ Similarly, Josepha Tatacon recounted that on one occasion Fr. Reitterberger mentioned “that in his consecrated hands no one could be condemned.”⁶⁸⁵ Finally, a third witness, María Delgado, declared something very similar: “whenever he licked such parts,⁶⁸⁶ the prisoner said that she would have no more sins if she cooperated with him in

⁶⁸⁰ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitemberger,” after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 2r, *tentaciones del Demonio, ni cosa mala*.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 2r, *tocamientos semejantes a los q[ue] el reo tenia con ella, havia tenido Christo con la Magdalena p[ara] echar de ella siete demonios, ó 7. pecados*.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 2r, *los tocamientos que tenia el reo con [ella] eran à imitacion de los q[ue] tuvo Christo con la Magdalena*.

⁶⁸³ Ibid., 2r, *q[quando] el reo la manoseaba sus partes verendas la decia, q[ue] de nada de estas cosas temiese ni se escandalizasse porq[ue] lo mismo havia hecho Christo con la Magdalena*.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., 2r, *la dixo el reo q[ue] asistiendo à los exercicios de la Capilla de Dolores no tendria mas pecado porq[ue] al contacto de sus sacras manos todo lo malo huiria*.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid., 2r, *que en sus manos consagradas ning[uno] se podia condenar*.

⁶⁸⁶ María Delgado, or, rather, Fr. Tomás de Santa Rita when transcribing her testimony, referred to the *private* parts (*partes verendas*), that is, to her genitals.

such exercises, because wherever he put his hands, and sacred lips, no bad thing could enter.”⁶⁸⁷

Another formula used by Fr. Reitterberger to convince the congregants that his sexual abuses were not sinful was to compare himself to a mother who cared for her daughters. In this sense, Juana Ramírez explained that the Jesuit:

en casa de su mayordomo en el Pueblo de Agat las mandaba desnudar, y echarse en el suelo boca arriba, y sacando el reo una vasija de agua, las lababa todo el cuerpo diciendolas, q[ue] assi como una Madre lava el cuerpo de su hijita del mismo modo lo hacia el reo con todas las q[ue] entraban en aquel ejercicio. ⁶⁸⁸	at his steward’s house, in the town of Agat, he ordered them strip naked, and to lie on the ground on their backs, and taking the prisoner a vessel of water, he would wash their entire body, telling them that just as a Mother washes the body of her little daughter, the prisoner did the same with all those who joined that exercise.
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Congregant Susana del Castillo also alluded to those “whases,” specifying that they first took place in the house of the Jesuit’s steward and later, after the demolition of such building, in the church in the town of Hâgat.⁶⁸⁹

Father Reitterberger’s violence against the members of the Congregation was not always sexual, but also physical—or a combination of both. María Nanagota expressed in her testimony that the Jesuit “used to hit her with a key in the teeth, ears, eyes, and hands, telling her that this way he washed away her sins.”⁶⁹⁰ Witness number 30, whose name is not mentioned in the closing arguments of the trial,

⁶⁸⁷ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger,” after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 2r, *decía el reo quando lamia dichas partes, q[ue] ya no tendria mas pecados si cooperaba con el à d[ic]hos ejercicios, porq[ue] donde ponía sus manos, y labios sagrados, no podía entrar cosa mala.*

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 2r-2v.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., 2v.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 2v, *la daba con una llave en los dientes, oídos, ojos, y manos, diciendola q[ue] assi la quitaba los pecados.*

alleged the same as María Nanagota, adding that “with the same key, he twisted her hair and pulled it out, saying that this was how Santa Rosalía did it.”⁶⁹¹ As Rita Segato points out, both sexual abuse and physical torture are violence “whose purpose is the expression of absolute control of one will over another.”⁶⁹² The physical aggressions referred by the last two witnesses, together with the sexual assaults mentioned by all the previous ones, reflect the sovereignty that the Jesuit aimed at exercising over the bodies of the congregants.

The members of the Congregation also denounced a practice that, although not as violent as those previously exposed, also intruded upon the women’s bodies. Antonia de los Ríos, who denounced the “touching” she suffered by the German Jesuit, also alleged that he cut the hair of some women and took it to the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows, where he poured some holy water in it and prayed.⁶⁹³ Juana Ramírez recounted that “out of fear of her husband, she did not allow the prisoner to cut off the hair on her head, and the hair on her parts, and for this reason the prisoner expelled her from the Congregation.”⁶⁹⁴ Juana Ramírez’s testimony shows, on the one hand, that Fr. Reitemberger not only cut the congregants’ head-hair, but also their pubic hair, which indicates the sexual character that the Jesuit attributed to this practice; on the other hand, it suggests the power of coercion of the German priest, who was able to expel from the Congregation those women who opposed his abuses.

Finally, the testimonies of these CHamoru and Mestizo women show that Fr. Reitemberger was not the only Jesuit who abused the members of the Congregation of Lumen. Rosa Garrido stated that, being in the house of Fr. Rafael Canicia’s steward, in the town of Malesso’, this Jesuit attempted to cut her nails and perform “other less modest actions”⁶⁹⁵ with her. According to archival evidence, this Jesuit from Alicante,

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., 2v.

⁶⁹² Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres*, 39.

⁶⁹³ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, “Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitemberger,” after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 2r.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid., 2r, *por temor à su marido no quiso permitir q[ue] el reo la cortasse el pelo de la cabeza, y bello de sus partes, y por esto la echó el reo de la Congregacion.*

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., 5v-6r, *y otras acciones menos recatadas.*

Spain, had founded the Congregation of Our Lady of Light in the aforementioned village of Malesso', southwest of Guâhan.⁶⁹⁶ The alleged spiritual exercises that Frs. Reitterberger and Canicia performed with the congregants, therefore, served both as pretexts and contexts to their abuses.

It is striking that the physical and sexual abuses perpetrated by both Jesuits went unnoticed by the rest of their companions. No action was taken against such aggressions, at least not prior to the death of Fr. Reitterberger, which means that the rest of the Jesuits in the archipelago were either unaware of his crimes or decided to cover them up and remain silent. The prosecution against friars Andrés de San Joseph and Antonio de la Concepción sheds some light in this regard. As both Augustinian Recollects were tried for having broken the sacramental seal, it was necessary for their prosecutors to determine if the Jesuit's abuses were public knowledge on the islands or if, on the contrary, the friars learned of them during confession. When the solicited women were examined, their testimonies revealed that several Jesuits were fully aware of the abuses committed by Fr. Reitterberger. However, they chose to cover them up and advise the congregants to stop dealing with him, even though the German priest could continue abusing other women. For instance, when Susana Ramírez denounced Fr. Reitterberger in front of Frs. Francisco Xavier Urfahrer and Francisco Xavier Stengel, they told her that "there was no sin" in what their compatriot did, recommending that she confess to another father.⁶⁹⁷ This response is even more striking considering that Frs. Urfahrer and Stengel became first commissioners of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, in 1755 and 1767 respectively. Instead of denouncing the crimes committed by Fr. Reitterberger to the inquisitors, they ignored the inquisitorial procedures and suggested to the solicited woman that she change her confessor. Besides, Frs. Urfahrer and Stengel were not the only Jesuits aware of the "excesses" of Fr. Reitterberger. Father Wolfgang Steimbeck, vice-provincial and first commissioner of the Holy Office in the archipelago, became

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5r.

⁶⁹⁷ Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras," 242.

conscious of the crimes of his compatriot and, rather than denouncing him to the Inquisition, he decided to take more drastic—albeit less effective—measures, such as demolishing the house of Fr. Reitterberger's steward, where some of the abuses took place.⁶⁹⁸ Father Steimbeck's decision is another example of the relevance of space when it comes to enabling or hindering certain sexual practices, and also recalls the drastic desire of the Jesuits to demolish houses to end certain sexual behaviors, as in the case of the *guma' ulitao siha* during the previous century.

