

Mesoamerica, the Caribbean,
and South America, 700–1700



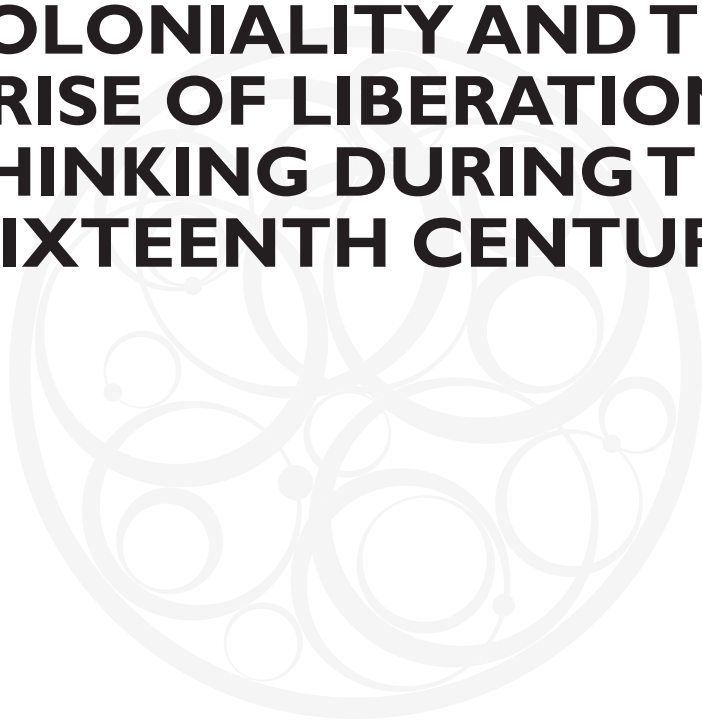
COLONIALITY AND THE RISE OF LIBERATION THINKING DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

by
THOMAS WARD

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS



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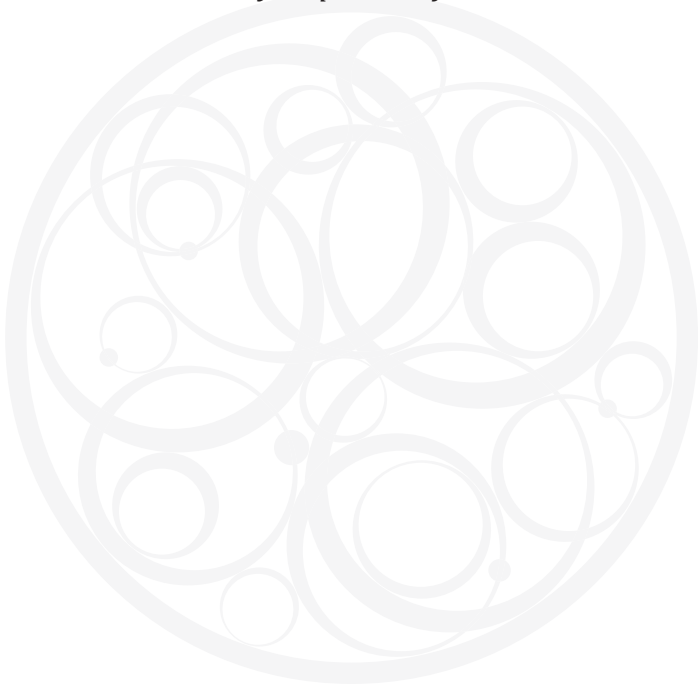
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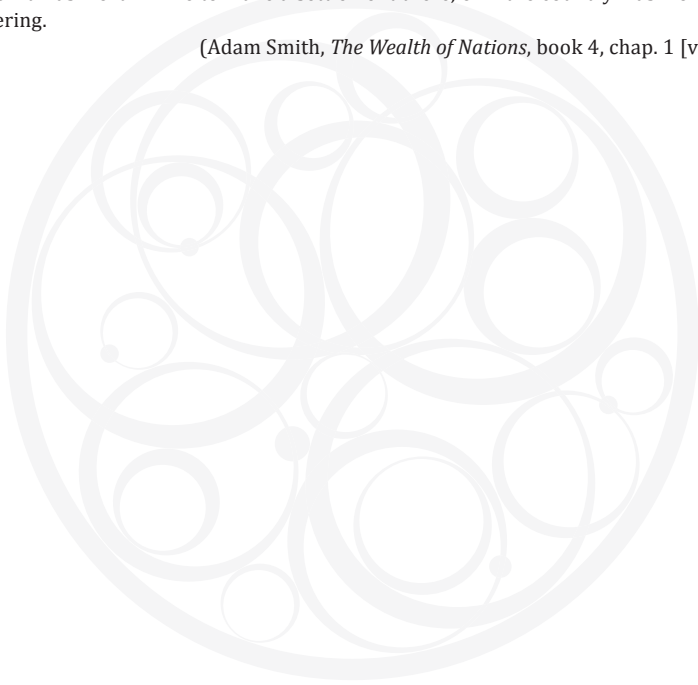
*To the memory of Luis Eyzaguirre,
my advisor, my friend,
and an early inspiration for this book.*



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For some time after the discovery of America, the first enquiry of the Spaniards, when they arrived upon any unknown coast, used to be, if there was any gold or silver to be found in the neighbourhood? By the information which they received, they judged whether it was worth while to make a settlement there, or if the country was worth the conquering.

(Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, book 4, chap. 1 [vol. 1])



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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Everyday Coloniality and Early Social Slavery Theory	21
Chapter 2. The Elusive Division-of-Power Ideal	61
Chapter 3. Dismantling the “Natural” Theory of Slavery	79
Chapter 4. Liberation Thinking: Europe	107
Chapter 5. Liberation Thinking: The Americas (Abya Yala)	139
Bibliography	201
Index	223

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

- Figure 1. Erasmus, *The Praise of Follie*. Frontispiece. 1571. 120
- Figure 2. Artisanal representation of Noah's Ark. 176
- Figure 3. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (p. 576). 184

Maps

- Map 1. Primary ethnic nations in Anahuac. From Nigel Davies, *The Aztecs* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 19. 39
- Map 2. The Mayan region. From *POPOL VUH: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings*, revised and expanded by Dennis Tedlock, translator. 41
- Map 3. Member nations of Tawantinsuyo during Atahualpa's government, corresponding to Peru and Bolivia. 150

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I MOSTLY WORKED in quiet solitude while engaged in researching and writing what eventually became a trilogy, *Decolonizing Indigeneity: New Approaches to Latin American Literature* (2017), *The Formation of Latin American Nations* (2018), and the present book, *Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking during the Sixteenth Century*. For this segment, my gratitude goes to various institutions and people, beginning with Luis B. Eyzaguirre (1926–1999) at the University of Connecticut. Luis took on the enormous task of being my advisor for a doctoral dissertation on the Peruvian poet and essayist, Manuel González Prada, even though his field was the Boom novel of Latin America. For that I have always been eternally grateful. However, my debt to Luis goes beyond that two-year project which eventually resulted in my first book, *La anarquía inmanentista de Manuel González Prada* (1998).

Before he advised me on that dissertation, he had developed and taught an interesting graduate seminar in which I had the good fortune to read what are usually and typically called the Chronicles of the Indies, or simply, the Colonial Chronicles. These historiographical tracts were interesting to read, but even more so because we contextualized them with contemporary humanist masterworks from Europe. I began to see the relationship between Hernán Cortés's letters and Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*. Fernández de Oviedo's *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (Summary of the Natural History of the Indies) and Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales* entered into dialogue with masterpieces such as Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* and Thomas More's *Utopia*. The commingling of colonialist historiography and the grand ideas of humanism piqued my interest because I could see it deepened our understanding of each and I have felt extremely fortunate to have had that intellectual experience that Luis instigated in me. Recently I consulted the web portal for the Luis B. Eyzaguirre Memorial Lecture Series at the University of Connecticut. It states the mission for the series "allows the University community to know the human side of Latin American and Caribbean Studies." This describes Luis so perfectly. He was always looking at the human side of things, an aspect of our existence that oftentimes gets lost in the academic world of enrollments, committee assignments, and the utilitarian goals of the university in this post-modern, post-humanist, post-Liberal Arts era. I dedicate this book to Luis.

Besides Luis's model and my first readings from that model with him, there have been other significant influences on this book. An early one resulted from a trip to Nicaragua in 1990 where revolutionary fervor was still everywhere, even though the Sandinistas had just lost the elections to Violeta Chamorro. My interaction with some leaders from Christian base communities accelerated my developing an interest in how to apply the Bible to real life. Presentations by members of AMENLAE, the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women, were most inspiring. My discussions with local Sandinista leaders in San Juan de Limay, Estelí, let me see how to organize societies

in ways that favor people over money. And of course, many books I bought on that trip challenged my thinking, especially those by Claribel Alegría, Gioconda Belli, Jaime Wheelock Román, and certainly the writings of Augusto César Sandino.

