

“The Third International Las Casas Conference

June 21-24, 2023

Providence College Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A.



PROVIDENCE
COLLEGE

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

CRONOGRAMA/PROGRAM

III Congreso Internacional sobre Bartolomé de Las Casas

III International Conference on Bartolome de Las Casas

Wednesday, June 21, 2023

- 12–6pm Registration, Campus Ministry, Lower-Level St. Dominic Chapel
 - 6–8pm Dinner, Campus Ministry, Lower-Level St. Dominic Chapel
-

Thursday, June 22, 2023

- 6:30–8:00 Breakfast in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane Center)
-

Morning Program (Ruane Center 206)

- 8:10–8:25 Welcome and opening comments

Panel 1 Las Casas and the Late Medieval Context of Christian Reformation

- 8:25–9:40 (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Andrew L. Wilson**, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary, “The parallel lives and reforms of Martin Luther and Bartolomé de Las Casas.”
 - **Cristina Ríos Espinosa**, Investigadora independiente, Especialista en Estética y Hermenéutica, “El Espíritu del cristianismo primitivo en las reformas espirituales del siglo XVI: La devotio moderna y Bartolomé de las Casas.”
 - **Ian C. Levy**, Providence College, “Conscience and Authority in the Later Middle Ages.”
 - Chair: John Allard, O.P., Providence College

Coffee Break

Panel 2 **Was there a Lascasian School?**

- **9:50-11:05am** (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Luis Andrés Bilbao Escotto**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, “Bartolomé de las Casas: ¿reformador transatlántico o falso testigo?”
 - **Mario Ruiz Sotelo**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, “La Reforma Lascasiana.”
 - ***Enrique Téllez Fabiani**, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, “La Escuela Lascasiana y los Jesuitas.”
 - Chair: Dwight E. R. TenHuisen, Calvin University

Coffee Break

Panel 3 **Aristotelian Legacies in Las Casas’s Thought**

- **11:15 am–12:30pm** (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Thomas Eggersperger O.P.**, University of Munich, “Las partes de una ‘buena y ordenada policía’: El traslado de una filosofía clásica de lo político a la situación del mundo indígena.”
 - **Michael Schulz**, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, “Bartolomé de Las Casas’ Transatlantic Interpretation of Aristotle’s Concept of the *ethos*.”
 - **John Pollock-Parker**, Boston University, “Aristotle Burns in Hell”: Bartolome Las Casas and Juan de Quevedo.”
 - Chair: Justin Brophy, O.P., Providence College
-

- 12:40 Lunch in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)
-

Afternoon Program in Providence

- **3:00pm** Shuttle to, then presentation at John Carter Brown Library
- **4:30pm** Plenary Speaker

Paola Uparela, University of Florida

“Women’s Labor Rights in Las Casas’s Projects:
Reforming Working Conditions, Procuring Healthy Pregnancies
and Deliveries, Denouncing Sexual Violence.”

Thursday Evening, June 22, 2021

- 6–9pm dinner on your own in Providence
 - 9pm shuttle back to campus from Federal Hill or Uber on your own
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Friday, June 23, 2023

- 6:30am – 7:50am breakfast in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)

Morning Program (Ruane Center 206)

Panel 4 Las Casas and Global Missions

- 8:00-9:15am (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Dwight E. R. TenHuisen**, Calvin University, “A Dutch Reformed Theologian Reads las Casas, Acosta and Calancha on ‘How to convert the heathens’.”
 - **Nicole T. Hughes**, Stanford University, “Las Casas and Disputed Martyrdom in La Florida.”
 - ***Natsuko Matsumori**, University of Shizuoka (Japan), “A Legacy of Bartolomé de Las Casas in East Asia: Domingo de Salazar and the Affairs of China.”
 - Chair: Ian C. Levy, Providence College

Coffee Break

Panel 5 Legal Reasoning in Lascasian Thought

- 9:25-10:40am (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Matthew Cavedon**, Emory University, “Las Casas’s Use of Legal Rules to Reinterpret Inter caetera (1493).”
 - **Rady Roldan-Figueroa**, Boston University, “The Analogous Positionality of Jews and Indigenous People in Juan López de Palacios Rubios’s Libellus de Insulis Oceanis (c. 1504/1516)”
 - **Víctor Zorrilla**, Universidad de Monterrey (Mexico), “La reforma tributaria de Fray Domingo de Salazar para las Filipinas fundamento: filosófico e inspiración lascasiana.”
 - Chair: Daniel R. Brunstetter, University of California, Irvine