The abuses committed by Fr. Reitterberger became allegedly so well known that even certain husbands objected to their wives becoming congregants, to prevent them from being sexually assaulted.⁶⁹⁹ Despite the notoriety of the Jesuit's "excesses," his companions covered them up, an attitude relatively frequent among the religious orders at the time. The inquisitorial instructions in New Spain requested that soliciting priests "should never be disclosed in public, because of the damage and scandal that can be followed and the acedia that some would feel against confessors, fearing that these events would happen to their wives and daughters."⁷⁰⁰ Even though certain inquisitorial instructions dictated that solicitation cases should not become public, this does not mean that they should remain unprosecuted or unpunished. In this sense, the case of Fr. Reitterberger shows the commissioners' conflicts of loyalty in the Mariana Islands: Fathers Steimbeck, Urfahrer, and Stengel, all of them first commissioners of the Holy Office, did not denounce their companion and, instead, covered up his abuses against the congregants. One of the reasons why commissioners concealed Fr. Reitterberger's aggressions was to safeguard the reputation of the Society of Jesus and

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 252.

⁶⁹⁹ Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Mexico, "Alegación fiscal del proceso de fe de Francisco Javier Reitterberger," after 1778, AHN, Madrid, Inquisición, 3730, Exp. 149, 1r-8v, 3v.

⁷⁰⁰ "Materias prácticas en delitos y causas de fe, con observación de algunos casos particulares que trabajó y estudió el señor Doctor Isidro de San Vicente, que fue del Consejo Supremo de Inquisición y tiene algunas adiciones, Solicitantes..." AGN, Mexico City, Riva Palacio, tomo 9, f. 62, quoted in Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 73, *nunca salen en público, por el daño y escándalo que de ello se puede seguir y la acedia con que algunos estarían con los confesores, temiendo en sus mujeres e hijas estos sucesos.*

of their mission in the archipelago. With their silence, they demonstrated that their loyalty remained first with their order, and not so much with the Holy Office, of which they were commissioners out of duty rather than by personal choice. In short, the concealment of Fr. Reitemberger's abuses by the rest of the Jesuits led to a double victimization of the congregants, whose denunciations were ignored or, at best, underestimated until the arrival of the Augustinian Recollects to the islands.

The sentence against Fr. Reitemberger is unknown.⁷⁰¹ However, all archival evidence indicates that Fr. Reitemberger used his authority to abuse various members of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light. Both the cover-up of the aggressions by his Jesuit companions and the inquisitorial prosecution opened against him constitute, in short, another example of the strategic and political use that allegations of sexual abuse received in the Mariana archipelago. The omissions, delays and procedures that surround Fr. Reitemberger's case show, once again, that sexuality constituted an essential gear in the modern colonial apparatus.

Sodomy

Of all the sins of lust (*lujuria*), sodomy was considered the most serious, constituting a sin against nature.⁷⁰² Along with bestiality and masturbation, the practice of sodomy was an offense against nature since it was performed with no reproductive purpose: sodomites wasted the seed of procreation by pouring it out of the "proper vessel," that is, the vagina.⁷⁰³ However, the Holy Office did not prosecute this sexual crime in all jurisdictions. In 1509, the *Suprema* ordered the inquisitorial tribunals not to interfere in sodomy cases unless they involved some kind of overt heresy or heretical proposition, such as those priests

⁷⁰¹ Coello de la Rosa, "Luces y sombras," 253.

⁷⁰² Úrsula Camba Ludlow, "El pecado nefando en los barcos de la carrera de Indias en el siglo XVI. Entre la condena moral y la tolerancia," in *Presencias y miradas del cuerpo en la Nueva España*, ed. Estela Roselló Soberón (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011), 111.

⁷⁰³ Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 4-5.

soliciting other men during confession, or those criminals who affirmed that sodomy was not a sin.⁷⁰⁴ The only inquisitorial tribunals that retained jurisdiction over sodomy were those of the kingdom of Aragon, in the cities and municipalities of Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, Valencia and Zaragoza; in the rest of enclaves of the Spanish empire, the nefarious sin was generally judged by ordinary ecclesiastical or civil courts.⁷⁰⁵

Sodomy in New Spain, therefore, concerned the Holy Office only if its practice involved some heretical act. Although these cases were scarce, it is significant that some researches on the inquisitorial activity in New Spain—otherwise brilliant and very complete—ignore this sin, such as the voluminous work of historian Solange Alberro, in which sodomy appears only once, in a footnote.⁷⁰⁶ This omission is an example of what anthropologist Will Roscoe terms “homoamnesia,” that is, the systematic oversight, from modern missionaries to current scholars, of non-normative sexual behaviors, particularly same-sex sexuality.⁷⁰⁷ Fortunately, in the last years some studies have focused on bringing to light and analyzing the prosecutions related to sodomy held in the archives of the Holy Office in New Spain.⁷⁰⁸

In the Mariana Islands, the first mention—albeit implicit—of sodomy comes from the account of Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora. As I noted in section §3.2, this Franciscan friar claimed that CHamoru people of the early 17th century had never seen or heard anything about this “miserable custom,” and there was not even a word in their language to

⁷⁰⁴ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 268; Camba Ludlow, “El pecado nefando,” 113; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 13.

⁷⁰⁵ Carrasco, *Inquisición y represión sexual*, 11-2; Federico Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn. Prosecuting Sodomites in Early Modern Spain and Mexico* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003), 7; Camba Ludlow, “El pecado nefando,” 114; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*, 13.

⁷⁰⁶ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 72 footnote 8.

⁷⁰⁷ Will Roscoe, “Strange Craft, Strange History, Strange Folks: Cultural Amnesia and the Case for Lesbian and Gay Studies,” *American Anthropologist* 97 (3): 449.

⁷⁰⁸ Garza Carvajal, *Butterflies Will Burn*; Tortorici, *Sins against Nature*.

name it.⁷⁰⁹ According to Pobre de Zamora, Chamoru people's aversion to sodomy was such that if any of them committed a similar act, their relatives would kill him afterwards. One cannot be sure if Pobre de Zamora's words were actually related to what he heard during his stay on the Marianas or to his attempt to depict Chamorus as innocent barbarians, willing to receive the Christian doctrine. However, the truth is that there are no further reports on sodomy until several decades later, after the establishment of the Jesuit mission in the archipelago.

The first case of sodomy recorded in the Mariana Islands dates to 1676. That year, Fr. Francisco Gayoso noted in a letter that the captain of the militia had discovered that one of his soldiers had committed the *pecado nefando*. After making certain inquiries, this captain found the guilty soldier, and decided to try him. For this purpose, he first consulted the Jesuit Fathers if the sin was "worthy of death" (*digno de muerte*), and if the case belonged to the Inquisition.⁷¹⁰ It should be recalled that, at that time, the Tribunal of the Holy Office had not yet been established in the archipelago, and no Jesuit had been appointed commissioner. However, the missionaries replied that the sin deserved the maximum penalty, and that it did not concern the Inquisition, since that crime was only recognized by the tribunals of certain provinces. The anonymous soldier, whom Fr. Gayoso refers to as sergeant, was sentenced to death and garroted for being a sodomite (Figure 6.3).

⁷⁰⁹ Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, *Historia de la pérdida y descubrimiento del galeón "San Felipe"* (Ávila: Institución "Gran Duque de Alba" de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial de Ávila, 1997 [1603]), 446.

⁷¹⁰ Francisco Gayoso, "Carta del padre Francisco Gayoso para el padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de Filipinas en que se da cuenta de lo sucedido en la misión de las islas Marianas desde el año de 74 hasta el de 76," in Manila, 13 September 1676, ARSI, Rome, Philipp. 13, 201r-206v, 206r.



Figure 6.3. The Inca ruler Ataliba (Atahualpa), being garroted by the Spaniards in Cajamarca, 1533, from Bartolomé de las Casas, Theodor De Bry, Joos Van Winghe, Johannes Saur, Jay I. Kislak Collection, and Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, *Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam devastatarum verissima* (Francofurti: Sumptibus Theodori de Bry, & Ioannis Saurii typis, 1598), 86. Death by *garrote* consisted in the strangulation of the sentenced person through a rope that was tied around his or her throat and twisted using a stick until the neck broke.