Other people and institutions helped me along the way with this project. With my old friend Jesús Díaz Caballero of California State University-East Bay I had ongoing conversations early on about the nature of the nation, the best editions for study, and other related issues. I will never forget those stimulating conversations with Jesús. Another inspiration derives from interactions with Sara Castro-Klarén whose books provided stimulating reading for me. The conferences and seminars she has organized at Johns Hopkins University, just a mile down the road from Loyola, have opened new avenues of thought for me. Her encouragement has motivated me to keep going with my research, especially when bogged down with teaching and academic service obligations. I am in awe of her intellect and her kindness. If I had not had various conversations about liberation thinking with Javier Valiente Núñez who was writing a dissertation on the topic directed by Sara at the Johns Hopkins University during that period, *Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking during the Sixteenth Century* would not have taken the form it did. In many ways, Javier helped me to organize my thoughts and to realize that liberation thinking was not something limited to the twentieth century. Slowly I began to conceptualize the idea of a liberation thinking developing during the Renaissance.

While studying independently during the summers of 1983 and 1985 in José Pascual Buxo's Poetic Seminar, which took place in Torre II de Humanidades at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, I had many long conversations with the researcher Luis Wainerman. His taking the time to not only explain some of the concepts for the seminar but also orienting me in Mexican studies will always be at the forefront of my gratitude. From those conversations Luis and I have developed a life-long friendship which continues to expand my views of things to this day.

During summer trips to Peru over the last decades, I have had many long and stimulating conversations on the colonial era, on philosophy, and on literature with Wilfredo Kapsoli Escudero, David Sobrevilla, and Ricardo Silva Santisteban. Ricardo had many insights into the chronicles, David, who passed away in 2014, offered many philosophical critiques on my thinking, and my good friend Wilfredo on just about everything, but especially on the Andean world in general, and on Guaman Poma de Ayala in particular. Thinking about Latin America from inside Latin America is hugely different from thinking about Latin America from outside Latin America.

My gratitude goes to my home institution Loyola University Maryland and the various centers, entities, departments, and people there who have helped me along the way. My colleagues Joseph Wieczorek, Leslie Morgan, Sharon Nell, and Thomas McCreight were most helpful, Joe who read sections at the onset of this project, Leslie as part of ongoing discussions, Sharon who let me teach a course on the authors I cover in this book, and Tom for help with some Latin language issues, but perhaps more importantly, for his engaging and supportive friendship over the years. An email exchange I had with my colleague Claire Mathews McGinnis in the theology department was also helpful on determining the precise use of terminology. Also from the theology department my very knowledgeable colleague Daniel Castillo got me up to speed on the

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One student in particular at Loyola really surprised me and provided for a most stimulating series of meetings. After encountering Bartolomé de las Casas in class, he proposed an independent study on the *Apología o declaración y defensa universal de los derechos del hombre y de los pueblos*. I was not sure what I would be getting into, but Daniel Hahesy was so enthusiastic, even offering to purchase two copies of the book at Schenhof's Foreign Books in Cambridge, Massachusetts, one for me and one for him, that I agreed to his proposal. Thus, during the spring 2005 semester, Daniel and I met once a week for coffee while we worked on the *Apología*. Having never worked with this text I found the ideas we discussed most provocative. I am grateful for Daniel's interest and passion. That work we did was fundamental for this book as well as for chapter 4 of *Decolonizing Indigeneity* mentioned above.

Some service-learning students have done work with Artesanos Don Bosco, a service organization Father Ugo de Censi founded that teaches people in the town of Chacas, in Ancash, Peru, how to make fine furniture in a hybrid Inkan-Italian style. Artesanos Don Bosco sells the furniture in my city Baltimore (and Rome and Lima), and the "profits" go back to Don Bosco's schools in the high Andes. My students' work and my involvement with Artesanos Don Bosco over the last two decades has certainly improved my thinking on the quest for liberation from colonialism, intracolonialism, and neocolonialism since my initial experience with the Christian base communities in Nicaragua, however imperfect my concept still may be. The trip to Nicaragua, and other journeys to Paraguay, Mexico, Argentina, Chile as well as long-term stays in Peru and experiential learning here in Baltimore with Artesanos, the East Baltimore Latino Organization, the Mayor's Hispanic Liaison Office, the Esperanza Center (Catholic Charities), and Casa de Maryland, were additional important sources of knowledge and inspiration in this vision quest.

It may surprise younger readers that books were also of notable influence in forming this project. I have become close to Erasmus, St. Thomas More, Las Casas, and Guaman Poma de Ayala and to all the historians and commentators who have filled in the gaps. Books—so many of them still waiting to be digitized—are the key to past and I hope in some way I have unlocked a slice of that which came before. Some books and editions were extremely hard to find, and thanks to Peggy Field, Ginny Harper, Nicholas Triggs, and Christy Dentler, interlibrary loan librarians at the Loyola/Notre Dame Library who

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INTRODUCTION

THE LONG SIXTEENTH CENTURY from around 1492 to 1616 marked one of the most substantial cultural transformations the world had ever known. On the bright side, the literary phenomenon known as humanism flowered, and on the dark side, several Mediterranean powers were hungry to expand their territories imperialistically. Deep-thinking scholars such as Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo, and Jean Franco hold this period to coincide with the birth of modernity and the institution of worldwide colonialism.¹ Because of these two interlocking aspects, the brighter and the darker, Walter Mignolo and others describe a paradigm to explain them, the modern/colonial system.² The European encounter with the New World resulted in large and small wars with literally thousands of nations that were then folded into the transatlantic circuit. In the throes of the ensuing chaos, the Portuguese and Spanish imposed an imperial system that stretched around the globe, the Portuguese reaching Goa in 1510 and Magellan the Philippines in 1521, the same year Hernán Cortés captured Tenochtitlan.

Empires, loosely defined, were powerful states composed by multiple nations, often-times involved in a process of integrating additional nations into the configuration. The Spanish Empire was at its apogee during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when it controlled what is today Spain and Portugal, Naples, the Low Countries (Netherlands), the Philippines, cities and islands in Africa, and of course Abya Yala. Abya Yala, a Kuna word, encompassed the geographical region that ended up constituting the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere and ran from Central California and Florida in the north to Patagonia in the south.³ While some segments of the Empire broke away during the seventeenth century, much of it remained intact until the first decades of the nineteenth when a large chunk brokered its independence, the Spanish-American War of 1898 when Spain “lost” Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines, and Guam, and in the twentieth when it granted independence to Spanish Guinea in 1968 and Spanish Sahara in 1975. The Dutch Empire was not far behind the Spanish one and at its apex it held lands in North and South America, in India, various coastal regions of Africa and Malesia and Timor. The greatest empire of them all was the British one which between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries came to dominate the world to a magnitude even greater than the earlier Spanish one did. The British Empire at one time or another included Canada, the Iroquois Confederation and other Native American nations, what was known as the

¹ Dussel, “Eurocentrism and Modernity”; Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 5; Franco, *Cruel Modernity*, 5. While slavery, feudalism, and mercantilism may not suggest modernity, the birth of the nation-state does. For Worth, “The period when Spain gained ascendancy was certainly one where the practices of diplomacy and statehood gained momentum,” *Rethinking Hegemony*, 26.

² Mignolo discusses this in various texts. A good place to start is “Coloniality at Large.”

³ On Abya Yala see Arias, *Recovering Lost Footprints*, 2:19–30.

Thirteen Colonies, British Guiana, a strip running down central and east Africa, India, Australia, Burma, Iraq, Syria, and a multitude of islands spread around the globe.

While two of these empires were the ones anticipated by More and Erasmus and the third was lived by Las Casas and Guaman Poma, there were many other empires that have defined the world. Viewed together they offer a flavor of the world's political culture that tends toward certain groups dominating other groups causing the long-armed trajectory described in this book as colonialism and its aftereffects, coloniality. Among the other important empires that deserve mention were the Han, Median, and Roman in the Ancient World. Later, the Almohad Empire, Tawantinsuyu, the Triple Alliance of Central Mexico, the Holy Roman, the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian, and the Ashanti empires went through their rise and fall. The central lesson to be learned about empires is that there seems to be a human tendency that leans toward power, and powerful nations tend to want to conquer other nations to extract wealth from them.