Coffee Break

Panel 6 **Implications of Las Casas's Legacy**

- **10:50am–12:05pm** (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - ***Ramón D. Valdivia**, Facultad de Teología de San Isidoro de Sevilla, “Una reforma jurídica: del privilegio religioso a la vindicación democrática.”
 - **Mariano Delgado**, University of Fribourg (Switzerland), “La actualidad del pensamiento de Francisco de Vitoria y Bartolomé de las Casas.”
 - **Daniel R. Brunstetter**, University of California, Irvine, “The Shelf-Life of Bartolomé de Las Casas' Political and Philosophical Activism: A Tale of Two Enlightenment Legacies.”
 - Chair: Andrew Wilson, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary
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- **12:15 pm** lunch in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)
-

Afternoon Program (Ruane Center 206)

Panel 7 **Looking Ahead in Lascasian Research**

- **2–3:15 pm** (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - **Jorge Abril Sánchez**, University of New Hampshire-Durham, “The Reformation of the Dominican Friar through the Looking Glass of a Filmmaker.”
 - **Lincoln Son Currie**, Boston University, “El uso de Ezequiel por parte de Las Casas para la reforma transatlántica.”
 - **Samuel Fynewever**, Calvin College, “Reparations: From Las Casas' Doce dudas to Coates' Case.”
 - Chair: John Pollock-Parker, Boston University

Coffee Break

Panel 8 **Literary and Textual Criticism and the Lascasian Corpus**

- **3:30-4:20 pm** (2 papers, 10 minutes Q&A)
 - ***Vanina M. Teglia**, Universidad de Buenos Aires, “Brevísimo archivo extremo del Mal en las Indias.”
 - **Alexsandro Menez**, Brown University, “Bartolomé de Las Casas' Reception of the Late Medieval Crónica de Guiné by Gomes Eanes de Zurara.”
 - Chair: Rubén Sánchez-Godoy, Southern Methodist University

Coffee Break

Panel 9 **Las Casas and Debates on Conquest, Sovereignty, and Consent**

- **4:30-5:45 pm** (3 papers, 15 minutes Q&A)
 - ***José Villagrana**, San José State University, “Spanish Messianism, Universal Dominion, and Indigenous Rights: Motolinía’s Polemic Against Las Casas.”
 - **Rubén Sánchez-Godoy**, Southern Methodist University, “Consent and Legitimacy in Bartolomé de Las Casas’s *De Theasuris* (1563).”
 - ***Gabriel Cardoso Bom**, University of San Paulo (Brazil), “Las Casas and the Politics of the Catholic Reformation: Understanding the Concept of Sovereignty in Political and Juridical Rights.”
 - Chair: Matthew Cavedon, Emory University
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- **6-7pm Plenary speaker**

Mariano Delgado University of Fribourg (Switzerland)
“The Form of Thinking of Bartolomé de Las Casas:
Merits and Limitations”

Evening Festivities

- **7pm** Reception and closing dinner Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)

Saturday, June 24, 2023 (Ruane Center, Fiondella Great Room)

- **7–9am** breakfast in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)
- **9:30-10:30am** Participant Roundtable: Directions for Lascasian Studies
- **10:30am** Announcing the Society for Lascasian Studies
- **12pm** Lunch in Fiondella Great Room (Ruane)
- **1pm** checkout

Special thank you to the following for their support with the conference:

Providence College:

Kenneth R. Sicard, O.P., President
James Cuddy, O.P., Executive Vice President
Justin Brophy, O.P., Political Science
John Allard, O.P., Theology
Tara Baxter and Niki Jannitto, College Events
Meredith Halgua, History and Classics
Andrew S. Meeham, Political Science
Gary Levesque, Office of Transportation
Residence Life
Sodexo
Catering
Academic Media Services
Office of Safety and Security
Physical Plant

Rady Roldan-Figueroa, Boston University
Andrew Wilson, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary
John Pollock Parker, Las Casas Society

John Carter Brown Library, especially Karin Wulf, Director
& José Montelongo, Curator of Latin American Book

Attendees: in person and virtual

We also thank all those who made the effort to attend and participate in this third international conference. Your presence is greatly appreciated!

