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power in southern Chile**



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THE STRUGGLE FOR *MACHI* MASCULINITY¹

COLONIAL POLITICS OF GENDER, SEXUALITY AND POWER IN SOUTHERN CHILE¹

One long winter evening in August 1629, in the hamlet headed by Cacique Maulican south of the Bio-Bio River in Chile, a machi weye, or male shaman, healed a bewitched native boy with the help of ancestral spirits and a cinnamon tree, or foye (*Drimys winteri*). Cacique Maulican's slave, Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, a twenty-two-year-old man of Spanish descent born in Chile, watched wide-eyed and terrified in a dark corner. To him, the machi weye's appearance and spiritual practices were those of a puto, or male gender invert, a perverse sodomite engaged in devil worship:

An Indian with such a horrible figure entered. His outfit, his perverse face and shape expressed what he was. . . . His features, dress and body made him look like Lucifer because he was not wearing pants but was a weye. Instead of pants he was wearing a puno--a cloth that is wrapped around the waist and is used by women with a long shirt on top. His hair was

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long and loose while others wear their hair braided, and his nails were so deformed that they looked like spoons. His face was very ugly and he had a cloud in his eye that understood everything. His body was very small, his back was broad, and he limped. Just looking at him caused horror and gave me to understand his vile exercises. ... Those that take on the role of women are called weye, which in our language means nefarious ones and more precisely male inverts [putos]... They become machi because they have a pact with the devil. (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:107, 157-159).

The sick boy lay on a sheepskin on the dirt floor of his father's thatch hut. A sacred cinnamon tree had been planted at the boy's head to connect human reality with that of various spiritual worlds. The foye served as a conduit for spirits who descended into the machi weye's body to give him knowledge about the circumstances under which the boy was bewitched, about the required treatment, and about the final outcome of his illness. Several laurel branches (triwe) were stashed beside the foye to lower the boy's fever. The machi weye's drum hung from the foye, and a lamb was tied to its base. While several women sang and played drums, the machi weye slit open the lamb's chest, placed its still beating heart in the cinnamon tree, and began to periodically suck blood from it. Next, he blew tobacco smoke over the boy's chest and stomach and then slit them and sucked some of the venom out of his body. Miraculously, the boy's wounds healed immediately, leaving no scars. The machi weye then became possessed by a helping spirit. His eyes rolled back and his body bounced like a ball on the floor while his drum imitated its owner, jumping beside him. He told the participants that an enemy had poisoned and bewitched the boy during a drinking party, that the venom had spread throughout the boy's body, and that soon it would reach his heart and kill him (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:159-160).

Young Francisco was deeply affected by this experience: "I commended myself to God ...

and after I saw this horrible spectacle, my soul became anguished, my hair stood up on end, and I was sure that his [the machi weye's] body was possessed by the devil" (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:160).

Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan wrote the only eyewitness account of an encounter between a colonial agent and a machi weye and the only known seventeenth-century narrative by a Chilean criollo, a local-born man of Spanish descent. Colonial agents were either Spanish or criollo but it was the former who wrote most of the seventeenth century chronicles. Born in Chillan, Chile Francisco lacked the power and prestige of Spanish-born authorities. Yet he drew on Spanish understandings of gender, religion, and power, which linked shamans' bodies with devil worship, gender inversion, and perverse sexuality. He saw the native weye's body as deformed and repulsive. He interpreted the machi weye's long hair and nails and his waist wrap as effeminate and linked them to sodomy and perversion. Finally, he read the weye's possession and divinatory abilities, his miraculous surgery, his jumping drum, and his sucking of blood as expressions of native devil worship.

Francisco's criollo status was also important in the way he shaped his own identity and that of the Reche people by whom he was enslaved--the "authentic people" (Valdivia 1887), known as Mapuche since the mid-eighteenth century, who lived between the Bio-Bio and Tolten Rivers. Trained as a Jesuit priest, Francisco fashioned himself as Spanish, Christian, and masculine in order to erase his criollo origins. When he committed a few "juvenile blunders," his father, Alonso--a famous Spanish conquistador--enlisted him in the Spanish army so that he could prove his worth. Francisco was captured by Reche warriors at the battle of Cangrejas on May 15, 1629. When he was enslaved to a Reche chief, his ethnicity, gender, and beliefs were interpreted ambivalently by the Reche and by some Spaniards too. Francisco wrote a 560-page chronicle of his seven months of

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captivity in an attempt to legitimate his Spanishness by condemning machi weye.

SPANISH AND HYBRID LENSES

Like most colonial agents and Jesuits, Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan perceived the colonial encounter in gender and racial terms and interpreted it through the prism of the devilish versus the divine. He embraced Thomas Aquinas's notion that there existed a "natural, God-given law," expressed in Christian religious orthodoxy, the control of pleasure, and constrained reproductive sex and European bodies. He deemed people and practices that fell outside these categories "unnatural," "abominable," and "against the divine order." He associated honor with images of powerful, Spanish masculine soldiers and Christian souls, and shame and stigma with machi weye bodies. In typical Spanish fashion, he constructed Reche sensual practices--healing, feasting, dancing, and sex--as devilish and effeminate. Following Christian ideals of masculinity he resisted bodily enjoyment and the sexual advances of Reche women (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:134, 136-137, 148, 205).

Spanish perceptions of sexuality, gender, and religion permeated most aspects of the Spaniards' experience. They did not prepare Francisco or his Jesuit contemporaries to understand machi weye or the roles they played among the Reche. Machi bodily healing practices, dress, and demeanor were especially challenging to Francisco's Spanish Christian masculinity. Like most Jesuits, he stigmatized machi weye as putos because he believed they had "womanly desires for men," "dressed in skirts," and "were like women." He repudiated machi weye, who were thought to enjoy being penetrated by men, as "sodomites." In turn, he considered Reche "sodomites," "gender inverters," and "effeminate" to be "devil worshipers," and female machi to be witches (Nuñez de

Pineda y Bascuñan 1863; Ovalle 1888; Valdivia 1887). Differentiating between Spanish and indigenous, Christianity and witchcraft, reproductive sexuality and sodomy, and masculinity and effeminacy became a way of policing the boundaries between a privileged Spanish self and an abject, indigenous machi.

When the Spaniards arrived in Chile, they projected their classificatory schemes onto Reche realities and used them as a rationale for domination. Contrasting Spanish perceptions of Reche men were used by colonial agents to advance different political agendas. Spanish depictions of Reche warriors as brave, masculine, barbaric and dangerous were used to explain Spanish military defeat and justify Reche enslavement. The Spaniards' sexualizing and demonizing logic was a rhetorical strategy and a weapon against machi and polygamous Reche chiefs. If Reche male spiritual and political authorities led lives of sexual excess, sodomy, and perversion, and if female machi were witches, then Spanish colonization and evangelization were "justified." The discourse of sexuality and evil became a Spanish tool to mold Reche subjects to colonial power. Judgments about sexuality are deeply embedded in the history of scholarly explanations of who acquires power, who deserves it, and who gets to keep it (Weston 1998:20). Lust and leisure are attributed to those "unfit to rule"; domesticated sexuality and managed sensibilities are attributed to those who stand above, and who label, those troubled categories (Stoler 1999:194). In Chile, Machi weye and female machi were forced to conform to Spanish notions of sexual propriety, modesty, and decorum and to become Christian in order to avoid persecution.²

How was Francisco's use of Spanish categories different from that of Spanish colonial agents? How were he and the Spanish categories he learned affected by his enslavement to a Reche chief? What happened to his status as a soldier of the Spanish army and Jesuit during his captivity? Francisco's narrative is exceptional for two reasons. First, as a criollo, he knew himself to be

different from Spanish soldiers, who believed they were powerful and superior to the Reche simply because they were Spanish. Francisco had to consciously appropriate Spanish identities and power ideologies, first to model himself and then to manipulate Reche gender identities and religious practices through these lenses.

Second, his enslavement to Cacique Maulican reversed the way colonial power dynamics were ordinarily played out in terms of race and gender. Reche and Spaniards questioned Francisco's Christianity, his masculinity and his Spanishness in the context of his enslavement. He had to be pleasant and accommodating to Reche chiefs. The Reche infantilized him as "little Alvaro," and Maulican became his native father, protecting him against Reche men who want to kill him. Maulican wore Francisco's conquistador clothes while Francisco wore the "vile clothes" of Indian men (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:84, 59, 103-105), which made him neither Spaniard nor Indian. The Reche viewed him as an asexual outsider who, like a woman, served a male cacique and acted as an intermediary between different groups. Because Francisco held ambivalent status and evangelized boys, the Reche believed he had shamanic powers and requested herbal remedies and prayers from him (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:182-183, 220-221).³ He in turn challenged Spanish notions of superiority by describing his Reche friends in Spanish manly terms--as noble, generous, brave, and smart (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:123-124)--and by portraying his seven months of captivity as "happy ones." His narrative illustrates how Reche and Spanish perspectives were negotiated and gradually became intertwined, transformed, and integrated.

I first read Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan's account of his encounter with a *machi weye* in 1987 while studying history at the Catholic University in Santiago, Chile. The Spanish intellectual tradition, which refused indigenous people a place in history, and the agendas of Spanish soldiers, authorities and Jesuits, which led them to construct *machi* as witches and devil

worshippers, were obvious to me. Yet I thought of gender and sexuality as empirical facts, not as theories, interpretations of the world, or parts of a particular intellectual history. My Chilean Catholic education, infused with colonial perceptions, had not prepared me to question the “natural” relationship between sex, gender, and sexuality. I thought that Spanish assumptions about effeminacy and masculinity were universal, and I assumed that Reche and Spanish notions of gender inversion were synonymous. I could not read beyond the Spanish sodomy tropes to see *machi* weye gender identities as performed, or see gender as a central category organizing sexual acts and bodies and for defining identity and sexuality. Influenced by Chilean machismo, I assumed that gender inversion was automatically associated with effeminacy and passive sexual intercourse and that sodomites were equivalent to effeminate homosexuals. I saw men who were penetrated by other men as more homosexual than their partners. Like most Chilean academics, I was blind to the ethnic, political, and power implications in the sodomy labels hurled at indigenous people by colonial agents.