To build empires, a discourse was needed to bring people into the idea and plan of expansion. While the public discourse of the Spanish and Portuguese empires was one of religion, the spreading of Catholicism, the English who would reach Plymouth in 1620 would do so in search of religious freedom, not for the people they encountered, but for themselves only. The Spanish and the English had a role in uprooting, enslaving, and even killing millions of people, even if stated religious goals were sometimes achieved. Here we are interested in the Spanish version of what we call the Colonial Force.

The Colonial Force, Coloniality, and Liberation from Them

Despite all the stated and unstated reasons for the Spanish presence in Abya Yala, the thirst for gold was a primary motor of the colonial force comprised of the initial transatlantic invasion, and the institution of the imperial system, eventually accepted by local authorities.⁴ This source of wealth was depleted in Puerto Rico and Hispaniola in a matter of decades. Historian Patricia Seed notes that this depletion resulted in two stages, which were at once political, economic, and social. Multiple bands of Spaniards began to search new lands for gold and some individuals began to consider new activities on the gold-depleted islands. Chief among those activities were agriculture.⁵ Since conquering Spaniards were not prone to dirtying their hands, chattel slavery and other forms of forced labor became important components of the newly forming societies' economies. Economist Immanuel Wallerstein explains this transition in the following way: At first Spaniards imposed a pilfering economy and later an economy of exploitation.⁶ To pilfer gold, Spaniards forced Indigenous peoples and of course their slaves into work gangs for the extracting. Eventually throughout Abya Yala, masses of *runa*, *macehualli*, slaves, or other classes of people had to face material and mental coloniality as a quotidian reality in the mines, in the fields.

If Erasmus and Thomas More, two antihegemonic thinkers in Europe discussed in this book, had to consider courtly life (which seemed to be their realm of experience),

⁴ For a fuller discussion of the Colonial Force, see Ward, *Decolonizing Indigeneity*, 1–33.

⁵ Seed, "Exploration and Conquest," 103–19.

⁶ Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 337.

Bartolomé de las Casas and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, two anticolonial thinkers in Abya Yala also discussed in this book, had to consider the diverse forms of servitude. Chattel slaves considered private property, *indios encomendados* obliged to work on the *encomiendas* in exchange for Catholic indoctrination, and *mitayos* compelled to work in the mines or the fields located in the Central Andes were all varieties of the same exploitation.⁷ Other kinds of Indigenous peons were integrated into the social labor fabric and their constricted everyday activities were considered “normal.” The same was true for the everyday runa people of the Andes and the everyday macehualli people of Central Mexico. Spaniards ejected them from their homes, compelled them into wars they did not understand, and required them to build churches and other edifices. Again. Spaniards regarded these activities “normal.” Men were not the only ones to withstand the worst of the colonial force. Some of these *esclavos*, *encomendados*, and *mitayos* were actually *esclavas*, *encomendadas*, and *mitayas*. They were women and girls who had to carry the added burden of their sex with them, which became another layer of subordination and thus coloniality, also considered routine. Finally, people were migrating from one region to another, oftentimes as slaves who had to take part in the conquering of yet additional peoples. Imperialism’s uprooting people from their homes and communities was another part of everyday coloniality when viewed as “normal.”

What was considered “normal” at that time, can today, with the help of decolonial theory and thinking, be considered coloniality, a condition first described by sociologist Anibal Quijano, and later developed by philosopher Enrique Dussel, and especially by the social philologist Walter Mignolo. Wallerstein helps us to grasp the intricacies of the process too. He notes, while Spaniards were engaged in their pilfering and exploitation activities, they rationalized those activities as campaigns to evangelize heathens.⁸ We now recognize that that rationalization is integral to coloniality because it formed originally as part of the logic of the colonial force with its military, political, and economic facets. It became an invisible element of the force that exists in the mind. Owen Worth explains that “the Spanish and the Portuguese explorations led to a mindset that placed expansion and strategic state aims to the fore.”⁹ Along with expansion and state aims, personal ambition—and greed—also influenced that mindset. Whether resulting from hegemony or coloniality, mental considerations were subordinated to the subconsciousness or kept out of the mind altogether. Coloniality of mind keeps the imperial perpetrators blinded to the fact that what they were doing was egregious, anti-Christian, and anti-human. Not all Europeans, however, were suffering from coloniality of mind to the same degree. Catholicism’s importation into Abya Yala may have come alongside the military conquest, hence the expression “the cross and the sword,” but once implanted, the Europeans, despite their best efforts, could not control all thought. Indeed, they could not control all religious thought in Europe, there was dissension, and thus was born Protestantism, and

⁷ As established by Gibson, I italicize each Nahuatl or Qheswa term when first introduced, dropping the italics in subsequent usage. In the interest of standardization, I extend this practice to Spanish terms not included in *Webster’s New World Collegiate Dictionary*.

⁸ Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 48.

⁹ Worth, *Rethinking Hegemony*, 26.

they could not control all religious thought in what was for them the New World. There was dissension, and thus was born liberation thinking, in some cases a kind of liberation theology *avant la lettre*. Not all liberation thinking developed in the throes of colonialism. Indeed, we can delineate three categories. Some European Catholics developed antihegemonic thinking in their own countries and realities in the hopes of improving societies and the perceived corruption of the Church. Other European Catholics directly participated in the campaigns to conquer the lands that would become the Americas but began “to see the light” and developed liberation thinking that we now know to have been a decolonial project. Finally, countless Amerindians became Catholic too, and some of them were able to gain enough perspective to cultivate liberation thinking. This book considers four intellectuals who cultivated what we are calling liberation thinking in the context of the corruption of power in Europe (More, Erasmus), and in the wars against the original Americans and the coloniality it generated (Las Casas), and in the colonial experience of Amerindian Catholic spirituality (Guaman Poma).

Three of these intellectuals are representative of the great empires of the Atlantic world, Las Casas directly involved with Columbus’s Spanish enterprise, Erasmus from the Low Countries when they were under Spanish control and from Rotterdam, the city that would later become the seat of the colonialist Dutch East India Company, and More from England, the country that would develop into the British Empire. Guaman Poma’s family first suffered under the Inkan Empire and then came under the influence of Spanish imperialism. Each of these authors had to interact with an imperial culture, either in insipient form such as More and Erasmus, in the middle of an expansive thrust in the case of Las Casas, and in a maturing colonial situation during Guaman Poma’s life. All four of them were members of the same European literary network. Erasmus and Las Casas living in King Charles’s Holy Roman Empire, More living in England, all three humanists participating in a network of literary production often composed in Renaissance Latin, but also in the vernacular. All three becoming authors intensely read and discussed in the New World, reaching the eyes and ears of Guaman Poma.

The Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas serves as synecdoche for early modern liberation thinking, his name is the one that comes to mind in this regard. This is not because he was a purely liberation thinker. In fact, he was not. Estelle Tarica advises against viewing him in such a fashion because “Las Casas did not question the validity of the colonial enterprise overall so long as its goal was Christianization.”¹⁰ But indeed, Las Casas was one of the Spaniards who went farthest in overcoming the mindlessness and greed that characterized many of his contemporaries. He is the one who began to clear a path. Las Casas is important for this reason, he laid down a path on how to go against the grain, how to move toward justice. And indeed many, although not all post-Independence indigenists still felt the pull. For Tarica, “Modern indigenismo bears the traces of Las Casas, whether directly influenced by him or not.”¹¹ What was the pathway that Las Casas established?

¹⁰ Tarica, *Inner Life of Mestizo Nationalism*, 17.

¹¹ Tarica, *Inner Life of Mestizo Nationalism*, 16.

Because of the epiphany or conversion the former encomendero experienced, he wanted to turn around the abuse of the faith that occurred daily for political and economic purposes. Given that he could not control his fellow encomenderos, *corregidores*, or even ecclesiastics who became his peers and who favored the “just war” against Taíno, Inka, Chibcha, Pipil, and other Amerindian communities, he could only offer a recommendation to help those peoples survive in a violent transatlantic society whose sole purpose for existing, at least for the primary perpetrators of that violence, was to get rich. The brilliant solution that Las Casas offers is a message to all humans: happiness must be found within and the soul is superior to all that exists in a bellicose material world. He writes in *The Only Way*, “Since military arms are corporal and material, they cannot command by their nature that souls be held down, but bodies, things and places cannot extend their power beyond the material” (Que las armas bélicas, corporales y materiales, no se ordenan por su naturaleza a sujetar los ánimos, sino los cuerpos, las cosas y los lugares, ya que son materiales y no pueden extender su virtud más allá de la materia).¹² The idea that the soul is free for all even in the midst of temporal oppression is a wonderful way to give people a space to ponder their eventual liberation through self-agency.