Although the penalty for sodomy was, in theory, death, the application of these law was subject to the discretion of the civil courts, which often commuted the sentence to less severe punishments, such as exile.⁷¹¹ This commutation depended on various factors, such as the personal relationship between the authority and the sentenced person.⁷¹² In New Spain, civil authorities rarely sentenced sodomites to death. The captain's decision to execute the sergeant who had committed the

⁷¹¹ Molina, "La sodomía a bordo," 17-8.

⁷¹² Camba Ludlow, "El pecado nefando," 129.

nefarious sin by *garrote* stems from a rather inflexible position of the former towards sodomy, although it is not an isolated case.⁷¹³

There is a similar incident, although earlier in time, that remotely concerns the arrival of Europeans to the Mariana Islands. The first official death of the Magellan expedition—which would arrive on the Marianas shores in March 1521—was that of Maester (*maestre*) Antón Salamón. His demise did not result from the harsh conditions of the sea voyage, the food shortages or the poor hygienic conditions of the vessels. On the contrary, Salamón was sentenced to death by the captain general of the fleet, Fernando de Magallanes, for being a *somético*, that is, for having incurred the sin of sodomy.⁷¹⁴ The maester, who travelled aboard the ‘Victoria,’ was executed shortly after the expedition reached land on the Brazilian coast, on December 20, 1519. As in the case of the anonymous sergeant from the Marianas, the death of Maester Salamón shows his superior’s inflexible position towards the nefarious sin. Besides, the maester’s execution possibly played a strategic role within Magellan’s plans, since it was the trigger for the open hostilities between him and the general overseer (*veedor*) of the expedition, Juan de Cartagena, which had been imposed by the monarch much to the displeasure of the Portuguese captain. According to the interrogation of Juan Sebastián Elcano after the arrival of the expedition to Sanlúcar de Barrameda in September 1522, a conflict surrounding “the detention of a maester who had been arrested there for being a sodomite,”⁷¹⁵ led Magellan to detain Cartagena and deprive him of his captaincy and oversight (*veeduría*). This incident brought about a mutiny against the captain general perpetrated by Juan de Cartagena and other members of the expedition, which resulted in the dismemberment of most of them

⁷¹³ Ibid., 119.

⁷¹⁴ “Relacion de las personas q[ue] an fallido en la armada q[ue] el Emperador n[uest]ro señor enbio al descubrimi[ento] de la especieria de que es capitan general Fernando de Magallanes,” later than 14 July 1522, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R. 11, 1r-6v, 1r.

⁷¹⁵ “Información recibida por el alcalde de casa y corte, Santiago Díaz de Leguizamo, en que declaran el capitán de la nao ‘Victoria’ Juan Sebastián Elcano, Francisco Albo y Fernando de Bustamante, sobre distintos pormenores del viaje de la primera vuelta al mundo,” 18 October 1522, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R. 19, 1r, *la prision de un maestro que habian prendido alli por sodomético*.

and the abandonment of Cartagena in the port of San Julián.⁷¹⁶ The death of Antón Salamón is, therefore, another example of how certain civil authorities punished sodomy with death, as well as of how sexuality and sexual accusations played a strategic role within the interests of such authorities.

A few months after the execution of Maester Salamón, a young cabin boy (*grumete*) from the same vessel jumped into the water and drowned. The record of the expedition's death crew members specifies that this young man, named Antonio Ginovés, dove into the sea because "a lad had accused him of being a sodomite."⁷¹⁷ It is possible, then, that Ginovés was Antón Salamón's partaker—or victim—in the crime of sodomy, and that the captain general exonerated him because of his young age. Camba Ludlow states that, since the renowned *Partidas* of King Alfonso X, those who were forcibly sodomized and those under 14 years of age were acquitted of the *pecado nefando*.⁷¹⁸ The potential sodomite relationship between Antón Salamón and Antonio Ginovés fits into the pattern of same-sex encounters between seafarers in modern times, in which age and power relationships played a fundamental role.⁷¹⁹ Minors like Ginovés, being the most vulnerable and unprotected within the crews, were exposed to abuse and mistreatment by adults, although on infrequent occasions, same-sex relationships were consented to by both parties.⁷²⁰

Returning to the Mariana Islands, apart from the sergeant garroted for sodomy in 1676, no further record informs of this crime in the archipelago during the period of the Jesuit mission. It is not until 1775, once the Ignatian order had already been expelled from the islands, that

⁷¹⁶ Juan López de Recalde, "Copia de una carta de Juan López de Recalde [contador mayor de la Casa de la Contratación] dirigida [al obispo de Burgos, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca] sobre la Armada de la Especiería y otros asuntos de su competencia," in Seville, 12 May 1521, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R. 15.

⁷¹⁷ "Relacion de las personas q[ue] an fallido en la armada q[ue] el Emperador n[uest]ro señor enbio al descubrim[ento] de la especiería de que es capitan general Fernando de Magallanes," later than 14 July 1522, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R. 11, 1r-6v, 1v, *por q[ue] lo acusaria un moço que era sometico*.

⁷¹⁸ Camba Ludlow, "El pecado nefando," 113.

⁷¹⁹ Molina, "La sodomía a bordo," 15.

⁷²⁰ Camba Ludlow, "El pecado nefando," 129.

a new mention of sodomy appears in an inquisitorial document. The text in question is a letter from Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar, doctrinal minister of the village of Hâgat, addressed to the Senior Inquisitor of the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico. In that letter, the friar denounced his companions Fray Andrés de San Joseph and Fray Antonio de la Concepción for having broken the sacramental seal, that is, for having disclosed information they received from the penitents during confession. According to Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar, both Augustinians had repeatedly expressed that “the schoolboys of the school located in the city of Agaña are sodomites,”⁷²¹ information that they could only have learnt during confession, since neither of them formally denounced the boys—not even Fray Andrés de San Joseph, who was commissioner of the Holy Office in the archipelago. Likewise, Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar also denounced that both Fathers had broken the sacramental seal once again in relation to the case of solicitation committed by Fr. Francisco Xavier Reitterberger, on which he claimed that:

<p>hubo en esta ciudad de Agaña un Aleman individuo de la Compañia de Jesus q[ue] procuro sembrar algunos errores, y torpezas con capa de relig[ió]n. [...] [L]os q[ue] fueron complices del jesuita dicen q[ue] todo estava oculto y tanto q[ue] ninguno sabia lo q[ue] el jesuita hacia con otro; y por otra parte veo q[ue] estas cosas, nadie habla ni se sabe luego infiero q[ue] el decirlas los mencionados P[adr]es es valiendose de la confesion.⁷²²</p>	<p>in this city of Agaña there was a German, an individual from the Society of Jesus, who made some mistakes and missteps under the pretext of religion. [...] Those who were accomplices of the Jesuit say that everything was hidden, so much so that no one knew what the Jesuit was doing with the others; and, on the other hand, I see that no one speaks or knows about these things, then I infer that the aforementioned</p>
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⁷²¹ Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar. “Carta del padre Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar al inquisidor mayor del Tribunal de la Santa Inquisición de México,” in *Agat*, 5 June 1775, AGN, Mexico City, Inquisición 1162, Exp. 2, 57r-58v, 57r, *los colegiales del colegio q[ue] ai en esta ciudad de Agaña son sodomitas*.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 57r-57v.

Fathers say them based on confession.