1. Las Casas and the Late Medieval Context of Christian Reformation

Chair: John Allard, O.P., Providence College

The Parallel Lives and Reforms of Martin Luther and Bartolomé de Las Casas

Andrew L. Wilson

Japan Lutheran College and Seminary

Abstract: What can we learn about both Luther and Las Casas by noting what they share in common? Both were born within one year of each other, into urban families of the commercially oriented, upwardly mobile bourgeoisie. Both received a literary education, prepared for a life of communication and contracts. Both chose to join strict wings of reforming mendicant orders. Luther “discovered” the gospel sometime in the mid 1510s, Las Casas underwent his “conversion” to the plight of the Indians around the same time. Both engaged the *devotio moderna*, filtered through Erasmus, urging an inner piety and a life of sincere confession. Both men focussed on the sacrament of penance, the one to criticize its abuse, the other as a tool for ecclesiastical discipline. While Luther is better known for his turn toward scriptural authority, Las Casas’s profound knowledge and quotation of the Bible exploded after his formation in the Dominican order. Their biographies feature many shared interlocutors: Thomas de Vio Cajetan and Charles V chief among them. Both sided with the emerging, disciplinary, centralizing state against landed nobles and their ecclesiastical clients. Both gained their ultimate fame as exceedingly effective propagandists. And finally, both have led complex and slandered lives in posterity, used by cultural movements neither imagined. More generally, each rejected practices that, with the shifting mentality of the late medieval world, had become untenable: indulgences and the *requirimiento*. Charles Taylor’s definition of reform as a conviction “felt with increasing power during the Middle Ages and early modern period, that not just an élite, but as far as possible all the faithful live up to the demands of the Gospel” (*A Secular Age*, 104) helps describe the synchronous emergence of these two parallel reformers.

Biographical note: Andrew L. Wilson is assistant professor of church history at Japan Lutheran College and Seminary in Tokyo. His work has explored the nexus of race and religion in Las Casas reforming plans and their Enlightenment reception. Together with

David Orique he is currently translating Las Casas's earliest letters. In 2010, he walked from Erfurt, Germany to Rome, retracing Martin Luther's 1511 pilgrimage, an adventure he recounts in *Here I Walk: A Thousand Miles on Foot to Rome with Martin Luther* (Baker, 2016). Wilson has published reviews and articles on a wide variety of subjects, from hiking shoes to late antiquity. He recently co-founded the Lutheran Bach Research Society in Japan; his work on Bach can be found at bachinjapan.substack.com.

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El Espíritu del cristianismo primitivo en las reformas espirituales del siglo XVI: La *devotio moderna* y Bartolomé de las Casas

Cristina Ríos Espinosa
Universidad del Claustro de Sor Juana

Abstracto: En esta ponencia se intentan probar los vasos comunicantes entre las propuestas de reforma evangelizadora de la *devotio moderna* y Bartolomé de las Casas. Ambas estaban basadas en un principio espiritual compartido, el regreso a un cristianismo primitivo sencillo y auténtico como fundamento crítico en contra de la cristiandad europea, por su desviación hacia los bienes temporales en su afán por la riqueza y el poder. Por ello, la propuesta de renovación espiritual se desarrolló como parte de una visión utópica de vivir en una simplicidad casi edénica de la comunidad de bienes, compartida tanto por los devotos modernos como por Las Casas, como constatamos en su utopía de la formación de repúblicas de indios aislados de los castellanos para protegerlos de los abusos de los encomenderos, en particular el experimento aislacionista de Cumaná (hoy Venezuela) en 1542, con la propuesta de instauración de un estado misionero. El intento de congregar a los naturales en territorios misionales aislados fue una empresa respaldada por la Corona y el Cardenal Cisneros, gran admirador y promotor de la *devotio moderna* en España. Estos últimos también fueron reformadores que buscan la renuncia a la riqueza y el amor al prójimo como principios fundamentales de una Nueva Iglesia, base de la reforma de la misma, corrupta por el exceso de riqueza y desmesura del poder desmedido del Papa en asuntos temporales. Levantan una abierta crítica del papado compartida por Las Casas en cuanto al poder temporal y su jurisdicción, la consideraba limitada y el argumento de esta la encontramos en su crítica a la tesis del *Ostiense*, quien defendía la donación de

las Indias a los príncipes católicos castellanos sin reconocer los títulos justos de aquellas gentes antes de la conquista.