Las Casas also talks about freedom in the liberal sense of private property and human rights. He demands that the king “have subjects who are so free that in Justice they cannot be deprived of their things, their liberties and their rights” (tenga súbditos tan libres que, en justicia, no pueden ser privados de sus cosas, ni de sus libertades, ni de sus derechos).¹³ In this, he distinguishes himself from Thomas More’s fictional proposal to abolish private property. More did not have to interface with Conquistadors’ greed for material things, Las Casas did. For Las Casas, both “freedoms” were interconnected. What is beautiful about this theory is that when an individual has lost all (family, *calpulli*, *ayllu*), acknowledging the soul’s freedom is an excellent avenue for an individual to pursue happiness or tranquility. This inner peace serves as a springboard in the search for temporal freedoms that are secondary from a transcendental viewpoint and are primary when commensurate with an immanent one. Even if Amerindians tended to conceptualize property in communal terms, the acknowledgement of rights restores to them their dignity. However, social change begins from within.

The proposal of spiritual freedom in the belly of temporal oppression is not an isolated idea. An example from twentieth-century fiction can serve to fill in between the lines of sixteenth-century historiography. Ecuadoran Luz Argentina Chiriboga’s historical novel *Jonatás y Manuela* is set in the colonial era, framing three generations of a family culminating with Manuela Saenz’s slave, Jonatás. It is narrated neither from the Liberator Simón Bolívar’s perspective, nor from his concubine Manuela Sáenz’s, but from Jonatás’s perspective. Slavery, before the worldwide thrust to abolish it as the nineteenth century progressed, constitutes a negative component of the nation. Specifically, Chiriboga’s historical novel foregrounds inner spirituality, which goes against coloniality

¹² Las Casas, *Del único modo*, 414. Unless otherwise noted, all French and Spanish translations are mine and appear in the text parenthetically. Latin translations with their sources appear in footnotes.

¹³ Las Casas, *Del único modo*, 416.

of the mind resulting from the slave system. Chiriboga works out the story of Ba-Lunda's journey from Nigeria to the Jesuit sugar fields of the Western Hemisphere. Fiction fills in gaps in the historical record, allowing readers to get into the slave's head. Hence, when Ba-Lunda is raped and converted into the slave Rosa Jumandi, she must find a way out. Since there is no physical mode of escape, the only possible one is a spiritual one: "Despite being locked up and sixteen-hour work days, Ba-Lunda created in her head a world hitherto unknown in which she took refuge" (A pesar del encierro y del trabajo durante dieciséis horas, Ba-Lunda creó en su mente un mundo antes desconocido, en el que se refugiaba).¹⁴ Chiriboga is proposing a space for coloniality-free thought for the enslaved person that reflects the place of the soul in Las Casas's liberative theology, the Erasmian place of social consciousness, where knowledge, experience, and wisdom commingle.¹⁵ Liberating thinking of course could lead to liberation acting.¹⁶

Some humanist efforts were directly concerned with the temporal realm. A clear example would be Alfonso de Valdés's Erasmus-influenced *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*.¹⁷ This *Diálogo* consists of a long succession of souls passing before Charon in judgment of their earthly sins. The desire to correct temporal foibles through personal spirituality pervades the work. Valdés was a man of the court who wanted to rehabilitate temporal power directly. The spirituality of correcting temporal excesses is both therapeutic and ameliorative. Valdés was not alone in this. Other thinkers contemporary to him were trying to reform the patterns of spiritual power to cause subsequently a correction of the temporal realm. Las Casas, More, Erasmus, and Guaman Poma similarly fall into this category, albeit unevenly. Las Casas, while primarily concerned with Amerindian souls, spent long hours at meetings and tribunals fighting for Amerindian rights. More talks about reforming numerous temporal elements of society in his *Utopía*. Although Erasmus of Rotterdam did not really have a political mind, making him unlike his contemporary Machiavelli, he was exuberant in censuring kings and defining proper behaviour for princes, not to mention satirizing them and wayward bishops in *The Praise of Folly*. While Guaman Poma took part in *visitas* (religious inspection tours) concerned with Church and viceregal power, he also became one of the first native-born people to develop a concern for the poor of Jesus Christ and express that concern in an alphabetic text. Although one could profess, as Huizinga does, that Erasmus "thought too naively of the corrigibility of mankind,"¹⁸ his high-mindedness was precisely what made his thought fundamental in the development of progressive thought in Europe and the Americas. Guaman Poma also appears to be naive when he proposed a sovereign Andean monarchy, but it takes a mind free from coloniality to start to ponder the ultimate in decolonial possibilities.

Where these writers were not naive was in their recognition of a cause-effect relationship between the temporal-spiritual and the spiritual-temporal, and the need to

¹⁴ Chiriboga, *Jonatás y Manuela*, 35.

¹⁵ Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, 61, studies the notion of developing "conscience" in Guaman Poma.

¹⁶ Mignolo notes the relationship between "decolonial thinking and doing," *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, 3.

¹⁷ See Valdés, *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*.

¹⁸ Huizinga, *Erasmus*, 153.

mitigate the factors causing the perversion of Christ's well-known axiom expressed in Matthew about rendering unto Caesar that which belongs to Caesar and unto God that which belongs to God.¹⁹ This "Splendid Principle" as Robert McAfee Brown celebrates it, is not part of a "manual" but is Christian knowledge that allows us, as he explains, to "make our own decisions, which are the only kind of ethncial decisions worthy of the name."²⁰ The maxim serves as the basis for temporal and spiritual power as a duality. Even though expressed as Christ's words, neither everyday people nor power brokers tended to hold it up as a standard. Part of the problem is that even Christians who viewed themselves as Christians could not see that they were violating Jesus's axiom as they plundered communities or exploited people. As Brown and Poling note, the axiom was a response to a question trying to dupe Jesus into a seditious response while under Roman domination, which he beautifully avoided. The axiom provokes debate (according to Brown) and can be argued either way. Poling explains:

On the one hand, religion often serves the interests of the dominant classes at the expense of working class and poor people by sanctioning established authority and power—Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. On the other hand, religion often serves as a source of empowerment and resistance for those who suffer violence and oppression—Render unto God that which is God's.²¹

Since the maxim can be argued either way it is not found to be "dangerous" by the temporal powers. However, such a paradigm does result in a "tension," Poling's word, or in a "debate," Brown's word. Obviously to achieve liberation, especially antihegemonic or decolonial liberation, one must forsake political power and come down on the side of God. At least in the sixteenth century, that was the case. We can find the key to unlocking this paradox in the cleansing of the spiritual, the restoring of the division of temporal and spiritual power to society, and consequently the rectifying of the behaviours that give the division form.

This rehabilitation of society by setting the spiritual free from the temporal creates what the well-known Spanish philologist José Antonio Maravall, referring to this period, calls an "interior Christianity."²² A Christianity from *within* boycotting exterior formulaic practices would move toward God, not away from God. The human body conceived as the temple of Christ brings greater spirituality. The mystics Santa Teresa de Ávila, San Juan de la Cruz, and to a lesser extent Fray Luis de León put this formula into practice.²³ It is within this mystical tradition, perhaps initiated by Raimundo Lulio, that Christ's axiom achieved full flowering.²⁴ However, the mystics were concerned with personal

19 Matthew 22:21. For the full meaning and exegesis, Brown cites three locations in the Bible, Matthew 22:15–22; Mark 12:13–17; and Luke 20:20–26. *Saying Yes and Saying No*, 36–40.

20 Brown, *Saying Yes and Saying No*, 39.

21 Poling, *Render unto God*, 1.

22 Maravall, *Carlos V*, 215.

23 Bataillon studies Erasmus's impact in Fray Luis's *De los nombres de Cristo* in *Erasmus*, 761–70.

24 Sugranyes de Franch explores Las Casas's relationship with Lulio in his "Bartolomé de Las Casas."

spirituality, their soul's individual relationship to God, more than social change. More, Erasmus, Las Casas, and Guaman Poma stand out because, without being mystics, they eschewed the collusion between the two powers, and they prescribed priorities for the organization of the present. By putting right the temporal elements of the spiritual kingdom, personal spirituality becomes greater. This in turn drives a greater morality into temporal behaviour on a daily basis. Put another way, inverse to the way coloniality of mind shackles cognitive development, spiritual cultivation extricates the mind from mundane temporal fetters.

Humanism helped to ameliorate the spiritual orientation not only of major segments of Europe, but also of areas that were slowly becoming "Spanish America." It is in this light of orientation that we find in More's *Utopia* the tolerance toward other spiritual viewpoints. He does this when he resurrects Christ's power partition by negating a state religion and allowing for personal beliefs. In a way, More's real-life appointment as Lord Chancellor of England in 1529 represented a bifurcation of power: he was only the third layperson to occupy the post since 1409. More's immediate successor, Sir Thomas Audley, was also a layman, establishing a tradition that would bar churchmen from the position. Erasmus's criticism of popes, and More and Guaman Poma's of clergy was explicit in the need to limit their power while fostering greater spiritual freedom. Such a posture leads to the possibility of reform in the temporal realm, which all three thinkers viewed as corrupt. Las Casas's placing of spiritual power before the temporal, as in More and Erasmus, would create a moral direction for behaviour. This spiritual power would function as an independent moral guiding post for the temporal sphere.