Fray Pedro de la Virgen del Pilar finally denounced other bad practices of both Augustinian Fathers, for instance, he stated that one of them used confession to inquire about the lives of other priests, something that “made the sacrament of penance hateful.”⁷²³ The violation of the sacramental seal by Fray Andrés de San Joseph and Fray Antonio de la Concepción was so grave that it displaced the focus from the sodomite schoolboys of Hagåtña. Indeed, I have been unable to find any further document that shows whether those children were prosecuted for their crime, neither by the Holy Office—even though, in theory, it held no jurisdiction over sodomy in the Marianas—nor by another civil or ecclesiastical court. The schoolboys were probably exonerated, due to their young age, as happened in the abovementioned case of Antonio Ginovés. Lastly, sodomy was a crime rarely committed—or, at least, denounced—in the Mariana Islands, since over a century I have only found two reports on the commission of this sin. However, both cases reveal an ambiguous position towards sodomy: the execution of the sodomite sergeant in 1676 demonstrates an exacerbated severity on the part of the captain who tried him, while the indifference shown by the Augustinian Recollects towards the sodomite schoolboys of Hagåtña, in 1775, reveals a more indulgent position, possibly motivated by the offenders’ young age.

6.4. Conclusion

The Jesuit rule at the head of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands lasted 73 years. During that time, no denunciation was lodged for heresy, a crime for which, in the words of Fr. Baltasar de Mansilla, the Tribunal had been founded in the archipelago. However, the representatives of the Inquisition in the islands prosecuted other crimes inherent to the local context, such as minor religious crimes and bigamy. This adaptability allowed the Holy Office to survive for decades in the

⁷²³ Ibid., 58r, *hace odioso el sacramento de la penitencia*.

archipelago, despite the precarious conditions in which it developed its activity.

Throughout this chapter I have underscored some particularities of the Inquisition and its representatives in the Marianas. One of these idiosyncrasies is the deep gender bias regarding the people persecuted by the institution: during the almost three-quarters of a century of Jesuit management, all the denunciations and cases forwarded to the Novohispanic inquisitors were committed by men. In 1772, when the Society of Jesus had already been expelled from the islands and the Holy Office was in the hands of the Augustinian Recollects, the only case perpetrated by a woman was denounced: that of the bigamous María Cepeda. The reasons behind this gender difference are various. In the case of minor religious offenses—the most reported crime in the islands—Solange Alberro argues that men were more likely to utter them since they were more easily led by anger or provocation.⁷²⁴ Furthermore, the author claims that the more enclosed way of life of women, surrounded to a greater extent around the domestic sphere, protected them from being denounced for this crime, even when in their homes they could blaspheme as much as men. On the other hand, male preeminence in transgressions of sexual morality had two main causes: first, some crimes could only be committed by priests, that is, by men, such as solicitation or marriage among clergy. Second, those offenses in which geographical mobility played a fundamental role, such as bigamy, were mainly carried out by men since they embarked on transoceanic routes to a greater extent than women.

Crimes related to sexuality, although less numerous than minor religious offenses, attracted most of the inquisitors' attention. The analysis of these transgressions throughout this chapter has allowed me to define the conflictive, strategic, and public role that sexuality played within the activity of the Holy Office in the Mariana Islands. In the first place, the Inquisition triggered confrontations between the missionaries and some civil authorities of the archipelago, as in the cases of Governors Damián de Esplana and Juan Antonio Pimentel. Likewise, the prosecutions for bigamy and marriage among clergy against Pedro—Joseph—de

⁷²⁴ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 185.

Sandoval and Nicolás López—alias Juan Antonio de Retana—, both subordinates of Governor Pimentel, undoubtedly increased tensions between the latter and the representatives of the Holy Office in the islands. These disputes reveal that in the Marianas, as elsewhere, the colonizers did not constitute a homogeneous group, but rather different collectives with their own purposes and interests.

The Inquisition also unleashed conflicts among the clergy. First, the granting of commissioner dignities to the missionaries of the archipelago in 1682 and 1695 led to tensions between the inquisitors of Mexico and the Jesuits of the Philippines and the Marianas, as shown in the cases of Frs. Manuel de Solórzano and Lorenzo Bustillo. Once these disputes were overcome, the trial against Fr. Reitterberger revealed a new confrontation between the Holy Office and the Society of Jesus, in this case concerning loyalties: by covering up the sexual abuses of the German father against the congregants of Lumen, the rest of the Jesuits, especially those who served as commissioners of the Tribunal, prioritized their loyalty to the Ignatian order over the Inquisition. The case of Fr. Reitterberger also evinced a conflict of great political and religious significance: with his inquisitorial prosecution, the Augustinian Recollects attempted to damage the reputation of the Society of Jesus, which had just been expelled from the territories of the Spanish empire. Lastly, the relationships between the clergy and the Holy Office in the archipelago were not always conflictive; On the contrary, on occasions the inquisitorial authorities granted favorable treatment to other priests, as in the cases of Nicolás López who, despite having married while still an ordained friar, enjoyed the benevolence of the inquisitors, or that of Fr. Reitterberger, whose companions covered up his aggressions to prevent them from reaching the ears of the Holy Office.

The presence of CHamorus in this chapter has been marginal. The main reason behind this absence is that indigenous people were exempt from inquisitorial jurisdiction. However, they could testify as witnesses in the Holy Office procedures, where the presence of some CHamorus materializes. These is the case of Matheo Delgado, steward of the Tachugña estate, and of the anonymous servant of Governor Enrique

de Olavide y Michelena, who saw the bigamous María Cepeda's first husband wandering around the islands, without forgetting the CHamoru and Mestizo women who suffered and denounced the ethnosexual violence of Fr. Reitterberger. Although Alexandre Coello de la Rosa refers to these women in his work, in this chapter I have delved into their role not only as victims of the Jesuit's abuses, but also as political subjects who denounced their aggressor and, from that position, contributed with their own names and collectively to the history of the archipelago.

On the other hand, denunciations for sexual crimes addressed to the Holy Office sometimes played a strategic role. For instance, when the Jesuits refrained from denouncing Fr. Reitterberger's abuses, they did so as a strategy to avoid damaging the reputation of the Society of Jesus in the islands and jeopardizing their mission. The silence of the missionaries around the Jesuit's aggressions was, therefore, a strategic and convenient one. Likewise, when the Augustinian Recollects denounced the sexual misconduct of Fr. Reitterberger to the Inquisition, even though the accused had died several years ago, they did so as a strategic move to defame the Ignatian order and thus legitimize their presence in the Mariana Islands.

The activity of the Inquisition in the archipelago also had an impact on the public life and sexual conducts of its inhabitants. Although the precariousness of the Holy Office in the islands and the reduced number of crimes never allowed the holding of an *auto de fe*, there were other public demonstrations of the power of the institution, such as its founding act in January 1696 or the public reading of edicts periodically performed by commissioners. In addition, the Inquisition played a fundamental role in the daily life of the islands: as I have claimed above, the crimes most persecuted by the representatives of the institution were those related to marriage, such as bigamy. Indeed, the main occupation of the Holy Office in the archipelago was to defend the only valid model of sexuality for Catholic orthodoxy, based on the sacrament of monogamous and indissoluble marriage. In this sense, the Inquisition regulated and normalized the sexual behaviors of the inhabitants of the Marianas, through the prosecution and punishment of those cases that

perverted this sacrament. Therefore, its influence was not restrained to people under its jurisdiction, but it also extended to the entire colonial society of the archipelago, including the CHamorus. The Holy Office in the islands, as various authors state for the Tribunals of the American continent, was more of an “Inquisition of customs,” striving to prosecute and punish crimes associated with sexual and moral transgressions, such as bigamy or marriage among clergy, rather than those related to faith.

