

## NOTES

### PREFACE

1. Richard Bernstein, *The New Constellation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992).

2. Albrecht Wellmer, "The Dialectic of Modernity and Post-Modernity," *Praxis International* 4 (1985): 338.

3. Charles Taylor, *The Sources of the Self, The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

4. Stephen Toulmin, *The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (New York: Macmillan, 1990).

5. Jürgen Habermas, *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988).

6. This metaphysical-substantialist, diffusionist thesis of a "substance" invented in Europe and expanding throughout the world commits the reductionistic fallacy.

7. *Auf dem Boden* means "within one's regional horizon." I wish to show that Europe developed as the center of a world-system in modernity. It did not evolve internally into an independent entity unto itself, as Eurocentrists contend.

8. This *we* refers to Eurocentric Europeans.

9. Max Weber, "Vorbemerkung zu den Gesammelten Aufsätzen zur Religionssoziologie," in *Soziologie, weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik* (Stuttgart: Kroner, 1956), p. 340. He continues: "Neither scientific,

artistic, governmental, nor economic evolution have led elsewhere to the modes of rationalization (*Rationalisierung*) proper to the Occident" (ibid., p. 351). Thus, Weber contrasts the Babylonians, who did not mathematize astronomy, with the Hellenes, without recognizing that the Hellenes learned from the Egyptians. He argues that science rose in the West in contrast to India and China, but he forgets the Islamic world from which the Latin Occident, in particular the Oxford Franciscans and the Paduan Marsilios, learned Aristotelianism and the experiential, empirical attitude. One could easily falsify Weber's Hellenic, Eurocentric arguments by taking 1492 as the ultimate example of the pretended superiority of the Occident over other cultures. I will take up this problematic extensively in the second chapter of the *Ethics of Liberation* that I am preparing.

10. André Gunder Frank, "The Shape of the World System in the Thirteenth Century," in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 22/4 (Winter 1987); "A Theoretical Introduction to 5000 Years of World System History," in *Review* (Binghamton) 13/2 (1990): 155-248; and A. G. Frank, B. K. Gills, eds., *The World System: From Five Hundred Years to Five Thousand* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992).

11. In disagreement with A. G. Frank, I would not use the term "world-system" for the anterior moments of the system. I prefer to speak of an *interregional* system.

12. Emmanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York: Academic Press), vol. 1 (1974), vol. 3 (1989); *The Politics for the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

13. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 2, chaps. 4-5.

14. Ibid., vol. 3, chap. 3.

15. See my soon-to-be-published *The Underside of Modernity: Apel, Ricoeur, Taylor, Rorty and the Philosophy of Liberation*, translated by Eduardo Mendieta (New York: Humanities Press, 1995).

16. I have published several works on this theme: "Was America Discovered or Invaded?" in *Concilium* 200 (1988): 126-34; "The Expansion of Christendom, Its Crisis and the Present Moment," *Concilium* 144 (1981): 44-50; "Modern Christianity in the Face of the 'Other': From the 'Rude' Indian to the 'Noble Savage,'" *Concilium* 130 (1979): 49-59; "Las motivaciones reales de la conquista," *Concilium* 232 (1990):

403-15; "Del descubrimiento al desencubrimiento: Hacia un desagravio histórico," in *Concordia* (Frankfurt) 10 (1986): 109-16; "Otra visión del descubrimiento: El camino hacia un desagravio histórico," in *Nueva Epoca*, vol. 3, no. 9, Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico: UNAM, 1988), pp. 34-41; "1492: Diversas posiciones ideológicas" in *1492-1992: La interminable conquista: Emancipación e Identidad de América Latina* (Mexico: Joaquín Martiz, 1990), pp. 77-97.

17. An Argentinian Jew, from my homeland, provided some of the initial funds to defray the costs of Horkheimer's institute. The labor invested by the Argentinian cowboy and farmer in beef and wheat was transferred to Germany and helped originate this prestigious school. In the name of these poor half-Indians and cattlemen who invested their lives on Argentinian plantations, I write this book. In addition, a poor socialist carpenter, a Lutheran from Schweinfurt am Main, arrived in Buenos Aires in 1870 seeking work, security, and peace: he was named Joahnnes Kaspar Dussel. Argentina received him without obstacles and opened opportunities for him so that he could raise a family and die here: he was my great-grandfather. When strangers arrive in Germany these days, Germany repudiates them, expels them, and treats them like enemies! This country has forgotten the hospitality offered *to its poor* in the nineteenth century in other lands!

18. See the meaning of *compellere* in the Valladolid dispute 1550, chapter 5 here.

19. His departure point is "we liberal Americans," but not "we Aztecs faced with Cortés," or "we Latin Americans faced with North America in 1992." In such cases, *not even the conversation* would be possible.

20. Pedro de Alvarado will employ a similar sacrificial violence in the slaughter of May 23, 1520, in México-Tenochtitlán.

21. The Spanish Europeans saw riches where there were none, as if there were an infinite mirage of gold in this nascent world mercantilism.

22. The letter of Bishop Juan de Medina y Rincón, Michoacán, of October 13, 1583 (*Archivo General de Indias*, Seville, Mexico, p. 374).

23. I have delivered lectures on the meaning of 1492 in Seville and Pontevedra in Spain during October 1991; at Maryknoll College near New York City, in the seminar entitled the "Columbus Paradox"; at UCLA in Los Angeles; in the Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University in

Tennessee; at the University of Feiburg, Switzerland; and at other universities in Germany, Austria, Mexico, Bolivia, and Colombia.

## PART 1

1. Germán Marquinez Argote defended a thesis, the *Interpretación del "Cogito" cartesiano como modelo de hermenéutica lationamericana* (Bogotá: University of Saint Thomas Aquinas, 1980), in which he compared the "I conquer" with the "I think." He provides cogent texts showing the awareness Descartes had that his world had actually discovered a new world.

## CHAPTER 1 : EUROCENTRISM

1. The Spanish word *desarrollismo* is not directly translatable into German or English. Its root (*desarrollo*) does not permit the construction of a pejorative, as, for example, *scientificism* (*Szientifizismus*) or *scientificist* (*szientifizist*). One would need something like *developmentism* or *developmentalism* to signify the ontological position that Europe's development is assumed to be the model for every other culture. Thus, the developmentalist fallacy deploys neither sociological nor economic categories, but rather fundamental philosophical ones. For Hegel, too, there is a necessary movement of being as it pursues its inevitable development. Eurocentrism and the developmentalist fallacy are two aspects of the same world-view.

2. The fact of the exit (*Ausgang*), the exodus, is interesting as a process of emancipation.

3. Kant, *Was heisst Aufklärung?*, A, 481.

4. The end of every work: "The History of the World is the process of the *development* (*Entwicklung*) of the Spirit—it is a true *Theodicy*, the justification of God in History."

5. Hegel, *Die Vernunft in der Geschichte*, Second Draft (1830), C, c: in *Samtliche Werke*, ed. J. Hoffmeister and F. Meiner (Hamburg, 1955), p. 167; English version: *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History, Introduction: Reason in History*, trans. H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 138. See Martin Bernal, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical*

*Civilization* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987-1991), especially "Philosophy of Universal History of Hegel," vol. 2.

6. From Hegel the concept of development passed to Marx and from him into economy and sociology. I return to the philosophical content of this word which, as I say, is its oldest element. An *underdeveloped* country, ontologically, is nonmodern and pre-Enlightenment, according to Hegel.

7. Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Appendix 2; p. 243; English, p. 197. I will show that this development of history from the East is purely ideological; it is a constitutive moment of Eurocentrism. This view of history has been imposed in all the programs of history, high school to university, not only in Europe and the United States, but also in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. At times even socialist revolutions have disgracefully concurred in such Eurocentrism, perhaps because of Marx's own Eurocentrism, at least until 1868 [*El último Marx (1863-1882)* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1990), chap. 7]. In that year Marx opened up the problematic of peripheral Russia in response to Danielson and the Russian populists.

8. *Das Kind hat keine Vernünftigkeit, aber die reale Möglichkeit zu sein.... Der Mensch war stets eine Intelligenz... gleichsam in Zentrum von allem* (in Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Second Draft, C, b; p. 161; English, p. 133). *Die erste Gestalt des Geistes ist daher die orientalische. Dieser Welt liegt das unmittelbare Bewusstsein...* (Ibid., Appendix 2; p. 244; English, p. 198). The immediacy (*Unmittelbarkeit*) of the consciousness of the child as possibility means that the child cannot be the center, only the periphery.

9. Ibid., Appendix b; pp. 199-200; English, pp. 162-64.

10. Antonello Gerbi, in his work *La naturaleza de las Indias Nuevas* (Mexico: FCE, 1978), shows that the Europeans and Hegel himself thought that even the geology and the flora and fauna were more brutal, primitive, and savage among the Indians.

11. Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Appendix b, pp. 209-10; English, pp. 170-71.

12. In the next chapter, I will show that this trinitarian division of the world, which Hegel and Columbus shared, is medieval and premodern.

13. Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Appendix c; p. 210; English, p. 171.

14. *Nachdem wir die Neue Welt und die Träume, die sich an sie*

*knupfen können, gehen wir nun zur Alten Welt über. Sie ist wesentlich der Schauplatz dessen, was Gegenstand unserer Betrachtung ist, der Weltgeschichte* (in Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Appendix c; p. 210; English, 171).

15. Ibid., p. 212; English, p. 173.

16. Ibid., p. 218; English, pp. 176-77.

17. Ibid., pp. 231-34; English, pp. 188-90.

18. One can see that Fukuyama extracts this expression from Hegel [Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, and Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992)].

Fukuyama advances the thesis that the United States and the free capitalist market, after the collapse of the real socialism of the north since 1989, is the model to follow with no alternative. This model is the *end of history*. Similarly, Hegel believed that Europe was the center of history.

19. Hegel, *Samtliche Werke*, Appendix b; p. 235; English, pp. 190-91.

20. Ibid., Appendix c, p. 240; English, p. 195. With this, one sets aside the importance of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the epoch of mercantilism, which is the subject of this book.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Hegel, without realizing it, evokes the pathos that the *discovery* of the new world produced in Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. He projects upon the German past the concept *modern*—a concept current at the finding of the new world and originating with reference to Latin America. But Latin America has no place in his vision, although this is not so with the later Anglo-Saxon "America," which forms a second-level Occident for Hegel, and therefore does have its place in world history.

24. Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, in *Werke* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970), bk. 12, p. 413; English version: *The Philosophy of History*, rev. ed., trans. J. Sibree (New York: Colonial Press, 1900), p. 341.

25. Ibid., pp. 413-14; English, pp. 341-42.

26. Ibid., p. 414; English, p. 342.

27. See *ibid.*, p. 417; English, p. 345. This is the "Jochinism" of Hegel.

28. Ibid., p. 417; English, p. 345.

29. Ibid., IV, 3, 3: p. 538; English, p. 455.
30. F. Nicolin-O. Pöggeler and F. Meiner, eds., *Enzyklopadie* (Hamburg: 1969), # 346.
31. Ibid., # 347.
32. Ibid., # 550, p. 430, Hegel writes: "Diese Befreiung des Geistes, in der er zu sich selbst zu kommen and seine Wahrheit zu verwirklichen geht, und das Geschäft derselben ist das höchste und absolute *Recht*. Das Selbstbewusstsein eines besondern Volks ist Träger der diesmaligen *Entwicklungsstufe* des allgemeinen Geistes in seinem Dasein and die objektive Wirklichkeit, in welche er seinen Willen legt. *Gegen diesen absoluten Willen ist der Wille der andern besondern Volksgeister rechtlos, jenes Volk ist das weltbeherrschende* [*italics are Dussel's*]. English version: *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, part 3 of *Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. William Wallace (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 281.
33. *Rechtsphilosophie*, # 246 in *Enzyklopadie*; English translation: *Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 151.
34. *Enzyklopadie* # 248, English, pp. 151-52. Europe, then, *occupies* other territories. Hegel does not think that this signifies that it is necessary to capture these other peoples.
35. When Europe suffered from *overpopulation* or an excess of poor and wretched people, it sent them to the Third World. Today it does not permit them to enter Europe, and it closes its frontiers.
36. Jürgen Habermas, *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988), p. 27; English version: *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity, Twelve Lectures*, trans. Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), p. 17.
37. Ibid., p. 27; English, p. 29.
38. He speaks of discovery, but does not give it any importance (for example, in *ibid.*, p. 13, German edition; p. 5 in English).
39. *Die Vernunft in der Geschichte*, in Hegel, *Samtliche Werke* Appendix a: Afrika, p. 213; English, pp. 173-74.
40. See Appendix 2 herein regarding these authors. See *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1971); Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York:

Herder and Herder, 1972). The position of Jürgen Habermas is expressed in his "The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment: Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno," in *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: German*, pp. 130ff. ; English, pp. 106ff.

## CHAPTER 2: FROM THE INVENTION TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD

1. Edmundo O'Gorman, *La invención de America* (Mexico: FCE, 1957, p. 12).

2. From the book cited in note 1. See the reaction of Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Meaning of the *Discovery* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *The American Historical Review* 1 (1962): 1-21.

3. In Heidegger's meanings, as explained in *Sein und Zeit*.

4. In the meaning of the later Husserl.

5. In meanings number 4 and 5 of Appendix 1.

6. Africa was then the Muslim black world; Asia began with the Muslim Turkish world and extended to areas slightly known from such merchant expeditions as that of Marco Polo or from Franciscan missionaries such as Juan of Montecorvino (who traveled as far as Peking and died in 1328). [See Pierre Chaunu, *L'expansion européenne (XIIIe, XIVe, XVe siècles)* (Paris: PUF, 1968)]. The Franciscans were in China until 1370, and they obtained much information that was eventually transmitted to Rome.

7. See the "Excursus on Europe as *Periphery* of the Muslim World," in chapter 6.

8. Columbus had been in the eastern Mediterranean, in the northeast of Europe, on the coasts of Guinea in Africa, on the Madeira Islands, always in the company of Genoan or Portuguese navigators. See Paolo Emilio Taviani, *Cristoforo Colombo, La genesi della grande scoperta* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostini, 1982); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise* (New York: Plume, 1991); Daniel Boorstin, *The Discoverers* (New York: Vintage, 1985); Alvin Josephy, *America in 1492* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1992); Samuel Elliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972).

9. "...from one a very great river flowed out. It was about five fathoms deep and the water very sweet, in so much quantity" [*Diario del*



*Primer y Tercer Viaje de Cristóbal Colón*, version of B. de las Casas (Madrid: Alianza, 1989), p. 182]. A little later he writes: "I say that, if it does not proceed from the Earthly Paradise, it comes and proceeds from an infinite expanse of land, next to the South Wind, concerning which now there has been little attention. Moreover, I am quite sure in my heart that here, where I indicated [where the Orinoco begins], is the earthly Paradise, and I base myself on the reasons and authorities of the Scriptures" (ibid., 192).

10. As a mere anecdote, I recall now that family of my mother, Ambrosini Siffredi, my great-grandparents, were originally from this city, *geneises*, and they immigrated to Argentina at about the same time and for the same motives that moved my German great-grandfather: they were poor Europeans of the nineteenth century.

11. See *Die grossen Entdeckungen*, ed. E. Schmit (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984), vol. 2, pp. 105-9.

12. "...This present year of 1492, after Our Highnesses have put an end to war with Moors, who were ruling in Europe, and after they have finished the war in the great city of Granada. There, in this year... and as a result of armed force, the royal flags of Our Highnesses fly from the towers of Alfambra " (*Diario del Primer y Tercer Viaje de Cristóbal Colón*, in the cited version, p. 41) .

13. See his letter of 1474 in *Die grossen Entdeckungen*, vol. 2, pp. 9-13.

14. See Appendix 4.

15. Arrow 1 of the map in Appendix 3.

16. Arrow 7 of the map in Appendix 3.

17. Arrow 3 of the map in Appendix 3.

18. Arrow 5 of the map in the same appendix.

19. Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos* (Madrid, 1825), vol. 2, p. xvii.

20. In his map Martellus (Appendix 4) designates one area *Tartaria per totum*. The *Kanes*, Mongol warrior/leaders, dominated Kiev and Moscow. The European Renaissance scholars believed that the domain of the Mongols extended to the extremes of Asia. Hence, Columbus searched for the kingdoms governed by the *Kanes*, in China.