Although we must concur with Matei Calinescu when he concludes, "the Renaissance itself was unable to go beyond replacing the authority of the church with the authority of antiquity,"²⁵ these humanist thinkers' importance lies in their yearning to reform the Church and make it more relevant to the people's unswerving faith in renovation, not through creation, but through purification. This purging in itself was away from an ecclesiastical tradition that did not respond to people and created a thought which, though rooted in previous tradition (the Bible), formulated a "modern" mode of looking at the Church. Radical Christianity cleared a pathway for a new understanding of the world.

Each of the four thinkers discussed in this book desired a conduct based on Christian love, fraternity, and equality. In the Americas, a more spiritual posture could restrict the inhumane treatment of the non-Hispanic masses. In this the humanists banished the notion of utopia that evoked an improbable time and place. They identified with what Julio Ortega has termed the Castilian utopia that fuses time and explores the Promised Land.²⁶ This type of project is more than literature, even though the medium is "literature." The norm tendered for the colonies is spiritual growth before material gain, an everyday formula. All four authors, believing in free will in the face of predestination,

²⁵ Calinescu, *Faces of Modernity*, 23.

²⁶ Ortega, *La cultura peruana*, 12.

created a principle of liberation that would propose the indisputable freedom of the soul in the midst of temporal oppression.²⁷

Some may question why More, Erasmus, Las Casas, and Guaman Poma did not have greater success as humanists in their quests to overcome a *natural* concept of slavery in favor of a *social* one in the case of More and Las Casas, to liberate the mind in Erasmus's case, to overturn temporal power in Guaman Poma's. Perhaps, the answer lies in their being humanists. As Walter Mignolo explains, the humanists' power gradually receded as the *letrados*, which is to say, elite lawyers, became detached from both the humanists and the medieval *clericus*.²⁸ Eventually, a new globalizing mercantilist-tributary-capitalist economy would leave the humanists behind in its wake. Their failure at reforming society does not mean their proposals were not desirable, it suggests that bright-minded people had not yet found the way to reduce the levels of hegemony in society at large to the degree necessary for the Renaissance liberationists *to be heard*.

In his *Education of the Christian Prince*, Erasmus warns, "Power without goodness is unmitigated tyranny, and without wisdom it is destruction, not government."²⁹ If Spaniards in the Indies had incorporated Jesus Christ's teachings into their daily life as Erasmus insisted in his views on and for European society, there would have been no need for any kind of liberating discourse. Yet the murder and exploitation of native people easily could be taken as a call to adhere to Christ's solidarity with the poor. If we consider Erasmus's definition of tyranny, namely that the tyrant puts his own needs before the people, then the Spanish at the vanguard of the colonial force constituted literally thousands of princes putting their materialistic desires before the needs of the people, before even the necessity of Christianizing them. Viewed this way, most of these thousands of Spaniards were indeed not princes at all. They were nothing less than thousands of minor tyrants brandishing their "power without goodness" in an arbitrary way. People's suffering and the resulting mistrust between them themselves when under imperialist subordination and between them and the imperial interlopers created an environment that would neither easily foster evangelization, nor collective resistance, nor stable governing institutions. The mistrust fostered was decidedly an aspect of the condition called coloniality, where people are not free to work and live together in harmony, and, instead, must interact hegemonically in individual and often selfish ways. For Worth, awareness of "hegemony has been used in different ways to aid the understanding of a whole range of phenomena in politics and, as an extension in social life."³⁰ Gramsci uses the word hegemony to refer to the condition of exploited people in post-1870 Europe who are not only exploited but also accept their domination by the

27 On Las Casas as a prototype liberation theologian heralding the notions to emerge from Vatican II, see Ortega, "Las Casas."

28 Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 290.

29 Erasmus, *The Education*, 22. "Hunc ternarium pro viribus absolvas oportet, nam potentia sine bonitate mera tyrannis est, sine sapientia perniciēs, non regnum." (*Institutio principis christiani*, 150)

30 Worth, *Rethinking Hegemony*, xvi.

ruling class. Although Gramsci's experience was twentieth-century Italy, his consciousness of how power works, as noted by Ronaldo Munck, is equally applicable to colonial and postcolonial Latin American realities.³¹ In the *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci explains that "hegemony ... is characterized by a combination of force and consent which balance each other so that force does not overwhelm consent but rather appears to be backed by the consent of the majority."³² Thus hegemony resides in the space between those in power who dominate and those without power who consent to being dominated. The hegemony that describes this condition is an integral aspect of coloniality when applied to imperial contexts.

While, unquestionably, there was "power without goodness" in these kinds of relationships, there was also power "without wisdom," which is "destruction." Erasmus's expression written in the courtly context of Europe evokes Las Casas's most famous title variously rendered in English as the *Devastation* or *Destruction of the Indies*. Such a parallel between these humanist authors reveals that the Spanish were acting without wisdom, this last word understood as the combination of knowledge, experience, and good judgment. The system the colonial force put in place during the long sixteenth century, in many ways, remains fraught with those colonial and now neocolonial elements based on "power without goodness." Spaniards as the guardians of the colonial force were nothing more than petty tyrants as they went about their daily lives, putting in place the mechanisms in which the psychosis of coloniality could thrive, instituting the kind of bias for a caste hierarchy to be established and metastasize.

Coloniality: Psychosis and Implicit Bias

How does hegemony, and in Abya Yala, coloniality, work? Mignolo expounds on mental subordination when he writes the following: "'Coloniality,' ... points toward and intends to unveil an embedded logic that enforces control, domination, and exploitation disguised in the language of salvation, progress, modernization, and being good for everyone."³³ Mignolo is on the right track except it is not the circumstance of coloniality that does the unveiling, but *the understanding* of the circumstance of coloniality that unveils, because coloniality is a condition that seeks to conceal its existence in the hegemonic language of modernity, of "civilization," of "progress," of "democracy." Indeed, with each passing step in the development of the ideologies of Christianization, democratization, and liberalization, the mechanisms of subordination become more sophisticated, and at the same time, subtler.

We can think of the four authors all writing to unveil the logic of hegemony in the Church, although, not in the Gospel. If Bartolomé de las Casas and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala were fighting against externally imposed imperialism because they were concerned about the turn the European presence had taken in the New World, we must

³¹ Munck, *Rethinking Latin America*, 45–52.

³² Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 1:156; helpful is a blog entry by Schwenz, "Hegemony in Gramsci," n.p.

³³ Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 6.

confront the seeming mystery about their relationship to More and Erasmus who were largely concerned with realities within Europe itself. The answer lies in the fact all four were writing against the base behaviours that sometimes seem to predominate in society, including selfishness, greed, uncourteousness, and other traits. In Europe, those tendencies result in one set of problems, in the Americas that same set of problems exists, along with an additional series of concerns resulting from transatlantic imperialism. In other words, if hegemony operates in all or most human societies, the form it takes in colonial situations is coloniality, a sort of fortified hegemony supporting the gears of imperialism and its intendant colonialism. By any name, it is the condition that arises when selfishness, greed, uncourteousness, along with arrogance, ignorance, and the unmitigated abuse of power predominate in human behaviour.³⁴ Why does this happen?

When human actors are ignorant about what they are doing, or when greed fosters ignorance about what they are doing, which they are doing irreflexively, the lack of curiosity, which could have encouraged the learning necessary to overcome ignorance, can take the form of arrogance. Arrogance is a primary ingredient of the colonial force, because without conviction, one might not be inclined to carry on with such endeavors. All four authors studied here were writing against what the French Hispanist Marcel Bataillon once called irreflexivity, which leads to unintentional bias given form by “incuriosity” and “negligent overconfidence.”³⁵ Additionally, while Las Casas and Guaman Poma were arguing against transatlantic or external colonialism, we might say that Erasmus and More were pleading against a kind of colonialism that occurs within nations, an internal colonialism, a hegemony of social class, which pits neighbours against neighbours, rulers against subjects.³⁶ Both of these colonialism are “direct” colonialism, which are political, while “indirect” colonialism became known as neocolonialism, which is primarily economic.³⁷ All varieties of colonialism lead to coloniality.