I recognized Chilean assumptions about gender and sexuality and my own cultural and academic baggage when, as a graduate student in anthropology at UCLA, I encountered American notions in which homosexuality was defined mainly by choice of same-sex object. My views broadened further when I explored *machi*'s flexible gender and sexual epistemologies during my ethnographic research in southern Chile between 1991 and 2000. The contrast between American and Chilean popular homosexual identities and Mapuche gendered systems prompted me to take a closer look at Chilean majority readings of both colonial and contemporary male *machi* gender identities and sexualities. I saw discrepancies between those contemporary identities and sexualities and Chilean national stereotypes, many of them based on Spanish sodomy tropes. Colonial assumptions and modern Chilean misreadings of colonial texts had distorted Reche gender

epistemologies and machi weye subjectivities.

In the pages that follow, I reread machi gender identities in the colonial period by taking colonial power dynamics into consideration. I contrast Reche perceptions of machi with those of Spanish and criollo soldiers and Jesuit priests and explore the process by which the two groups' categories gradually merged.

THE BATTLEGROUND OF MASCULINITY

Once the Spaniards crossed the Bio-Bio into Reche land, they met resistance from accomplished guerilla warriors who had long defended their territory against Inca expansion. Unable to conquer the Reche, in 1643 the Spaniards signed a royal treaty recognizing the sovereignty of the Reche nation south of the Bio-Bio. In 1673, Father Rosales (1989:114) asked why Spain, which had been able to conquer the Aztec and Inca empires, had been defeated by naked Reche warriors who battled with simple wooden weapons. The Reche were difficult to conquer because they were hunters and horticulturalists organized in small, seminomadic, endogamous, patrilineal kin groups. The power of Reche lineage heads, or caciques, was local; victory over one cacique in no way guaranteed dominance over others (Boccaro 1998). Reche groups skilled in guerilla warfare consistently destroyed precarious Spanish settlements.⁴ The Spaniards' introduction of the horse and metal weapons in the seventeenth century increased Reche warring and spiritual power. In skirmishes, Reche mounted warriors were more agile than armor-clad Spanish soldiers, and *machi weye* used horse spirits as spiritual mounts to travel to other worlds and kill enemy souls.⁵ Reche-Mapuche resistance to Spanish colonization and later to Chilean pacification became legendary. Finally, in 1883, the Chilean republic defeated the Mapuche rebels with the support of caciques loyal to the republic, and a large, well-equipped army. The Mapuche became secondary citizens of the Chilean nation-state.

Spaniards and Reche associated spiritual and political power with gender in ways both similar and different. And both parties used their gendered lenses to represent the practices of the other in their own terms. In Spain, men held the reins to institutions of power. Spaniards viewed practices of politics and warfare as masculine, held by masculine kings and knights. They often associated piety and spirituality with femininity and women, yet celibate male priests held institutional religious power. The Jesuits considered themselves “soldiers of Christ” who battled against the devil, and the vices and sins of the Reche (Olivares 1864).⁶ The Spaniards believed that Christian forces participated in the spiritual conquest of Chile. They described the Apostle Santiago leading the Spaniards into battle with his cross, and the Virgin Mary blinding Reche warriors with light and dust (Acosta 1894:246, Ercilla 1933, Sosa 1966:180, Rosales 1989:387-388).

In Reche society, “co-gendered” males, who moved from and between masculinity and femininity and combined in varying degrees and according to context the identities, performances, occupations, modes of dress, and sexualities associated with Reche women and men, held precedence. Nevertheless, Reche political power was considered masculine and was traced through the male line. It was associated with warring, hunting, cattle herding, and men’s dress. Reche spiritual power was considered feminine, and though it, too, was traced through the male line, it was associated with healing, horticulture, and women’s dress. Co-gendered machi weye combined feminine spiritual power and masculine political power, contrary to Spanish assumptions about how men controlled both social and spiritual orders.

Machi weye were the sons of prominent caciques (Rosales 1989:159) who were initiated into shamanhood through dreams and trance states. They learned to use herbal remedies and their mental faculties in specialties including surgery and bone setting (gutaru), healing with herbs and invocations to the spirits (ampivoe), locating those who caused illness through witchcraft

(ramtuvoe), autopsies (cupuvoe), divination (pelonten), midwifery, and those who performed witchcraft through the use of magical darts and poisoning (kalku) (Molina 1787:156, 181). Machi weye were not male gender inverters, as the Spaniards believed. I argue that they were one of three types of Reche co-gendered male practitioners called weye, who oscillated between embodying femininity and masculinity in varying degrees. (The other two types were the boquibuye or fokiweye, priests of the cinnamon tree, and the young weye, who performed fertility dances in collective rituals. I return to these other weye later in the article).

Female machi also existed in the seventeenth century, but the chroniclers had limited access to them and little interest in documenting their practices. Most colonial references to machi are about machi weye, because of the chroniclers' interest in documenting male warfare, "sodomy," and putos. But this does not mean that machi weye outnumbered female machi or that female machi were less important in Reche society.

The special co-gendered identities of machi weye allowed them to combine the male roles that the Spaniards valued most: roles in warfare and spirituality. For one thing, Machi weye performed spiritual warfare against the Spaniards. They propitiated the spirits of Mapuche warriors and machi spirits (spiritual warriors) who continued warring against Spanish souls in the sky, using as weapons lightning, thunderbolts, and volcanic eruptions (Rosales 1989:155-161). With curses, machi weye blew tobacco toward enemy land. They divined the location of the Spaniards and determined the outcomes of confrontations by performing magic in bowls of water (Rosales 1989:135). They invoked the moon, the sun, and the planets during military divinations in order to gain power to cure the wounded and take vengeance on their enemies (Ercilla 1933:45, 147; Oña 1975:15, 21). Machi weye consistently advised Reche chiefs to eliminate the Spaniards (Rosales 1989:384). It is unclear whether machi weye actually fought alongside warriors like the co-gendered

Native Americans that French and English colonizers called berdaches (Callender and Kochems 1983; Katz 1976), but they accompanied Reche warriors to the battlefield and performed spiritual warfare from the sidelines. They pierced their tongues and penises with wooden spindles and offered their blood to the spirits (Vivar 1966:134), requesting spiritual protection for Reche warriors in exchange.⁷

Machi weye employed words as weapons, too--many of them were renowned public orators (Rosales 1989:159-160) who used discourse to belittle Spanish warriors and call on the powers of their ancestors. They invoked a co-gendered warring spirit called Epunamun--“two feet” (Valdivia 1887)--that had huge limbs and what the Spaniards described as a divine “dual sexual nature.”⁸ This being granted the Reche knowledge of warring skills and the spiritual gifts of strength, valor, and integrity. Exceptional Reche warriors, as well as Spanish warriors, who were thought to control the power of lightning through their muskets, were labeled Epunamun (Ercilla 1933:34; Rosales 1989:478).⁹

Today, Mapuche spiritual warfare against enemy spirits is no longer a political tool but has become an essential component in the ritual healing of bodies and communities. Machi kill evil wekufe spirits using spiritual warfare during exorcisms performed at all healing (machitun), initiation (ngeikurrewen), and collective fertility (nguillatun) rituals (Bacigalupo 1998b). Machi warfare ideologies have also remained part of chueca, or ritual war games in which machi give pülluam (spiritual power gained from ancestral spirits) and herbal remedies to players to grant them the strength, valor, and power needed to win (Alvarado et al. 1991:146-147; Matus 1912:185; Medina 1882).

Reche ideals of co-gendered sexual warriors and sexual-spiritual machi weye clashed with the Spaniards’ polarized notions of religiosity. These were embodied, on one hand, in the ideal of a

hypermasculine Spanish soldier who should resist sensual pleasure and, on the other, in the purportedly celibate Catholic priest. Yet there were also instances of identification with the other. Both Spaniards and Reche established parallels between the gender identities of celibate Catholic priests and celibate weye of the foye tree, who were called boquibuye (foyewe).¹⁰ Boquibuye were chosen from among the most prestigious caciques. These “priests” carried a sacred cinnamon branch as a symbol of peace during war parliaments and lived isolated in caves that the Spaniards labeled “monasteries.” They wore long cloths wrapped around their waists in place of breeches, but the Spaniards saw these as “priestly robes,” not as the garments of putos. Boquibuye wore long hair like machi weye, or wigs made from seaweed (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:361-362; Rosales 1989:168, 209, 1154). The Spaniards considered this hairstyle priestly, not effeminate.

The Jesuits associated boquibuyes with their own spiritual militias, in which obedience, poverty, and chastity on the part of men of the same rank encouraged homosocial cohesion and homoeroticism while preventing same-sex practices.¹¹ The Jesuits saw their friendships and those between boquibuye as traditionally masculine because they rejected everything feminine and womanly. Reche in turn projected the co-gendered identity of the boquibuye onto Jesuit priests. Chief Guaquimilla portrayed a Jesuit priest bearing a foye branch as a boquibuye whose co-gendered qualities were thought to grant well-being to animals, people, and nature in general: “They called him father and mother [my emphasis] and filled him with compliments and gifts. . . . His happy coming was not limited to the people to whom he brought this enormous good. The animals, herbs, flowers, streams, and brooks, too, were leaping with pleasure” (Ovalle 1888:292).

The Reche constructed Jesuits as powerful machi. Priests often played with this image in order to gain Christian followers. Father Alonso del Pozo, for example, claimed that his holy water

healed the sick, and told chueca players that they would win if they went to mass. When Alonso revived a dying boy, the Reche believed his powers were superior to those of the machi (Rosales in Pinto 1991:55, 58) undermining their prestige. Machi countered that the Jesuits were witches who used baptism and confession in order to hex and kill Reche (Olivares 1874 289). Some Reche destroyed Jesuit robes and Christian images because they were afraid of their “magical power,” (Pinto 1991:57); others assassinated them (Salinas 1991:108). Contemporary male machi have fed the priest-machi correlation to assert their masculinity and to aspire to positions of male power and national prestige by legitimating themselves as celibate Mapuche priests. As “celibate priests” male machi are relatively protected from the label homosexual or witch.