A diferencia de la tesis de donación de las Indias, Las Casas avala que estas tierras les fueron concesionadas a los Reyes de Castilla y Aragón, más no donadas, porque el Papa no tiene ese poder. Pues, “¿qué facultades tenía el Papa para donar aquellas tierras a un Rey Católico, desaparecerían con ello los antiguos señoríos temporales indígenas? [...] El origen del debate arrancaba lógicamente de las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 de donación y comisión a la Corona de Castilla de las tierras recién descubiertas. ¿Podía el Sumo Pontífice dar unos territorios que no eran *res nullius*?, ¿era el Papa, como se decía en la época, nada menos que *Dominus orbis*, señor del mundo, en la esfera temporal?” (Ramón María Serrera, “Los dominicos, pioneros en la defensa de la dignidad del indígena americano, 1511–1542,” *Revista Isidorianum* 31/1 [2022], 136–37). En todos estos cuestionamientos Las Casas fue un actor activo, defensor de los derechos de los gobiernos de los naturales en las Indias.

Biographical note: María Cristina Ríos Espinosa holds a PhD in Philosophy from the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM, 2006); received Medal for Academic Merit awarded by the UNAM School of Philosophy and Literature (2007); researched at the School of Philosophy of the Complutense University of Madrid (2005); holds a Master’s degree in Philosophy from the UNAM (2001) and a Bachelor’s degree in Economics from the Panamerican University (1997). She is a member of the Board of Directors of the Mexican Association of Aesthetic Studies (AMEST, 2011-to date); specialist in Political Philosophy, Aesthetics and Political Hermeneutics; full-time research professor at the School of Art and Culture at the University of the Cloister of Sor Juana (2013–2021); General Director (Provost) of Academy in the University of the Incarnate Word, Mexico City (2021–2023); member of the Philosophical Association of Mexico (2004–to date); member of the National System of Researchers of the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT). And she is the editorial coordinator of *Cuadernos AMEST* #2 and #3 and co-author of *Cuadernos AMEST* #1, #2 and #4; is the coordinator and co-author of the book *Reflexiones en torno al ser del arte* [*Reflections on the Being of Art*] (Ibero-American University, Mexico, 2013) and of the book *Revolución de Independencia e identidad cultural* [*Revolution of Independence and Cultural Identity*] (AMEST, 2013).

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Conscience and Authority in the Later Middle Ages

Ian Christopher Levy
Providence College

Abstract: Everyone is familiar with Martin Luther's famous declaration at the Imperial Diet of Worms in 1521: "My conscience is captive to the word of God. I cannot and I will not retract anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience." This moment is often regarded as a signal event in the advent of modernity, and thus a decisive break with medieval authoritarianism, but nothing could be further from the truth. Luther the university professor and Augustinian friar, knew very well that he was staking out his ground in a centuries-old tradition of following one's conscience in the face of often unjust demands. This paper will survey a series of cases, beginning with Pope Innocent III's seminal decretal *Literas tuas*, in which the pope determined: "It is better to endure excommunication than to commit a mortal sin. For no one should act against conscience (*contra conscientiam*); better to follow one's conscience than the determination of the Church when one is certain. For one should rather suffer all manner of evil than to commit a mortal sin against one's conscience." Generations of theologians and canon lawyers likewise determined that a person's commitment to conscience must take precedence no matter the forces of authority arrayed against one. Here we will consider the thirteenth-century secular theologian Godfrey of Fontaines who insisted that if conscience so dictates, one must be prepared to correct one's bishop if he is sowing dangerous errors. Two Franciscans, Peter John Olivi and William of Ockham, asserted rights of conscience not only in the face of academic censure, but even to the point of correcting the pope. Ockham, moreover, had argued that those who do take up a righteous cause against the powers that be have a right to expect that others would come to their defense. We will also look at the Bohemian theologian Jan Hus who repeatedly appealed to conscience during his trial at the Council of Constance in 1415. That he could do so was itself indicative of the fundamental rights of conscience that he could be confident even his enemies would acknowledge.

Biographical note: Ian Christopher Levy is Professor of Theology at Providence College. His principal fields of research are in the areas of medieval biblical exegesis, the sacraments, and ecclesiology. His work has especially focused upon the roles of authority, tradition, and conscience in the determination of Catholic doctrine. Professor Levy's books include: *Introducing Medieval Biblical Interpretation: The Senses of Scripture in Premodern Biblical Exegesis*; *John Wyclif's Theology of the Eucharist in its Medieval Context*; and *Holy Scripture and the Quest for Authority at the End of the Middle Ages*.