While one line of thinking would have both varieties of coloniality, the internal and the transoceanic resulting from a psychosis, another would have them resulting from a form of implicit bias that some people develop, have, or maintain toward other people, peers or otherwise. Prejudice is a word that could have been familiar to the sixteenth-century reader, but psychosis is a term coined during the nineteenth century. Even so, we can accept psychological reasons as a basis of coloniality, just as we can accept prejudice as a factor. In its most basic sense, as put by Milton Kleg, “prejudice is an example of attitude.”³⁸ In examples of different “nations” (sixteenth-century word) or

34 On arrogance and ignorance as coloniality in the Zárate’s writing, see Ward, *Decolonizing Indigeneity*, 63–93.

35 Bataillon, “Zárate,” 11–13. “Incuriosity” and “negligent overconfidence” are discussed in Ward, *Decolonizing Indigeneity*, 14–16.

36 For excellent explanations of internal and external colonialisms, see Brown, *Religion and Violence*, 48.

37 Brown, *Religion and Violence*, 48. According to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, “neocolonialism” was coined in 1961 to reflect neo forms of colonialism. www.merriam-webster.com. Accessed January 29, 2019.

38 Kleg, *Hate Prejudice and Racism*, 113.

"races" (twentieth-century word) coming together, usually with violence, Kleg defines the prejudice that results as "a readiness to act, stemming from a negative feeling, often predicated upon a fixed overgeneralization or totally false belief and directed toward a group or individual members of that group."³⁹ Our view here is that coloniality's root forms both psychologically *and* prejudicially, perhaps the former leading to the latter. Either way, or both ways, the antidote could come with education, one manner of which comes with corrective discursive writing. More, Erasmus, Las Casas, and Guaman Poma aimed their discursive writing at the multitudinous ways coloniality infiltrated diverse societies, even those that were ostensibly noncolonial.

Regarding the psychological aspect, Anthony Pagden, in his now classic study on slavery, describes two aspects that form the slave's condition. Slavery is a social form of subordination that affected individuals and families adversely in Europe, Africa, and Abya Yala. The coloniality that organized people into slaves could be determined through nationality, ethnicity, class, and later, race. A slave, of course, is the ultimate subordinated person. Pagden writes the following: "The origin of natural slavery ... is to be found neither in the action of some purely human agent nor in the hand of God, but in the psychology of the slave himself and ultimately in the constitution of the universe."⁴⁰ The universe's constitution has to do with logos, an organizing principle in Greek thought, but the slave's psychology has to do with how he or she apprehended the condition he or she was born or passed into. The slave's psychology is one cell of the multi-celled epistemic coloniality to which Mignolo refers. This malady, or psychosis, inhibits individuals from taking the lead in their own lives, as David and Okasaki have shown in the case of ostensibly free Filipino-Americans, or it can simply be accepting the "logic of domination," as Mignolo frames it.⁴¹ This "logic" takes root through what Paulo Freire calls the prescription. He describes it as "one of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and the oppressed." Importantly, this prescription does not stem solely from the thoughts and actions of the conqueror; it is a give-and-take process. Freire explains it this way:

Every prescription represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to the one that conforms to the prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behavior of the oppressed is a prescribed behavior, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor.⁴²

This "psychosis" or "logic of domination" that makes subordination seem "normal," can also be unconscious, making people be blind to it and can therefore be described in terms of unintentional bias.

³⁹ Kleg, *Hate Prejudice and Racism*, 114.

⁴⁰ Pagden, *The Fall*, 42.

⁴¹ David and Okasaki, "The Colonial Mentality Scale"; Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 7.

⁴² Freire, *Pedagogy*, 31. King alludes to the same condition when he writes, "By burning in the consciousness of white Americans a conviction that Negroes are by nature subnormal, much of the myth was absorbed by the Negro himself, stultifying his energy, his ambition, and his self-respect." ("Address of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.," 5.)

Over the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, the notion of unintentional bias has come into focus. Sometimes it can take the form of not remembering colonial activities. Willeke Sander, discussing Germans during the Third Reich and after, uses the term “amnesia” to discuss their mental state with respect to prior German colonial activities.⁴³ For some scholars, unintentional bias goes beyond psychological explanations of what we are here calling coloniality. Greenwald and Krieger explain, “the science of implicit cognition suggests that actors do not always have conscious, intentional control over the processes of social perception, impression formation, and judgment that motivate their actions.”⁴⁴ Key to understanding this is bias, the bias of coloniality. For the pair of scholars, “The term ‘bias,’ sometimes referred to as ‘response bias,’ denotes a displacement of people’s responses along a continuum of possible judgments.”⁴⁵ This causes them to make certain assumptions about people unlike themselves: “Many mental processes function implicitly, or outside conscious attentional focus. These processes include implicit memory, implicit perception, implicit attitudes, implicit stereotypes, implicit self-esteem, and implicit self-concept.”⁴⁶ Recognition of bias is helpful because it exists and does determine behaviour, but if the idea of psychosis, or even psychology is thrown out, then bias can seem innate or constant and thus uncorrectable. The key words in Greenwald and Krieger’s thinking, “outside conscious attentional focus,” imply that the expansion of an individual’s consciousness is not possible with education, therapy, experience, and further reflection on situations of diversity. Such expansion of consciousness can lead to an awareness of bias. Coloniality is a form of bias and it stems from psychoses that can be treated. While implicit-bias scientists tend to disregard psychological causes of bias, I would argue that coloniality could have implicit and explicit agents, unconscious and conscious causes. Either way, education, therapy, state intervention, or other means can serve as an antidote with the proviso that educational curricula, therapist attitudes, governmental policies, and so can reinforce or disentangle the kinds of prejudices that cause coloniality of the mind. Yet, school, for the few people able to attend during the sixteenth century, would not have been dealing with the topic of psychology or bias. Modern psychology did not come into being until the nineteenth century. Liberation thinking, however, was possible during that time, even if it was not known by that term. It worked against those agents and causes even if it did not have a terminology to describe what it was proposing.

Another problem resides in a modern academic curriculum that passes on prejudicial concepts and thinking that are imparted to students as they form or deepen attitudes about them. Matthew Restall’s *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* deconstructs the myths associated with the Conquest that teach us that Spaniards were superior to Indigenous peoples. Fictions of this nature, such as a limited number of Spaniards conquering the Mexica (sing. Mexicatl) and the Inkakuna (sing. Inka) with their horses and arms, pass

⁴³ Sandler, *Empire in the Heimat*, 303–5.

⁴⁴ Greenwald and Krieger, “Implicit Bias,” 946.

⁴⁵ Greenwald and Krieger, “Implicit Bias,” 950.

⁴⁶ Greenwald and Krieger, “Implicit Bias,” 947.

over Indigenous civil wars and the introduction of Old World diseases that went pandemic.⁴⁷ These aspects external to the Spanish gave them a great advantage. To leave them out of history or to undervalue them can lead to the conclusion that Spaniards were “superior.” Education systems, both formal and informal, for colonizer and colonized, establish what Donald Macedo describes as “an assembly line of ideas” impeding either side of the colonial divide from developing what he calls “the critical capacity of analysis to develop a coherent comprehension of the world.”⁴⁸ That is, Spanish and later Criollo education imparts in their group a belief in the superiority of their own culture while the values stressed in the *encomienda*, and later in the *hacienda*, teach Qheswa, Yunga (Chimú), or K’iche’ speakers to believe they are inferior.⁴⁹ The same was true for Afrodescendants in the variety of places where they were forced into labor.⁵⁰ Recently, Nelson Manrique defined the problem in terms of race: “colonial racism was not only carried by the colonizers. It was internalized, and accepted as ‘true,’ by colonized groups” (*el racismo colonial no solo fue portado por los colonizadores sino que fue interiorizado, y aceptado como “verdadero,” por los grupos colonizados*).⁵¹ When a people’s language, culture, ethnonym, and environment are thrown into question, they become the target of what Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o has described as a “cultural bomb.”⁵² When a bomb falls on a building, some walls or furniture may remain, and consequently Ngũgĩ’s metaphor is useful in grasping that the violence of language can sometimes be as damaging as the violence of the bullet.⁵³ Alas, even when literacy is achieved, coloniality of the mind is ever present. Macedo throws light on this problem when he talks about “a form of illiteracy of literacy, in which we develop a high level of literacy in a given discourse while remaining semiliterate or illiterate in a whole range of other discourses that constitute the ideological world in which we travel as thinking beings.”⁵⁴ Thus, we might be able to read novels, but we do not know how to read chronicles, legal documentation, or even the archaeological record. Given these difficulties, even for the literate Spanish and their Criollo progeny, a suffocating social condition is set up. For example, as Freire explains, this “oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge

47 I treat plurals of Indigenous-language nouns as we treat Greek, Latin, and French borrowings in English. As we say *phenomena*, *millennia*, and *tableaux* for the plurals of *phenomenon*, *millennium*, and *tableau*, we can say *Inkakuna* for the plural of *Inka*, *altepeme* for *altepetl*, and *Mexica* for *Mexicatl*.