21. According to Roman tradition, Prester John had asked to establish contacts with Rome. Martellus (Appendix 4) also inscribed in the region north of the *Sinus Magnus* the following: *Hic dominat Presbiter Johannes imperator totius Indiae*. Roman tradition also mentioned the Copts of Ethiopia who spread out from the east of Africa toward eastern Asia.

22. Columbus was well aware of the efforts and the pleasures the kings experienced in the taking of Granada. Boabdil still resided on the peninsula, and hundreds of thousands of Muslims, the Moors, refused to comply with their fate.

23. This is the meaning of the "expeditions of the *discoveries*."

24. *Diario del Primer y Tercer Viaje de Cristóbal Colón*, in the version of B. de las Casas, ed. cit., p. 41.

25. Martellus in Appendix 4 identifies South America with China (Cataio, Quinsaii, Mangii). The *Sinus Magnus* replaces the Pacific Ocean, and the Orinoco and Amazon Rivers are thought to branch throughout the south of China.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 58, October 13, 1492.

28. I underline and refer to meanings 5 and 7 of Appendix 1. For O'Gorman the concept of occidental culture has not been clarified (see other examples of the use of these words in *La invención de América*, pp. 15, 98-99, etc. ). O'Gorman comments: "The invention of America and subsequent historical developments present the effective possibility of the *universalization of the Western culture* as the only program [sic] for history. Only this program can include and bind all peoples, provided it is adopted for its own sake and not as the result of imperialist and exploitive imposition" (*ibid.*, p. 98). Such Eurocentrism is typical among the elites of the periphery.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

30. In Columbus's time this peninsula (the "Golden Chersonesus," today Malacca) was thought to be small and located approximately where it is. This peninsula turned inland south of the coasts of China and opened on the *Sinus Magnus*. Columbus thought he had discovered it, but he lacked evidence. Gustavo Vargas Martínez, in *América en una mapa de*

1489, unpublished (Bogotá: 1991), equated the second Golden Chersonesus with both China and South America (as is suggested in Martellus's map in Appendix 4).

31. In its world historical sense, this second voyage is distinct from the first. This second one formally initiates the conquest—although I will only use this figure in regard to the conquest of Mexico. Bartolomé de las Casas reports Columbus's comments on the second voyage: "In a few days seventeen great ships were prepared in lower Cadiz... and they were well supplied and *fitted out with artillery and arms* [Dussel's italics]. I am designating several chests for the gold and other riches belonging to the Indians [of Asia!]. Fifteen hundred men arrived, all or the majority under pay of your Highnesses" [*Historia de las Indias*, vol. 1, chap. 40 (Madrid, 1957), pp. 139-40]. No longer is Columbus merely a Mediterranean merchant; now he is a warrior with arms, soldiers, and cannons. The kings *employ* these soldiers, *unemployed* since the taking of Granada. The kings employ them to get rid of them by sending them to the Indies. No sooner has the reconquest that began in 718 drawn to a close, than a new conquest is initiated.

32. The continental mass A of the map of Appendix 3. "Mangi" appears on the map of Martellus (Appendix 4).

33. The region indicated in the map of Martellus (Appendix 4) as the *fourth peninsula* (the continental mass B of Appendix 3).

34. The first is the Arabic peninsula; the second, the Indian; the third, the Chersonesus (Malacca); and the fourth South America, as a continuation of China on Martellus's map.

35. The passage toward India (Appendix 3) was supposed to lie between mass A and B.

36. *Lettera Rarissima*, in Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. 1, pp. 303-4 (see also in *Die grossen Entdeckungen*, vol. 2, pp. 181-83).

37. O'Gorman, *La invención de América*, pp. 64-65.

38. The Atlantic was designated the Western Ocean on the 1474 Behaim-Globus (see *Die grossen Entdeckungen*, vol. 2, p. 12) with the Antilles at its center. Only when Balboa carne across a new ocean on the other side of the Isthmus of Panama in 1513 was the oceanic sea divided into the "Sea of the South" (the future "Pacific" of Magellan) and the "Sea of the North" (to the north of Panama, the Caribbean, the Atlantic).

These findings confirmed that America was the new world which Amerigo Vespucci had discovered somewhat earlier. The little *Sinus Magnus* turned out to be the enormous but unexplored Pacific Ocean.

39. Meaning 4 in Appendix 1.

40. Transition from meaning 4 to meaning 7: "Eurocentrism."

41. Imagine explaining to the common European that the Adamic myth had been created in Iraq, upon which the occidental and Christian civilization has dropped seven hundred thousand tons of bombs. It would seem cruel to have buried such a sacred place under bombs.

42. Just as Freud attempts to describe real sexuality, but objectively analyzes only macho sexuality, so O'Gorman sets out to depict American historicity but ends up presenting it in terms of the very Eurocentrism he criticized.

43. O'Gorman makes use of Aristotle's doctrine of potentiality and actuality. So does Alberto Caturelli in *América Bifronte*, the most hair-raising, reactionary interpretation, from the extreme Right, of America as nonbeing, as *in the rough*. Europe is being; America is matter or potency. Hegel, too, thought of America as pure potency and nonbeing.

44. That *form* is the occidental culture. The form is the actuality in good Aristotelian fashion.

45. O'Gorman, *La invención de América*, p. 93. O'Gorman's descriptions betray his Eurocentric ontology: "Europe, in whose image and likeness America was invented, has its principle of individualization in its own culture. But this particular culture does not suppose a mode of being exclusive and peculiar to Europe, since it assumes that it has universal significance" (*ibid.*, p. 97). Regarding this tension in Europe between particularity and universality, O'Gorman observes: "in that [tension] the historical primacy of western culture is rooted [*sic*].... Since this culture individualizes a determinate being, Europe is perpetually and internally threatened. It is threatened precisely by the very thing that particularizes it—namely, that its own universal significance overflows it" (*ibid.*). For O'Gorman Europe (in meaning 6 of Appendix 1), a particularity, bears in its womb a universality, occidental culture (meaning 8 of Appendix 1). Paradoxically, occidental culture seems to pass from particularity to universality without novelty or fecundation from some alterity. In reality, the European particularity with its pretension to universality imposes itself

violently upon other particularities such as Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Latin Americans, such as O'Gorman, can express such Eurocentric positions because dominant elites ever since Cortés, his *criollos*, and his mestizo descendents have introjected the dominator.

46. Passage from meaning 5 to meaning 6 in Appendix 1.

47. According to O'Gorman, Latin America as a European invention realizes its own authenticity by imitating European modernization and so passing from potency to act. O'Gorman obviously commits the developmentalist fallacy.

48. See among others Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973 ), vol. 1-2; idem, *The Wheels of Commerce in Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century* (London: Collins, 1982), vol. 2; Emmanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System. 1: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

49. The opening to the Atlantic results in an immense revolution. See Pierre Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)*, 11 vols. (Paris: 1957-1960).

50. See "Catigara" (today approximately in Peru) in Martellus's map (Appendix 4). Arnold Toynbee locates Catigara near Macao [*Historical Atlas and Gazette*, in *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 131]. China and South America are similar.

51. Letter of July 18, 1500 (Vespucci, *Cartas*, 98; O'Gorman, p. 122).

52. Following the trajectory of arrow 5 as far as the question mark in Appendix 3, but perfectly portrayed in 1489 by Martellus (Appendix 4).

53. See Pierre Caunu, *Conquête et exploitation des Nouveaux Mondes* (Paris: PUF, 1969), pp. 177 ff. The Portuguese mastered the Islamic or Arabic sea between 1500 and 1515. Amerigo Vespucci learned of this from Alvarez Cabral who returned from India in 1501 to the Cape Verde Islands.

54. See *Die grosse Entdeckungen*, vol. 2, pp. 174-81.

55. We have already indicated this mass in Martellus's map, Appendix 4.

56. Vespucci asserts that he arrived as far as 50 degrees southern latitude; that he discovered new stars; and that he had come across a continent

with so many strange animals that they would not have been "able to enter into Noah's Ark," etc. (*Die grossen Entdeckungen*, pp. 176-77).

57. "I have sailed around a fourth part of the world" (*ibid.*, p. 176). O'Gorman denies that this statement refers to a "fourth continent" (*La invención de América*, p. 125), but, what other idea could the idea of a fourth part refer to except a new continent?

58. See chapter 6, Excursus.

59. O'Gorman, *La invención de América*, p. 62. For O'Gorman, there is nothing original about this event. However, he fails to notice that Vespucci's sense of the world is new since now the new and old world form part of a one world system. The old-world has disappeared, since there exists a new horizon embracing both old and new worlds. Modernity emerges in Vespucci's consciousness: old world and new world (new particularity) = a new planetary world, a new universality. Eurocentrism identifies the old world as the center of the new planetary world.

60. I am still discussing only the continental mass of South America. The mapmakers still confused North America with ancient China as if it were a part of Asia possibly united to this southern land mass (see *Die grossen Entdeckungen*, pp. 13-17). Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Spain, Portugal, and Latin America spoke of the *Western Indies* but never America. The latter name was conferred by the rising northern European powers who had forgotten about Spain and Portugal since the end of the seventeenth century.

61. Ontological and theological/providentialist meaning of European civilization in Hegel.

62. Hegel, *Philosophie der Geschichte*, in *Werke* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970), vol. 12, p. 538.

63. "Barbarischen Voelkern" (*ibid.*)

64. This was the incipient theme for the philosophy of liberation in 1969. All my works analyze this thesis, especially *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973), vols. 1-2, and the three succeeding volumes, which I completed before my exile from Argentina in 1975. I relied on the later Heidegger in the late 1960s, then the Frankfurt School, especially Marcuse, and finally Emmanuel Levinas's ethics. On the basis of Levinas, I developed that five-volume ethics from the viewpoint of the Other (*Autruí*) as Indian, as dominated woman, and as the educationally alienated child. My ethics analyzes the violent nega-

tion of the Other who is American by the Same who is European. In 1982 Tzvetan Todorov produced *La conquête de l'Amérique. La question de l'autre* (Paris: Seuil) in which he developed masterfully the same thesis. *Desintegración de la Cristiandad colonial y Liberación* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1978) commented on Las Casas's prophetic text that "God must pour down upon Spain fury and wrath" for injustices committed in the Indies. I concluded: "Bartolomé respects indigenous persons in their exteriority... which indicates his ability to overcome the system to open himself to the exteriority of the Other as Other" (p. 147). Todorov took up the theme again, repeating the same texts (without citing their source) and the same words (pp. 255 ff.). The book reiterates my theoretical position for more than twenty years. The question of the apparition and negation of the Other as a *covering over* (*encubrimiento*) has preoccupied me since 1990. But since this repeated idea has been published only in Spanish, it will not receive extensive publicity, and so will follow the destiny of many ideas originating in dominated and peripheral cultures.

65. *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, bk. 3, chap. 60.

### CHAPTER 3: FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE COLONIZATION OF THE LIFE WORLD

1. Silvio Zavala, *La filosofía de la conquista* (Mexico: FCE, 1977), p. 24.

2. Carl Ortwin Sauer, *Descubrimiento y dominación española del Caribe* (Mexico: FCE, 1984), pp. 369 ff.; Georg Friederich, *El carácter del descubrimiento y la conquista de América* (Mexico: FCE, 1987).

3. *Hidalgo* means *son of someone* or at least a person who has recently entered the ranks of the nobility. I will follow the account of Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, bk. 4, vol. 2 (Mexico: UNAM, 1975), which focuses "On the Conquest of Mexico": "In the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1519, when Pope Leo X governed the church in highest pontificate in Rome and, the very Catholic Emperor Lord Charles V, being monarch of the Christian princes... the most famous and no less venturesome captain Hernando Cortés landed on this land of Anahuac" (p. 7).

4. *Ibid.* Torquemada adds: "Luther was born in Islebio of Saxony. Fernando Cortés was born in Medellín in Spain... This Christian captain was born so that he might bring an infinite multitude of peoples into the

Roman Catholic Church" (p. 7). Torquemada's anti-Lutheran crusade reveals better than Weber or Habermas modernity's two faces: Reformation Europe and the "other face," the periphery. My vision, like Torquemada's, is more universal, encompassing Europe and Latin America. Further, Torquemada's mention of the 1485 consecration of the Aztecs' *major temple* (ibid., Prologue, p. 8) suggests that God, having listened to the "affliction of these miserable [Aztec] people," called Cortés from his mother's womb "as a new Moses for Egypt" (ibid.). While I disagree with Torquemada and de Sepúlveda's interpretation that the conquistador was a liberator, I wish to highlight the awareness that now things move in *three* scenarios: the European center (Luther), the Hispanic world (Cortés), and the Aztec empire (Mexico).

5. Ibid., chap. 1, p. 13.

6. This word we could today translate as "business."

7. Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, p. 16.

8. Ibid., cap. 3, p. 19. It is obvious what most enthused this Cuban expedition: "The people talked about nothing else those days; they seemed like King Midas who delighted solely in gold and silver to the extent that his interest could not be aroused by anything else" (p. 21).

9. In my *Philosophy of Liberation* (Maryknoll, N. Y.: Orbis, 1981) in the final "Index of Concepts," I distinguish between *difference* internal to the totality and *distinctness* pertaining to real alterity.

10. An aspect of the colonial Latin American economy also utilized to subjugate Muslims in Andalusia. Indians, "interned on plantations (*encomendado*)," served at the disposition of the conquistador, who also mandated them to search for gold in rivers or to toil in mines as in the *mita* (slave labor) of Peru. Thus modernity initiated new and diverse modes of domination in the world periphery.

11. Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, chap. 4, p. 32.

12. Ibid., chap. 7, p. 37.

13. Ibid., p. 39. Cortés evidently seemed to fancy himself the new Constantine, founder of the *New Christendom of the Indies*, as Toribio de Mogrovejo, archbishop of Lima, would write years later, although in a critical vein.

14. Ibid., chap. 8, p. 41.



15. *Ibid.*, chap. 13, pp. 58-59. In chapter 6 here, I will try to unfold Moctezuma's world in greater detail than Torquemada.

16. *Ibid.*, chap. 14, p. 63.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

20. *Ibid.*, chap. 13-14, pp. 66-67.

21. *Ibid.*, chap. 16, p. 70.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, chap. 17, p. 73.

24. *Ibid.*, chap. 19, p. 81. "Because of the place's grandeur and the beauty of its buildings, some called it Seville; others referred to it as the Villa of Vices due to its freshness and its abundance of fruits" (p. 82).

25. *Ibid.*, chap. 22, p. 91. The text continues: "They said that the signs and prodigies witnessed... could only portend *the termination of the world*, and thus great was their sadness." For Hegel Europe was the origin and goal of history, while for the Indians Europe's modernizing presence spelled the termination of their world. The meaning of things is reversed when one views them from modernity's other face. (see chapter 8 of the present work).

26. See chapter 8.

27. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera Historia de los sucesos de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, chap. 88 (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1947), vol. 2, p. 83

28. This ego is both tempted but free, like Adam in Paul Ricoeur's analysis of the Adamic myth; see my *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973 ), vol. 2; see also my *El humanismo semita* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1969).

29. See my *El humanismo helénico* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1975).

30. "When he returned with his lord, we all watched them [the Aztecs] *who had fixed their eyes on the earth and instead of looking at him looked idly at the wall*" (Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia*). No one looked in the face of the emperor; the emperor looked at all but never saw himself looked at. Now, suddenly, all the conquistadores, not only

Cortés, but even the least important soldier, such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo himself, looked at him face to face, as if he were their equal. The emperor stood silent and terrified, not because they did not respect him but because they had violated the divine mandates; it was indeed the end of the world.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

32. Cortés marched with "two hundred thousand Indians from friendly, confederated cities, nine hundred Spanish infantrymen, eighty horses, seventeen pieces of lightweight artillery, thirteen brigantines, and six thousand canoes. Less than one hundred Spaniards died (!), a few horses, and not many Indian allies... but one hundred thousand Mexicans died (!)... without counting those who perished from hunger or plague" (Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, cap. 1, p. 312). The proportion resembles that of the 1991 Gulf War; 120 U. S. marines in contrast to more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers perished, without counting civilian deaths through fratricidal battles, hunger, and sicknesses. Five hundred years later, modern violence maintains its proportions.

33. Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia*, chap. 156, p. 195.

34. Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, chap. 102, p. 311.

35. See this citation and its commentary in *Filosofía ética latinoamericana* (Mexico: Edicol, 1977), vol. 3, p. 41.

36. Hegel wrote: "Religion is the fundament (*Grundlage*) of the state" as well as of the Christendom attacked by Kierkegaard and Marx for many of the same reasons.

37. *Informantes de Sahagún*, Códice Florentino, bk. 12, chap. 20 (version of Angel María Garibay). It would be interesting to compare this slaughter with the conquest of Massachusetts. Did (Catholic) Spain treat its conquered any differently than (Anglican) England? Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Edward Johnson, "Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New England," in Heimert-Delbanco, *The Puritans in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985); John Eliot, *John Eliot's Indian Dialogues: A Study in Cultural Interaction*, ed. Henry W. Browden and James Ronda (Westport, Conn.: 1980).

38. This would be the fourth figure (*Gestalt*) after invention, discovery, and conquest.

39. E. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), pp. 300 ff., advances the thesis: "The European world-economy: *Periphery versus Arena*." For Wallerstein, fifteenth-sixteenth century Russia, Poland, and Eastern Europe form Europe's periphery. The Portuguese colonies in Brazil, Africa, and Asia function as an external arena. Only Hispanic Latin America and North America lie in the external *periphery*: "The Americas formed the periphery of the European world economy in the sixteenth century, while Asia remained an *external arena*" (p. 336). The entire economy between 1546 and 1640 rested on massive exploitation of silver, the first world money, and in a lesser measure gold. Wallerstein writes, "We have defined a world-system as one in which there is extensive division of labor.... World economies then are divided into core states and *peripheral areas*" (p. 349). This is the absolute origin of the first world system in a strict sense, but the sense here differs from N. Luhmann's or J. Habermas's notion of system.

40. See my *Filosofía de la Liberación*, 2, 5: "Alienation."

41. Max Weber never imagined that in the archive of the Indies in Seville one can find 60,000 files (more than 60 million papers) on the Spanish bureaucracy in Latin America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Spain represents the first modern, bureaucratized state. Díaz del Castillo reports that during the battle against Tlaxcala and with his supplies running low, Hernán Cortés "appointed a soldier by the name of Diego de Godoy to be *the court clerk of his majesty* [!] and ordered him to observe what was happening so he could report it if necessary. For they will not demand an account of the wounds and deaths as long as the war continues into the immediate future, but they will ask for it in peacetime" (Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia*, chap. 64, p. 56). Cortés insists that his clerk keep such records to enable Cortés to defend himself against future possible accusations. In spite of his worry about such accusations, Cortés does not hesitate to hurl his troops into the fray with the cry "Santiago y a ellos (Saint James be with us and at them)." Cortés thus injects the apostle James, patron of reconquest, into the war against the Tlaxcaltecas, just as Muslims appealed to Mohammed in holy war against infidels. What would the poor apostle James have thought, as ethically rigorous and close to Jesus as he was, to see himself inserted into such military conflicts?

42. *Ibid.*, chap. 36, p. 30.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Ibid., cap. 37, p. 32. I will say more about the son of Malinche later, since he is the Latin American properly speaking, the mestizo of a syncretist or hybrid culture.

45. Ibid., chap. 77, p. 68.

46. "La erótica latinoamericana," in *Filosofía ética latinoamericana* (Mexico; Edicol, 1977), vol. 3, p. 60; "The *phallic ego* establishes a world totality and defines the woman as a passive object, as non-I, nonphallus, or as the castrated one. The masculine Totality assigns her the lot of someone dominated and reduced to nonbeing."

47. Unedited from the letter of Juan Ramírez, bishop of Guatemala, March 10, 1603 [*Archivo General de Indias* (Seville: Audiencia de Guatemala), 156].

48. Michele de Cuneo received from Columbus a Carib virgin as a gift: "He went to the room of Briseida, who was nude according to her customs, and he derived great pleasure by amusing himself with her. The fierce little woman defended herself bitterly even with her fingernails. Our valiant Michele then grasped a cord and thrashed her so well and mightily that she cried out.... When he had mastered her, Michele smiled with satisfaction and said: 'I wonder what she is like when she starts making love'" [quote of Antonello Gerbi, *La naturaleza de las Indias Nuevas* (Mexico: FCE, 1978), p. 49; I have translated from the Italian and omitted parts of the text]. Such acts display the cynical sadism inflicted upon undefended indigenous women.

49. "Todos los gatos son pardos," in *Los reinos originarios* (Barcelona: Barral, 1971), pp. 114-16.

50. Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo* (Mexico: FCE, 1953), vol. 1, pp. 406-8.

51. In 1545 the most bountiful silver mine of all modern times was discovered in Bolivia.

52. *Archivo General de Indias*, Audiencia de Charcas, p. 313.

53. See Appendix 2.

#### CHAPTER 4: THE SPIRITUAL CONQUEST

1. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, 3, chap. 21 (Mexico; Ed. S. Chavez Hayhde, 1945), vol. 2, pp. 72-73.

2. Christians in the Roman Empire were innocent victims for the sake of the crucified Christ even as Roman Empire that assassinated Christ judged them culpable. The Europeans now represented a modern, violent Christendom that preached the innocent Christ whom Christians were assassinating in the Indian.

3. See Appendix 2.

4. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia de los sucesos de la Nueva España*, (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1947) chap. 59, p. 51.

5. See my introduction to *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1983), vol. 1/1, p. 337.

6. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, 3, cap. 20; vol. 2, pp. 70-71.

7. José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, in *Obras* (Madrid, 1954), p. 139.

8. B. de Sagahún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1956), vol. 1, p. 27.

9. In *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), John L. Phelan proposes another date: "The period 1524-1564 was the Golden Age of the Indian Church, just as the time between Moses and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians was the Golden Age of the Jewish monarchy" (p. 39). The year 1564 marked the arrival of new authorities who destroyed the Franciscans' missionary achievement, at least according to Gerónimo de Mendieta's millenarist and apocalyptic interpretation. For Mendieta, Philip II inaugurated a new Babylonian captivity, also known as the age of silver. Gustavo Gutiérrez explains the great meeting in *Dios o el oro de las Indias* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1989), pp. 68 ff. The vice regents Velasco in Mexico and Toledo in Peru established the definitive colonial order and completed the spiritual conquest.

10. Within the Aymara and Quechua cultures, it is well known that each number (unity, dualism, trinity, quadrality, etc.) possessed profound theological meaning. Jorge Miranda-Luizaga, "Andine Zahlzeichen und Kosmologie. Ein Versuch zur Deutung des alt-andinen Schöpfungsmythos," 1991, p. 15 (unpublished and presented in a seminar in Aachen), soon to be published.

11. José de Acosta, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, in *Obras* (Madrid: BAE, 1960), vol. 3, p. 51 [Fernando Mires, *La colonización de las almas* (San José: DEI, 1991), p. 57].

12. *Ibid.*, p. 62 (p. 57).

13. One can detect in this definition absolute Eurocentrism: "men" refers evidently to Spaniards, the Europeans, who do things the proper, commonly accepted way.

14. Acosta, *Comentarios Reales*, vol. 3, p. 62

15. José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*, in *Obras* (Madrid: BAE, 1954), p. 392. The first type barbarian establishes "stable republics with public laws and fortified cities, and to attempt to submit them to Christ by force of arms would only convert them into the firmest enemies of Christianity." In their case, one needs the method of *adaptation* of Ricci (in China) and Nobili (in India). However, in Latin America, Acosta recommends reliance on the force of arms... because the Indians lack fortified cities or firearms as in Eurasia.

16. *Ibid.* Both these views and K.-O. Apel's are false, as I will demonstrate in chapter 7.

17. *Ibid.*, 393.

18. Regarding the evangelizing process in particular, see my introduction to the *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina*, vol. I/1, pp. 281-365: "La evangelización latinoamericana"; Fernando Mires, *La colonización de las almas. Misión y Conquista en Hispanoamérica* (San José: DEI, 1991); Luis Rivera Pagán, *Evangelización y violencia: La Conquista de América* (San Juan, Puerto Rico: Editorial CEMI, 1991); and Rodolfo de Roux, *Dos mundos enfrentados* (Bogotá: CINEP, 1990).

19. José Gaos, who is responsible for the recent appearance of *world* in Latin American philosophy, employed Heidegger's term in its precise existential meaning. *World* is connected with the later concept *culture*.

20. Germán Arciniegas, *Con América nace la nueva historia* (Bogotá: Third World Editors, 1990), p. 62.

21. Arciniegas repeats many times: "In 1493 Europeans began to establish their independence in the new world which they crossed the Atlantic to create" (*ibid.*, 56). "We are the sons of the emigrants who left Europe to make a new world" (p. 64). "The voice of the children of

emigrants and of their emancipated natives continually resurfaces in American culture" (p. 66). "Discovery refers more to European self-discovery more than to an encounter with nude Indians" (p. 74). Arciniegas thus supports the theory of the *invention* of America espoused by O'Gorman and *criollos*.

22. Vieira taught that Africans were hell-bound because of their paganism and Satanic cults; only the purgatory of slavery in Brazil could purify them sufficiently to merit heaven in the next life. Arciniegas reproduces in secularized form the emancipatory myth of modernity.

23. Although, Arciniegas explicitly criticizes Hegel (*Con América*, pp. 176ff: "Hegel y la Historia de América"), paradoxically he repeats his thesis. Arciniegas reproaches Hegel for ignoring that the European who left for America 1492 is a brother of equal worth with the European who remains. Hegel ignores the American brother, Arciniegas maintains, because his 1830 *Lectures on the Philosophy of Universal History* "erased the aborigines from the map" (*ibid.*, p. 178). "The Washingtons, Bolívars, San Martíns, O'Higgins... and most recently the Martíns derive from families as European as Hegel's" (*ibid.*, p. 190). This fusion of the United States with Latin America in the reference to Washington represents the occult longing of the *criollos*. Because of this longing, they fail to give an account of their mestizo, hybrid, Latin American reality. Modernity ought not be understood as the expansion of the Same to Latin America, as if the European/North American particularity constituted the universality for understanding Latin American particularity.

24. Previously, Guillermo Correa wrote: "Se levanta la voz indígena para impugnar la celebración del V Centenario," in *Proceso* (Mexico), 516 (September 22): 44-47, in which he presented testimonies from Leopoldo Zea, Miguel León Portilla, Abelardo Villegas, Enrique Dussel, and others. The polemic began with Leopoldo Zea's article "¿Qué hacer con el V centenario?," to which Edmundo O'Gorman responded with "¿Qué hacer con Leopoldo Zea?," in *El Día-El Búho* (Mexico) (August 28, 1987). O'Gorman authored three earlier articles in *La Jornada-Semanal* (May 19, June 30, July 7, 1985) against León Portilla's idea of a meeting of cultures. León Portilla replied September 4 and 11, 1988, with "Las elucubraciones del inventor de la Invención de América," in *El Día-El Búho* (Mexico). The polemic turned personal: "The judgment and enraged condemnation of those who do not accept *Invención de*

*América* manifest Doctor Edmundo O'Gorman's belligerent attitude" (p. 1). O'Gorman published articles in the same paper on September 12 and 25, 1988 regarding the "Quinto Centenario del 12 de octubre de 1492. La visión del vencido," and he attacked León Portilla in his "¿Y, que hacer con Edmundo O'Gorman?" in *El Día-El Búho*, October 2, 1988. In "El capitán y la india," in *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), July 25, 1989, Germán Arciniegas plays with the relationship between Garcilaso de la Vega's mother and his father, a rather witless Spanish captain. "Reflexiones sobre el descubrimiento de América," in *La jornada-Semanal* (Mexico), *Nueva época* 33 (January 28, 1990): 19-24, contains Silvio Zavala's comments on recent works regarding this theme. Other articles of Zavala, for example, "De las varias maneras de ser indigenista," in *Nueva época* (October 2, 1988), simply provide information. In "Estado de la cuestión del V Centenario" in *El Día-El Búho* (October 16, 1988), Zavala mediated between the polemicists. Leopoldo Zea readdressed the issue with his critical "¿Qué hacer con los quinientos años?" in *El Día-El Búho* (Mexico) (July 23, 1989): 19-21. My framework differs from all the above. I have taken up the Indian's perspective since my first historical works in 1966, including my doctoral thesis, *El episcopado hispanoamericano (1504-1620): Institución misionera defensora del indio* (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1969-1971), vols. 1-9, defended at the Sorbonne.

25. See my "Del descubrimiento al desencubrimiento (hacia un desagravio histórico)," published in *El Día-El Búho* (December 9, 1984 ): 4-7, and in *Le Monde Diplomatique* 76 (April, 1985): 28-29. In my first works in 1964, I envisioned a total reconstruction of world history aimed at finding the place of Indian Latin America, the starting point of my interpretation. See my article "Amérique Latine et conscience chrétienne," in *Esprit* (July, 1965): 2-20. The Other provides the origin of a different interpretation of history. Levinas, my teacher during the 1960s, personally suggested the theme of the Indian as Other and spoke of the indigenous "holocaust." See my works *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (1973) and *Filosofía de la Liberación* (1976). When Tzvetan Todorov wrote *La conquista de América* after his sojourn in Mexico, I was delighted since he applied the hypothesis of Emmanuel Levinas's Other to the Indian. His impressive results resembled those of the philosophy of liberation, which had been using the same categories since the end of the 1960s.



## CHAPTER 5: CRITIQUE OF THE MYTH OF MODERNITY

1. Aristotle, who defended slavery, Greco-centrism, and patriarchalism, inspired this obviously patriarchalist and sexist text.

2. Ginés de Sepúlveda's *De las justa causa de la guerra contra los indios* was published in Rome in 1550; my citations depend on the critical edition published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1987, p. 153.

3. See Appendix 2.

4. Kant's Unmündigkeit corresponds to Gines de Sepúlveda's tarditas, or slowness of understanding (Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, p. 81).

5. The ecological destruction of the planet earth indicates life's integration with the broader natural cycles of the atmosphere and the biosphere. The American native dwellers supported such cycles. One might ask how much the quality of life has developed? It is difficult to respond to this question qualitatively since the answer is a matter of degrees or, as Hegel would say, quantitative quality.

6. Once again, Kantian Unmündigkeit = ruditas.

7. Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, p. 109.

8. I recall Kant's discussion of laziness and cowardice (Faulheit und Feigheit) as qualities of culpable barbarity. They do not result from force or external oppression, but rather arise spontaneously (volentes ac sponte sua) as internal determinations of a discouraged and servile soul.

9. Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, pp. 109-11.

10. According to Hegel's philosophy of history, the will first appears as the tyrant's caprice, the only freedom that exists in Asia.

11. Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, p. 155.

12. See Appendix 2.

13. Following Aristotle ("the perfect should dominate the imperfect, the excellent its contrary," Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, p. 83) and the Scriptures (Proverbs: "The one who is stupid will serve the wise," p. 85), Sepúlveda concludes: "It is perfectly right for the Spaniards to exercise empire over these barbarians living in the New World and adjacent islands. These barbarians are as inferior to the Spanish in prudence, talent, virtue, and humanity as children to adults or as women to men[!]."

*Barbarians and Spaniards differ as much as do wild, cruel peoples from the most clement peoples*" (p. 101).

14. "How fitting and salutary that these scarcely human barbarians submit to the empire of those who by their prudence, virtue, and religion will convert them from barbarity into civility" (ibid., p. 133).

15. "For very serious reasons, these barbarians ought to accept Spanish governance... which is to their advantage more than to the Spaniards'... Should they refuse our governance (*imperium*), we may employ arms to compel them to accept it. Such a war will be just according to the law of nature and the authority of the great philosophers and theologians" (ibid., p. 135).

16. Regarding indigenous culpability, Sepúlveda comments: "The second alleged reason [for the conquest] concerns their crimes against nature, their abominable lewdness and the portentous devouring of human flesh. By persisting in these crimes, they continue worshipping demons instead of God. Their monstrous rites and human immolations provoke *the divine wrath* in the highest degree" (ibid., p. 155).

17. "Undoubtedly, those who wander outside Christianity err and infallibly approach the precipice; we should not hesitate to draw them back from it by any means and even against their will. If we do not, we will fulfill neither natural law nor Christ's precept" (ibid., p. 137).