Finally, Solange Alberro has pointed out that the Inquisition was “one of the first modern repressive machines.”⁷²⁵ The modern character of the institution results not only from its repressive capacity, but also from its ability to generate anomalies. As Rita Segato claims, “modernity is a machine for producing anomalies and organizing purges.”⁷²⁶ The Holy Office in the Mariana Islands, as I have shown throughout this chapter, generated anomalies such as the bigamist, the married priest, or the soliciting father, and purged them through its prosecutions and sentences. Abjuration, hence, assumed great significance in the convictions, because it reconciled the criminal with the (post-Tridentine) Church and Catholic society.⁷²⁷ Another distinctly modern aspect of the institution was its paperwork since, in the words of Irene Silverblatt, the Inquisition was “one of the most modern bureaucracies of its time.”⁷²⁸ This author also defends the role of the institution in the Spanish statecraft, as it acted as “an arbiter of religious orthodox in a country that defined religion as nationalism.”⁷²⁹ This was probably the case of the Inquisition in the metropolis and, to a lesser extent, in the power centers of the American continent, such as Mexico, Lima or Cartagena. However, the case of the Mariana Islands challenges these functions of the Holy Office on the margins of the empire, where the scope of the institution was much more modest. As I have shown, its activity in the archipelago was marked by precariousness, poor communications, lack of personnel, positions that were left vacant,

⁷²⁵ Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, 7.

⁷²⁶ Segato, *La guerra contra las mujeres*, 24.

⁷²⁷ Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins*, 232-3.

⁷²⁸ Silverblatt, “Modern Inquisitions,” 285.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 294.

“disorders,” favoritisms, conflicts, and silences. Nevertheless, despite these adverse conditions the Inquisition managed to adapt to the local context of the islands, becoming one more gear of their colonial-modern and sexual order.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis I have explored the role that sexuality and sexual (mis)encounters played in the early contacts between CHamoru and European populations, as well as in the ensuing Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands. To this end, I have traced the most public, strategic, and conflictive aspects of such encounters in the written sources produced during those periods. In this section I will present the main conclusions reached in this research, interconnecting and delving into the different issues that have been raised throughout the chapters.

7.1. Colonial Discourses on Sexuality

The first encounters between Oceanian and European peoples took place in the Mariana Islands. From the very initial contact, sexual matters were present in the accounts of those Europeans who visited the archipelago. Antonio Pigafetta, the Florentine chronicler who accompanied Magellan on the first circumnavigation of the globe, defined women from the *Islas de los Ladrones* (Islands of the Thieves) as “beautiful” and “delicate.”⁷³⁰ In Chapter 2, I stated that testimonies like Pigafetta’s show the fascination, curiosity, and excitement that the (almost) naked bodies of CHamoru women elicited in the European navigators of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Foreign narrations on the sexual allure of such women—depicted as “lustful,” “shameless,” and “wanton”—were so explicit that I have defined them as *voyeuristic discourses*. Furthermore, these discourses were performative, since they entailed effects on the subjects they dealt with. For instance, through voyeuristic discourses women from the Mariana Islands were both

⁷³⁰ Antonio Pigafetta, *Noticia del primer viaje en torno al mundo [Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo]*, ed. Mario Pozzi, and trans. Ana García Herráez (Valencia: Grial, 1998), 17v.

sensualized and alterized in a double process of racialization that Iki Yos Piña Narváez calls *eroexoticization*.⁷³¹ This eroexoticization, in turn, incorporated CHamoru women into the early modern *geographies of perversion*,⁷³² which would lay the foundations for future European imaginaries about the Pacific islands and its inhabitants. Over the centuries, these imaginaries turned Oceanian archipelagos and the bodies of women who inhabited them into *porno-tropics*,⁷³³ that is, into spaces for the projection of the Europeans' cravings and desires. Lastly, the eroexoticization of women from the Mariana Islands is also one of the reasons behind the *ethnosexual violence* they suffered from the 17th century onwards, at the hands of European civil, military, and religious authorities.

Voyeuristic narratives elaborated by navigators from the 16th and 17th centuries do not constitute the unique discourse on sexuality that Europeans produced in the Mariana Islands. In Chapter 2, I also referred to the contemporaneous accounts elaborated by two Franciscan friars who lived in the archipelago for several months: Antonio de los Ángeles and Juan Pobre de Zamora. In their relations, both friars addressed CHamoru sexuality from a different perspective. Although they mentioned certain sexual matters, such as indigenous practices on marriage, they did not account for other less “decent” issues that, on the contrary, contemporaneous European laymen did refer in their journals. Likewise, neither of the two friars alluded to the existence of the *guma' ulitao*, a fundamental institution in the sexual socialization of CHamoru youth. Antonio de los Ángeles' and Juan Pobre de Zamora's accounts, therefore, only mentioned those sexual practices that they considered “modest,” avoiding the rest. For this reason, in Chapter 3 I referred to their narratives as *elusive discourses*. This evasive attitude is echoed in the documents of the first missionaries who arrived in the archipelago in 1668, under the leadership of Diego Luis

⁷³¹ Yos (Erchxs) Piña Narváez, “No soy queer, soy negrx. Mis orishas no leyeron a J. Butler,” in *No existe sexo sin racialización*, eds. Leticia Rojas Miranda and Francisco Godoy Vega (Madrid: Colectivo Ayllu, Matadero Centro de Residencias Artísticas, 2017), 41.

⁷³² Will Roscoe, “Mapping the Perverse,” *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 4 (1996): 860.

⁷³³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather. Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 23.

de San Vitores. During the early years of the mission, the *guma' ulitao* was also absent from the Jesuit letters and accounts. The reason behind the missionaries' silence is possibly the same as in the cases of the Franciscan friars: they all attempted to depict CHamoru people as *innocent barbarians* in order to facilitate their evangelization. However, the Jesuits soon abandoned their elusive discourses and started to mention the *guma' ulitao siha* and the sexual practices that young CHamorus performed within those buildings. By alluding to these “temples of abomination,” the missionaries sought to raise funds to build seminaries where they could educate CHamoru children in the values of the Catholic doctrine. The Jesuits, hence, strategically turned their elusive discourses into *condemnatory discourses*, explicitly mentioning the “abominable” sexual practices and institutions of the CHamorus in pursue of their own interests.

These condemnatory discourses were also present in the paperwork of the Holy Office, an institution devoted to the regulation of sexuality during the colonial period. In Chapter 6, I argued that part of the crimes prosecuted by the Inquisition in the Mariana Islands involved sexual conducts, such as bigamy and solicitation. Inquisitorial procedures on these crimes dealt with sexual matters with the same explicitness than voyeuristic discourses elaborated by secular navigators from the previous centuries. A clear example of such explicitness can be found, for instance, in the testimonies of CHamoru and Mestizo women who suffered Fr. Francisco Xavier Reitterberger's abuses. However, the purposes and effects of the inquisitorial discourses differed from those of the navigators and missionaries of previous centuries. First, the documents prepared by inquisitorial officials seldom referred to the sexuality of indigenous populations, since the Holy Office had no jurisdiction over them. As a result, in the Mariana Islands inquisitorial procedures alluded mainly to the sexual practices of Spaniards and Mestizos. Second, the effects of the condemnatory discourses elaborated by inquisitorial authorities concerned neither the eroexoticization of CHamoru women nor the evangelization of indigenous populations: their objective was to condemn people who committed offenses to sexual morality in order to preserve Catholic orthodoxy.

In conclusion, discourses on sexuality elaborated by Europeans in the Mariana Islands were neither unitary nor monolithic, but rather differed according to the authors' perspectives, interests and strategies. Departing from the context of the Mariana Islands, in this thesis I have broadly differentiated between voyeuristic, elusive and condemnatory discourses. This categorization opens new avenues for research, such as exploring whether these categories are feasible to classify narratives arising from other colonial situations. Likewise, the analysis of discourses on sexuality produced in other colonial contexts could sharpen my classification by adding new nuances and categories to the ones that I have suggested.

7.2. Sexuality in Colonial Public Policies

Recent scholarship on sexuality in colonial situations, deeply inspired by the works of Michel Foucault, addresses the interrelation between sexuality and power and acknowledges that “public sexual politics were integral to the imperial project.”⁷³⁴ Indeed, in this thesis I have shown that, in the Mariana Islands, sexuality was not restricted to the domestic, private and consensual sphere of intermarriages, but played a fundamental role in colonial policies. In Chapter 2 I argued that one of the orders given by King Charles V to Ferdinand Magellan and Ruy Falero on the occasion of their expedition established that: “you cannot consent in any way that any person touches a woman, [...] since in all those parts the people for this issue, rather than for anything else, will do any harm and rebellion.”⁷³⁵ Sexuality was, therefore, a matter for legislation even during the first European expedition that reached the Mariana Islands.