48 Macedo, *Literacies*, 23.

49 I prefer the Spanish *Criollo* over the English *Creole* to avoid the connotations associated with the latter. Likewise, colonialism has left behind competing phonetic orthographies of words such as Qheswa, Keshua, Qhichwa, as well as Quechua or Quichua. For Qheswa voices, I utilize the spelling preferred by the Qheswa Simi Hamut’ana Kurak Suntur, the “Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua” based in Cuzco, Peru.

50 I take the terms *transafrican* and *Afrodescendant* from N’Gom, “Afro-Peruvians.”

51 Manrique, *La piel y la pluma*, 14.

52 Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. *Decolonising the Mind*, 3.

53 Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o. *Decolonising the Mind*, 9.

54 Macedo, *Literacies*, 27.

men's consciousness."⁵⁵ Few people, whether Criollo, Indigenous, or Afrodescendant, easily develop the tools to encourage an informed desire for the equality and unity of humanity.

The four authors constituting the topic of inquiry for the present book are among the few. Along the way we will review and compare different strands of thought that resulted from observing realities (More, Erasmus) and investigating realities (Las Casas, More, Guaman Poma) that unveiled coloniality and then proposed antihegemonic solutions.

Genesis and Organization of this Book

Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking during the Sixteenth Century is the third book in an unintentional trilogy focused on sixteenth-century writing related to the lands eventually known as Spanish America. The first book, *Decolonizing Indigeneity: New Approaches to Latin American Literature* (2017), postulates new ways of approaching Latin American literature in order to decolonize our critical models for interpreting texts relative to the nation. The second, *The Formation of Latin American Nations: From Late Antiquity to Early Modernity* (2018), demystifies our understanding of the nation by breaking down how ethnicity, class, gender, land, armies, religion, language, and trade are all vital in the constitution and evolution of nations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *The Formation of Latin American Nations* views these rudiments of the nation as largely positive ingredients because they shape the nation as idealized by the people who comprise it. The third, *Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking during the Sixteenth Century*, provides another part of the story, and in a way, complements *The Formation of Latin American Nations* because it begins by sublimating additional components out of the nation. These, conversely, are negative attributes of a nation's composition including chattel slavery, peonage, human trafficking, and the commingling corruption of religious and political power in institutions such as the *encomienda* and the system of Royal Patronage. These elements, as well as the repurposed Indigenous practices known as the *coatequitl* and *mita*, were conceptualized through colonialities of the mind derived from psychosis or implicit bias. *Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking* builds on *The Formation of Latin American Nations'* interest in national elements as it turns to analyze four liberation thinkers who wrote important tracts that denuded traits we are defining as coloniality, including slavery, peonage, *encomienda*, and forced human migration. By doing this they disentangle these elements from the nation. I call the denuding of these traits liberation thinking.

This line of inquiry represents a somewhat uncommon approach that explores liberation thinking during the early modern era, when Amerindian nations found themselves reorganized in accordance with the needs of an external, but direct form of colonialism. While three of the four's ideas were put into circulation or potentially put into practice (More, Erasmus, Las Casas), the fourth's ideas were never revealed to the reading public, at least not until the twentieth century. All are timely because liberationist thinking

55 Freire, *Pedagogy*, 36.

responds to nation-forming policies and practices based on power and economics that were the rule of the day during the early modern period and suggests freer forms of the nation still sought after even today.

Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking during the Sixteenth Century is about the long sixteenth century that opens with Columbus's first voyage and ends with Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's fascinating *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (The First New Chronicle and Good Government). It traces the genesis of the idea of human liberation in the face of different forms of subordination including institutionalized chattel and encomienda slavery. Catholic humanists developed arguments, theories, and theologies as they attempted to deconstruct those structures of subordination. While some threads of early modern thinking stand as a forerunner to the Liberation Theology of the twentieth century, the more general description, "liberation thinking," embraces its diverse, timeless, and sometimes nontheological aspects. It also embraces thought occasionally viewed as impossible, "postcolonial" thinking elaborated from within colonialism, because logically it seems that postcolonial should come *after* the colonial, which it does. However, as we will see, it can likewise come *from within* the colonial *after* the establishment of the colony, although still *from within* the colony. For this reason, the Mediterranean term "decolonial" makes better sense since the "de," or "des" in Spanish and in English, as noted in the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, indicates "removing" something from something or "do[ing] the opposite" of something.⁵⁶ If European theoretical and applied servitude came to the Caribbean with Columbus on that first voyage, a complete Indigenous rejection of that theoretical and applied servitude sprang from the Andes over a century later. For this book, two specific dates frame the discussion of liberation thinking: the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia* in 1516, and the completion of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's thousand-page epistle 100 years later, in 1615–1616.

Coming from a background in literature, my initial interest in researching this book centered on the colonial chronicle and its relationship to Renaissance humanism. I have wanted to commit to paper my ideas on this topic since the mid-1980s when I took that graduate seminar Luis B. Eyzaguirre taught at the University of Connecticut. That course required interpreting the prose of Columbus, Hernán Cortés, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Fernández de Oviedo, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in the context of Renaissance humanism. Those readings fired my imagination and opened a heterogeneous perspective on the sixteenth century for me: the glory of the Conquest (Columbus, Cortés, and Díaz), the injustice of it all (Las Casas), the scientific interest of flora and fauna (Oviedo), and the possibility of a utopian civilization (Garcilaso). From secondary readings assigned that included such luminaries as Thomas More, Desiderius Erasmus, and Baldassare Castiglione, I learned that those chronicles originated as part of the humanistic tradition that included, at times, what we might call essayistic attributes that take definite form in 1580 with Michele de Montaigne's *Essais*. These texts—ostensibly

⁵⁶ *Merriam-Webster*, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/DE. Accessed November 28, 2018. Further discussion based on Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, xxiv, in chapter 4.

historiographical works—were not shy about taking liberative positions that we can analyze at the level of discursivity.

While Professor Eyzaguirre's graduate seminar whetted my interest in the sixteenth century, my life-long ruminations on the works of humanism eventually gave me a framework for the present book. Along the way, these materials resulted in my first published article on the topic, a comparison of More, Erasmus, and Las Casas's approaches to the idea of slavery. That 1992 Quincentenary article appearing in the Organization of American States' *Inter-American Review of Bibliography* (also translated into Spanish and released by Universidad La Serena, Chile) served as a springboard for later inquiry resulting in parts of chapter 2 in the present work. Another part of chapter 2 builds on two sections of a 2001 *MLN* article, "Expanding Ethnicity in Sixteenth-Century Anahuac," recipient of the 2002 Harold Eugene Davis Prize for Best Article (2002) from the Mid-Atlantic Council for Latin American Studies (MACLAS). The discussion of slavery in *Coloniality and the Rise of Liberation Thinking* looks at that body of research from a new perspective, the perspective of liberation. The material herein, except for five pages from the *MLN* article and the OAS article, is largely presented for the first time.

The first chapter of this book considers how what the Spanish called *encomienda* impinged upon the notion of the nation. It compares Nahua and Spanish concepts to see how they interacted with each other after the encounter. Likewise, it reviews the Aristotelian conceptualization of slavery as a *natural* essence. This is important because after that discussion it determines how the Great Navigator, Christopher Columbus, took a small step out of Aristotle's system of natural hierarchies. This sets the stage for this discussion because when Columbus viewed slavery as a *social* condition, he prepared the way for Renaissance thinkers who would consider slavery as situational such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Thomas More. Interesting enough, More's biographer Richard Marius considered Columbus himself to be a humanist.⁵⁷ Later in life Las Casas came to edit Columbus's diary. If Columbus's link with More is implicit, in Las Casas's later writing, it is explicit.

One transatlantic element of the nation, Christianity, could be a repressive force when clergy and other believers incessantly failed to respect their own New Testament principle that divided spiritual and political power. Chapter 2 explores the relationship of Jesus's maxim about Caesar and God as divergent realms of power in various imperial contexts, in the so-called Conquest, in the *encomienda*, in Royal Patronage, and in the Church hierarchy to measure Christianity's purity. The Conquistador Hernán Cortés provides an example of the how and why the division-of-power ideal faltered. Consciousness of the problem suggests the need for reform and sets the stage for liberative reasoning to germinate.