18. In the Prologue to my *Philosophy of Liberation* (1976), I classified philosophy of liberation as postmodern. In that time prior to the post-modern movement, I was pointing out the need to overcome modernity. Since I now wish to distinguish myself from postmodernity, I propose a transmodernity.

19. The project G of the scheme of Appendix 2 ought to be affirmed, as opposed to project F.

20. In my work *El último Marx*, chapter 7, I traced how the mature Marx changed in response to the Russian populists' objections and began to think from the Russian periphery.

21. Sepúlveda, *De la justa causa*, pp. 143-45.

22. Ibid., p. 175. Here Sepúlveda utilizes las Casas's arguments in *De único modo*.

23. See the work of John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the*

*Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956); Mario Cayota, *Siembras entre brumas: Utopía franciscana y humanismo renacentista, una alternativa a la conquista* (Montevideo, 1990). This book explains the influence of Joachinism and the spirituals in the spiritual conquest of Mexico.

24. Joachim de Fiore (died in 1202) predicted the commencement of the kingdom of the Holy Spirit in 1260, as the reign of evangelical poverty among Christ's authentic followers. The spiritual church, announced as the fulfillment of the millennium in the *Apocalypse*, was to replace the church of the pope. Hegel, too, betrayed Joachinist leanings in his idea of the "kingdom of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Joachinism even influenced Marx; see my *Las metáforas teológicas de Marx* (Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1993).

25. See Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, pp. 28 ff.

26. In Mendieta's interpretation of the parable, the three groups invited by the Lord refer to Jews, Muslims, and pagans. Then the Lord finally exclaims: "Go out into the roads and pathways and compel [Latin: *compellere*] them until they enter and fill my house" (verse 23). As regards the central question of the legitimacy of this coercion, Mendieta, Motolina, and the other Franciscans concur with Sepúlveda.

27. In this point they demonstrate a militant anti-Lutheran optimism.

28. Phelan, *Millennial Kingdom*, pp. 42 ff.

29. Philip II reorganized Mexico's vice regency, named the new vice regent and lower authorities, and proposed to invade the republic of the Indians and convert it into a Spanish tributary.

30. Francisco de Vitoria favored waging war against indigenous people only if they resisted the preaching of the gospel. Las Casas did not find even this reason convincing.

31. In his immense *Apologética historia*, las Casas endeavored not simply to describe ancient indigenous customs, as did Sahagún, but also to demonstrate their rationality, dignity, and anthropological consistency. While Sahagún sought knowledge of the old world in order to destroy it, las Casas hoped to improve and develop the ancient traditions of indigenous cultures. Las Casas presented solid argumentation to prove that those who thought it a sublime, divine task to obliterate these traditions through *tabula rasa* only produced a greater evil.

32. Bartolomé de las Casas, "Argumento de toda ella" in *Obras escogidas* (Madrid: BAE, 1958), vol. 3, p. 3. Later he wrote: "Given all this discussion about the barbarians, one needs to make this distinction.... One will understand the character of these Indian nations, if one makes proper distinctions, *arguing negatively*" (ibid., vol. 4, pp. 444-45). Las Casas does not produce neutral anthropology or history, but bolsters the dignity and innocence of indigenous peoples and discredits every justification of war against them.

33. Prologue to Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1975), p. 17. Sahagún studies Náhuatl culture in order to destroy it more systematically, whereas Las Casas does so in order to reveal its dignity, rationality, and high, moral, cultural, political, and religious development.

34. Bartolomé de las Casas, *De único Modo de atraer a todos los pueblos a la verdadera religión* (1536), chap. 5:1 (Mexico: FCE, 1975), p. 65.

35. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

36. Ibid., chap 5:2, p. 71.

37. Ibid., chap. 6:1, p. 343.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., chap. 6:1, pp. 343-44. Las Casas displays renowned rhetoric in depicting the cruel terrors of the war in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Central America. These prophetic pages warn about the brutal violence that modernity will scatter throughout the peripheral, colonial world, only recently called the Third World. Las Casas would not be surprised to see the desolation of Iraq's poor, suffering people.

40. Ibid., chap. 6:2, p. 431.

41. See Appendix 2.

42. Ibid., chap. 6:3, p. 446. For Las Casas, the kings, bishops, captains, counselors, and soldiers are all responsible. He conducts a Nuremberg trial of modern culture for its crimes in the holocaust of the conquest, and anticipates the history of violence to occur over the next four centuries.

## CHAPTER 6: AMERINDIA IN A NON-EUROCENTRIC VISION OF WORLD HISTORY

1. The *fundament* for Aztecs and Mayans is the place where one finds help, rests, sits down, and allows things to *stand forth*. Similarly, human-

ity is the word, but its word dwells in the great originary father before the creation (opening-of-the-self-in-flower) of the universe.

2. *Open-in-flower* means to create.

3. *Heavenly being* is the divinity.

4. Among the Avá-Chiripa the *oporaiva* was the *singer*. In song, humanity expressed itself most fully and united the divine and the human, the individual and community, past and future, and heaven and earth. In song, the Tupi-Guaraní fully realized their being.

5. Túpac Amaru referred to the Spaniards as *Europeans*. See Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Tupac Amaru* (Buenos Aires: SELA, 1967), p. 421. Years ago, I described Europe's violence as an intrusion, but indigenous assemblies at the end of the 1980s impressed upon me the idea of the *invasion* of the continent.

6. In a televised interview years ago, Edmundo O'Gorman argued that Indians did not discover America, because they lacked information about the continent as such and never grasped it as a totality. Their immersion in their regional, telluric experience hindered any global perspective from arising. But this argument ignores that the Indians first interpreted these American lands with their own cultural resources. The European discovery came on the scene later and superimposed itself upon that first indigenous experience. Heidegger permits a description of the indigenous world which the European discoverers met.

7. While writing these lipes, here in Zihuatenejo in Guerrero (Mexico), I hear the cadenced crashing of the waves of the Greeks' great sea, of Martellus's and Columbus's *Sinus Magnus*, of Balboa's sea of the south, of the Pacific Ocean. It is highly appropriate to begin the second part of this book beside this ocean.

8. The plumes of the marvelously beautiful *quetzal* bird in Central America signified the divinity. *Cóatl* denoted the duality, the universe's two principles. *Quetzal-cóatl*, represented as a serpent by the Aztecs, was the supreme divinity, the dual principle of the universe.

9. See Leopoldo Zea, *América en la historia* (Mexico: FCE, 1957). Zea contends that in that epoch the *western culture* took on worldwide importance (pp. 88ff.) and became synonymous with the United States on whose margins even Europe lies (p. 155). As in his earlier works [for example, in *América como conciencia* (Mexico: Cuadernos Americanos, 1953) or in *La esencia de lo americano* (Buenos Aires: Pleamar, 1971)],

Zea uses *occidental culture* as his interpretive key. Later, in a meeting on *philosophy of liberation* in San Miguel, with Salazar Bondy present, Zea adopts *dependence* as his key [see, for example, *Filosofía de la Historia Americana* (Mexico: FCE, 1978)]. He asserts that there is an Iberian colonizing project (pp. 103 ff. ) and an occidental, North American one (pp. 133 ff.). Three counter projects oppose forms of dependency: the libertarian (pp. 188 ff.), conservative (pp. 211 ff.), and liberal/civilizing (pp. 244 ff.). These three projects pertain to an *assumptive project* (pp. 269 ff.) seeking to synthesize the past with the future after the pattern of Simón Bolívar and Martí. Zea, who never mentions the projects of Amerindians or subordinated classes, has not yet imagined a project of liberation that would suit the oppressed, exploited, and impoverished Latin American people.

10. I have discussed this theme extensively. In *Hipótesis para el estudio de Latinoamérica en la Historia Universal* [Resistencia (Argentina): Universidad del Nordeste, 1966], vol. 1, p. 268, I provide a thorough bibliography. Also see the Introduction to the *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1983 ), pp. 108 ff.; *El humanismo helénico* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1975); *El humanismo semita* (Buenos Aires: EUDEBA, 1969). Especially important is "Iberoamérica en la Historia Universal" in *Revista de Occidente* (Madrid) 25 (1965), pp. 85-95. Here I proposed the hypothesis developed in this book.

11. For Oswald Spengler they were the Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Chinese, Greco-Roman, Arab, Mexican, and Western [*La decadencia de Occidente* (Madrid: Ed. Calpe, 1923-1927), vols. 1-4]. Clearly by excluding some cultures he interprets world history Eurocentrically. In my account, I refer to only the first and most fundamental neolithic cultures in each macroregion. Arnold Toynbee [*A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934-1959), vols. 1-12] excludes the Indic from his six primary civilizations: Egyptian, Sumerian, Minoic, Sinic, Mayan, and Andean. Alfred Weber describes "the history of the great cultures, Egyptian, Sumerian-Acadian-Babylonian, Chinese, and Indostanic, the four pillars of history" [*Kulturgeschichte als Kultursoziologie* (Munich: Piper, 1963), translation in Spanish (Mexico: FCE, 1960), p. 12]. Even though all Weber's Eurocentric explanations eliminate Latin America, I will borrow from him the idea of the *Primäre Hochkulturen* (the great first cultures). Karl Jaspers [in *Vom Ursprung and Ziel der Geschichte* (Munich: Piper, 1963)] emphasizes the importance of the

*Achzenzeit* (axis-time) in which the following figures and literary products simultaneously appeared: Confucius and Lao-tse in China, the Upanishads of India, the Buddha in Nepal and the north of India, Zarathustra in Iran, the first great prophets in Israel (Elijah, Isaiah), and the first pre-Socratic philosophers in Greece. "The mystical epoch had come to an end, and with it its tranquil placidity and its genius" (p. 21). Since this axis time culminates the neolithic-urban revolution, once more Latin America remains outside. Jaspers knows nothing of *Tlamitinime* critical wisdom, Nezahualcoyotl in Mexico, or the Incan *amautas*. For Toynbee, in contrast, the *amautas* had achieved a critical, universal level of thought with their *viracochinism*, that is, the theological vision of Viracocha, the *originary Maker of the universe*. In Jaspers's opinion, Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Indus, the Huang-Ho, and later the Mediterranean, Indian, and Chinese cultures excelled and anticipated the axis time. I have integrated the idea of *contact zones* proposed by the *Saeculum Weltgeschichte* [edited by H. de Franke, H. Hoffmann, and H. Jedin (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), vol. 1] into my account of the role of the Euroasian steppes and the Pacific Ocean.

12. Darcy Ribeiro, in his work *El proceso civilizatorio* (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1970), writes: "By rural, artesan states we intend... the city states inaugurating urban life based on irrigation agriculture within collectivist socioeconomic systems. Examples of such city states can be found before 4000 B.C.E. in Egypt (Memphis, Mesopotamia, Halaf); between 4000 and 3000 B.C.E. in Egypt (Memphis, Thebes); in India (Mohnejo-Daro) around 2800 B.C.E.; before 2000 B.C.E. in China (Yang-Shao, Hsia); and much later... in the Andean Plateau (Salinar and Galinazo, 700 B.C.E., and Mochica, 200 C.E.); in Colombia (Chibcha, 1000 C.E.);" (p. 61). Ribeiro overlooks the Mesoamerican world, where, for example, Zacatenco-Copilco flourished in 2000 B.C.E. in proximity to Lake Tezcoco in the suburbs of Mexico. During Mesoamerica's classical epoch, between 300 and 900 C.E., Teotihuacán III prospered in the Yucatán-Aztec, area as did Tiahuanaco in the Bolivian Titicaca from 400 to 800 C.E.

13. The arrows do not indicate *direct* contacts between cultures but show spatial movements and temporal sequences. In some cases, direct contacts occurred, as between the Polynesian and Amerindian cultures.

14. See D.-O. Edzard, "Im Zweistromland," in *Saeculum Weltgeschichte*, 1, pp. 239-81, and in many other places of this work; C. L.

Wolley, *Ur, la ciudad de los Caldeos*, Spanish translation (Mexico: FCE, 1953); idem, *The Sumerians* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928); André Parrot, *Archeologie Mesopotamienne* (Paris, 1946); *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge University Press), diverse editions.

15. Gordon Childe, *Los orígenes de la civilización* (Mexico: FCE, 1959), p. 174.

16. Jouget-Dhorme, *Les premiers civilisations* (Paris: PUF, 1950), p. 115.

17. See E. Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion," in *The Labyrinth* (London, 1950), pp. 45-70.

18. *Mitologías. Lo crudo y lo cocido I*, Spanish translation (Mexico: FCE, 1986), vol. 1, p. 21. Lévi-Strauss's own ethnographic language interpreting these myths constitutes a third code. This metalanguage differs "from philosophical reflection, which seeks to return to its origin, since my reflections appear as rays lacking any complete focus... they postulate, however, a common origin, an ideal point on which wandering rays converge when one considers the myth's structure" (*ibid.*, p. 15). While ethnology's interpretive metalanguage may not be a philosophic metalanguage, myths cannot be dismissed as naive, uncritical language. They signify a rationalization process occupying humanity for hundreds of thousands of years since the time of *homo habilis*, and for tens of thousands of years during the era *homo sapiens*.

19. The ethical principle of *exteriority* or alterity (concern for the orphan, the widow, the stranger, the poor) surpasses Kohlberg's fifth and sixth ethical levels, since it places in question the universality of the life world. Kohlberg remains bound to this universality, as does John Rawls, whose two principles spring from the limited liberalism of the modern world.

20. See E. Otto, "Im Niltal. Aegypten," in *Saeculum Weltgeschichte*, 1, pp. 282 ff.; E. Drioton and J. Vanider, *L'Egypte* (Paris: Clio, PUF, 1952); John Wilson, *La cultura egipcia* (Mexico: FCE, 1958); Jouget-Dhorme-Vandier, *Les premières civilisations*, in *Peuples et civilisations*, vol. 1, pp. 21-300.

21. The Bantu cultures of black Africa originated the worship of Osiris, the god of the resurrection of the flesh and foundation of the Nile culture, with its pyramids sheltering the dead who awaited resurrection.



In this manner, these cultures enter world history—from which Hegel had excluded them.

22. The Egyptian pharaoh wore two crowns; the black Bantu crown faced south.

23. *Papiro ñu*, trans Juan Bergua (Madrid: 1962), pp. 181-82.

24. I argued this point in my earliest works, *El humanismo semita* and *El dualismo en la antropología de la Cristiandad: La antropología desde el origen del cristianismo hasta el descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires: Guadalupe, 1974). I have located the philosophy of liberation with respect to its most distant antecedents in world history, as is necessary. Arturo Roig's and Leopoldo Zea's reproach that I have ignored history seems out of place. In "Dependencia y liberación en la filosofía latinoamericana," *Filosofía y Cultura latinoamericana* (Caracas: Centro Rómulo Gallegos, 1976), pp. 211ff, Zea argues: "Alberdi's generation has offered interesting reactions to the philosophy of liberation. Another Argentine... Enrique Dussel, endeavors to erase our wicked past and not to assimilate it in order to begin once again from zero." Zea overlooks that I was criticizing restricted notions of philosophy such as the academic philosophy taught in universities, the scholastic philosophy of the colonial epoch, or present-day "founders'" philosophy begun in 1920 for what F. Romero called *normalization* purposes. Even though Zea criticizes me for denying all previous Latin American *thought* (Bolívar, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Barreda), I have never denied previous Latin American history, but have written books about it. Moreover, in order to show Latin American philosophy of liberation's indebtedness, as well as its uniqueness, I have exposed its roots in the Greeks and Semites, in the medievals and moderns, and throughout Latin American history. In contrast, the university philosophy practiced in Latin America to this day remains imitative and uncreative. My project of liberation, assumptive like Zea's, also assumes popular, oppressed viewpoints.

25. The founder of Christianity coincides (Matthew 25) with Friedrich Engels in *The Origin of the Family*. Ethics must treat economics.

26. Consult entries about India in the already suggested world histories; E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization* (London, 1935); M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization in Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge University Press, 1953).

27. In addition to the corresponding chapter in world histories, see Marcel Granet, *La civilización china*, in *La Evolución de la Humanidad*, vol. 29; idem, *El pensamiento chino*, in the same collection, vol. 30, 1959. I have set aside any discussion of the mythic Hsia dynasty.