⁷³⁴ Barbara L. Voss, “Domesticating Imperialism: Sexual Politics and the Archaeology of Empire,” *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 2 (2008): 191.

⁷³⁵ “Instrucción de Carlos I a Fernando de Magallanes y a Ruy Falero, y requerimiento de Fernando de Magallanes a la Casa de la Contratación,” in Barcelona, 8 May 1519, AGI, Seville, Patronato 34, R.8, 5v-6r, *en ninguna manera aveis de consentir que ninguna persona toq[ue] a mujer porque [...] en todas aquellas partes son gentes que por esto antes que por otra cosa haran qualquier daño y rebelion.*

During the early years of the mission, the Jesuits' evangelizing project aspired, as I noted in Chapter 4, to disrupt the lifeways of the CHamorus,⁷³⁶ including their sexuality. To “reduce” indigenous populations to a “good policy” (*buena policía*),⁷³⁷ the missionaries attempted to eradicate their sexual institutions—such as the *guma' ulitao*—and to adapt their sexual practices to the only valid models within Catholic orthodoxy: celibacy and monogamous and indissoluble marriage. Schools constituted a fundamental element in the Jesuits' “civilizing project”⁷³⁸ since, in these seminaries, CHamoru youth—especially girls—were socialized following sexual values such as modesty, chastity and honesty, away from the influence of the *guma' ulitao*.

Another measure implemented by the missionaries and other colonial agents to strengthen the new sexual order in the islands was to publicly punish those who deviated from the sexual standards promoted by the Catholic doctrine. In Chapter 5, for instance, I showed how Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel (1709-20) accused Commanding Officer Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, in a letter forwarded to the king, of having imposed rigorous punishments against those soldiers who “were mischievous”⁷³⁹ with CHamoru women. Some decades before, Governor Antonio de Saravia (1681-1683) had sentenced three soldiers to die by *garrote*—that is, garroted—for having forced several women, as I indicated in Chapter 4. These soldiers were executed in the place where they had committed their crimes, in a clear exemplary gesture addressed to the rest of the militia. In Chapter 6 I further showed that the *garrote* had been used as a “rectifier” of sexual misconducts also in

⁷³⁶ Sandra Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions, and Maintenance Activities in the Early Modern Globalization: Guam 1668–98,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 23, no. 2 (2019): 405; Verónica Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas Marianas (Pacífico occidental): Introducciones, adaptaciones y transformaciones alimentarias durante la misión jesuita (1668-1769)” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, 2019), 251.

⁷³⁷ Peña Filiu, “Alimentación y colonialismo,” 65.

⁷³⁸ Montón-Subías, “Gender, Missions,” 409.

⁷³⁹ Juan Antonio Pimentel, “El teniente general don Juan Antonio Pimentel, gobernador y capitán general de las Islas Marianas, da cuenta a Vuestra Majestad de haber tomado posesión de aquel gobierno a 22 de agosto de 1709,” in San Ygnacio de Agaña, 24 November 1709, AGI, Seville, Ultramar 561, N. 9, 102, *andaban trabiesos*.

1676, this time against an anonymous sergeant accused of sodomy. Of all the colonial institutions, one stood out for its punishments against those criminals who committed faults to sexual morality: The Tribunal of the Inquisition. In Chapter 6 I argued that, as the number of baptized CHamorus increased, the missionaries' concern shifted from the evangelization of the former to the oversight of Catholic orthodoxy in the archipelago. In this sense, although the Holy Office held no jurisdiction over indigenous people, the inquisitors' sentences played an exemplary, regulatory, and, to some extent, normalizing role on the sexual behaviors of all the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. Events such as the founding act of the institution in 1696 or the public and periodic reading of edicts to remind the general audience of the practices that were persecuted by the inquisitors—serving both as a warning and as an invitation to denunciations—embodied this exemplary role of the Holy Office in the archipelago.

7.3. The Strategic Dimension of Sexuality in Colonial Situations

Throughout this thesis I have shown how sexual matters played a strategic role in the colonization of the Mariana Islands. The strategic use of sexuality is apparent, for instance, in the *convenient silences* that stem from certain written sources. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the first missionaries who reached the shores of the Mariana Islands omitted from their letters and accounts those CHamoru sexual practices and institutions that contravened the Catholic doctrine, such as the *guma' ulitao*. This omission, I argued, was not incidental, but strategic: the missionaries had sufficient reasons to remain silent since they had to depict CHamorus as innocent barbarians, willing to receive the gospel, so as not to compromise their evangelization. In Chapter 6 I noted that this strategic use of silences reemerged, decades later, in the attitude of Fr. Reitterberger's companions, who decided to cover up his sexual abuses against the congregants of Lumen to protect the reputation of their Order. In certain cases, these silences were strategically broken, as shown by the instrumentalization of the *guma' ulitao* conducted by the Jesuits. As I just mentioned above, the missionaries only referred to this

CHamoru institution once their mission was definitively established in the archipelago, with the aim of raising funds to build their seminaries.

The strategic use of sexuality is also notable in the evangelizing policies that the Jesuits sought to implement in the Marianas. For instance, in Chapter 4 I claimed that, at a certain point, the missionaries realized that the establishment of the sacrament of marriage among CHamoru communities would entail strong resistance, due to their well rooted custom of “repudiation” (*repudio*). To avoid such opposition, the Jesuits decided to postpone the implantation of this sacrament in the islands, *accommodating* their evangelizing policies to the local context—a strategy viewed with suspicion by the members of other religious orders devoted to the evangelization of indigenous populations in other territories of the Spanish empire.⁷⁴⁰

Furthermore, in Chapter 5 I pointed out that some of the mayors and lieutenants of Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel strategically took advantage of their positions and authority to abuse their subordinates’ wives. Those husbands who tolerated the abuses of the civil and military authorities against their wives rose quickly within the hierarchy of the militia, while those who showed resistance were reformed from their positions. In this way, coercion and ethnosexual violence were strategically exercised by mayors and lieutenants to sexually access their subordinates’ wives.

Accusations on sexual matters also played a strategic role in some historical events of the archipelago. Above I have indicated that Governor Pimentel accused his opponent Commanding Officer Joseph de Quiroga y Losada in front of the king of imposing harsh punishments on those soldiers from the garrison that engaged in sexual intercourses—whether consensual or not—with CHamoru and Mestizo women. Quiroga y Losada, in turn, denounced the governor for committing sexual “abominations” with six girls that he retained in his palace, whom he later married—some of them by force—to some of his subordinate soldiers. With these accusations, both men attempted

⁷⁴⁰ Joan-Pau Rubiés, “The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuit Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization,” *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu* 74, no. 147 (2005): 237-80.

to damage the prestige of the other in front of their superiors, even involving the king in their hostilities.

The strategic use of sexual accusations reemerged in the case of Fr. Reitterberger, who was accused by the Augustinian Recollects of having sexually abused the female members of his Congregation. Despite the fact that the German Jesuit had died several years ago, the Augustinians forwarded their denunciation to the Holy Office, since their real purpose was to defame the Society of Jesus, that is, the religious order that had preceded them in the archipelago, thus legitimizing their presence on the islands. As stated above, the fact that Fr. Reitterberger had not been previously denounced reveals that his Jesuit companions strategically covered up his abuses to protect him and to avoid damaging the prestige of their order and jeopardizing the continuity of their mission. These accusations and silences therefore reflect the strategic and deeply political role of sexuality in colonial situations.