Chapter 3 discusses how intellectuals such as Las Casas, More, and Erasmus took small steps out of the social condition and mindset known as hegemony or coloniality as they confronted the everyday patterns of greed while sometimes tackling head on the

57 Marius writes: "Columbus was a humanist in his way; he had unshakable faith in the classical wisdom encapsulated by Ptolemy, who believed that the world was a much smaller ball than it really is." Marius, *Thomas More*, 77.

practice of slavery and its causes. While slavers and theorists since Aristotle had been looking at slavery as something intimately associated with what we would call ethnic or racial origins, what they often described as “nature,” Renaissance idealists were rethinking those determinants, coming to see human bondage as a social, not natural, institution. This was an important turn because what is “natural” cannot be modified, but what is “social” can.

Three of these Renaissance thinkers were born in Europe. One, Erasmus, rarely considered the Indies when discussing everyday greed, understood at that time as one of the seven deadly sins, while another, Thomas More, composed a book inspired by new knowledge emerging from the Encounter, the *Utopia*. Still others, like Las Casas, who resided in the Indies, came to resist the encomienda strongly. Their ways of understanding human servitude opened a few cracks through which what we are describing as liberation thinking could filter. These small rays of Renaissance light would weaken the theoretical underpinnings for slavery for Amerindians, but not so much for people of African heritage whose time would not come in earnest until the nineteenth century (see beginning of chapter 1).

If chapter 3 reveals that Renaissance thinking could move beyond the general acceptance of material temporal power with respect to chattel slavery, chapters 4 and 5 show that humanist thought held other possibilities as well. The deterrents of national origins, class, and religion can soften when interfacing with Christian idealism, which interacts with them. The final two chapters explore four strands of early modern liberation thinking, two departing from European realities but having an impact on Abya Yala (chapter 4) and two departing from New World realities although with a theology imported from the Old World (chapter 5). Physical escape from the grip of ethnic and gender-based limitations on life and liberty defined by an emerging global system efficaciously conditioning minds, behaviours, and institutions, frequently was impossible. One recourse was to cultivate contestatory responses within the life of the mind. This subaltern and nonviolent way of resisting upheld the biblical criterion of dividing spiritual and temporal power and was therefore in solidarity with the nation (a spiritual connection Renan would say), but not necessarily with the temporal state.⁵⁸ Alterity, in this case, can take the form of a solitary intellectual from the metropole who critiques the corruption of the division-of-power principle or of a homegrown intellectual from the colonies crying out against temporal abuse. In a word, cultivation of this ideal lays bare transatlantic temporal frameworks of everyday “servitude,” “hegemony,” and “coloniality” (chapters 1 and 2) as well as circumstances defined by corruption (chapter 2) and greed (chapter 3). It does this while developing ethno-spiritual frameworks of “resistance” to that greed and corruption (chapters 3, 4, 5).

Chapter 4 opens by briefly setting out how liberation thinking compares with twentieth-century Liberation Theology. Some convergences and divergences come from a reading of Gustavo Gutiérrez’s *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ*. Others

58 Renan describes the nation as “a spiritual family” (une famille spirituelle), “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?”, 53. Renan does not acknowledge an ethnic component to the nation.

derive from history. The chapter then demonstrates how Thomas More and Erasmus reacted to temporal corruption in Europe from a Catholic perspective. We tend to use “Catholic” here and throughout this book to distinguish it from Protestantism, which rapidly grew in coverage after Martin Luther proclaimed his theses in Wittenberg. Analysis of More and Erasmus establishes a comparative context to study the New World thinkers.

The next chapter turns to Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spaniard whose very purpose for living was associated with the New World, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an excellent representative from the first wave of organic intellectuals in the Western Hemisphere that also included Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Diego Muñoz Camargo, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, and others.⁵⁹ Again, the frame for this exploration begins with the publication of More’s *Utopia* in 1516, and ends with the probable completion of Guaman Poma’s extensive manuscript 100 years later, in 1615, and the author’s demise the next year, in 1616.

Las Casas and Guaman Poma embody the second stage of early modern liberation thinking, with the former serving as a bridge from More and Erasmus to a maturing colonial-Catholic situation where the latter would work and live. Paring their work in Chapter 5 elucidates a liberation thinking that germinated in Abya Yala with a Catholicism imported from the Old World.⁶⁰ Las Casas’s thesis is that one must become Catholic before one can benefit from a spiritual message professed by Jesus that offers liberation from temporal oppression. Moving into the seventeenth century, Guaman Poma’s rhetorical scheme was that Andeans were Christians before the Spanish arrived thereby negating the need for Spanish mediators. When he concludes that Andean people were Catholic, but not Spanish, he privileges the nation over the state.

The processes of horizontal and vertical cultural appropriation, mapped out in chapters 2 and 3 of *The Formation of Latin American Nations*, come into play in this chapter. Here they are not inverse processes but complementary. Guaman Poma’s forceful horizontal and cross-Atlantic appropriation of post-Tridentine Catholicism, in which he swears allegiance to the pope as he logically should, does not conflict with his strong vertical reaffirmation of the Andean millenarian past.⁶¹ This is because he sees fit to reject the political authority of Spaniards in Peru, but not the Catholicism they brought to Peru. The intersection of religious horizontality and cultural verticality creates a liberation-thinking model in Guaman Poma’s epistle to King Philip III that has

59 Obviously Indigenous and mixed-heritage thinkers from the colonial period can be described as intellectuals, as Schwaller, “The Brothers,” 39–59, does. The idea of organic intellectuals comes from Beverley, “What Happens,” 121–12, who draws on Gramsci when referring to twentieth-century thinkers such as Rigoberta Menchú. Some scholars omit the accent mark from Ixtlilxóchitl’s name based on Nahuatl convention. I reflect the spelling of his name as it appears in print.

60 Catholicism was even more fervent after the Council of Trent, signifying the Counter-Reformation, 1545–1563.

61 I first shared some initial ruminations about liberation thinking in Guaman Poma in a paper, “An Early Example of Liberation Theology: The Interesting Case of Guaman Poma de Ayala,” XXX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, May 26, 2012. My views and terminology have evolved since then.

enduring relevance, despite the fact his manuscript was not afforded opportunities for publication as were manifold other chronicles authored by Spaniards.

Finally, there is no precise or established term to designate this class of thought. Considering More and Guaman Poma were lay people of the Catholic Church, it seems imprecise to consider their discernment as “theology,” even though they departed from intensely spiritual positions. Indeed, since Guaman Poma was self-taught, only by altering established expectations of how theological speculators should be trained, could he be considered a theologian. Additionally, because he held no official Church or university position, the Church hierarchy would never have considered him a theologian. While Erasmus and Las Casas were priests, and could carry out their work as theologians, we should not consider them Liberation Theologians because Gustavo Gutiérrez had not yet coined that expression and because the expression written with capitalized letters refers to a theology discerned in a specific time and place: Latin America from the late twentieth century until our time.⁶² There are other factors too. As Javier Valiente Núñez explains in his doctoral dissertation, Liberation Theology is theorized in a context with and takes from both Marxism and dependency theory. These tendencies were non-existent during the sixteenth century, Marx working during the nineteenth century, and dependency theory coming out of Argentina during the 1960s. Without question, our idea of a “liberation theology” connects so deeply to the twentieth century that Eugene Gogol asks, “can a concept of Latin American human liberation be viable if it is rooted in history and the social subject but does not encompass the philosophic moments of Hegel and Marx?”⁶³ The answer is yes, but not necessarily within the category of “Liberation Theology,” spelt with capital letters. For these reasons, I opt for the generic term *liberation thinking*, spelt in lower case because it was not a movement in the usual sense, but was more like a series of points of light faintly visible in the dark firmament. We can view early modern “liberation thinking” as a precursor to Liberation Theology in some instances, but not as Liberation Theology in and of itself.⁶⁴ The designation *liberation thinking* is an expression derived from two sources: from my conversations with Javier Valiente Núñez who uses the term, and from Walter Mignolo’s speculation on “decolonial thinking.”⁶⁵ While the term is generic, it is sufficiently broad to take into account diverse strands of liberating thought during the early modern period. Liberation thinking originates in both Europe and the Americas, both strands coming together with the common goal to liberate humanity from the hegemony of the past, the materialism of that time’s present, and to push for a more humane form of social organization.

⁶² There are also variants such as African American Liberation Theology, see Hopkins, *Introducing Black Theology*.

⁶³ Gogol, *The Concept of the Other*, 110.

⁶⁴ As mentioned, Gutiérrez wrote a book on Las Casas, *Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ*, and the book has a short section on Guaman Poma.

⁶⁵ See Valiente Núñez, *El pensamiento de la liberación*; Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, xxiv, xxvi, and 3; useful is Gómez-Martínez, *Pensamiento de la liberación* who follows strands in Latin America related to the Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset. Finally, Freire’s pedagogy has been referred to as liberation thinking. See Donoso Romo, “Paulo Freire.”