28. *Tao-Te Ching* 37:1; edition of Lin-Yutang, translated into Spanish by F. Mazia (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1959), pp. 167-68.

29. Gustavo Vargas in *América en un mapa de 1489* (p. 67) states: "Since it lies near 8. 3 degrees southern latitude and since the details fit with Columbus's sketch and the Munster map, this city would be located on the northern Peruvian coast. It could easily be Chan Chan, as some, such as Jacques Mahieu, believe" ["El imperio vikingo de Tiahuanacua: América antes de Colón," in *El Laberinto* (Barcelona) 15 (1985), p. 36].

30. In Náhuatl, *anáhuac* means the ring of water surrounding the earth, and the Aztecs conceived the Atlantic and Pacific oceans surrounding Mexico to be part of one great sea, *teoatl*, or divine water, *ilhuica-atl*. The Aztecs called the totality of the world *Cemanáhuac* [see the magnificent work of Miguel León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl* (Mexico: UNAM, 1979), pp. 113, 150]. Panama's Cunas dubbed the earth *Abia Yala*, and the Incas called it *Tahuantisuyo*. Each indigenous language bestows its own autochthonous name on the earth known to its users, the American continent. See Aiban Wagua, "Medio Milenio! Algunas consecuencias actuales de la invasión europea a *Abia Yala*. Visión indígena" (Ustupu, Kuna Yala [Panama]: 1990): "The Cunas, before the Europeans ever arrived, knew this world as *Abia Yala*, which means: mature earth, earth great mother, earth of blood. At present, an Italian name, America, has been imposed upon us" (p. 14). Felipe Poma de Ayala (Waman Puma), in his *El primer nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1980), vol. 3, pp. 913-16, discusses a beautiful and illustrated "map of the World of the kingdom of the Indies. The kingdom of Antisuio lies toward the right of the sea of the north [the Caribbean] and Colla-suio is located where the sun rises. Conde-suio is near the sea of the south [the Pacific Ocean], and Chincai-suio designates the Incan 'world earth.' These four parts form a 'cross,' whether in the Chinese theogonies or in the Pacific Polynesian, Aztec, Mayan, Chibcha, or Incan cultures."

31. Crete maintained contacts with the Aegean coasts, the delta of the Nile, Cyprus, and such cities as Gaza, Gezer, Megiddo, Tyre, Biblos, Alepo, Charchemish. This permitted interconnections between the

Hittites, Egyptians, Acadians, Babylonians, and Phoenicians. See G. Glotz, *La civilización egea*, in *La evolución de la humanidad*, vol. 10, 1956, pp. 211ff; Wolfgang Helck, "Der Ostmittelmerraum," in *Saeculum Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 451-550.

32. Consult already cited world histories, and see especially Karl Narr, "Exkurs über die frühe pferdehaltung," in *Saeculum Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 578-81; W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empire of Central Asia*, London, 1939.

33. Political-military leaders in this region were entitled "Kan." In his 1489 map, Martellus denominated an area in northwest China *tartaria per totum*. Thus Columbus sought contact with the "Great Kan" in his first voyage in 1492.

34. O'Gorman correctly observes that they did not grasp the continent as a totality, but they did discover it region by region, valley and mountain, one after another from Alaska to the Tierra del Fuego. While not discovering America as the Europeans, the indigenous peoples performed the more important function of humanizing a terrain previously uninhabited. The conquest came to grips with this previous humanization by dominating the *cultures* that had humanized *nature*.

35. The prefix "pre-" frequently suggests Eurocentrism, as if history only occurred when written down or as if language were not the essential rational moment prior to its rational encoding. See J. Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 1947); F. Keesing, *Native Peoples of the Pacific* (New York, 1946); Paul Rivet, *Los orígenes del hombre americano* (Mexico: FCE, 1960); Hinz Kelm, "Frühe Beziehungen Arnerikas zu Asien und Polynesien" in *Saeculum Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 610-37 and 663-68; Hans Nevermann, "Die polynesische Hochkultur," in op. cit., pp. 355-78; Canals Frau, *Prehistoria de América* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1950).

36. In August 1990, attending a seminar on 1492, I inquired of some Araucanian/Mapuche chiefs the significance of *toki*. They explained that the matrilineal but polygamous Mapuche clans in war time elected a leader from among its most valiant, strong, and intelligent individuals. Like the Roman dictatorship, this institution permitted concerted action in warfare. Afterward, the *toki* (military chief) returned to his earlier activities, and the chiefs resumed governance of their clan. Thus, a military institution original to the Polynesians and wielded by the Mapuches

impeded the Spaniards during the entire colonial epoch from ever conquering southern Chile.

37. J. Imbelloni, *La segunda esfinge indiana* (Buenos Aires, 1942), p. 391. From the same author, "La première chaîne isoglosématique océano-américaine, le nom des haches lithiques," in *Festschrift W. Schmidt* (Vienna: Modling, 1928), pp. 324-35.

38. S. Canals Frau, *Prehistoria de América*, p. 425. This same author offers other parallels: "man" (*tama*) in Polynesian corresponds to the same word among the American Hokas; "nose," *ihu*, occurs in both; "head": *upoko* and *epoko*; "sun": *laa* and *ala*; "canoe": *matoi* and *mato*.

39. A Guaraní expression to be explained later.

40. See W. Krickeberg, H. Trimbron, W. Müller, and O. Zerries, *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1961); W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster: 1926-1955), vols. 1-10. Although this book proposes that monotheism is humanity's original belief, it only demonstrates that *enotheism* without any duality is primordial. Idem, *Ursprung und Werden der Religion* (Münster, 1930); J. Comas, *Ensayos sobre indigenismo* (Mexico, 1953); S. Canals Frau, *Las civilizaciones prehispánicas*, already cited.

41. This group encompasses the Magallanic Indians, the Pampas of Gran Chaco, and tribes of eastern Brazil. See *Hipótesis para el estudio de Latinoamérica en la Historia Universal*, pp. 130ff.; *Introducción a la Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina*, vol. 1/1, pp. 129ff., especially the detailed map. See also Otto Zerries, "Die Religionen der Naturvölker Südamerikas und Westindiens," in W. Krickeberg and others, op. cit., pp. 269 ff.

42. The Californians, Shoshonis, Canadian Algonquins, Athabascans, and Eskimos fall under this classification. See Wemer Müller, "Die Religionen der Indianervölker Nordamerikas," in W. Krickeberg and others, *Die Religionen*, 171 ff.

43. "The Guaraní belong to the forests.... Their life is rapid, fleeting, and desperate. They struggle constantly for light and food in a flooded world" [León Cadogan, *La literatura de los Guaraníes* (Mexico: Joaquín Martiz, 1970), pp. 11-12]. The Guaraní left behind very few objects for museums and archeologists. Their technology, forms of local governance, textiles, and pottery were not very developed.

44. "The third class... includes savages similar to wild beasts, without human feeling, law, kings, pacts, magistrates, and the practices of a republic. They move their dwellings, or settle for stable habitats similar to wild animals' caves or animals' gardens.... The greater part of those in Brazillive like this... they are nude, timid, and prone to shameful pleasures and sodomy" [*De procuranda Indorum salute* (Madrid: Proemio, BAE, 1954), p. 393]. This definition moreover pertains precisely to the Guaranís.

45. The Guaranís sang this poetic song at the communal festive ritual and accompanied it with dancing and other rhythmic movements This feast was a central act of Guaraní existence.

46. "Opening-oneself-as-a-flower," as we have said, involves a creative, productive action, going beyond oneself.

47. "Heavenly being," as we have said, is the divine, the eternal.

48. Bartomeu Melía, *El Guaraní, experiencia religiosa* (Asunción: Biblioteca Paraguaya de Antropología, 1991), pp. 29-30; León Codogan, *La literatura de los Guaranís*, pp. 53-57.

49. Melía, *El Guaraní*, p. 34.

50. Freud rationalized the oneiric alluded to here.

51. "To-keep-oneself-standing" entails knowing that one is founded and supported, as it did among the Aztecs.

52. León Codogan, *Ayvu rapyta: Textos míticos de los Mbya-Guaraní del Guairá* (Universidad de São Paulo, 1959), p. 40. See the same author's *Ywyrá ñe'ery: fluye del árbol la palabra* (Asunción: Centro de Estudios Antropológicos, 1971); B. Melía, *Die schönen Ur- Worte: die Kunst des Wortes bei den Guaraní* (Frankfurt: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1988). "The word, the name, the prayer, the song, the medicinal invocation, prophecy, the political-religious exhortation-all these forms of *saying*: *ñembo'e*, are the privileged forms of Guaraní religion. The Guaraní behaves religiously by becoming the word and thus participating in the being of the first fathers, the fathers of words-souls" (Melía, *El Guaraní*, pp. 41-42). 53. *Teko* means what *ethos* meant for the Greeks: a mode of being and the place where one dwells. *Tekoha* meant the *place* to establish the Guaraní mode of being: "The *tekoha* signifies and produces at the same time the economic relationships, social relationships, and political-religious organizations essential for the Guaraní life. However redundant it

might appear, one must agree with the Guaraní leaders that without *tekoha* there is no *teko*" (ibid., p. 64).

54. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

55. The *clearing* illuminates in Heidegger, who thinks of the Black Forest and not the Amazon-Paraguayan forest.

56. Melía, *El Guaraní*, pp. 45-46. In the *socialist* reductions of Paraguay, the Jesuits intuitively preserved this originary communal and economic reciprocity on the basis of the word. Although not really socialists, their economy contained only use values, and no exchange values. Those living in the reductions preexisted class formations and their clan existence would have seemed utopic. For Marx human societies exemplified communitarian relationship prior to modern, capitalist individuality. Marx extrapolated beyond such relationships to the utopian communitarianism of the full individual in the full community [see the *Grundrisse* and my study of it: *La producción teórica de Marx* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1985); *Hacia el Marx desconocido* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1988); *El último Marx* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1990). These books render Marx all the more relevant even after the formal disappearance of the Soviet Union on December 26, 1991.

57. Hence, by inviting the Spaniards to their *feasts*, the Guaranís believed that they confirmed a contract of eternal giving-receiving. How surprising it would have seemed that the Spaniards neither collaborated in preparations for the proximate feasts nor invited the Guaranís to their feasts. The Europeans would have seemed treacherous, demoniacal, perverse, and culpable of an unpardonable offense against the first father.

58. Melía, *El Guaraní*, p. 77.

59. Ibid., p. 84.

60. From *homo habilis*, four million years ago, until the Guaranís, humanity had achieved the essence of human development. These human beings barely differ from modern humanity when it comes to the use of language, an ethical sense, and appreciation of the dignity and meaning of life.

61. See R. and M. Cornevin, *Histoire de l'Afrique* (Paris: PUF, 1964), pp. 145ff.

62. See Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989).

63. See Appendix 1.

64. Europe always expands from its margins, such as Russia, Spain, and later England. See Leopoldo Zea, *Discurso desde la marginación y la barbarie* (Madrid: Anthropos, 1988).

### PART 3

1. See Paul Ricoeur's account of the rich meaning of *metaphor* in *La métaphore vive* (Paris: Seuil, 1975).

### CHAPTER 7: FROM THE PAROUSIA OF THE GODS TO THE INVASION

1. The ancient God Omoteótl contained the dual principles of mother and father, as did the Mayan Alom-Qaholom. See *Popol Vuh* (Mexico: FCE, 1990), pp. 23 and 164. This originary divine duality resembles the twin deities of all other American cultures in the North American plains, the Caribbean, the Amazon, and as far south as Tierra del Fuego. Heraclitus too espoused a dual principle.

2. Metaphors such as *being spread out, resting, lying* describe the absolute as the fundament beneath, founding and being the ultimate reference in the same sense as *Grund* in Hegel's greater and lesser *Logics*. *To lie (ónoc)* as the fundament of universe is to give it its *truth*.

3. This means the same as *in itself (in sich)*.

4. The ocean, the seas to the north and south of the Aztec empire.

5. Although the heavens stand *above* the waters *below*, they are continuous with each other.

6. The kingdom below completes the trinity of heaven-earth-Hades, as in Mesopotamian cults. This below (*topan michtlan*) formed the region of the dead in contrast to *Tilocan*, the paradise of the just.

7. Cited from Miguel León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl* (Mexico: UNAM, 1979), p. 93.

8. With Karl-Otto Apel in Mexico in 1991, I discussed the presence of philosophy in America's protohistory and the possibility of an *Enlightenment (Aufklärung)* in the Jasperian sense of axis time (*Achsenzeit*).

9. In the Greek sense of "lover of wisdom," who in this context would have been a philosopher-theologian since Christianity later secularized the philosopher in the third century C.E.

10. Bk. 2, chap. 2 (Lima: Editorial Universo, 1967) vol. 1, p. 74. The Inca Garcilaso adds: "This is to say that the Christian God and Pachacámac were one and the same" (ibid., p. 75). He criticizes Pedro de Cieza, who "because he is Spanish does not understand the language as well as I, who am an Incan" (ibid., p. 74).

11. From *mati*: "he knows, is familiar with"; *tla*: "thing or something"; *ni*, "giving the substantive character": *the one who knows*. *Tlamatini*: "he who knows something."

12. Chap. 7 (Mexico: Ed. Porrúa, 1975), p. 555. By painting the sacred codices, the painter became a principal official, as did the singer who intoned the ritual *song*. The splendor of Aztec ritual song exceeded that of the poor Guaranís of the tropical forests.

13. *Obras históricas* (Mexico: 1892), vol. 2, p. 18. *Coloquios y Doctrina Cristiana* [*Sterbende Götter und Christliche Heilsbotschaft*, ed. w. Lehmann (Suttgart: 1949), pp. 96-97] mentions another social function after that of governors, priests, and astronomers: "Those who watch, give an account, turn noisily the codices' pages, and command the black and red ink of our painting are the ones who carry us, guide us, point out the way." They are the *tlamatinime*.

14. I stress this point to prove the existence of an Aztec philosophy.

15. If one does not smoke something up, it is clear, transparent, lucid.

16. The gods looked upon the earth through a needle hole, just as the astronomers looked at the heavens through a pierced object. One who is "perforated from both sides" understands the meaning of humanity from the gods' viewpoint and the meaning of the deity from the human viewpoint.

17. Truth: *Neltiliztli*, from the root *nelhuáyotl*: "cement, fundament" (as the Guaraní *fundament of the word*); and also from *tla-nél-huatl*: "foot." "The Náhuatl concern whether something *were true or was standing* [as among the Guaranís] aimed at knowing if it were fixed and well cemented, if it would *only slightly incline* toward the vanity of earthly (*tlalticpac*), dreamlike things" (León Portilla, op. cit., p. 61). Once again the question of fundament arises. "By chance is humanity the truth? Then our song would not be *truth*. What by chance *is standing*?" (Ms. "Cantares Mexicanos," folio 10, v; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 327).



18. *Teixtlamachtiani*: "he or she who makes another rich or communicates something to the other." *Ix* (from *ixtli*): "face, visage"; *te*: "the Other." The *visage* or *face* represents the being of the other. The even more powerful expression *teixcuitiani* commands one to take on the *visage* of others, thereby personalizing them and individualizing them. Finally, *teixtomani*, entails helping the other's visage develop. Someone *without visage* is ignorant, drifts, and finds no meaning in anything or in one's self. The educated person *has a visage* and thus can discover critical meanings transcending whatever is merely earthly (*tlalticpac*), ephemeral, phenomenal, or platonically doxical, "as if it were a dream." All wisdom surpasses the *tlalticpac* to reach "that which surpasses us" (*topa mictian*), the transcendent. This explicit enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) achieves the level of Parmenides' poems and Heraclitus' oracles and exemplifies a kind of Jaspersian axis time similar to that among the pre-Socratics. The limitations of space prevent me from presenting here León Portilla's profound and detailed arguments about Aztec culture.

19. *Tetezcaviani* derives from *tezcatl* and *tezcavia*, which means "to place a mirror before others." The *mirror* symbolizes critical, speculative reflection by which one looks at oneself and overcomes meaninglessness. The *tlamatini* places a mirror before the other's visage and enables self-discovery, self-reconstruction, and self-development.