The Spaniards struggled to represent the Reche chiefs and machi weye in ways that legitimated their own image, as masculine soldiers and authorities, and pious missionary priests who controlled the faith, will, and bodies of their colonial subjects. This was no easy task. The Reche ideology that associated spirituality, co-genderism, and warfare posed serious problems for Spanish gendered categories of representation, in which masculinity was usually associated with warfare, and effeminacy most often with witchcraft. How could Reche value both masculine warriors and devil-worshipping, effeminate, sodomitical gender inverts? How could these male gender inverts--who influenced the outcomes of battles through spiritual warfare--have social power and prestige? Why did Reche men have sex with sodomites, invoke a hermaphroditic warring spirit, and label their outstanding warriors with its name?

The Spaniards imagined Reche men to possess simultaneously the most admirable and the most despicable qualities of humankind. To them, Chile was an exotic land of mythic giants, pious Indians, and noble warriors, isolated from the civilized world. They revered Reche warriors for being masculine, ferocious, brave, and honorable (Rosales 1989:113, 114, 116) and admired their

muscular bodies. Spanish epics spoke of Reche titans with suprahuman strength, agility, and beauty, and especially of the Reche heroes Caupolicán and Lautaro (Ercilla 1933; Oña 1975). These depictions of mythical Reche warriors rationalized the Spaniards' inability to conquer them; the Spaniards associated bravery and skill in battle with honor, nobility, and masculinity. Romanticized images of Reche warriors have persisted in the Chilean imagination. The Chilean army named its regiments after Reche heroes and place names,¹² and Caupolicán's mythical qualities were lauded by the Chilean poet Rubén Darío (1941).

Reche chiefs were both stigmatized as effeminate and celebrated as masculine. Christian norms associated masculinity with austerity, resistance to sexual appetite, and mastery of the impulse toward pleasure (Halperin 2000:93) although in practice many Spanish soldiers engaged in concupiscence, womanizing and fathered children of Indian woman. These lustful Spanish practices were condemned by priests but celebrated as indicators of manhood in the barracks. Spanish Christian men drew on these contradictory notions of masculinity when labeling Reche men. They viewed wealthy, polygynous Reche chiefs "effeminate" not because they were "soft" but because they engaged in the sin of luxuria (lust) and the sensual pleasures of feasting, drinking, and dancing (Góngora Marmolejo 1862:147; Mariño de Lovera 1865:124; Rosales 1989:141). Nevertheless, Reche chiefs fathered many children, and in the eyes of the Spanish military, virility and reproduction was manly. Wealthy, noble Reche chiefs were powerful, honorable, manly lovers and fathers, yet their alleged inability to resist desire made them effeminate in Christian terms.

Machi weye and Reche chiefs, moreover, were imagined as embodying the darkest side of human existence, the one Spaniards feared and abhorred the most. As "devil worshipers," (Vivar 1966, Leiva 1982, Gonzalez de Nájera 1889), "putos," and "sodomites," machi weye were especially noxious to both Spanish Christian and military masculinity. They challenged Spanish

notions of God, morality, and military notions of manhood. Reche chiefs were depicted as savages who tortured their war prisoners and ate their beating hearts in rituals. They were said to have used prisoners' heads to drink and divine from, leaving the bodies to scavengers (Rosales 1989:128). Similar perceptions continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Máximo Lira (1870) depicted a machi weye trying to burn alive a young Spanish woman and a priest. Such images defied Spanish ethics, morality, codes of honor, and notions of social and religious order. If this was what Reche spiritual and political authorities were like, wrote the chroniclers, then conquest, evangelization, forced labor, and enslavement were necessary.

Justification and legitimation were the main motivators for these conflicting Spanish representations of male machi. Reche resistance and the reality of frontier life dampened the potential for Spanish economic exploitation, colonization, and evangelization. Brave Reche warriors threatened colonial power ideals in which superior, masculine, Christian soldiers dominated inferior, effeminate, pagan Indians. Machi weye incorporated Spanish symbols into their gendered spiritual epistemologies and reversed the colonial power dynamics. How could the Spaniards explain to the kings of Spain that Reche warriors with inferior weapons had taken their horses and muskets and defeated them with the help of sodomitical witches and hermaphroditic spirits?¹³ How could the Jesuits explain why machi weye did not abandon their spiritual practices after evangelization but now invoked Jesus, the Virgin, and the saints to help them fight Spaniards? Spanish commissioners, priests, and soldiers alternatively admired and vilified the Reche in their narratives, according to their agenda: the hope to gain wealth, Indian slaves, and support for the kingdom of Chile from the Spanish kings or to justify failed evangelization and military defeat. The chroniclers privileged Spanish imaginations over Reche realities, especially when their legitimacy was in question.

Familiarity and exoticism both played roles in Reche and Spanish interactions and the ways in which machi weye were depicted. Colonizers and natives exchanged weapons, animals, goods, beliefs, hunting and war strategies, healing knowledge, semen, and genes as they engaged in trade, warfare, and missionization and took captives and lovers of both sexes. They lived side by side through difficult conditions--famine, uncertainty, and drought--on what Sergio Villalobos (1992) called the "Chilean frontier." They developed a mestizo folk healing and religious system including herbal remedies, divinations, Catholic saints, and witchcraft.¹⁴ The Spaniards could not be too familiar with machi weye lest they lose their Christianity and masculinity in the process, but they had to demonstrate that they were making Spanish subjects and Christian men out of putos and sodomitical witches. Spanish soldiers feared machi weye on the battlefield or near their Christian masculine bodies because of their "deviant" gender identities, sexualities, and witchcraft, but they respected their functions in peace councils and drank their herbal remedies when they were sick.

DRESSED BODIES, SEXED BODIES, AND GENDERED CLOTHES

Transvestism, gender inversion, and hermaphroditism are umbrella terms used by anthropologists that often obscure more than they reveal about indigenous sexes and gender performances.¹⁵ The anthropologist Mischa Titiev, for example, wrote that the office of machi in colonial times “was generally held by men, and it is practically certain they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy was common” (Titiev 1951:115). His observations about colonial machi were based on traditional Euro-American assumptions that gender is the cultural reading of biological sex--the idea that there are only two sexes, and they are “naturally” associated with a particular gender performance, dress, and manner. People whose bodily sexes combine male and female anatomy in varying degrees are considered hermaphrodites, whereas those who have the body of one anatomical sex but whose gender performance, dress, and manner are those associated with the other “natural” sex are labeled invertes and transvestites. Cultural feminists have critiqued these assumptions, arguing that sexuality and gender are shifting, fluid categories (Flax 1990; Garber 1992; Haraway 1991). Biological sex is itself a gendered notion that depends on culturally generated perceptions of difference for its meanings and its ability to

appear “natural” (Butler, 1990, 1993; Hausman 1995).

In the Spaniards’ eyes, however, vaginas were ideally linked to womanhood, skirts, and “passive” sexual intercourse, whereas penises were ideally linked to manhood, breeches, and sexual penetration. Because Spanish soldiers and Jesuit priests saw gender, dress, and manner as ideally linked to bodies and sexual acts, they sometimes labeled transvestites and gender inverts hermaphrodites, and both categories were associated with “deviant” sexuality. The Irish Jesuit priest Thomas Falkner noted: “The male wizards are obliged (as it were) to leave their sex, and to dress themselves in female apparel, and are not permitted to marry, though the female ones or witches may. They choose for this office those who at an early time of life discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed in female attire” (1774:117). The body and its dynamics are sites for the most deeply entrenched beliefs held by a culture. The Spaniards’ perceived Spanish male bodies, dressed in men’s clothing, as natural and correct. Native bodies had to be made to conform, to learn their Spanish gender, in order to be considered part of society.

The Spaniards viewed Reche women as pious when they converted to Christianity and as “good women” when they became their concubines but labeled them brujas (witches) and putas (whores) when they resisted evangelization and Spanish norms and desires. Machi weye were labeled putos, but the term meant male gender invert and passive sodomite rather than male prostitute (Corominas 1954:701). Puto or puta, these people constituted the most serious threat to Spanish patriarchal notions of morality, family, motherhood, social order, and civil society.

Although effeminacy, gender inversion, cross-dressing, and passive sexual intercourse all meant different things in colonial times, many chroniclers fused them. To them, “cross-dressing” meant gender inversion, and gender inversion implied passive sexual roles. Colonial agents confused sodomy and cross-dressing and heaped sodomy epithets on natives throughout Latin

America without ever observing any sexual practices.¹⁶ They assumed that machi weye who wore skirts, loincloths, necklaces, rings, and braids--those who had “feminine mannerisms and gait,” by Spanish standards--and those who cooked and gathered herbs necessarily engaged in “receptive” sexual intercourse with men.¹⁷ Reche men who pierced their penises and tongues were also viewed as sodomitical (Vivar 1966:134), because they violated Spanish categories by opening the male body, creating “unnatural” orifices.

Spaniards and Reche held different ideas about what constituted men’s and women’s dress, behavior and roles and how these related to gender identity and sexuality. Because the chroniclers viewed Reche men through the lens of gender deviance and sodomy, they failed to notice that machi weye also assumed male identities, roles, and dress--particularly in the context of warfare--and that they sometimes had sex with women (Pietas in Gay 1846:488). In fact, the loincloth (puno) worn by machi weye was not, as Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan claimed, a woman’s dress, but a garment worn by male warriors in battle or during *chueca*, the ritual war game played with sticks and a hard rubber ball to resolve conflicts between competing teams (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:61; Rosales 1989:161). Reche women’s dress consisted of a long piece of black wool cloth held together at the waist with a sash (Ovalle 1888:114). Men’s dress consisted of woolen breeches called chiripa, sleeveless shirts, and a square poncho (Góngora Marmolejo 1862:2; Quiroga 1979:83). Machi weye sometimes donned women’s necklaces and rings (Pietas in Gay 1846:488; Gusinde 1917: 97), but their long hair--considered feminine by the chroniclers--was stylish for both Mapuche men and women (Vivar 1966:50-51).¹⁸

The Spaniards and the Reche had very different understandings of the relationship between gender and genitals. In Spanish eyes, all gender identities except those of “woman” and “man” were unnatural and were often determined by hermaphroditic bodies. The Spaniards labeled machi weye

and the co-gendered warring spirit Epunamun as hermaphrodites because they were thought to be products of a monstrous fusing of male and female bodies and genders.¹⁹ According to this perspective, hermaphrodites embodied the confusion of sexes, desires, and dispositions that represented social, moral, and sexual chaos. Hermaphrodites were stigmatized as either excessive or lacking--they were never whole nor balanced (Weil 1992:11-12, 36, 63). Most machi weye were not hermaphrodites but Reche with ordinary male genitals who were culturally defined as possessing co-gendered status. In Reche views, co-gendered status was not ordinarily associated with a hermaphroditic body. Reche hermaphrodites were not referred to as weye but by a separate term, alkadomo, meaning male-female (Febres 1882:23).²⁰