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2. Was there a Lascasian School?

Chair: Dwight E. R. TenHuisen, Calvin University

Bartolomé de las Casas: ¿Reformador transatlántico o falso testigo?

Luis Andrés Bilbao Escotto
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Abstract: El fraile dominico, Bartolomé de las Casas, ha logrado forjar para sí mismo cierta fama halagadora como un personaje “reformador” en la historia de la conquista española de América. Fue nombrado “Protector de los indios” por el cardenal Cisneros, y ejerció también el oficio de Obispo de Chiapa en 1544—aunque solo residiera allí algunos meses—, e incluso protagonizó un célebre debate como oponente de Ginés de Sepúlveda en la llamada *Junta de Valladolid*, donde el fraile argumentó en contra de la ocupación militar en territorios del Nuevo Mundo. Con base en tales méritos, aunados a algunas de sus principales aportaciones escritas, Las Casas es considerado por muchos, especialmente en México, no sólo como un gran reformador de la Iglesia, sino como un importante precursor de lo que hoy llamamos *derechos humanos*.

No obstante, es también sabido que la reputación histórica de Bartolomé de las Casas no es producto de un veredicto unánime. Incluso en su tiempo, el dominico fue objeto de diversas críticas, especialmente por parte de algunos que habían protagonizado directamente el desarrollo de la conquista del reino mexica. En uno de sus textos principales, la *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, publicado en 1552, Las Casas denuncia lo que juzga como abusos y atrocidades cometidos por los conquistadores ibéricos en tierras americanas. Ese texto, el cual cumple con la promesa de ser brevísimo, fue de gran impacto en su momento, y es también visto como un testimonio de la “brutalidad” desplegada por los españoles en su afán de conquista. Sin embargo, otros autores de la época, tales como Bernal Díaz del Castillo, acusan al dominico de mentir y exagerar, y denuncian a Bartolomé por atreverse a hablar de asuntos que él mismo ni siquiera presencié, por tergiversar los hechos y por ser responsable de promover una historia falsa e injustamente desprestigiante. Las críticas han continuado en siglos posteriores por parte de estudiosos como Ramón Menéndez Pidal, quien acusa al dominico de padecer de delirios que afectaban su percepción de la realidad. Algunos académicos no hispanos, como el alemán Ernst Schäfer, opinan que Bartolomé de las Casas no califica como un testigo fidedigno ni siquiera de lo que dice haber visto, y destaca hoy en día la poderosa crítica por parte del historiador argentino,

Marcelo Gullo, en donde acusa al dominico de ser uno de los padres de la llamada *Leyenda negra*.

La situación histórica es extensa, pero podemos centrarnos en un aspecto “brevísimo”. Podemos poner de relieve algo de esta “otra cara” del fraile dominico. Para tal efecto, el objetivo de la ponencia es simple: contrastar los testimonios y argumentos, escritos con la pluma del fraile en su *Brevísima*, con el principal argumento acusatorio de parte de Menéndez Pidal y los críticos del dominico, a saber: que las Casas miente. Los argumentos de ambos lados serán sintetizados y evaluados, según criterios lógicos de investigación historiográfica.

Nota biografía: Luis A. Bilbao es Maestro en Filosofía por la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, al titularse con mención honorífica tras la defensa de la tesis: *Ente y ser en la tradición tomista: base doctrinal de una sólida propuesta metafísica*, con jurado compuesto por la Dra. Teresa Padilla Longoria, la Dra. Diana Alcalá Mendizábal y la Dra. María Teresa Rodríguez González. Actualmente es doctorando en Filosofía en la Universidad de Salamanca, en Castilla y León, España, con un proyecto de tesis en materia de Historia de la filosofía y Filosofía teórica titulado *Doctrina metafísica en el pensamiento de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda*, dirigido por la Dra. María Martín Gómez, de la Universidad de Salamanca. Es experto en metafísica y lógica, especialmente respecto a la doctrina desarrollada por la tradición tomista, así como especialista en las áreas de filosofía medieval, primera y segunda escolástica, crítica al idealismo moderno, ética de virtudes, entre otros temas de interés filosófico. Ha sido investigador autónomo en filosofía para el Centro de Estudios de Familia, Bioética y Sociedad (CEFABIOS) de la Universidad Pontificia de México, con un proyecto de investigación titulado *Una evaluación tomista de la doctrina metafísica de la persona en el pensamiento de Max Scheler*. Asimismo, ha sido también profesor de inglés, gramática y traducción para instituciones educativas básicas y de nivel superior, y docente de lógica, silogística y cálculo proposicional, así como de Historia de la filosofía en centros privados. Ha escrito artículos en colaboración con *Catholic.net* y participado en ponencias para canales audiovisuales de difusión cultural como *Humo y Espejos* y *Reconquista Network*. Reside hoy en día en la Ciudad de México, con algunas paradas al año en Salamanca, España, mientras termina su proyecto de investigación doctoral con vistas para presentar su disertación a mediados del año 2024.