20. The basic concept of world, *cemanáhuac*, indicates the complete ring of water and derives from *cem*: "entirely, all"; *a(tl)*: "water"; *nahuac*: "ring." The sea of the North (the Caribbean, Atlantic) and the sea of the South (Pacific) encompass Mexico's world. The waters of this one divine ocean (*teóatl*) are continuous with those of heaven (*ilhuicaatl*). See Eduard Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (Berlin: Ascher and Behren, 1923), vol. 4, p. 3. *One applies one's light to the world* signifies that one observes and discovers with the light of one's intelligence the world's mysterious aspect. *Tla-ix-imantini* means "one who knows things by one's visage."

21. *Itech netlacaneco* comes from *ne-tlaca-neco*: *-neco*: "he is desired"; *tlacatl*: "human being"; *ne-*: impersonal prefix. *Itech netlacaneco* means "the people are humanly desired" thanks to him (*itech*). He humanizes, civilizes, educates, and supports love and desire. This text, the product of a delicate subjectivity, recommends patient, humble, profound, solidary action.

22. León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 65-74.

23. For instance, *the magician who turns the other's face (teixcuepani)* refers to one who shows the other the nape of the neck instead of the face with its power to promote self-realization. The Europeans discovering America could only see *a face turned toward the back (en-cubierto)*. The magician also *makes others lose their face (teixpoloa)* (Ibid., p. 73).

24. "All these songs consist in *some metaphors* so obscure that no one can understand them unless they carefully study and discuss them in search of their meaning. Even though I have listened carefully to their singing and immersed myself in their words and metaphoric terms, I found their songs baffling. After much conferring, I have come to see that these songs express *admirable opinions* of divine prophecy and human feeling" [Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1967), vol. 1, p. 21].

25. "They rose at four to clean the house.... They cook food in the Calmécac house.... Every midnight they all wake up to pray, and they punish those who sleep through prayer by pricking their ears, chest, muscles, and legs" [B. de Sahagún, *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: 1829), vol. 1, p. 327].

26. Náhuatl philosophical treatises involved dialogues or conversations similar to Platonic dialogues, only they focused on the divinity and were known as *Teulatolli*. These discourses followed their own rules and patterns for argumentation.

27. Much more than poetic work, it expressed wisdom, an intercommunication between divine and human. It crowned Náhuatl culture in a more elaborate way than the word for the Guaranís.

28. "They were taught the *tonalphualli* with its book of dreams (*temicamatl*) and book of years (*xiuhámatl*)" (*Códice Florentino*, book 3, p. 65, in León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 228). The dream was the privileged locus of divine revelation, as was the case among the Guaranís and the rest of the Amerindian peoples.

29. Clavigero recovered these traditions and evaluated them as philosophy in eighteenth-century Mexico during the Spanish enlightenment. [See Bernabé Navarro, *La Introducción de la Filosofía Moderna en México* (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 1948); Jean Sarrailh, *La España Ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Mexico: FCE, 1974)].

30. The *Popol Vuh* of the Mayas posited four types of humanity preceding the Mayans. The Toltecs, who preceded the Aztecs as the Greeks the Romans, espoused Tlacaélel's sacrificial vision and believed that they were living a fifth age, which possessed its own distinct sun, as had the previous four ages.

31. Plato (in the *Parmenides*), Plotinus (in the *Enneads*), Hindu thought, and Chinese Taoism all inquired how the *One* could issue in a *plurality*.

32. Unlike Aristotle who believed in sixty heavenly spheres, the Aztecs claimed thirteen spheres beginning with the moon's, then the stars' (the Greeks' ultimate spheres), and then the sun's until the thirteenth heaven where Ometeótl dwelt.

33. "The foundational god and his co-principle dwell there" (León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 151). The ancient God always appeared with a co-principle.

34. The metaphor is not now simply mythic, but also conceptual.

35. This is said in many ways: *Omecihuatl* (dual woman), *Omete-cuhtli* (dual lord), *Tonacacihuatl* (woman of our flesh), *Tonacatecuhtli* (lord of our flesh), *in teteu inan* (mother of the gods), and *in teteu ita* (father of the gods).

36. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (Mexico: 1945), vol. 1, p. 95.

37. The absolute self-production occurs through thought. *Yucoya* signifies "to produce by thought."

38. In the originary night, everything is invisible and mysterious, and in the originary wind everything is impalpable, imperceptible, supersensible, and absolutely transcendental.

39. Duality constitutes perhaps Ometeótl's most extraordinary quality. *Tloc*: "near"; *náhuac*: "surround like a ring"; the termination *-e* indicates the abstract (such as *-dad* in Spanish or *-heit* in German): "nearness-surrounding." We live in this originary divine duality, Ometeótl, who is near and surrounds us. In his presence, the *tlamatinime* partake of the mystical-ontological experience typical of great contemplatives in all great civilizations in their axis time. Augustine describes the Christian God similarly as one "in whom we live and are."

40. No Hegelian *Entzweiung* ("self-bifurcation") takes place here, since from the origin there are two; any splitting would result in an *Entvierung* ("a making of four out of oneself"). Hegel wrote: "The absolute is both the night and the light anterior to the night, as well as the the difference between both" [*Differenz des Ficht'schen und Schelling'schen Systems der Philosophie* (Hamburg: Lasson, 1962), p. 65; see my *Método para una filosofía de la liberación* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1974), pp. 89 ff.]. The metaphors (night, light) are identical. Further reflection on Náhuatl ontology would illustrate to sceptics the *formal, explicit beginning of philosophy* in Latin American's protohistory prior to 1492.

41. *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, in J. Garcia Icazbalceta, *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico: 1890), vol. 3, pp. 228ff.

42. A smoked mirror would not reflect and so would be invisible at night. It would differ from *Tezcatlanextia*, the "mirror that makes things appear" and manifests Ometeótl, who produces things as his reflection. The mirror symbolizes the turning on self typical of reflection, whether it is the divinity who reflects or the philosophical *tlamatini*: "who dialogues with his own heart" (*mavolnonotzani*).

43. León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 103 and 333.

44. Life implies mobility (*Bewegenheit*), as Marcuse proved in his study of Being in Hegel. Likewise, life meant mobility for the Aztecs, and the heart was the moving organ. In heaven, the sun moved itself, following its path (*Iohtlatoquiliz*) and setting in motion or vitalizing all living beings that moved themselves. These living beings owed their lives in sacrifice to maintain the sun's life. This vital-sacrificial circle resembles Marx's metaphors in his discussion of *capital*.

45. The phrase means "those deserved " by Quetzalcóatl who had raised them from the dead by "pouring out his blood" for them. (*Manuscrito de 1558*; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 184). *Mazenhualtin* refers to those whom the god deserved because of the his bloody self-sacrifice. All humanity is born with a debt of blood to Quetzalcóatl, a divine and unchained Prometheus or a bloodied Christus.

46. *Moyocoia* indicates that the divinity's plans achieve their goal, as in Judaeo-Christian notions of providence.

47. *Códice Florentino*, bk. 6, fol. 43v; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 199-200 and 349.

48. *Iohltatoquiliz* means "advance through heavenly paths." The path (*ohltli*) is necessary, and all persons follow equally their own paths. From birth, their astrologically chosen names depend on the day's omens and mark out a future destiny.

49. The *Anahuac*, the land surrounded by the ocean, *teoatl*, formed the known world (*cemanánuac*) and rested on its foundation, the earth's navel (*tlaxicco*), under which Ometeótl lay (*ónoc*).

50. *Nelli* (truth) has a particular meaning in Náhuatl: that which is founded as eternally permanent. The question has the following meaning: By chance do people possess in their being something firm, something well-rooted? It would be, for Hegel, the question of the essence (fundament) in its dialectic-ontological meaning, and not in its ontic or traditional metaphysical meaning.

51. To be *founded* in Ometeótl, the absolute, approaches what the Guaranís meant by "to be standing."

52. *Ms. Cantares Mexicanos*, fol. 10v; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 61.

53. *Ibid.*, fol. 9 v; p. 142.

54. At the end of an Aztec century, which lasted fifty-two years (4 x 13), they superimposed a new floor on all the old temple floors and burnt the *new fire*.

55. This year was celebrated every sixty-five solar years.

56. Sahagún announces the theme of second book: "Which treats of the calendar, feasts and ceremonies, sacrifices and solemnities" (*Historia General de las cosas de la Nueva España*, ed. cit., pp. 73 ff.).

57. "On judiciary astrology and the art of prophesying" (*ibid.*, bk. 4, pp. 221 ff.). When deciding about births or other temporal events, the Aztecs relied on astrological revelations about each day, year, or period of years, and they considered these revelations to be valid forever.

58. "Which treats of auguries and almanacs, the natural things taken from birds, animals, and insects to prophesy the future" (*ibid.*, bk. 5, pp. 267ff.). Sahagún speaks inexactly here since the auguries and almanacs looked upon events completed in the present as capable of being predicted from their past, and thus did not strictly predict the future. In addition, these temporal doctrines tended to conflate the present looking to the future, the present of the present, and the present of the past. This lack

of any historical meaning distinguished Moctezuma's tragic, Promethean consciousness from Cortés's dramatic Christian, modern consciousness. See Paul Ricoeur's *The Symbolism of Evil*, and my *El humanismo semita*.

59. *El Códice Florentino* (bk. 6, chap. 2) mentions the names of the Aztecs who approached the ships: Pintol Huasteco, Yoatzin de Nuchtlancuauhtla of Teuciniyocan, and the guides Cuitlapíltoc and Téntitl. The other side's history had its real names and persons.

60. Indigenous informers of Sahagún, *Códice Florentino*, bk. 4, chap. 2 [cit. M. León Portilla, *El reverso de la conquista* (Mexico: Joaquín Moritz, 1978), pp. 32-33].

61. This analysis relies on the plausible tradition that Moctezuma believed that Cortés was Quetzalcóatl. James Lockhart [see from this author: *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); other works of the same author are in *ibid.*, pp. 301-2] and Susan Gillespie [*The Aztec Kings. The Construction of Rulership in Mexican History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989)] point out that chroniclers incorporated this belief in a Quetzalcóatl redivivus decades after the events. For example, nothing appears on this subject in Náhuatl texts produced even after 1540. Such information does not prove that this belief did not exist, since it is plausible that the belief was recorded well after its currency.

62. Tzevan Todorov, in *La conquista de America*, referring to "Moctezuma and the signs (pp. 70 ff.)," concurs with me, but he attributes Moctezuma's apparent hesitancy to the Aztecs' different communication modes. This book, though, fails to take advantage of its own recognition that everything had been arranged from all time. Tzvetan Todorov and Georges Baudot have published a collection of *Récits aztèques de la Conquête* (Paris: Seuil, 1983) [with an excellent Italian edition, *Racconti aztechi della Conquista* (Turin: Einaudi, 1988)], which includes the *Códice Florentino*, *Anales históricos de Tlatelolco*, *Códice Aubin* in Náhuatl; for Spanish, consult Diego Muñoz Camargo's *Códice Ramírez*, *Historia de Talxcala* and Diego Durán's *Historia*.

63. N. Wachtel, the author of *La vision des vaincus*, p. 45, wonders why Moctezuma received "*les Blancs comme des dieux*."

64. Miguel León Portilla, *El reverso de la conquista*, p. 20, indicates the possibilities Moctezuma ponders without explaining the rationality of his decisions.

65. Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad* (Mexico: FCE, 1976), p. 85: "Moctezuma interpreted the Spaniards' arrival in the beginning not as an *exterior* danger, but rather as a harassment internal to a cosmic era." At first, Moctezuma did not confront the end of the world as a distinct third possibility. *Posdata* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1970) pursues the discussion (pp. 126-43) without delineating the possibilities as I have.

66. In J. Lafaye's *Quetzalcóatl y Guadalupe: La Formación de la conciencia nacional en México* (Mexico: FCE, 1977), pp. 219-24, the situation is not clarified at all.

67. León Portilla, *El Reverso*, pp. 38-39. Náhuatl etiquette promoted the rhetorical formulas you and your evident to this day in the Mexican expression, "*My house is your house. (mi casa es su casa)*".

68. In the sense of Heidegger's *Möglichkeit* [see my *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 65ff: "The ontic possibilities"] or of N. Luhmann's self-referential and auto-poetic mechanisms in *Systemlehre* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1987).

69. Based on key Náhuatl texts and their plausibility for supporting Lockhart's hypotheses, I would include the following as resources: (1) To listen to the judgment of the warriors in the Tlacaélel tradition who were poised to act once they realized an invasion was occurring. (2) Ask the judgment of the *tlamatinime* philosophers. (3) Consult the astrologers, who predicted Quetzalcóatl's return on a *ce-acatl*, a date on which the Spaniards arrived. (4) Follow the auguries or predictions that indicated unavoidable future fatalities on the bases of eight signs referring to the four elements of the Aztecs and pre-Socratics: earth, air, fire, and water. See León Portilla's discussion of eight "fatal presages" in *El reverso de la conquista*, pp. 29 ff.

70. *Abnormalities* (such as birth defects) were either eliminated (as among the Spartans) or divinized (as among the Zapotecs who elevated their sick to the pantheon of gods on Mount Alban). No one anticipated the least probable abnormality that human beings would appear on the great ocean.

71. The possibility that they were human could have seemed least dangerous, since their small numbers posed no military danger, even with their military technology. Moreover, in the strategic interest of eliminating other possibilities, Moctezuma postponed consideration of the inva-

sion possibility. That the Spaniards were only human could not as yet have made sense to someone with Moctezuma's interpretive framework.

72. The cultured Toltecs were to the Aztecs what the Greeks were to the Romans, and one could even claim that the Aztec exemplified *toltecavotl* ("Toltequidad," like *Romanitas* for the Romans, or *Christianity* for the Christians, or *Deushtum* for the Germans). The historical figure Quetzalcóatl was actually the wise priest *Ce Acatl Topilzin* (around eleventh century B.C.E.), *the one born in day 1—Caña, our prince*. [See Walter Lehmann, "Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexiko," in *Quellenwerke zur alten Geschichte Amerikas* (Stuttgart: 1938)]. As a young, single man in the environs of Tulancingo, he had been sought out to be king of Tula. A strong thinker and formulator of the ontology of Ometeótl, he opposed ideas that would later make up the Tlacaelel vision: "It is said that when Quetzalcóatl lived here, the sorcerers often wished to deceive him into making human sacrifices. But he never wanted to do so, because he loved his own Toltec people very much" (*Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, Códice Chimalpopoca, fol. 5; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 307-8). Upon being unjustly expelled, he promised to return. The Aztecs, and Moctezuma in particular, had much to fear, since they had shed much Toltec blood, since the sacrificial myth of Huitzilopochtli contradicted Quetzalcóatl's convictions, and since the exiled Quetzalcóatl would have every right to seize Moctezuma's throne (as Moctezuma knew full well when he faced Cortés). When Cortés counseled Moctezuma not "to sacrifice human beings, Moctezuma summoned his chief priest the next day and ordered him to refrain from human sacrifice for some days in order to placate the Spaniards" (Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 4, chap. 40; ed. cit., vol. 2, p. 173). Such behavior reveals Moctezuma's identification of Cortés with Quetzalcóatl, the wise priest of Tula.

73. The fifth sun, one reads, "was the sun of our chief in Tula, Quetzalcóatl" (*Documento de 1558*; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 103). The almanacs predicting *movement of the earth and a hunger from which we will perish* (*ibid.*) foretold the demise of the fifth sun.

74. Paz (*El laberinto*, p. 85) mistakenly believes that Moctezuma first faced the possibility of the end of the fifth sun.

75. *Informantes de Sahagún*, in Miguel Leon Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 35.



76. The Aztec subjects never cooperated completely with Cortés, since if the Aztecs defeated Cortés they would have wreaked vengeance on unfaithful subjects. The same thing happened in Atahualpa among the Incas.

77. The most hopeful possibility for Moctezuma was that the newcomers were human since his warriors, faithful as ever to Huitzilopochtli, would have crushed Cortés's small number of troops. But Moctezuma first had to test rationally the other weightier and more negative possibilities.