Gender was the central category organizing machi weye bodies and sexual acts, and their male genitals became a signifier of Reche co-gender identity. According to Reche perspectives, weye could become masculine or feminine but never women, because being a woman meant having female genitals. Male genitals--the penis-scrotum and the anus--granted machi weye greater flexibility than female genitals did. Male genitals allowed machi weye to construct themselves as both feminine and masculine and to engage in both passive and active intercourse. Females could also penetrate others sexually, with fingers, tongues, and other objects, but not with their genitals. Genitals were symbolically privileged as the locus of penetration or reception in the Chilean colonial context. When machi weye made themselves feminine, they seduced the spirits and were possessed by them. In Reche perspectives, use of male genitals was more important than the genitals themselves, but less important than embodying femininity and being possessed by spirits. The core of machi weye's identity was not that they were attracted to men. I argue that weye became feminine and "passive" principally to receive spirits into their bodies, and only secondarily and in prescribed contexts, other men.²¹ Machi weye's ability to construct themselves as feminine

and masculine allowed them access to both spiritual and political power.²²

Because Reche male genitals were ambivalent and could signify masculinity or femininity, hermaphroditism also became the symbolic signifier of Reche co-gendered status and was positively valued. In Reche perspectives, hermaphroditism represented the ability to combine spiritual and warring powers and served as a synthetic representation of the co-gendered status and complementary female and male powers of spirit beings. Representations of persons who were half men and half women could, along with opposite-sex twins, be easily read and interpreted by Reche, whereas ambivalent male genitals could not. References to Epunamun disappeared at the beginning of the twentieth century, although Ricardo Latcham (1922:363) and Grete Mostny (1960) mentioned Mapuche invocations of ancestral spirits who had a “dual sexual nature” and were represented as either opposite-sex twins or hermaphrodites.

Opposite sexed twins are often represented in Mapuche jewelry, but twentieth-century Chilean national gender ideologies and their representations of male machi developed from the Spanish colonial association between gender performance and sexuality. If a man displays dress or behavior considered inappropriate to men, it raises doubts about his heterosexuality because it stands outside the stereotype of masculinity and the heterosexual binary model. Scholars throughout the twentieth century depicted male machi as “inverts,” “transvestites,” “effeminate,” and “homosexuals” (Hilger 1957:68, 128, 249; Latcham 1915:281). Martin Gusinde stated that machi “follow the custom of sexual inversion, which can be proved by their preference for jewels and womanly adornments” (1917:97). Machi, juggle these majority representations with ritual gender bending.

MACHOS, SODOMITES, AND MARICONES

Time and again I was told by contemporary Mapuche that maricones (effeminate, sexually receptive men, or faggots) and homosexuales (homosexuals) did not exist traditionally among the Mapuche--that these were practices brought by the Spaniards. Colonial agents, of course, did not hold nineteenth-century notions of homosexuality as a permanent social identity combining a “pathological psychological orientation,” same-sex object choice, and “deviant sexual practice” (Halperin 2000:110). They did bring with them the discourse of sodomy. Some Reche males engaged in same-sex acts, but it was the Spaniards who labeled those males who engaged in anal intercourse with others, sodomites. Contemporary Mapuche and Chilean popular notions of homosexuality as based on sexual positions have their roots in New World colonial sodomy tropes, and contemporary Chileans often refer to colonial sexual acts using modern homosexual metaphors.²³

The chroniclers’ reading of machi practice as sexual, marginal, and deviant relied on the Spanish assumption that Christian morality was natural, and sexual practices that did not lead to reproduction were sinful vices. Colonial agents and Jesuit priests--like the Spaniards who encountered North American Indians with co-gendered identities--equated machi weye gender variance with sodomy and prostitution. In 1606 father Luis de Valdivia, for example, translated the

Reche term weye as sodomite, weyun as “nefarious sin,” and weyuntun as “the act of committing the nefarious sin.” Not surprisingly, the Reche’s own references to machi weye gender identities and sexualities scarcely appear in the colonial written records.

The sketchy accounts of machi gendered identities written by Spanish Catholic priests, missionaries, and soldiers were heavily colored by the anti-sodomite spirit of the Counter Reformation. Technically, sodomy included any nonprocreative sexual act in which semen was spilled outside the “natural receptacle” of the vagina, including masturbation, oral sex, and anal sex between men and women.²⁴ The Spaniards, like the Reche, believed that the distinction between same-sex acts and opposite-sex acts was less important than the distinction between sex that was potentially reproductive and sex that was nonreproductive.²⁵ The value ascribed to these acts in Reche and Spanish ideologies was very different, however, and in practice, it was mainly anal intercourse between males that was persecuted and punished by the Spaniards. Sodomitical acts between men and women were less likely to be witnessed or denounced. Men had more to lose in patriarchal Spanish society than did women, and male sodomy, especially anal intercourse between men, put male privilege at stake.

The Spanish Inquisition defined sodomites by their behavior and desires, not by their identities. Sodomy referred to a category of forbidden acts, not to the person who performed them (Jordan 1997:9, 176, Greenberg 1988:278). Men who engaged in these sodomitical acts violated “natural,” social, and Christian norms given by God. Following Thomas Aquinas, the Jesuits preached that sodomy was an “unnatural act against the will of God” and a sin, and that God would destroy Reche sodomites as he had the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah (Valdivia 1887:12-13).

In sixteenth-century Spain, Inquisitorial and popular discourses used sodomy labels to target two contrasting groups: wealthy, aristocratic men and ethnic and religious outsiders. Sodomy meant

very different things in these two contexts. Older, wealthy, aristocratic Christian men who lusted after and were thought to penetrate lower-class Spanish boys were tagged as sodomites by the Inquisition because they engaged in “unreproductive erotic disorders” and challenged Christian norms. They surrendered their privilege as upper-class Christian men and relinquished the social responsibility to uphold morality and the “natural law of God” (Carrasco 1986:44, 83-84, 95, 156). Sodomy labels in this case were linked to a lifestyle of luxury and excess and the vices of the upper class: adultery, gambling, and prostitution (Greenberg 1988:280, 295). Young, lower-class boys, who were thought to perform receptive roles, received lighter punishment by the Inquisition because they did not spill semen outside the “natural receptacle” of the vagina. They often denounced those who penetrated them to the Inquisition and claimed that they had not desired to be penetrated but had been seduced by money and the promise of social favors from wealthy men (Carrasco 1986:20-21, 98).

Spanish popular discourse also labeled lower-class adult men, those belonging to other ethnicities and belief systems, and those who were marginal in Spanish society, such as Jews and Moors, as sodomites (Carrasco 1986:27, 166-174). In these cases, the heavier stigma rested not on the penetrating partner but on the receptive one. The satirical literature often depicted sodomy as associated with race, effeminacy, adult males’ desire to be penetrated by other men, heresy, and loss of humanity. Effeminacy, in turn, was associated with inferiority, lust, sin, and disorder (Horsewell 1997; Saint Saens 1996). Femininity belonged not just to women but to anyone who enjoyed penetration. Lower-class Spanish men and women held the strongest anti-sodomite sentiments and denounced such practices to the Inquisition (Carrasco 1986:22).

In the New World colonial agents often used receptive sodomy labels against Indians as a way of policing ethnic, social, religious, and status relations. Most of the Spanish authorities in the

Americas came from the poorer, lower social classes. They sought to gain wealth and titles of nobility through their conquests. Natives were identified with “sodomitical” Moors, whom the Spaniards must exterminate (Monter 1990:276-99; Perry 1990:118-36). The conquistadores Hernán Cortés and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa characterized cross-dressed Indians in Mexico and Panama, respectively, as sodomites, eliminating any possibility of reading native bodies in local terms. Balboa set a precedent in 1513 when he had forty Quareque Panamanian noblemen accused of sodomitical practices fed to his dogs (Goldberg 1992:180-185).

Ironically, the conquistadores and priests who condemned sodomites argued that they were actually serving the interests of those they conquered. Balboa, for example, claimed that native women and the oppressed were offended by the cross-dressed, sodomitical bodies in their midst. He became the “righter of sexual and gender wrongs” and the “universal liberator of the underclasses” (Goldberg 1991:47-48) while imposing Spanish colonial ideologies about reproductive sex as positive and non-reproductive sex as negative.

The male-dominant Spanish culture--still reflected in Chilean hierarchies today--spoke directly about male sexual practices because they threatened the sexuality and selfhood of lonely Spanish soldiers, administrators, merchants, and priests. The chroniclers spoke only indirectly or inversely about female sexual practices. Spaniards labeled female *machi* as witches but did not target them in sexual terms the way they did *machi weye*. The “deviant” sexualities of *machi weye* were considered more dangerously antagonistic to the Spanish patriarchal order. Deviant male sexuality, witchcraft, and Indianness were linked as negative examples against which the Spaniards constructed their masculinity. The colonies were construed as sites where European virility could be demonstrated precisely because the conditions of intense male camaraderie and isolation there meant that masculinity could easily be unmade (Stoler 1999:175).

Colonial agents considered both active and passive partners in anal sex to be sodomites,²⁶ but they used the active/passive ideology to portray their superiority to Native male political and spiritual authorities. Colonial agents in Chile created an opposition between an ideal masculine, penetrating, Spanish Christian man and an abject, sodomitical chief or *machi* who played a receptive role in sexual intercourse with men.