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La Reforma Lascasiana

Mario Ruiz Sotelo

Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Abstract: Martín Lutero y Bartolomé de Las Casas son contemporáneos que escriben bajo un contexto histórico común donde destaca un hecho de ruptura histórica: el “descubrimiento” de América. Tal acontecimiento significó el fin del encierro europeo en el Mediterráneo y el surgimiento de una visión global, atlántica, moderna del mundo. La reforma luterana suele destacarse como un referente fundacional de la Modernidad por haber propiciado la ruptura de la unidad de la Iglesia en Occidente y dar pie al pensamiento sujeto que podía relacionarse con la divinidad sin la tutela sacerdotal, como aparece entre líneas en el conocido texto de Kant *¿Qué es Ilustración?* En la presente ponencia formularemos la hipótesis según la cual Las Casas es otro reformador, cuyos textos, algunos anteriores a los de Lutero, prefiguran una auténtica revolución en diferentes ámbitos del pensamiento, entre los que destacaremos el religioso, el humanista y el político. En materia religiosa Las Casas criticó varios de los presupuestos de la cristiandad que reconocían la justicia de la guerra contra los pueblos no cristianos, y que pueden advertirse, por ejemplo, en las propias *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe*. Las Casas advirtió muy tempranamente que los “conquistadores” no pretendían en realidad divulgar los evangelios, sino hacerse de riquezas, de lo cual resultaba que practicaban una especie de *fetichización* del cristianismo, una falsificación de sus principios básicos en aras de lo que explícitamente llama un nuevo culto, que tenía al oro como principal deidad. Era, pues, necesario, denunciar ese falso cristianismo por uno que recuperara sus elementos prístinos, alterados por la utilización política que la cristiandad hacía de ellos en los pueblos de las tierras “descubiertas”.

Para articular ese cristianismo ajeno a la cristiandad dominante habría que reconocer la semejanza integral con los habitantes de esos pueblos, y en general, de todo el mundo, cuya idea se había ensanchado y resignificado debido a los descubrimientos recientes. Era necesario, pues, dismantelar el prejuicio filosófico, de cuño aristotélico, de la “esclavitud natural” y reconocer en los habitantes de América, o África, o Asia, una alteridad que debía ser respetada como condición de posibilidad para entablar con ellos un diálogo donde pudieran comunicarse los supuestos verdaderos que entraña el cristianismo. Era necesario, pues, desentrañar al humanismo de su referente europeo, eurocéntrico, para abrirlo a una idea de universalidad nueva, moderna, construida a partir de la comunicación con el Otro descubierto: aquel que no tenía ninguna herencia grecorromana, ni semita, ni incluso de las ideas orientales de las que los europeos tenían noticia.

Finalmente, y como consecuencia de la semejanza integral descubierta en los pueblos ahora conocidos, debía aceptarse en todos los pueblos del orbe su capacidad

política plena y consecuentemente, los derechos que tenían para gobernarse por su cuenta. Siendo así, era necesario construir una filosofía política absolutamente inédita, donde todos los pueblos tuvieran los mismos derechos. Sobre esta base, debía condenarse el supuesto derecho de conquista sobre la base de los argumentos civilizatorios o religiosos, dejando al diálogo y al consenso como los elementos únicos para establecer la comunicación entre pueblos y culturas diferentes.

Así pues, podemos afirmar que la reforma lascasiana corre paralelamente a la luterana, aunque bien puede argumentarse que, dada la diversidad y profundidad de su línea temática, fue, y sigue siendo, mucho más profunda que su similar germánica.