78. In his offer to Cortés, Moctezuma manifested the *ethos* of a Calmécac hero and wise man: "Five or ten days ago I felt anxiety and fixed my eyes on the region of the dead until you came among the clouds and mist." The *tlatimini* contemplated the transcendent (*topan mictlan*) beyond the merely earthly (*in tlalticpac*) and resolved like Quetzalcóatl to *love his people very much*. Thus, he "caviled about what was going to happen to the city" and renounced his throne to avoid greater suffering for his people. Like Quetzalcóatl in Tula, this new Mexican Quetzalcóatl stood aside, renounced his power, and suffered personal immolation. Cortés, the adept soldier and cunning politician, lacked such moral stature and so could not have grasped the immense ethical greatness of the man before him!

79. One would have to resort to another and more difficult argument for the Cortés/Quetzalcóatl identification if Lockhart's denial of the identification were substantiated. What is evident is that for some strange reason the Náhuatl chroniclers omitted mentioning this identification in texts around the time of the conquest in 1520.

80. Following E. O'Gorman's fruitful hypothesis that Columbus *was unable to discover America*, I can also say that Moctezuma "was unable to discover an invasion" until Pánfilo Narváez's arrival.

81. Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, chap. 59, p. 184.

82. They witnessed the death of horses and Spanish soldiers, spent long weeks in the company of the Spaniards, and observed no other extraordinary signs.

83. Moctezuma had committed an *a posteriori* error, and not an *a priori* one.

84. Modern humanity fails to understand the *reasons of the Other*.

See the contribution to the dialogue with Karl-Otto Apel in Mexico entitled: "La razón del Otro. *La interpelación como acto-de-habla.*"

85. Cortés should have left Mexico City immediately after his return from the coast with the reinforcements gained from the defeat of Narváez. Instead, with little understanding of Moctezuma's reasons, he believed that he could continue using him. Meanwhile Moctezuma had allowed himself to be used as part of his testing procedure for the possibilities facing him. Alvarado erroneously thought that a show of aggression would strengthen his hand and overlooked that it was not Spanish bravery but the Mexican *tlatinime* world vision (Weltanschauung) that was protecting him. Once this vision had proved faulty, the logic of war replaced it, and Alvarado found himself endangered.

86. Theoretically he resembled the Hegel of the *Philosophy of Right*, but even more so the theoretician of war Clausewitz and the politician Bismarck. Even though he did not wish to be king over the empire, he ended up protecting four other kings.

87. Fernando Alvarado Tezómoc, *Crónica Mexicáyotl* (Mexico: UNAM, 1949), p. 121. About Tlacaélel see León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 249 ff.; and from the same author, *Los antiguos mexicanos* (Mexico: FCE, 1990), pp. 46ff; pp. 92ff.

88. Durán, *Historia de las Indias*, p. 95.

89. *Documento de 1558*, already cited (León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, pp. 103-9).

90. *Ms. Cantares Mexicanos*, fol. 20v (León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 257). Karl Marx's theological metaphors (see my *Las metáforas teológicas de Marx*), inspired by Semitic-biblical Judaeo-Christian texts, portray capital as the new Moloch who lives off the oppressed by sucking their blood. The circulation of value is *Blutzirkulation* (circulation of blood).

91. *Ms. Anónimo de Tlatelolco* (1528) (see León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 43).

92. The Spaniards attributed their salvation to the Virgin of Remedies. Again, in 1810, Hidalgo hoisted the standard of the Virgin of Guadalupe as the flag of the Americans, and the Spaniards (*gachupines*), the banner of the remedies. The struggle of virgins, the struggle of gods, the struggle of classes! See my "Christliche Kunst des Unterdrückten in

Lateinamerika. Eine Hypothese zur Kennzeichnung einer Aesthetik," in *Concilium* 152 (1980): 106-14.

93. Ms. *Anónimo de Tlatelolco*, in León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 53.

94. This question was essential: Does the destruction of the empire show that the gods abandoned us? This profound and tragic question announces the consummation of the fifth sun.

95. *Cantares Mexicanos* (León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 62). Do not think that the indigenous people resisted the invasion minimally. Their resistance was heroic and constant.

#### CHAPTER 8: FROM THE RESISTANCE TO THE END OF THE WORLD AND THE SIXTH SUN

1. Gerónimo le Medieta, *Historia Ecclesiástica Indiana*, bk. 3, chap. 49 (Mexico: Ed. Chávez Hyhoe, 1945), vol. 2, p. 161.

2. Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, *Historia de Chile* (Santiago: Ed. Universitaria, 1970), p. 71.

3. Josefina Oliva de Coll, *La resistencia indígena ante la conquista* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1991), pp. 9-10. See M. T. Huerta and P. Palacios, *Rebeliones indígenas de la época colonial* (Mexico: 1976); J. de Vos, *Tierra y Libertad. Panorama de cuatro rebeliones indígenas en Chiapas* (Chiapas: n.d.); Segundo Moreno Yañez, *Sublevaciones indígenas en la Audiencia de Quito* (Quito: 1978); B. Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru* (Buenos Aires: 1967). In my Sorbonne doctoral thesis in history, "El episcopado hispanoamericano y la defensa del indio (1504-1620)" (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1969-1971), vols. 1-9, I took more than two thousand pages to describe the oppression and resistance of the Indians throughout sixteenth-century Latin America. These descriptions drew on mostly unpublished documents in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville.

4. Bartolomé de las Casas's entire work attempts to recover this valiant resistance. His most famous works, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* [in *Obras escogidas* (Madrid: BAE, 1958), vol. 5, pp. 134ff.] and the *Historia de las Indias*, orchestrate apologies on behalf of the brave, indigenous resistance.

5. The laws of apartheid in South Africa, demanding that Africans over seventeen carry a pass, provoked the protest resulting in the

Sharpeville slaughter. Modernity's first apartheid took place in late fifteenth-century Santo Domingo.

6. See Oliva de Coll, *La resistencia*, pp. 38 ff.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 72ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 77ff.

11. "Many things occurring in this circle [of Mexico City] , were recorded and pondered over generations, especially regarding the Temistitán women. It was marvelous and awesome to witness the swift and constant service afforded their husbands as they cured wounds, carved rocks for slings, and performed other tasks one thought excessive for women" (*ibid.*, p. 95).

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff. The Mayas' political organization, less unified than the Aztec, impeded the Spaniards and the later Mexican state from dominating them.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 129 ff.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 148 ff.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 171 ff.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 182 ff.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 195 ff.

18. "Because of outcry that has reached up to heaven and in the name of the all-powerful God, we order and demand that no one pay or obey in any way the *intrusive European* ministers [*sic*]" (an edict in the pocket of Túpac Amaru at the time of his death in 1781; the text cited above comes from Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru*, p. 421). The Amerindians interpreted and named the European invaders as *intrusive*, from Columbus to the United States marine incursion into Panama which occurred in 1990.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 241 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 254 ff.

21. *Informantes de Sahagún*, Códice Florentino, bk. 12, chap. 9, in León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 35.

22. *Anales de Cuauhtitlán*, ed. W. Lehmann, p. 62 (León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 103).

23. Since the Aztecs considered the end of the empire and the fifth sun identical, the subsequent Spanish domination announced the arrival of a new sun. Astronomical and political concepts coincided in their *cosmo-politics*, as among the Hellenists and Romans. In fact, all empires involve the gods and the universe in their destiny, as is the case in the North American empire where Ronald Reagan's apocalyptic ideology flourished.

24. *Pacha*: "universe"; *kuti*: "commotion, revolution, final agony."

25. León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p. 126.

26. Bartomeu Meliá, *El guaraní: Experiencia religiosa* (Asunción: Biblioteca Paraguaya de Antropología, 1991), p. 76.

27. The conquistadores trained dogs for warlike tasks such as beastially devouring the wise men.

28. The Aztecs painted their manuscripts with illustrations in black, for the mystery of the originary night, and red, for the clarity of day, love, life, and blood.

29. From *Ms. Anónimo de Tlatelolco* (León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 61).

30. The Aztecs hoped that the Europeans would seize their codices and ingest their meaning before destroying them, just as the Aztecs had done with the codices of Azcapotzalco and other dominated peoples. In this way, at least, the destroyed codices would have survived as subsumed within the history and theory of the conqueror.

31. I cite constantly the text given by Walter Lehmann in *Sterbende Götter und Christliche Heilsbotschaft* (Stuttgart: 1949) and in Náhuatl and Spanish by M. León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl* pp. 129-36. The Náhuatl text was recorded afterward in the College of Tlatelolco, founded by the Franciscans for the children of the chiefs. One editor, Antonio Valeriano, a neighbor of Azcapotzalco, was responsible for the texts on the tradition of the virgin of Guadalupe. The text at Tlatelolco discussed in thirty chapters "all the conversations, confabulations, and sermons exchanged between the twelve religious and the principal leaders and lords and satraps" (Lehmann, p. 52) in Mexico in 1524. Three years before the ancient metropolis had been destroyed.

32. According to León Portilla's numeration: (1) Rhetorical introduction (numbers 872-912). (2) Preparation of the response to the friars' proposal (913-932). (3) Central statement of the question to be debated (933-938). (4) Arguments proving the *tlamatinime's* conclusion (939-1004): (a) from authority (943-961), (b) from existential coherence (962-988), (c) from antiquity (989-1004), (5) Conclusion: we cannot abandon our norms (1005-1043). (6) Corollary: Do with us what you like (1044-1060).

33. Their manner of approach resembles Moctezuma's reception of Cortés, one respects the Other, one gives way before the Other in order to establish first the pragmatic or illocutionary moment of communicative rationality. Mexican culture continues this tradition, since one never proceeds immediately to the subject of conversation and its propositional content. Such a roundabout procedure, so unstrategic in its rationality, appears unproductive to the capitalist.

34. *Timacevalti*: "ignorance" flows from wisdom according to Nezahualcoyotl: "By chance do we speak the *truth*, giver of life? We are only dreaming or awakening from a dream. No one here speaks the *truth*!" (*Ms. Cantares Mexicanos*, fol. 17r; León Portilla, *La Filosofía Náhuatl*, p.60).

35. Unlike the *tlamatinime* who recognize cultural chasms, the recently arrived Franciscans operate with a simplistic modern optimism about teaching the Christian faith. Their honest, naïve, sincere, truthful, rationalist stance blinds them to patent distances *subtending* every future conversation and portending difficulties, incommensurabilities, and communicative pathologies. The modern conquerors strive to overcome such obstacles in the least time possible in order to arrive at the information of the propositional content. In contrast, for those who truly seek to communicate with the *reason (ratio Grund)* of the Other, the pragmatic-communicative moment protrudes with an unbearably weighty and nearly invincible priority.

36. Unavoidably, the translator for the Aztec wise men *could not function adequately*, since no one could have known both cultures sufficiently to express *fully* what each was saying. They carried on the supposed dialogue in Castilian, the hegemonic language of the conqueror. Since its consensus alone was valid, the Other had to *enter* into this community on its terms to be heard.

37. *Yn ihio yn itietel*. This constant Náhuatl linkage of phrases, similar to "face to face," exemplifies *dephrasism* and occurs frequently in this highly refined rhetorical text.

38 *In tloque, navqued*. *Ometeótl*, according to Náhuatl mystical experience, penetrated each being's intimate core and surrounded humanity with a divine presence. How could those Franciscans, even though well-educated and imbued with Cisneros's mystical reforms, have understood that it would have taken *weeks* to dialogue adequately about this experience? One could no more easily race through an account of nirvana in a conversation with the Buddha.

39. These wise men displayed bravery, lucidity, and heroic magnanimity when faced with the tragic situation that Franciscans could not appreciate their holiness, and even less so the conquistadores.

40. *Tipoliuini timiquini*, the ethical apprehension that everything "earthly" (*in Tlalticpac*) is merely finite, was also accessible in the realm that surpasses (*Topan mictian*) "this world, the region of the dead."

41. *Tel ca tetu in omicque* indicates that one's world has collapsed and life seems worthless. The Europeans, who could scarcely suspect the tragedy of these living-dead ones, should have included indigenous culture in an emergent authentic new world, but they were unable.

42. *In top in ipetlcal*, another dephrasism, refers to what is hidden and cannot be revealed, because it would not be received as pertaining to the ark of security. In this pragmatic speech moment, it is evident that the internal richness of one culture is only communicable within a communitarian, historical praxis. People must live together a long time to be able to receive a revelation (as I have pointed out repeated in my *Filosofía de la Liberación*, in *Para una ética de la liberación latinoamericana*, vol. 1, chap. 3, and in my discussion with K.-O. Apel, "*La interpelación como acto-de-habla*" ). The meaning of *reveal* (*Offenbarung*) differs in this respect from the manifesting or appearing (*Erscheinung*) of the phenomenon, which by the time it is expressed propositionally seems already known.

43. *In ilhuicaya in tlalticpaque*, another dephrasism, highlights the beyond and accentuates that the earth is perishable.

44. See J. Glotz, "L'Evolution de la religion," in *Histoire des Religions* (Paris: Bloud et Gav., 1964).

45. The Franciscans could never have demonstrated the rational truth of the trinity or the incarnation of the word in Jesus Christ, since such doctrines constitute part of the consensus of the community of believers. The *tlamatinime* make just this case.

46. *Informantes de Sahagún, Códice Florentino*, bk. 12, chap. 9 (cited by León Portilla in *El reverso*, p. 35).

47. *Intlamanitiliz*, meant the ethos of the life world, reflexively perfected in the *Calmécac*.

48. *Quineltocatiui*: "the true" is that which is founded forever in the gods, and outside it everything is passing, changeable, and perishing.

49. *Techmaceuhque*: "with their sacrifice they gave us life."

50. In the night before the daylight of the fifth sun.

51. As members of the Aztec ruling class, they recognize clearly that their political power has passed to the hands of modern Spaniards and the fifth sun has gone into eclipse.

52. Karl Marx, *Capital* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1977), I, chap. 31 (vol. 1, p. 712).

53. "The second prophetic wheel of a doublet of katuns," *Ahau 2* (Mexico: FCE, 1991), p. 68.

54. *Ibid.*, "First wheel of prophecies," pp. 49-50.

55. *Ibid.*, "Second wheel of prophecies," *Ahau 9*, p. 71.

56. In "Los testimonios mayas de la conquista," in León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 84.

57. *Ms. Anónimo de Tlatelolco* in León Portilla, *El reverso*, p. 60.

58. *El primer nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno*, fol. 374; (Mexico: Ed. Siglo XXI, 1980), vol. 2, p. 347. He comments: "These first men braved death itself because of their interest in gold or silver. They belong too much to this world, these Spanish magistrates, priests, and farm-owners whose greed for gold and silver will lead them to hell" (*ibid.*).

59. See René Girard, *Le sacré et le profane* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965); *idem*, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972); *idem*, *De choses cachées depuis la fondation du monde* (Paris: Grasset, 1978); *idem*, *Le Bouc émissaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1982). Hugo Assmann reflects on Girard's influence in Latin America in *René Girard com teólogo da libertação*



(Petrópolis: Vozes, 1991), as does Franz Hinkelammert in *Sacrificios humanos y sociedad occidental* (San José: Costa Rica: DEI, 1991).

60. See Michel, Aglietta-André Orléan, *La violence de la monnaie* (Paris: PUF, 1982).

61. Marx, *Capital*, I, chap. 10:1, p. 224. The modern myth hides the violence essential to it.

62. *Ibid.*, I, chap. 31:1, p. 702.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 711-12.

64. See Appendix 2.

65. *Posdata* (México: Siglo XXI, 1970), pp. 104 ff.

66. Marx, *Capital*, I, chap. 26:1, p. 668.

#### EPILOGUE:

#### THE MULTIPLE VISAGES OF THE ONE PEOPLE AND THE SIXTH SUN

1. See "The Popular Question," in my *La producción teórica de Marx*, pp. 400-413.

2. See John Collier, *Los Indios de las Américas* (Mexico: FCE, 1960); Ramiro Reynaga, *Tawantisuyu. Cinco siglos de guerra Qheswaymara contra España* (Mexico: Nueva Imagen, 1981); Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); Thornton Russell, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival, a Population History since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Walter Krickeberg, *Etnología de América* (Mexico: FCE, 1946); Ruth Barber, *Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1932); Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1973); Roberto MacLean, *Indios de América* (Mexico: UNAM, 1962). James Lockhart's studies and his recent *Nahuas and Spaniards* initiate a serious philological discussion about the postconquest life of the Náhuatl.