As a criollo, Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan was aware of the varying roles that class, ethnicity, and power played in Spain and the New World and how they affected sodomy labels. He associated and embraced the stigmatizing notion that indigenous people were passive, effeminate sodomites in order to legitimate himself as Spanish and masculine. He projected New World sodomy labels associated with native ethnic difference and receptive anal intercourse sodomy onto Reche realities and put his own words in native mouths: “They believe that the nefarious sin is vile, with the difference that the man who takes on the role of the man is not offensive like the one who takes on the role of a woman” (1863:107).²⁷

The Reche may have had a joking acceptance of receptive same-sex acts between men, as did some Native American tribes, but I doubt that they considered these acts vile, and they certainly did not share Francisco’s notion of “nefarious sin.” It is possible that Francisco interpreted Reche joking about male same-sex acts as criticism or that one of his Reche Christian converts noticed Francisco’s aversion to male same-sex passive sexual roles and criticized such practices in order to appease him. Through experience, Reche learned to suppress, deny, and criticize the sexual practices abhorred by colonial agents and priests.²⁸ It is also conceivable that the Jesuit conquistador himself depicted his Reche male friends as condemning sodomy in order to ingratiate them to the Spaniards. One can only speculate about what concepts Reche men used to talk to Francisco about male same-sex acts and what actually took place in the verbal exchange that prompted him to write

this statement about Reche condemnation of sodomy.

The importance of Francisco's statement lies in his observation of the different meanings ascribed in colonial times to the penetrating and receptive sexual positions in male same-sex intercourse. Spaniards and criollos disapproved attraction between men and Jesuits labeled both penetrating and receptive male partners in anal intercourse as sodomites. A man who was penetrated by another man, however was considered more noxious than the one who penetrated him. Penetrating same-sex acts between men maintained some inkling of "masculine privilege" while receptive male same-sex acts renounced this privilege and emulated "feminine subjugation." Reche sexualities were based on gender, sexual positions and their reproductive potential, or the demands of spirits, whereas Spanish sexualities were defined on the basis of sexual positions and their reproductive potential and anatomical sex. In criollo eyes, sex and power were configured through male sexual roles. Receptive sexual positions were stigmatized as "passive," effeminate, and stigmatized shame, while penetrating sexual positions were considered "active" and more often associated with the masculinity and status those men who penetrated women held. The anthropologists Roger Lancaster (1992, 1997), Don Kulick (1998) Richard Parker (2000) and many others have documented the way in which some contemporary popular sexual traditions in Latin America have been configured along this active-passive dimension and interact with competing sexual paradigms.²⁹ Francisco's statement demonstrates that male "passive" and "active" sexual roles were also very much part of colonial power dynamics in Hispanic Chile. These categories became one of the many criteria that define modern popular Chilean homosexualities.³⁰

Michel Foucault argued that the nineteenth-century notion of homosexuality became one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of "interior androgyny, a hermaphroditism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the

homosexual was now a species” (1990:43). Although Foucault made clear the distinction between sodomitical act and homosexual identity, I argue that there is a closer connection between colonial sodomies and popular modern homosexualities than he claimed. Sodomites had subjectivities too. Their sexual tastes, styles, dispositions, and gender presentations were contextual and impermanent, but they became the basis for modern homosexual identities.

Popular Chilean male homosexual identities are associated with passivity and effeminacy because colonial agents thought of machi weye as sodomites--in this case effeminate men who engaged in “passive” sexual relations with other men. Contemporary Chilean lower-class men who are perceived as masculine, “active” sexual partners are sometimes not considered as homosexual as “passive” sexual parties in popular discourses³¹ because men who penetrated other men were not as frequently targeted as sodomites by colonial agents in Chile. The active-passive gendered binary regulates what Roger Lancaster (1992) called the “political economy of manhood,” one of the many elements that structures ethnic male social interactions and power relations in Chile.³² Spanish soldiers asserted their virility and “superior” ethnicity and religious beliefs by symbolically being “on top,” dominating and labeling male machi, who were constructed as feminine, indigenous, pagan, and “on the bottom.” Throughout the nineteenth century, gender deviance was read as homosexuality in Chilean majority discourses. The Reche term weye or *weyetufe* was defined as hombre homosexual (homosexual man), homosexual pasivo (passive homosexual), and maricón (Febres 1882:106, Montecino 1999:52)--the last a heavily stigmatized word that also serves as a synonym for coward and betrayer.

PIOUS WOMEN, WITCHES, AND MASCULINE TRANSGRESSORS

Female machi fell more easily into Spanish categories of the feminine than machi weye fit Spanish notions of masculinity. The colonizers believed that Reche women were naturally more pious than men. Women who healed others with herbs, however, were labeled evil witches and devil worshipers. Both Spanish categories for women were projected onto female machi and became quickly incorporated into popular belief.

The few existing records on colonial female machi mention that they were often daughters of powerful caciques and became healers after being initiated into the machi school of practice (Ovalle 1888:21; Rosales 1989:159). The chroniclers assumed that female machi were women because they dressed in women's clothes and performed women's work, such as collecting plants, cooking, and making textiles and ceramics (González de Nájera 1889:287; Núñez de y Bascuñán 1863:329; Ovalle 1888:21, 158, 388, 406-407; Rosales 1989:159). There is no information about female machi sexualities during the colonial period, and aside from Diego de Rosales's brief note about women and men "exchanging clothes" during rituals (Rosales 1989:141), no allusion to Reche women wearing men's clothes appears in the literature. A few references to female machi "sexual irregularities" (Guevara 1913:262) appear sporadically in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but these practices were less stigmatized than those of male machi because they did not threaten Spanish male sexualities and personhoods.

The Jesuits believed that female *machi* could be more readily converted to Christianity on account of their “natural virtuosity.” Father Alonso de Ovalle’s seventeenth-century narrative of the conversion of female *machi* intimates his Jesuit readings of female piety and the exclusory nature of Christian faith. Female *machi* “witches” become “virtuous Christian women” by the hands of priests. Jesuits expelled the “art of the devil” from the bodies of four female *machi* using Christian symbols as divine healing objects. One *machi*’s “horrific nocturnal visions” are said to have ceased “miraculously” when a priest placed a rosary around her neck. Another *machi* was “exorcized” when a priest pressed a relic of Saint Ignatius onto her body while invoking Jesus’ name (Ovalle 1888:388, 407). The Jesuit’s exorcizing techniques were similar to those of *machi*, but in Jesuit eyes, relics and rosaries were saintly and miraculous, whereas *machi* drums and cinnamon trees were instruments of native witchcraft. Jesuits used baptism as the sole marker of Christian faith and assumed that baptized *machi* would lose their powers and abandon their spiritual healing practices. A third female *machi* is said to have lost her abilities to penetrate people’s minds with her eyes when she was baptized (Ovalle 1888:406). Since the Jesuits were unable to convert the Reche to Christian religious dogma, they baptized them and found Christian equivalents for Reche spirits and ritual practices, hoping that through syncretism, the Reche would finally convert. *Machi*, however, did not see Christianity and Reche beliefs as mutually exclusive. They reversed the power dynamics of conversion by asking to be baptized and invoking the Christian God to increase their powers. They also incorporated images of the saints, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus into their healing epistemologies and practices.

The Spaniards also constructed female *machi* as witches. They sometimes portrayed all Reche as demonic, but women and effeminate men were thought to be especially prone to seduction by the devil.³³ Spanish soldiers and priests, condemned all bodily experiences, associated femininity

with lasciviousness and lack of will and control. The Reche believed that illness and death were produced through witchcraft, poisoning, and invisible darts, and they feared those who performed such acts, but they distinguished between healing and witchcraft. The Spaniards grouped all *machi* practices under the terms sorcery and witchcraft, translating the Reche term kalku as “effeminate witch” or “agent of the devil who works against Christian law” (Valdivia 1606). *Machi* divinations with animal livers, exorcisms of patients through sucking and blowing, use of herbal remedies and stones, and ritual drinking, dancing, and games were all interpreted through the rubric of witchcraft.³⁴ In 1626, the first diocesan synod in Chile condemned the practices of *machi* as well as those who visited them (Casanova 1994:124).

Throughout the colonial American continent, social and political biases and fears of the power of women healers and of men perceived as effeminate led to their being accused of witchcraft (Glass-Coffin 1998; Karlsen 1987; Klaitz 1985; Silverblatt 1987). Most of the women accused by Spaniards were unmarried or older widowed women--those who were independent of men or who were perceived as threatening or competing with the power of men in some way. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Spaniards held numerous proceedings against Mapuche women and some men accused of sorcery. They were physically punished until they confessed to standard, European-style witchcraft (Casanova 1994:139-150). The thirteen women and nine men accused during proceedings in Chillan in 1749 were forced to confess that they had met in caves for midnight covens, formed a pact with the devil by having sex with him in the guise of a male goat, participated in orgies and feasting, transformed themselves into animals, and tried to kill others through diverse forms of witchcraft. Melchora, the oldest woman, who could not be identified as the daughter, wife, or widow of any man, bore the brunt of the accusations. To appease the prosecutors, she confessed to using stones, corals, and herbs to perform witchcraft (Casanova 1994:164-166). By

the mid-eighteenth century the association between women and witches had become part of popular belief, and Mapuche themselves stabbed and burned Mapuche women they thought were witches (Gómez de Vidaurre 1889:325-326; Memoire 1890:16-17; Robles 1942:12).

The chroniclers also presented an alternative image of Reche women as “strong, brave, and masculine” (Ovalle 1888, 22-23; Rosales 1989, 495, 38, 252) because they performed well-respected roles and participated in community activities in a way Spanish women did not: “Chilean women are so masculine that on important occasions and when men are scarce, they take up weapons as if they were men, and play in [ritual war games of] *chueca*” (Ovalle 1888:115). Since women were inferior to men in Spanish gender ideologies, the colonial agents believed that men should take on all the important social positions. Female *machi* who performed important roles and were valued in Reche society were considered masculine by Spanish standards.

Colonial prejudices about the inferior or superior qualities of the female sex and assumptions about female sexuality, femininity, and womanhood influenced the ways in which female *machi* are perceived today. Contradictory representations of female *machi* as pious women, feminine witches, or masculine women have permeated the contemporary Mapuche imagination. References to female *machi* as monjas (nuns), ángeles (angels), and brujas (witches) are common, and the term marimacha (butch or masculine woman) is occasionally applied to female *machi* who systematically transgress norms of behavior for Mapuche women.