Nota biográfica: Mario Ruiz Sotelo. Doctor y Maestro en Filosofía por la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras y Licenciado en Sociología por la Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la UNAM. Profesor Titular de Tiempo Completo en la FFyL y Profesor de Asignatura Definitivo en la FCPyS. Sus principales líneas de investigación son: Filosofía política latinoamericana, Fundamentos del Estado mexicano moderno, Filosofía de la conquista de América. Investigador miembro del SNI. Es además, integrante de Las Casas Studies at Providence College. Es autor del libro *Crítica de la Razón Imperial. La Filosofía Política de Bartolomé de Las Casas* (México: Siglo XXI, 2010) y de alrededor de 30 artículos publicados en revistas especializadas y capítulos en libros, entre los que destacan “La revolución contra las estatuas. La Covid-19 y la crítica a los fundamentos de la Modernidad” (2021), “Hacia una visión decolonial de los derechos humanos” (2020), “Bartolomé de Las Casas y la Filosofía de la Liberación” (2019). Obtuvo el Premio Nacional de Filosofía 2006-2007 a la mejor tesis de maestría otorgado por la Asociación Filosófica de México.

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La Escuela Lascasiana y los Jesuitas

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Abstract: La presencia de Bartolomé de Las Casas tiene varios significados dependiendo desde dónde se interprete. Se le ha evaluado como el principal promotor de la “leyenda negra” que circuló por Europa nor-occidental desde el siglo XVI. Esto denigró su trabajo desde la perspectiva de los “peregrinos” protestantes que comenzaban a llegar a la hoy América del Norte. Pero la experiencia más importante fue en Tuzutlán (Guatemala y Honduras). Esto fue posible gracias a su cambio existencial en 1514 entre ser un privilegiado encomendero de indios y el rechazo moral de la esclavitud. Pero aún más

interesante el fracaso en Cumaná primero; luego en Tuzutlán y, finalmente, en la Audiencia de los Confines donde enfrentó un levantamiento encomendero, porque fue punto de partida de muchas utopías. Ya no son ese conjunto de utopías renacentistas que suelen aparecer como literatura, sino algo nuevo: un intento de convivencia, ambigua y difícil, entre europeos y amerindios (pueblos originarios).

Aparentemente, no hace una “escuela” práctica que de continuidad a su obra misionera; tampoco, a su obra escrita. De hecho, es excéntrico dentro de su orden religiosa si lo comparamos con otros que estuvieron en la academia española (sobre todo Salamanca); u otros, en las misiones americanas. Tiene predecesores inmediatos que escribieron sermones, pero sin obra pretendidamente teórica. Es ahí donde podemos trazar una hipótesis según la cual, su “escuela” la continuaron los jesuitas, a través del teórico Francisco Suárez, aunque Luis de Molina tiene un texto con la misma intención lascasiana sobre la evangelización pacífica. A través de sus teorías soberanistas y sus ideas tiranizadas se puede encontrar una fuente de inspiración (una de muchas) que nos conduce a las llamadas “reducciones”, misiones que pretendían tener cierta autonomía de las Coronas en lugares poco habitados por los europeos. Chiquitos en Bolivia, Sinaloa en México y sobre todo en el Paraguay, quizá el sitio más complicado por ser nudo geopolítico entre las dos monarquías.

Suárez no fue bien visto dentro de los americanistas porque siempre se ha creído que nunca se interesó por América, como sí lo hizo el dominico Vitoria. Sin embargo, hay indicios que parecen indicar lo contrario. Además, hay una ausencia importante de traducciones y de estudios en el mundo académico actual secularizado (hablamos de Latinoamérica) que toque el ámbito religioso. La propuesta a ser discutida toma como punto de partida estos indicios de Suárez y su interpretación como “puente” que une a Las Casas y las reducciones jesuitas. Así que la argumentación es panorámica y se inserta en un pensamiento pretendidamente no eurocéntrico.

Nota biográfica: Enrique Téllez Fabiani obtuvo su doctorado por la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) bajo la dirección de Enrique Dussel. Ha sido profesor de varias universidades desde hace más de 20 años. Es autor, co-autor, compilador y editor de varios libros y de varias temáticas en torno a la literatura, la historia y la filosofía. Desde hace varios años ha organizado eventos internacionales como miembro de la Asociación de Filosofía y Liberación (AFyL) y de la Asociación Filosófica de México (AFM). Es miembro actual del Instituto Nacional de Formación Política (INFP).