7.4. (Ethno)Sexual Conflicts, Resistances, and Violence

Regarding the artistic installation *Las Islas* by Rogelio López Cuenca and Elo Vega, in the introduction to this thesis I pointed out that colonial imaginaries and fantasies are plagued by sexual violence. Throughout this work, the interrelation between sexuality, power, and violence—not only at a symbolic level, but also at a physical one—has been a recurrent theme. This interrelation reveals the conflicts that surround sexuality in colonial contexts. In the Mariana Islands, the most apparent sexual conflicts were those that erupted during the second half of the 17th century, when Spanish colonizers attempted to impose, by force of arms, Catholic sexual standards on CHamoru populations. However, these hostilities around sexuality were not the first that arose between Europeans and CHamorus. In all likelihood, during the century and a half that separates the first contact between both populations in 1521 and the founding of the Jesuit mission in 1668, conflictive episodes related to sexuality raged between the indigenous communities and the crews of the foreign ships that arrived at the islands. For instance, in

Chapter 2 I pointed out that an Austrian nobleman, named Christoph Carl Fernberger, visited the Marianas in 1623. In his journal, he noted that, after some members of his crew had engaged in sexual intercours with CHamoru women, the latter “had to suffer for it and to pay with their deaths.”⁷⁴¹ Although the Austrian nobleman did not specify the reason why those women had to die, or who killed them, this incident represents one of the first violent conflicts involving sexuality between Europeans and CHamorus in the archipelago.

This sort of conflicts took on a new dimension, as I argued in Chapter 4, with the establishment of a Jesuit mission in the Marianas in 1668. The missionaries’ evangelizing project aimed at replacing the sexual beliefs, practices, and institutions of the CHamorus with Catholic ones, giving rise to tensions between both groups. Part of these tensions resulted from the CHamorus’ resistance to abandon their *guma’ ulitao siba*, as well as to adopt the indissoluble marriage preached by the missionaries, which disrupted their custom of “repudiation” (*repudio*). Over time, these tensions led to hostilities, and the Jesuits considered that they could only complete their project through the force of arms. Then the so-called “Spanish-Chamorro” Conflicts erupted, which lasted for almost three decades. Considering the relevance of sexuality in these confrontations, in this thesis I have considered these conflicts as *ethnosexual*. The notion of ethnosexuality, proposed by Joane Nagel,⁷⁴² has enormously enriched this thesis, since it reflects that, in colonial contexts such as the Mariana Islands, sexuality is inevitably crossed by another axis of oppression: that of race/ethnicity. In this sense, feminist María Lugones points out that the colonizers did not impose precolonial, European gender and sexual standards on the colonized, but rather they attempted to implement a new sex-gender system “that

⁷⁴¹ Karl R. Wernhart, “A Pre-Missionary Manuscript Record of the Chamorro, Micronesia,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 192.

⁷⁴² Joane Nagel, “Ethnicity and Sexuality,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 107-33; Joane Nagel, *Race, Ethnicity, and Sexuality. Intimate Intersections, Forbidden Frontiers* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

created very different arrangements for colonized males and females than for white bourgeois colonizers.”⁷⁴³

The *guma’ ulitao*, together with the Jesuit school, played a fundamental role in these hostilities. CHamoru people refused to abandon their *guma’ ulitao siba*, and they rebuilt them after the assaults of the Spanish militia, despite the latter’s threats against such reconstructions. Even decades after the disappearance of the last *guma’ ulitao*, this institution was still part of the resilience practices of CHamoru communities, which transmitted its memory from generation to generation. The Jesuit Luis de Morales was completely wrong when, in his Annual Letter on 1681 and 1682, he stated that “there is no longer memory of those old public houses.”⁷⁴⁴ Proof of the Jesuit’s mistake are the detailed notes that, at the beginning of the 19th century, Louis de Freycinet took on these “*maisons de celibataires*,”⁷⁴⁵ based on the testimonies given by the contemporaneous inhabitants of the archipelago.

One final realm of CHamoru resistance in relation to sexuality was, as I have put forward, the adoption of the Catholic model of marriage. CHamoru communities considered that conjugal unions could be dissolved at will, and consequently rejected the adoption of the indissolubility of marriage required by the Catholic doctrine. Although the Jesuits accommodated the introduction of the gospel to the local context of the islands, delaying the implementation of Catholic marriage among the CHamoru populations, this sacrament was a major point of friction between colonizers and colonized. Conflicts over marriage persisted even after the Spanish-CHamoru Conflicts, for instance in the case, analyzed in Chapter 5, of Governor Pimentel, who forcibly married some of the girls he retained in his palace to certain soldiers of the garrison. Furthermore, the prosecution of crimes such as bigamy or marriage among clergy by the Holy Office, as I showed in Chapter 6, is

⁷⁴³ María Lugones, “Heterosexuality and the Colonial/Modern Gender System,” *Hypatia* 22, no. 1 (2007): 186.

⁷⁴⁴ Luis de Morales, “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las Islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82,” AGI, Seville, Filipinas 3, N. 151, *ya no ay memoria de aquellas casas Publicas antiguas*.

⁷⁴⁵ Louis de Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde, Entrepris par Ordre du Roi. Historique. Tome Deuxième. Première Partie* (Paris: Chez Pillet Aîné, 1829), 108.

another demonstration of the conflictive role that marriage played in the Mariana Islands. To sum up, although intermarriages are sometimes considered as consensual, domestic, and private relationships,⁷⁴⁶ this thesis reinforces the idea that marriage in colonial situations is rather a contested issue and a source of conflicts and resistances.

Although I just indicated that the most forceful response of CHamoru populations to the Jesuits' evangelizing project was armed resistance, the Spanish presence in the archipelago led to certain dilemmas among such populations, which occasionally responded in a less combative way. This is the case, for instance, of those young CHamoru women who, according to the Jesuits, gave "singular demonstrations of chastity,"⁷⁴⁷ without underestimating the strategic and propagandistic role that these affirmations had in the missionaries' documents.

Ethnosexual violence, exercised by colonizers against colonized women, is perhaps the harshest consequence of sexual conflicts in colonial contexts. In Chapter 4 I mentioned a case of ethnosexual violence committed by those soldiers who, according to a letter by Fr. Gayoso from 1676, entered the school for girls at night to abuse them. Unfortunately, this sort of sexual violence did not disappear once the conquest of the archipelago was over, but continued during *la Reducción* in the sexual abuses committed by civil, military and even religious authorities against CHamoru and Mestizo women. Throughout these conclusions I have already evoked several of these sexual aggressions, such as those executed by Governor Pimentel's lieutenants and mayors, who forced their subordinates' wives, or the excesses that such governor committed against the girls he retained in his palace, as well as the sexual assaults of Fr. Reitterberger against the female members of the Congregation of Our Lady of Light.

This sort of sexual violence also played an essential role in the (re)production of a new sexual order and in the constitution of a new

⁷⁴⁶ Voss, "Domesticating Imperialism," 200.

⁷⁴⁷ "Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el Santo Evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía," 1676, RAH, Madrid, Cortes 567, Leg. 10 9/2676 (8), 42r, *demonstraciones de castidad singulares*.

matrix of domination in the Mariana Islands. As I pointed out in Chapter 5, this matrix of domination increased the vulnerability of indigenous women to sexual abuse, especially in the case of those CHamoru women married to CHamoru men, who came to occupy the lowest rung of the matrix. Marriage, therefore, regulated both the sexual conducts of the inhabitants of the archipelago and the ordering of oppressions and privileges within the matrix of domination. On the other hand, the vulnerability of CHamoru women to ethnosexual violence was even more flagrant considering that the aggressors, in the few cases that were tried for their misconducts, went unpunished or received derisory penalties. The impunity of their aggressors entailed the double victimization of the women who suffered the abuses, who were not even able to testify as witnesses during the trials. In this sense, the case of the female members of the Congregation of Lumen who suffered Fr. Reitemberger's abuses represents an exception. These congregants did have the opportunity to denounce their aggressor in front of a court, the Tribunal of the Inquisition, becoming political subjects thanks to their testimonies and contributing, both individually and collectively, to the history of the archipelago.