CO-GENDERED IDENTITIES AND ALTERNATIVE SEXUALITIES

The Reche viewed gender as the central category for organizing bodies and sexual acts and for defining identity and sexuality. In colonial times, Reche recognized and valued at least one gender identity aside from that of women and men and accepted many different types of sexual acts. In their view, gender and sexuality were performed--they did not follow naturally from anatomy. If we examine the Jesuit priest Luis de Valdivia's Mapuche-Spanish dictionary of 1606--taking Spanish perspectives into account--we find that several seventeenth-century Reche terms translated by Valdivia suggest the existence of co-gendered identities. The terms chegelcen, "to be made a man," chegelun, "to make oneself a man," cacudeltun, "to disguise oneself by using a dress," and kureyen, "to use as a woman," all point to the fact that gender was made, performed, and enacted rather than determined by sex or sexual identity.

The Reche had co-gendered identities in which *machi weye* oscillated between masculine and feminine poles. They combined women's and men's behavior, dress, and style in varying degrees, and this co-gendered condition could be associated with passive or active sexual acts or with celibacy, the meanings of which varied according to context. Some Reche sexual acts were gender based or classified according to sexual positionality, whereas others were categorized as reproductive or nonreproductive.

The value Reche placed on co-gendered identities and gender transformation, and the Spaniards' abhorrence of gender inversion, was founded on the two groups' different valuations of masculinity and femininity. A Reche man who abandoned his male gender to become a machi weye, a nonman, did not undergo a profound loss of status, privilege, or power, because womanhood and femininity were socially valued. A Spanish man who became effeminate and lost his manhood, on the other hand, lost the privilege men held over women and effeminates in Spanish society.

The concept of third-gender persons was created by Euro-American scholars to describe people around the globe with gender identities distinct from those of women and men. Such persons are labeled cross-gendered or transgendered because their gender and sex do not match up according to the Euro-American woman-man binary system. Some writers argue that the terms "third gender" "alternate gender" and "two-spirit" allows us to go beyond the woman-man binary and explicate multigendered societies (Garber 1992; Herdt 1984; Nanda 1985; Roscoe 1991; Jacobs and Thomas: 1994; Wikan 1991). Yet in its attempt to universalize what is really culturally variable and context specific, the third-gender concept itself draws on Western woman-man gender binarism.³⁵ In this context, the third-gender notion reinforces the Euro-American idea that sex is naturally associated with gender and fixes the gender subjectivities of women, men, and third gender as static and permanent (Kulick 1998; Prieur 1998, Epple 1998).

I use the term "co-gendered" to refer to weye to reinforce the idea that machi weye identity was constantly fluctuating between the masculine and the feminine, an oscillation which in spiritual and political contexts appear as a binary opposition between men/non-women and women/non-men and in everyday contexts as an opposition between men and women.³⁶ In spiritual and political contexts the masculine --including men and possibly nonwomen--was associated with political and

warring abilities, and the feminine--including nonmen and women--was associated with spirituality. Machi weye moved from being men (masculine) to being nonmen (feminine) when conducting spiritual warfare and rituals. In everyday contexts, the masculine was ideally associated with men, and the feminine, with women--an ideal also held by colonial agents. Women and non-weye men ordinarily defined themselves in relation to this second everyday binary. Weye were subjected to this second binary in everyday contexts where the distinction between weye and women became relevant. Male sexual relations with weye were not the same as sexual relations with women, and even as nonmen, weye retained their position in the patrilineage and did not have husbands. In this context, weye were perceived as men.

It is unclear whether the Reche viewed female machi as having their own distinct co-gendered identity or whether they considered them to be women. The chroniclers make no reference to a Reche term for female machi akin to that of the Native American female berdaches.³⁷ There is no mention of colonial female machi's combining political and spiritual power in order to perform spiritual warfare. Nevertheless, contemporary female machi do have co-gendered identities. Female machi move from being women (feminine) when healing to being nonwomen (masculine) when conducting exorcisms and killing evil wekufe spirits.

Co-gendered machi weye combined Reche masculine and feminine attributes, qualities, and characteristics dynamically. As nonmen, weye participated in the realm of the feminine, but they also retained some of their male prerogatives and sometimes shared a gender with men. Weye were never outside the Reche gender system but held a privileged position within it. Their gender identities are better explicated by recent developments in gender theory in which sex does not determine gender and in fact has no necessary relation to gender at all (Butler 1990:6-7). It was the weye's ability to be both feminine nonmen and masculine men, in Reche terms, that made them co-

gendered and endowed them with the spiritual and political power that gave them a privileged vantage point from which to view human affairs.

Machi weye had special powers because of their co-gendered identities and relationships with spirits, which allowed them to perform as mediators between human and spiritual worlds. Machi's abilities to understand and move between masculine and feminine worldviews and to be possessed by spirits of different genders gave them the tools to travel between terrestrial and celestial realities and negotiate the relationship between them. Like many Native American tribes, the Reche recognized a spiritual dimension associated with institutionalized gender variance.³⁸ The co-gendered identities of machi weye, like those of male berdaches (Whitehead 1981:111), were determined by their social behavior, occupations, and sexual acts and by the spirits, rather than by their choice of sexual object. Same sex acts were interpreted through the lens of gender categories.

Co-gendered identity was the basis for machi weye sexualities. Sexual partners of the same physical sex but not of the same gender were not considered sodomites or aberrants. Sexual acts between machi weye were taboo, however, because they belonged to the same co-gendered category. Machi were what Williams (1986:96) called "heterogendered," in the sense that they engaged in sexual acts with people belonging to gender statuses other than their own, who could be anatomically male or female. But these sexual acts did not denote a permanent identity or a social category. Machi weye sexual acts cannot be subsumed under modern notions of homosexual, heterosexual, or bisexual personae.

The Spaniards' stress on machi weye's same-sex acts over other aspects of their gender roles severely distorted their image. I argue that sex with males was a secondary, derivative feature, not a precondition of weye status.³⁹ Weye engaged in penetrating sexual intercourse with women as well as receptive sexual intercourse with men (Pietas in Gay 1846:488), and they remained celibate

while preparing for rituals or battle. Weye also performed what the chroniclers called “indecent and dishonest” dances called weyepurrun using “lascivious songs and gestures.” They tied horse intestines filled with wool around their waists as phallic symbols, or they might tie a wool string around their penis for women and men to pull on (Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:134-135). These dances celebrated the masculine sexual attractiveness and prowess associated with reproductive sex, unbound fertility, and the powers of generation that would ensure abundance for the community.

Machi weye’s co-gendered identities also became the basis for alternative sexualities. Certain nineteenth-century Mapuche terms referred to genital acts that had spiritual and nonreproductive connotations. The term pullitun, translated by the Jesuit missionary Andrés Febres as the “sin of sodomy between two men” (1846:60), actually meant “to take, receive, or create spiritual power and strength” (Valdivia 1606). It referred to spiritual, nonreproductive sexual intercourse between males (Augusta 1910:202; Febres 1846:19). The term antükuram, meaning “an egg without an embryo,” referred to nonreproductive intercourse between people of any gender (Catrileo 1995:152). The Mapuche were not alone in connecting nonreproductive sexualities and spirituality. In North America, berdaches’ nonreproductive sexuality was frequently considered a defiance of death, a way of detaching oneself from the ordinary physical experience to establish a special relationship with the realm of the spiritual and immortal (Roscoe 1998:207). These Mapuche nonreproductive spiritual sexualities were positively valued and contrasted with Spanish notions of nonreproductive sexuality viewed as negative and labeled as sodomitical practice.

Most contemporary Mapuche terms for genitally organized activities are constructed in relation to the sexual acts one wants to perform with another person, or in relation to existing gender categories and social identities, rather than sexual identities.⁴⁰ The term kureyen, which means “to

take as a wife,” refers to a man’s penetrating intercourse with a person of any gender. Domotun refers to a person of any gender’s having intercourse of any type with a woman, while wentrutun refers to a person of any gender’s having intercourse of any type with a man (Augusta 1910; Febres 1846). Machi today use gender-based sexualities exclusively, but sexual positionality plays a role in popular Chilean homosexualities.

Machi today are often labeled according to popular Chilean national sexualities and gender ideologies in which masculinity and penetration are valued over femininity and receptive intercourse. The categories of masculinity, femininity, and homosexuality themselves have shifted over time and continue to change in different contexts. Co-gendered identities and sexualities based on gender or sexual positions continue to play important roles in machi life and some male machi are now labeled as *domo-wentru* or woman-man. These co-gender identities manage to undercut national hierarchical constructions of sexual identity and gender in ritual and private contexts and provide machi with spiritual legitimacy.

FEMINIZING SPIRITUALITY

The relationship between gender and political and spiritual power shifted dramatically in the mid-eighteenth century as missionary zeal and sociopolitical and economic change transformed Reche communities. As other Mapuche institutions gained political power, machi were stripped of theirs and were regendered as solely feminine and spiritual. Various circumstances led to the repudiation of male machi roles and increasingly raised females to these positions of spiritual authority. Local Reche clans disappeared, and political power became unified and concentrated in the hands of a few permanent, macroregional sociopolitical organizations with a pan-Mapuche identity (Boccaro 1998). The line of male ancestral spirits whom the machi weye invoked for the benefit of a small, lineage-based community became irrelevant. Sociopolitical interests replaced the co-gendered warrior ideal as the Mapuche became sedentary agriculturalists, suffered military defeat by the Chilean army in 1881, and were placed on reservations in 1884. The number of male machi decreased substantially after the final “pacification” of the Mapuche in the late nineteenth century; spiritual warfare and male military divination were no longer needed (Faron 1964:154). Missionization by homophobic Catholic orders (Foerster 1996; Pinto 1991) that rejected “unmasculine” male machi also contributed to the decline in their numbers and the rise of female machi (Bacigalupo 1996). Missionization was facilitated by the division of Mapuche patrilineages

among different reservations, so that they no longer had ancestral spirits in common.

Female machi predominated throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as land fertility became a major concern for Mapuche.⁴¹ With pacification, the Mapuche were relegated to small plots of eroded territory, and agricultural production became crucial for survival. Collective nguillatun rituals were now performed primarily to ask deities for bountiful crops and fertile animals. Both female machi and machi weye were considered ngenkuyen--owners of the moon--who controlled the powers of generation and fertility and were gifted in dealing with problems between the sexes, infertility, and menstruation (Latcham 1924:433). Sex-based notions of gender, however, and the rejection of effeminate male machi were gradually incorporated into Mapuche gender ideologies. The idea that female machi, who can give birth from their bodies, are more effective in ensuring land fertility became generalized throughout the twentieth century. As machi practice has become increasingly associated with domesticity, land fertility, and women's work, some Mapuche have also begun to reject male machi who wear women's clothes.