3. The Spanish organized the first reductions in the urban settings of Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia in order to break large populations down into communities in which Christian doctrine could be imparted. As Lockhart shows (*Nahuas and Spaniards*, pp. 23 ff.), indigenous social and political structures underwent transformation under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo after the death of Viceroy Luis de Velasco in

1564 (see John L. Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, pp. 77ff.). The Toledo era began what Gerónimo de Mendieta called the *Age of Silver*, the diabolic time of mammon. Furthermore, plagues of 1570 and 1595 diminished the indigenous population from more than five million—possibly as high as eighteen million according to other demographic studies—to less than two million.

4. *El Día* (Mexico) (February 12, 1988): 6.

5. Cited in *500 años de evangelización in México* (Mexico: CENAMI, 1987), p. 27.

6. This book might fulfill that desire.

7. *500 años*, p. 187.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 198.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

11. *Brevissima Relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Madrid: BAE, 1957), vol. 5, p. 137.

12. See my article on racism toward Afro-Latin Americans: "Informe sobre la situación en América Latina," in *Concilium* 171 (1982), pp. 88-95. Consult also J. Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza negra en el Nuevo Mundo* (Havana, 1938); E. Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Seville, 1977); R. Mellafe, *Breve historia de la esclavitud negra en América Latina* (Mexico: 1973); L. Rout, *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present* (Cambridge: 1976); L. Fonor, *Slavery in the New World* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: 1969).

13. What a euphemism for the commerce of African slaves in which Portugal, Holland, England, France, and even Denmark participated! Although slavery characterized many eras, and although Aristotle justified it in his *Politics*, it had never been carried out with such numbers and such systematization. In this slavery system peculiar to mercantile capitalism and its primitive accumulation of capital, African slaves objectivated their lives in the value of the tropical products sold in European markets. This system played a constitutive role in the birth of modernity; modernity accepted its invisible cruelty, barbarity, and irrational violence and justified it through *emancipative reason*. This history reveals the persistence of the sacrificial myth referred to throughout this book. I repeat, the brutal Roman Empire neither treated slaves so universally and so

objectively as *mechandise*, as *things for sale*, nor produced that absolute *Versachligung* of persons and *fetishism* proper to the modernity which Karl Marx criticized with a clarity unequaled to this day. Karl-Otto Apel, in dialogue with me in Mexico in 1991, illustrated the superiority of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) over other cultures' achievements by pointing to its ethical prohibition of cannibalism. I asked him why modernity seemed to overlook the most monstrous deed of slavery and the horrifying numbers of its victims. There was silence.

14. In addition to Hitler's cruel and violent holocaust of the Jews with its refined, systematic manner of murder, one should never forget the five million Africans who perished miserably in slave trading boats crossing the Atlantic. But the more than six million survivors of this middle passage *lived* long lives, bore sons and daughters, and suffered treatment appropriate only to animals. They endured a living death during the five centuries of modernity. Modernity's original racism prolonged itself even into the nineteenth century when France, Italy, and Germany took for granted the superiority of the white European race over the Indians, Africans, and Asians. Such racism thrives today in the European Common Market.

15. For example, those of Galam Bambouk, Bouré or Bit; see R. and M. Cornevin, *Histoire de l'Afrique* (Paris: Payot, 1964), pp. 176ff.

16. It continues: "Concernant le Gouvernement, l'Administration de la Justice, la Police, la Discipline et le Commerce de Negres dans les Colonies françaises" (Paris: Chez Parault, 1762).

17. According to a Zaire missionary, Africans bury a child's umbilical cord at birth to symbolize that earth has become the child's nutrient mother. Africans in foreign lands keep their umbilical cord in a little box and bury it in their homeland when they return. The slaves, strangers in Latin and North America, kept their umbilical cords in small boxes to signify their desire to return to Africa.

18. See Alexander Lipschutz, *El problema racial en la conquista de América y el mestizaje* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1975); Angel Rosenblat, *La población indígena y el mestizaje en América* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Nova, 1954); Harry Shapiro, *Race Mixture* (UNESCO, 1953); Claudio Esteva Fabregat, *El mestizaje en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1988); Magnus Morner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little Brown, 1967); José Pérez de Barradas, *Mestizos de América* (Madrid: Cultura clásica moderna, 1948).

19. Here Octavio Paz writes "Mexican," but I have changed it to *mestizo*, my topic.

20. Mexicans are accustomed to crying out with affirmation, "Viva México, hijos de la chingada" [Long live Mexico, sons of the violated one]; the *hijos de la chingada*, Paz observes, refers to enemies, but the term could refer as well to the Mexican people.

21. Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad* (Mexico: FCE, 1950), 1973 ed., pp. 78-79.

22. Octavio Paz writes: "In the liberal reform in the mid-nineteenth century, the mestizos [Mexicans] seemed to break with tradition and so with themselves, in a way.... The ideals of the state founded by Juárez (or Sarmiento) differed from those animating New Spain and the pre-Cortesian societies. The mestizo [Mexican] state proclaimed a universal and abstract conception of humanity.... The reform constituted the great rupture with mother" (op. cit., 79). The hegemonic politics of the late 1980s represented by Menem in Argentina, De Mello in Brasil, or Fujimori in Peru promoted modernization, privatization, and the dissolution of the welfare state, and produced new historical *ruptures*.

23. Pedro Morandé in *Cultura y modernización in América Latina* (Santiago: Cuadernos del Instituto de Sociología, Universidad Católica de Chile, 1983), p. 162, writes: "Our original cultural synthesis is Latin American, mestizo, and ritual." Popular culture is equivalent to mestizo culture. See the work of Néstor García Canclini, below.

24. A Náhuatl name for the "Apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe" (J. Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl y Guadalupe, La formación de la conciencia nacional en México* [Mexico: FCE, 1977], with translation and commentaries by Clodomiro Siller [Mexico: CENAMI, 1980]).

25. "The faith bloomed as well as the knowledge of God, our root [this is now an expression of Náhuatl thought], the giver of life [another Náhuatl expression]. Saturday morning at dawn, as he arrived near the Tepeyac he heard singing above" (initial text of *Nican Mopohua*). The dawn represents new sun; the song above, a sacred event; and the flowers of Castilla at the narrative's end, the Aztec *flower and song*.

26. *Cordel*: bound prisoner; *escalerilla de tablas*: one walked upon, oppressed; *excremento*: depreciated, sinner (*tlaelcuani*); *hoja suelta*: dead man.

27. Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad*, pp. 76-77.

28. The mountain where the goddess Tonantzin appeared to Juan Diego and the site of the church of Maria Guadalupe.

29. Miguel Sánchez applied the Apocalypse chapter 12, which narrates that "a great sign appeared in heaven, a woman, clothed in the sun, with the moon beneath her feet." More importantly, it mentions that "two wings of a great eagle were given to the woman" who later had to struggle for water. Sánchez interprets these details as referring to the Virgin of Guadalupe and to Mexico, the land of the cactus, the eagle, the Náhuatl serpent, and desiccating lake Tezcoco. Sánchez interprets John's Apocalypse as referring explicitly to Mexico.

30. Fray Teresa Servando de Mier urged the emancipation of America on the basis of the tradition that St. Thomas the Apostle/Quetzalcóatl had preached the gospel in Mexico in the first century and predicted the Virgin of Guadalupe. The indigenous peoples were not indebted to Spaniards, foreigners, and invaders for their Christian faith.

31. In his war with the Spaniards, Miguel Hidalgo placed the Virgin of Guadalupe on his banners, as did Zapata, the peasant revolutionary of the twentieth century, even as he destroyed churches and seized temples. Photographs in the museum of the so-called *Casa de Cortés* in Cuernavaca record Zapata's deeds.

32. He writes on p. 209: "I have written this book for the fatherland, for my friends and my companions, and for the citizens of this new world."

33. Lafaye, *Quetzalcóatl y Guadalupe*, pp. 341-43.

34. Haiti gained liberation from France in 1804 under the African, Toussaint l'Ouverture, the first Latin American liberator. Bolívar took refuge in Afro-Caribbean Jamaica where he wrote his famous *Carta de Jamaica*.

35. The United Provinces of the Río de la Plata issued the first declaration of independence from Spain in the Congress of Tucumán, July 9, 1816, in Salta del Tucumán. The counterrevolution, in direct opposition to Hidalgo's project, reached its apex in 1821 when it named as its leader Iturbide, a military man of pure white racial origins.

36. With the *fico* of Joao I in 1822, Brazil became independent of Portugal and was known as the empire of Brazil until the founding of the republic in 1889.

37. "Artículo periodístico a la Gaceta Real de Jamaica," of September 28, 1815, in Kingston; see the text in *Doctrina del Libertador* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1975), pp. 75 ff.

38. *Criollo* or mestizo controlling groups concoct libertarian, conservative, and civilizing projects which replace the Iberian project and favor occidental colonization. See Leopoldo Zea, *Filosofía de la Historia Americana*, pp. 188ff., on the *libertarian project*, or pp. 108ff., on the Iberian colonizing project.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 165 ff.; pp. 269 ff.

40. See Pablo González Casanova, *Historia Política de los campesinos latinoamericanos* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1984), vols. 1-4; Steve Stern, *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1987); Rodolfo Stavenhagen, *Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements in Latin America* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1970); David Lehmann and Hugo Zemelmann, *El campesinado* (Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión, 1972); Miguel Díaz Cerecer, *La condición campesina* (Mexico: UNAM/I, 1989).

41. Capitalism presented the northeasterners with the option of dying from hunger or destroying the forest. While the disappearance of the last great tropical forest would be an ecological catastrophe, it is imperative to do justice to the peasants impoverished by market capitalism and impelled to destroy the forests. The ecological movement frequently lacks economic consciousness and would profit from a reading of Marx's *Capital* to discover the close connections between relative surplus value and ecologically destructive technology. Capitalism increases productivity without concern for its antiecollogical effects or for the unemployment of hungry masses, such as the northeasterners. To reproduce their lives, these poor ones are compelled to destroy whole regions, without understanding that the forest's disappearance would quickly convert the Amazon area into a desert.

42. See Pablo González Casanova, *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1984), vols. 1-4; Julio Gaudio, *El movimiento obrero en América Latina (1850-1910)* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo, 1978); Anibal Quijano, *Clase obrera en América Latina* (San José: Ed. Universidad Centroamericana, 1982); Ricardo Melgar Bao, *El movimiento obrero latinoamericano. Historia de una clase subalterna* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988); Carlos Rama, *Historia del movimiento obrero*

y *social latinoamericano contemporáneo* (Barcelona: Laia, 1976); and Victor Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

43. And then only at certain locations, such as in Buenos Aires, São Paulo, and Mexico City, and later gradually in Montevideo, Santiago, Lima, Bogotá. The first conscientized were anarchic-syndicalist worker groups and socialists, who would subsequently form populist workers' unions in Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil.

44. See my *Filosofía ética de la liberación*, vol. 3, in its introduction to the third part: "La histórica latinoamericana." Or see *Hacia un Marx desconocido*, chap. 15: "Los Manuscritos de 1961-63 y el concepto de dependencia," pp. 312ff. (English translation in *Latin American Perspectives* [Los Angeles], vol. 1, 1991). In these writings of the early 1990s, I examine the pertinence and the significance of the former *theory of dependence*. One needs to return to this theory to explain the increasing misery of peripheral, dependent capitalism in Latin America, Africa, and Asia—European modernity's ancient colonial world.

45. Mauro Marini, *Dialéctica de la Dependencia* (Mexico: Era, 1973).

46. The majority of the people in the named countries do not have the security of even a minimal salary. According to Franz Hinkelammert, to be exploited—that is, to receive a hunger wage and produce enormous surplus value—has become a privilege today in Latin America. The poor majority stand beyond whatever stable relationships may maintain between capital and labor.

47. The transference of value from periphery to center represents contemporary, worldwide, structural injustice, justified by the sacrificial myth of modernity and the free market. The history of this transference commences with a *first epoch* of monetary mercantilism (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries) and the Iberian hegemony. Under that hegemony, Latin America furnished gold and silver to Europe for its originary accumulation and never received compensation or interest for the credit it advanced. The *second epoch*, preparatory for later dependency, involved the first form of free exchange capitalism under the Bourbon reforms, which rendered Spain dependent on England and impeded Latin America's nascent industrial revolution. The *third epoch* witnessed a second, imperialistic style of capitalism, which built up credit indebtedness (for example, by the installation of railroads or ports) and imported Latin

American raw materials at below-value prices. The dependency characteristic of the *fourth epoch* entailed a transfer of value via competition between the diverse organic compositions of central and peripheral capitals. The *fifth epoch* of today consists of value transference through transnationals and international credits. Such mechanisms directly transfer capital in exchange for the payment of the highest interest rates ever heard of. I have described this long history of exploitation in other works.

48. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, pars. 246-48.

49. *Capital*, I, chap. 25:1, p. 576.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 604.

51. See Franz Hinkelammert, *Crítica de la razón utópica* (San José: DEI, 1984). He argues in favor of some types of planned economy in contrast to Karl Popper who eliminates *all* planning on the basis of his critique of perfect planning. For Hinkelammert, the contradiction of a perfectly competitive market does not preclude versions of a partially planned market economies. Such planning, undertaken insofar as necessary, is possible but never perfect, and it avoids Stalinism.

52. See CEPAL, *Bibliografía sobre marginalidad social* (Santiago de Chile: CEPAL, 1973); Gino Germani, *Marginality* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980); Miguel Izard, *Marginados, fronterizos, rebeldes y oprimidos* (Barcelona: Serbal, 1985); Dióscoro Negretti, *El concepto de marginalidad: aplicación en el contexto latinoamericano* (Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1987); José Nun, *Superpoblación relativa, ejército industrial de reserva y masa marginal* (Santiago de Chile: Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía, 1971); Esmeralda Ponce de León, *Marginalidad de la ciudad* (Mexico: Trillas, 1987); Fernando Serrano Migallón, *Marginalidad urbana y pobreza rural* (Mexico: Diana, 1990); Alberto Ruiz de la Peña, *La marginalidad social* (Mexico: UNAM, 1977).

53. Many attribute overpopulation to the demographic explosion of the Third World, but such explosions occurred in Europe also at the end of the Middle Ages and ever since the industrial revolution. The immense proportions of the Third World's present explosion warrants no cynical Malthusianism, however.

54. See the works of Néstor Garcia Canclini: *Arte popular y sociedad en América Latina* (Mexico: Grijalbo, 1977) bibliography, pp. 277ff.;



*Las culturas populares en el capitalismo* (Mexico: Nueva Imagen, 1984); "Para una crítica a las teorías de la cultura," in *Temas de Cultura latinoamericana* (Mexico: UNAM, 1987).

55. On modernity as modernization see Robert Kurz, *Der Kollaps der Modernisierung* (Frankfurt: Eichborn Verlag, 1991), especially "Der Opfergang der Dritten Welt als Menetekel" (pp. 189ff.).

56. Indicated by G in the schematization of Appendix 2.

## Appendix 2: TWO PARADIGMS OF MODERNITY

1. Kant, *Was heisst Aufklärung?*, A, 481.

2. See Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1944) (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1971) [English: *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972)], and Jürgen Habermas, *Der philosophische Diskurs der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988), pp. 130 ff.: "Die Verschlingung von Mythos und Aufklärung"; [English: *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, pp. 106 ff. : "The Entwinement of Myth and Enlightenment: Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno"]. Horkheimer and Adorno admit modernity's mythical aspects, which Habermas cannot accept. I locate modernity's myth not at an intra-European level, as do Horkheimer, Adorno, and Habermas, but rather at a world level, in the conflicts between the center and the periphery, the North and the South.

3. Kant, *Was heisst Aufklärung?*, speaks of *culpable (verschuldeten)* immaturity.

4. Francisco de Vitoria, professor of Salamanca, defends war against the indigenous peoples because they impeded the preaching of Christian doctrine. For Vitoria, war was permissible only to destroy these impediments.

5. For Kant, *unmündig*: "immature, untrained, uneducated."

6. My *Philosophy of Liberation* takes up the analectical character of the dialectical, subsumptive moment.

7. Tzevan Todorov, *Nosotros y los otros* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

8. "Des Cannibales," in *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: Gallimard-Pléiade, 1967), p. 208.