Another striking conclusion of this work is that conflicts around sexuality not only erupted between colonizers and colonized, as those discussed so far; on certain occasions, sexual matters also unleashed confrontations between the colonizers themselves. Most of the hostilities between the colonizers concerning sexuality involved missionaries and civil authorities. For instance, in Chapter 4 I argued that in 1676 the Jesuits incriminated the Commanding Officer Damián de Esplana for forcing young CHamoru women to go to his house and serve his food. The missionaries suspected that, after eating, the Commanding Officer engaged in less modest acts with the young women, and this resulted in tensions between the Jesuits and Damián de Esplana. Likewise, this Commanding Officer had difficulties with the Holy Office for questioning its jurisdiction, as I pointed out in Chapter 6. Indeed, the Inquisition was a source of further conflicts between the clergy and the civil authorities of the archipelago. For example, when representatives of the Holy Office denounced Joseph de Sandoval and Juan Antonio de Retana—both subordinates of Governor Juan

Antonio Pimentel—of bigamy and marriage among clergy, respectively. The inquisitorial procedures of both men increased tensions between the missionaries and the governor who, at one point, ordered the exile of two of the Jesuits, including the first commissioner of the Holy Office in the archipelago. The governor's sexual misconduct also triggered conflicts with other military authorities, as evidenced by the mutual accusations between him and the Commanding Officer Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, described above.

The conflicts unleashed by the Inquisition also confronted members from the clergy against each other. First, representatives of the Holy Office and the Society of Jesus clashed over a dispute on dignities, as I indicated in the cases of Frs. Manuel de Solórzano and Lorenzo Bustillo from 1682 and 1695, respectively. Likewise, members of both institutions were involved, decades later, in a conflict of loyalties, as some of the Jesuits who acted as first commissioners of the Inquisition in the archipelago decided to cover up Fr. Reitemberger's abuses and hide them from their Mexican superiors, thus prioritizing their loyalty to the Society of Jesus rather than to the Holy Office. Finally, the case of this German Jesuit also conveyed the aforementioned conflict between the order of the Augustinian Recollects and the Society of Jesus in the Mariana Islands during the last third of the 18th century.

In sum, sexuality and sexual encounters triggered conflicts between CHamorus and Spaniards, as well as among the colonizers themselves. Therefore, sexual conflicts demonstrate that colonial agents did not constitute a unitary and homogeneous group, but rather individuals and collectives with their own objectives and interests. The confrontations around sexuality analyzed in this thesis challenge the previous historiographic trend, pointed out by Barbara Voss, which tends to "domesticate" Spanish empire in early modern times. Faced with this trend, this thesis has underscored the conflictive, and sometimes even violent, side of sexual encounters in colonial situations.

7.5. The Interrelation between Materiality, Sexuality, and Power

In the introduction I indicated that this thesis was originally designed as an archaeological project. However, for the reasons that I detailed there, in the end I mainly relied on written sources to build this investigation. Nevertheless, my training as an archaeologist, as well as my participation in various archaeological excavations during the development of this thesis, led me to trace in the documents the interrelation between materiality, sexuality, and power during the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands.

One of the first realms in which this interrelation becomes evident is clothing. I have had the opportunity to conduct a preliminary research on “colonial dress-scapes” in Guåhan together with one of the directors of this thesis, Sandra Montón-Subías.⁷⁴⁸ In our article, we show how the Jesuit missionaries used dress to implement sexual values—such as modesty, decency, or virtue—in CHamoru populations. Likewise, in Chapter 4 I pointed out that the ethnosexual conflicts between CHamorus and Spaniards were articulated around two constructed spaces: the *guma’ ulitao* and the Jesuit school. The spatial distribution of the Jesuit seminaries conveyed, as I argued in that chapter, the transmission of other sexual values such as physical containment and recollection (*recogimiento*). At the same time, the spatial distribution of the schools increased the vulnerability of CHamoru girls to ethnosexual violence from the soldiers, who entered these buildings at night.

Jesuit schools represent a fine example of how the production and perpetuation of new matrices of domination in colonial contexts took place in and through different materialities. A similar case is that of the Governor Juan Antonio Pimentel’s palace, known as “the Great Turk’s seraglio.” This building also served to retain CHamoru girls, increasing

⁷⁴⁸ Sandra Montón-Subías and Enrique Moral, “A Body Is Worth a Thousand Words: Early Colonial Dress-Scapes in Guam,” *Historical Archaeology* 55, no. 1 (2021): 280. Archaeologist Aurora Muriente Pastrana is currently conducting a doctoral project in which she explores, in greater depth, the role of dress in the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands, comparing the case of this Micronesian archipelago with that of Puerto Rico.

their vulnerability to ethnosexual violence, in this case, from the governor himself. Likewise, the confessionals of the churches and chapels of the Mariana Islands aroused the interest of the inquisitors of Mexico, as I indicated in Chapter 6, since in New Spain these cabinets were the breeding ground of one of the sexual crimes persecuted by the Holy Office: solicitation. Indeed, the intimacy that confessionals produced, through their materiality and location in the temples, often enabled the commission of the *crimen sollicitationis*. The inquisitorial process against Fr. Reittemberger shows the similar role that other spaces, such as chapels or his steward's house, played in covering up his abuses against the female members of the Congregation of Lumen. In view of such abuses, Fr. Wolfgang Steimbeck, at that time first commissioner of the Holy Office, ordered the demolition of the steward's house, as decades before the Spanish militia had burned and demolished the *guma' ulitao siba*.

The aforementioned cases show that certain materialities were fundamental in the Spanish colonization of the Mariana archipelago. Historical Archeology, therefore, has great potential to delve into the interrelation between materiality, sexuality and power during the Spanish colonial period on the islands. Likewise, archeology can provide new insights to approach other discussions raised in this thesis, such as the role of young women or *rajaos* in the *guma' ulitao*, largely overlooked in the historiography of the archipelago.

* * *

Throughout this thesis, I have shown that sexual encounters were not alien to the Spanish colonization of the Mariana Islands, but rather constituted “fundamental structures of colonization.”⁷⁴⁹ Sexuality was both a means of conquest during the first years of Spanish presence in the archipelago, and a means of domination once the colony was established. This thesis has also opened new avenues for future research. One of the areas for further study is kinship and the institution

⁷⁴⁹ Eleanor Conlin Casella and Barbara L. Voss, “Intimate Encounters. An Archaeology of Sexualities within Colonial Worlds,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism. Intimate Encounters and Sexual Effects*, eds. Barbara L. Voss and Eleanor Conlin Casella (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

of the family, closely related to the regulation of sexuality in human groups. Through baptism and marriage record books and censuses from the Spanish colonial period, this consensual and domestic—but probably also conflictive—side of sexuality could be explored in the Mariana Islands.

Another line of research that deserves further study consists of examining how the Mariana Islands served as a logistical and ideological springboard for the colonization of other Micronesian archipelagos, paying attention to the role that sexuality played in such colonization. Likewise, a comparative analysis of sexuality and sexual encounters between the Mariana Islands and the Philippines would also be of great interest, delving into the connections between both archipelagos. This examination would shed more light, for instance, on the transoceanic functioning of the Novohispanic Tribunal of the Inquisition. Likewise, considering that most colonial agents allocated in the Mariana Islands came from the Philippines and Mexico, an analysis of the ideas, imaginaries, and discourses on sexuality forged in those territories would be extremely useful to delve into the conclusions reached by this thesis.

In conclusion, Spanish colonial policies managed to extinguish most of the sexual practices and institutions of the CHamoru communities, such as the *guma' ulitao* or the “repudiation.” However, these policies were neither inexorable nor omnipresent, as demonstrated by the different conflicts, resistances, and “accommodative” practices explored in this thesis. In addition, the new sexual order established in the archipelago after *la Reducción* brought about new practices that deeply upset some of the colonizers, especially the Jesuits, such as bigamy or ethnosexual violence against CHamoru and Mestizo women. Sexuality was, in sum, a fundamental gear in the inclusion of the Mariana Islands in the colonial network of the Spanish empire, as well as in its consolidation as a colony over the ensuing centuries.

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