Although female machi today are considered to be both masculine spiritual warriors and powerful feminine women, it is their female bodies that give them authority over the fertility of the land. Female machi also hold credibility as healers in the realm of spirits, illness, and witchcraft. The Mapuche believe that female machi are less invested in the male ancestral spirits of competing patrilineages within a community than are male machi. Therefore they are better suited to be spiritual representatives of the body politic. Female machi have begun to invoke the pan-Mapuche deity Ngünechen on behalf of a much larger ritual community beyond the patrilineage.

The switch to predominantly female machi was gradual, but it produced a permanent shift in the way Mapuche conceived of gender and spirituality. Chilean perceptions of spiritual and political power as contrasting ways of viewing the world had a major impact on the way machi perceived

their roles and gender identities. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the spiritual power of machi was seen as conflicting with the political power of male chiefs. Male machi's legitimacy as spiritual intermediaries was threatened by the imposition of Chilean ideals of male roles as political and public. Machi spiritual power, associated with femininity, is now independent from political power and is passed down through the female line, often through a maternal grandmother. When machi lost their political power, female machi's spiritual power and bodies alone accorded them status and prestige in other realms of Mapuche society, something that is much more difficult for male machi to accomplish.

COLONIAL LEGACIES

Almost four centuries have passed since Francisco Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan encountered a machi weye and labeled him a puto, a sodomite, and a devil worshiper, and since Alonso de Ovalle found female machi to be witches and pious women. The sociopolitical, religious, and economic circumstances in which machi live today are very different, but the colonial penetration paradigm continues to shape Chilean power symbolism. Colonial ethnic, sexual, and power relationships continue to shape Chilean majority discourses, and the machi body, with its desires and gendered powers, is still a site of identity and difference between colonizer and colonized. National perceptions read femininity as inferior, penetrated, and on the bottom, and masculinity as superior, penetrating, and on top. Feminine identities, receptive sexual positions, and marginal ethnicities remain devalued in national imaginations. Machi are viewed as feminine and marginal to the patriarchal modern Chilean state. The discourse of effeminacy and homosexuality is used as a tool for domination to mold machi to state-defined masculinities.

The gendered perspectives of colonizer and colonized are no longer so easily distinguishable as the Mapuche create hybrid gender ideologies. Colonial ideologies created a polarization between a powerful, masculine conquistador who spoke about machi genders in Spanish terms and a subaltern, indigenous, effeminate machi who is silent in the colonial record. In a contemporary

context, conflicting indigenous voices and diverse notions of gendered and sexual selves and others coexist within a single social fabric. Heavily stigmatizing labels of homosexuality and witchcraft are used not only by the Chilean majority but also by Mapuche themselves, who police internal boundaries of deviance, tradition, and personhood. Homosexuality labels are like accusations of witchcraft in that people use them to ostracize those with whom they have personal conflicts, those who do not fit their notions of social order, and those who are perceived as threatening to their selves or community.

Contemporary machi inherit Reche and Spanish gender binaries. The three gendered binaries that shape the way contemporary machi see themselves and the way others view them are structured by different principles. The first gendered binary is that defined by biological sex and associated with men and women in both Reche and Spanish discourses in the context of everyday life. The second binary is defined by the criollo penetration paradigm, in which penetrating men are opposed to receptive nonmen and women. The third, is the Reche binary defined by machi ritual performances of feminine and masculine where machi oscillate between the binary men/non-women and women/non-men. These different gender and sexual ideologies in turn are linked to systems of power. Spanish sodomy tropes and notions of effeminacy colonized Mapuche ideologies and became part of Chilean popular homosexualities. The Chilean majority view female machi and effeminate male machi as witches. Male gender inverts and effeminate men, perceived to be penetrated by others, are considered homosexuals. Male gender inversion, passivity, and witchcraft remained linked in Chilean popular notions of homosexuality, to which many Mapuche ascribe. In contrast, Reche-Mapuche notions of co-gendered identities and alternative sexualities have remained pervasive in prescribed contexts. They shape contemporary male machi gender identities and sexualities and have also been extended to female machi. The language of co-genderism

legitimizes machi practice and “traditional” culture and has served as an important symbol for Mapuche identity politics and fundamentalist ideologies.⁴²

Machi have devised ways to maintain the co-gendered identities of the colonial era while using majority gendered ideologies of political and spiritual power for their own ends. When Chile became a nation-state in 1818, national discourses that divorced spiritual and political power became increasingly important to machi practice. Machi were then stripped of their formal political power and regendered as feminine and spiritual. Machi have responded to this process by expanding colonial Reche notions about the relationship between femininity, spirituality, and power. Since homophobia targets male machi in a way that female machi do not experience, female machi have incorporated colonial male co-gendered identities in order to legitimate themselves. Female machi have incorporated political functions as ritual orators in collective nguillatun rituals to bring fertility and abundance to the communities. They also have begun performing a contemporary version of colonial machi weye’s spiritual warfare. They become “warrior machi” and draw on ancestral warriors to combat forestry companies who have taken their land and draw on traditional knowledge to rally for cultural rights and political autonomy from the state. In healing rituals they kill evil *wekufe* spirits that threaten the bodies of their patients or their communities.

Male machi have struggled to legitimate themselves and their practices and avoid being labeled homosexuals by drawing on the colonial parallel between machi weye’s co-gendered identity and that of celibate Catholic priests. Although a large number of Mapuche now ascribe to both the penetration paradigm and the relationship between male gender inversion, transvestism, and homosexuality, Catholic priests are not ordinarily viewed in those terms. Majority discourses and some Mapuche, too, stigmatize homosexuality as “deviant,” but male machi still need to become feminine to be possessed by spirits. Co-gendered identities remain essential to machi ritual

practice. Male machi faced with this predicament struggle for legitimacy and participate in majority-gendered discourses of power by associating themselves with national male positions of prestige while retaining their status as traditional Mapuche practitioners. They reconstruct themselves as celibate Mapuche priests. They remind city folk that they are Catholic while claiming that priesthood has always been a traditional Mapuche gender role. After all, the Catholic priest is the only national male personage who acts as an intermediary with the divine and who holds authority yet wears skirts and has a sexuality distinct from that of the ordinary family man.

The emergence of cultural change in machi practice has been heavily politicized, contextual, and tied up with changing local and national structures of male power and prestige. Machi perform what Matthew Gutmann (1996) called “transformative consciousness.” They draw on widely accepted notions of gender and sexuality inherited from the past and transform them according to context, allowing the emergence of cultural change. In shifting the frame of reference from men and women to co-genderism, or in using dominant gender ideologies for their own benefit, machi transform gendered meanings. Power lies not only with those who impose gendered structures but also with those who creatively transform them--making and remaking worlds according to multiple gender ideologies and sexualities.

ENDNOTES

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²Diego de Rosales described two angels who punished Reche sodomites with a flood (1989:237-238)

³ The conquistador Cabeza de Vaca, too, was enslaved by Indians in Florida and became recognized as a powerful shaman on account of his intermediate status as neither Spanish nor Indian and his ambivalent gender status as a male who performed a woman's role as go-between (Goldberg 1992:206-217).

⁴The Reche destroyed all Spanish settlements in their territory between 1553 and 1557, between 1598 and 1613, and between 1654 and 1656. They organized many local armed rebellions between 1656 and 1883 (Alvarado, de Ramón, and Peñaloza 1991; Olivares 1864).

⁵ For details on the significance of the horse for Reche spirituality and warfare, see Alvarado et al. 1991.

⁶The Jesuits claimed the devil was responsible for the Reche's resistance to colonization and evangelization and insisted the Spaniards practice "defensive warfare." The Franciscans blamed the Reche for this resistance and argued that the Indians could only be "saved" through violence, punishment and slavery (Pinto, 1991:68-69).

⁷ The contact-period Maya also had a dance of the warriors in which penis perforation and bloodletting were dramatized (Landa 1941; Taube 2000).

⁸ The "dual sexual qualities" of Epunamun have been mentioned by Ercilla (1569:34), Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán (1863:361), Ovalle (1888:347), Gómez de Vidaurre (1889:432), González de Nájera (1889:99), and Rosales (1989:162-163).

⁹ Many Native American societies also saw a close connection between co-gendered practitioners, hermaphroditic beings and successful warfare. Some berdaches are known to have fought alongside warriors, accompanying them to battle or carrying the dead (Roscoe 1998:17; Calendar and Kochems 1983; Katz 1976).

¹⁰ The similarities between the boquibuye and another practitioner called gen boye (ngen foye), or "owner of the cinnamon tree," led Ricardo Latcham and others scholars to conclude that they were the same practitioner. In fact, they are quite different. The position of boquibuye is elected and transitory, whereas that of gen boye is hereditary and permanent (Zapater 1973:75-76). The position of gen boye is akin to that of the contemporary cacique who celebrates collective nguillatun rituals and is sometimes known as nguenpin (owner of the word).

¹¹ In Constituciones, Ignacio de Loyola enforced strict disciplinary measures and spiritual exercises to control the Jesuit homosocial environment. Gustavo Geirola (2000:160-161) explored the relationship between Jesuit homosociality and homoeroticism. For details on the interaction between Jesuits and Reche in warfare and peace parliaments, see Foerster 1996.

¹² Amado Láscar (2001:9) mentions the regiments of Andalién, Arauco, Huamachuco, Lautaro, Teasel, and Caupolicán.

¹³ Horacio Zapater (1989:58) called the process by which the Reche adopted and transformed Hispanic elements for their own purposes and then used them to resist the Spaniards “antagonistic acculturation.”

¹⁴ In 1626, the bishop of Chillan, Francisco de Salcedo, threatened Reche and Spanish individuals who used stones and herbs for magical purposes, made poison to kill others, or practiced divination (Oviedo 1964:335-337).

¹⁵ For discussions of how sexual ideologies are challenged by sexual performances and behaviors in Latin America, see Kulick 1998, Lancaster 1997, and Prieur 1998.

¹⁶ Bernal Diaz (1963:19) claimed that all the natives of Mexico were sodomites, on the basis of some idols that represented Indians performing “sodomitical acts.” Goldberg (1992:195) mentioned the same phenomenon.

¹⁷ See Febres 1882b; Havestadt 1777; Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñan 1863:107, 159; Ovalle 1888; Pietas in Gay 1846:488; Rosales 1989; Smith 1855.

¹⁸ When North American berdaches assumed the occupation of a woman or a man, they often followed the dress of that gender, while their intermediate gender status was signified by either combining the dress of women and men or using a mode of dress associated with neither (Callender and Kochems 1983:447). The intermediate status of the Zuni berdache, for example, is illustrated by the practice of burying male berdaches in women’s dress and men’s trousers on the men’s side of the graveyard (Parsons 1916:528). Xaniths, third-gendered male prostitutes in Oman, dress like women but do not behave like Oman women. They maintain the legal status of men while mingling freely with women in a gender-segregated society (Wikan 1991). The specific association between machi weye occupation and dress is less clear, because it is heavily colored by Spanish notions of what constituted women’s and men’s dress and occupations.

¹⁹ See Ercilla 1569:34; Gómez de Vidaurre 1889:432; González de Nájera 1614:99; Nuñez de Pineda y Bascuñán 1863:361; Ovalle 1888:347; Rosales 1989:162-163.

²⁰ Some Native Americans, such as the Omaha, distinguished between berdaches and hermaphrodites, whereas others, such as the Navajos, used the same term for both, although most berdaches were “anatomically normal” and were culturally defined as intersexed (Callender and Kochems 1983:444). Reche,

like the Omaha, had separate terms for hermaphrodites and co-gendered practitioners and considered them different categories of identity.

²¹ This contrasts with the gendered subjectivities of Brazilian bichas, transgendered prostitutes whose effeminacy was constructed around the erotic desire for men (Kulick 1998).

²² Male genitals have opposite meanings for machi weye and contemporary northern Indian hijras. Hijras are males who often undergo ritual castration, dress in women's clothes but are considered neither feminine nor masculine, and behave differently from both women and men (Nanda 1985). In northern India, gender is associated with genitals, so intermediary gender identity is obtained by (real or symbolic) gender mutilation and exclusion from the worlds of women and men. In Reche land, gender and genitals do not necessarily match. Machi weye male genitals are signified ambivalently and they shift genders. Machi weye are men and nonmen and are considered masculine and feminine.

²³ One of the effects of the transposition of colonial sodomy labels onto contemporary Chilean homosexualities is that historical machi weye are often referred to as homosexuals -- abstracting them from their historical and sociopolitical contexts. During the first seminar on "Sexuality and Homosexuality" held in Chile in October 1993, Francisco Casas, a Chilean poet who self-identifies as a "gay activist," claimed that "colonial Mapuche homosexuals" who were not machi provoked the "fury of the gods" and thus were dismembered and their body parts used as offerings. I found no historical evidence for his statement, but in any case the dismembered males would have been weye (in Reche terms) or "Reche sodomites" (in Spanish terms), but not Mapuche homosexuals.

²⁴ Mark Jordan (1997) elaborated on the changing meanings of the term sodomy in the writings of those who condemned sodomy most vehemently or decisively: Peter Damilan, Alan of Lille, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. He showed the term to be fundamentally confusing and contradictory. It's meaning has to be learned anew with each author who reinterprets it.

²⁵ David Greenberg argued that the legal prosecution of "heterosexual" sodomy, even if infrequent, shows that the distinction between what he calls "homosexual" and "heterosexual" sodomy cases were made public contribute to this infrequency (1988:277). But public exposure is only one of the reasons for the frequent prosecution of male same-sex sodomy. The more important reason was the high status granted to manhood and masculinity in Spanish society and the repudiation of those men who renounced this privilege by being effeminate.

²⁶ The chronicler Gomara for example mentions that Pacra, one of the chiefs encountered by Balboa was a great sodomite and he had many wives with whom he also practiced anal sex.

²⁷ The Bahian Portuguese planter Gabriel Soares da Sousa described Brazilian Indians in similar terms "... many of them are addicted to the nefarious sin, and among them it is no affront. And the one who serves as the male is considered valiant, and they tell of this bestiality as of a feat ..." (Da Sousa in Parker 1991:13).

²⁸ Many indigenous people who had extensive contact with European or American missionaries, Spanish soldiers, explorers, or, more recently, tourists and anthropologists learned about Western negative attitudes toward same-sex practices. The response has often been to suppress or deny indigenous sexual practices (Greenberg 1988:78-79).

²⁹ Hector Carillo (1999), Charles Klein (1999), Roger Lancaster (1997), and Richard Parker (2000) outline current Latin American homosexualities as a network of contending perspectives that shift. These competing sexual paradigms vary in different racial, class, ethnic and religious contexts.

³⁰ There are three main criteria that classify men as homosexuals in Latin America: First, sexual practice classifies men as active, passive or international (active or passive). Second, lifestyle, gender role, and attire classify men as effeminate, masculine, transvestites, and transformists. Third, men may self-identify as women, as men, alternate between feeling like women or men, or identify themselves under some form of transgendered (*bicha*) or co-gender category (*machi*).

³¹ In contrast, Mark Jordan argues that it is because Latin theologians thought of sodomites as identities--men who engage in same-sex acts--that Americans homosexuals can think of themselves as a separate people having gay or lesbian identities (1997:163). His reading makes sense in a mainstream white, middle-class American context where both same-sex partners are labeled homosexual regardless of the acts they perform and are equally stigmatized in relationship to heterosexuals. However, American mainstream homosexuality lacks the power dynamics that the Latin American penetration paradigm has in the construction of Chilean sodomies and homosexualities.

³² In Latin America various urban, rural, upper and middle-class discourses about homosexuality co-exist and interact. In Chile, we can speak of two main ideal sexual cultures that give rise to different concepts of sexual personhood. On the one hand there is the principle of homology predominant among the upper middle class where a homosexual man is defined by choice of sexual object where the bond of sexual partners is not based on power and domination but rather on their identity of desire, orientation and sexuality. On the other hand, there is the principle of heterology predominant among the lower classes where male homosexuality is associated with gender transitivity, and sexual positions. According to this perspective it matters not only with whom, but how, and in what context, one has sex. Male effeminates and transvestites are viewed as a certain type of homosexual, a *maricón*, a passive, anal receptive, feminized man (Halperin 2000:112, Lancaster 2001, McKee Irwin 2000).

³³ The perception that women are the vehicles through which the devil operates on earth is presented in the Malleus Malleficarum, or Witch's Hammer, published in 1486 (Kramer and Sprenger 1970).

³⁴ See Dougnac (1981:104-105); Leiva (1982:212); Ovalle (1888:407); Rosales (1989:135, 142, 155, 159, 184).

³⁵ Carolyn Epple (1998) criticizes the categories of “alternate gender” and “berdache” because they do not define what constitutes gender, for their universalistic assumption that gender and sex are relevant criteria in culture’s classification of persons, and for reproducing the binary gender system. She criticizes the term two-spirit because it presupposes that what is masculine and feminine is known and stable across cultures and does not address local native cultural meanings.

³⁶ Kate Weston (1998:167) has pointed out that scholars are unclear about what makes a particular classification qualify as a discrete gender identity. At what point, she asks, does berdache stop being an instance of gendered ambiguity or a variant of masculinity or femininity and start becoming a gender in its own right?

³⁷ The most prominent female berdaches were “Slave Woman” (Chipewyan), “Pine Leaf” (Crow), “Running Eagle” (Blackfoot), Qánqon (Kutenai), Kuiliy (Kalispel), and Kwisai (Mohave). Female Plains Indian berdache roles were not recognized by outside observers (Blackwood 1984), and it is possible that a similar situation occurred with Mapuche female co-gendered roles. Blackwood (1984:29-30) projected Euro-American statuses and sexualities onto the female berdache when she argued that female berdaches were not gender mixed but were transgendered social men whose sexual acts were recognized as “female homosexuality.”

³⁸ Some Native American examples include the Lakota winkete, who had auspicious powers in relation to childbirth and child rearing (Powers 1977); the Cheyenne he’emane’o, who embodied the principles of balance and synthesis (Coleman in Roscoe 1998:14); the Inuit third-gender shamans (Saladin D’Anglure 1992:42); the Ingalik berdache shamans; the Bella Coola supernatural berdache portrayed in masked dances (McIlwraith 1948:45-46); and the Flathead and Klamath berdache shamans (Spier 1930:51-53; Teit 1930:384). Third- and fourth-gender persons in California often had ceremonial roles associated with death and burial (Roscoe 1998:16), man-woman kachinas were portrayed in Euro-American Pueblo masked dances, and the Zuni ihamana we’wha was a religious specialist who regularly participated in ceremonies (Roscoe 1991).

³⁹ For North American berdaches, sexual intercourse with males grew out of their interstitial gender crossing or gender mixing status (Thayer 1980; Whitehead 1981; Callender and Kochems 1986). Occupation, dress, and demeanor were more important than sexual preference in determining co-gendered roles and same-sex

relations were accepted without the requirement to cross dress and were not considered the basis of sexual orientation (Roscoe 1988:47; Jacobs et al. 1997).

⁴⁰ Several authors have referred to sexuality in relation to gender and social categories and have argued for the primacy of gender-based identities over sex-based identities (Bolin 1996:23). Callender and Kochems (1986) distinguished between the gender category level, where berdache classification as not-male necessarily means been classified as female, and the gender status level, where berdache gender mixing is considered neither woman nor man. Barry Adam (1986) proposed a fourfold typology of the social structuring of homosexuality: age structure, gender-defined, profession-defined, and egalitarian “gay” relations. Will Roscoe (1988) suggested five dimensions: sexuality, gender, social roles, economic roles, and spirituality.

⁴¹ See Augusta 1910; Cooper 1946:750; Faron 1964; Guevara 1908:245; Hilger 1957:112; Latcham 1922:630; Moesbach 1929:330-349; Smith 1855:234-236.

⁴² Mapuche intellectuals such as Armando Marileo, Antonio Painecura, and Rosendo Huisca have created a fundamentalist Mapuche utopia. The idea is to return to traditional Mapuche religious, cultural, and gender ideologies and create an urban Mapuche community in Temuco where community members must live according to traditional Mapuche culture.

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