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3. Aristotelian Legacies in Las Casas's Thought

Chair: Justin Brophy, O.P., Providence College

Las partes de una “buena y ordenada policía”: El traslado de una filosofía clásica de lo político a la situación del mundo indígena

Thomas Eggensperger OP

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Abstracto: Esta ponencia se centra en el texto *Apologética Historia Sumaria* de Bartolomé de Las Casas que no es solamente una descripción de la historia sino también un tratado muy político. Empieza el discurso sobre la “prudencia” en los capítulos 40–48 (discutido ya en una conferencia en el II congreso 2018). Las Casas quería demostrar que los indígenas son realmente individuos con “razón” y “entendimiento”. Por lo tanto, Las Casas utiliza la interpretación de la prudencia (política) según Tomás de Aquino en su *Summa theologiae* (II-II 45 sqq). En el curso posterior de su argumento—que es la base de mi contribución—demuestra la prueba de unas partes de una “buena y ordenada policía”. Basado en Aristoteles (“Política”) y Tomás de Aquino, Fray Bartolomé ve en los capítulos 59–73 de la “Apologética Historia Sumaria” unos aspectos como haber labradores, artesanos y oficiales, gentes de guerra, personas ricos y sacerdotes como tales partes de los pueblos indígenas. Con la interpretación de las sociedades transatlánticas como gente de policía y religión Las Casas no solo presenta una situación comparable de la sociedad de Europa (y la sociedad de la antigüedad griega) sino también explica una interpretación moderna y adaptada, inspirado de su experiencia transatlántica.

Nota biografía: Prof. Dr. Thomas Eggensperger OP, fraile dominico de la provincia alemana de Teutonia, estudios de teología, filosofía y español (Dr. theol. y M.A.), tesis de doctorado sobre Las Casas y su filosofía política, Profesor de Ética Social en la “Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Münster” y el “Campus für Theologie und Spiritualität Berlin”, actualmente Profesor invitado en la Universidad Católica de Eichstätt, director del “Instituto M.-Dominique Chenu Berlin” y nuevamente editor de la “Deutsche Thomas-Ausgabe”

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Bartolomé de Las Casas' Transatlantic Interpretation of Aristotle's Concept of the *ethos*

Michael Schulz

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Abstract: "*Valeat Aristoteles! A Christo enim qui est Veritas aeterna habemus: Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.*" With this reference to the truth of Christ, which calls for the love of one's neighbor, Bartolomé de Las Casas, in 1519, neutralized in a dispute, the European view that Native Americas were those people whom Aristotle called "slaves by nature." However, after joining the Dominican Order in 1522, Las Casas had also studied Aristotle and his reception by the Order's theologian Thomas Aquinas. In the Renaissance, there was no way around Aristotle for an erudite Dominican. Las Casas' acquired knowledge of Aristotle was crucial not only to his dispute with the Aristotle specialist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in Valladolid (1550/51) about the human nature of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, but to his entire body of work. I will argue that Las Casas' reception of the Aristotelian concept of *ethos* forms the argumentative center of his transatlantic application of Aristotelianism. With Aristotle, Las Casas understands *ethos* as the cultural and habitual imprint of human nature, so that culture appears as a second nature of humans and, like nature, seems almost immutable. Las Casas uses the concept of *ethos* to unmask as a deception the supposed anthropological differences on both sides of the Atlantic. What distinguishes America from Europe is not nature but culture. The supposedly less civilized Native Americans are therefore not exemplars of a weakened humanity (*homunculi*), that is, not slaves by nature. Las Casas borrows Aristotelian criteria for the existence of a *polis*, a polity ordered by human reason and prudence. He applies these criteria to the indigenous cultures, proving the humanity of the American Natives. With the concept of *ethos*, Las Casas lays the foundation for a transcultural hermeneutics. This is equally crucial for the delicate case of indigenous religion interpreted in demonological terms. He concedes the possibility of a natural knowledge of God developed by Aristotle—in connection with its interpretation by Thomas Aquinas—to the indigenous peoples even in the case of their religious polytheism, whose ritual practice knows human sacrifice and anthropophagy. In my opinion, Las Casas' positive evaluation of indigenous religion coincides with the thesis developed in the School of Salamanca, according to which the *implicit faith* of non-Christians already opens up a chance for salvation.

With the concept of *ethos*, Las Casas also develops the idea of cultural change. For him, the cultural and religious history of Europe is the best example of changing cultures. He also attests this potential for change to the indigenous cultures, which is why alternative ideas about human sacrifice have already emerged from them (*Quetzalcoatl*). Aristotle's concept of *ethos*, as received by Las Casas and applied in the New World, is crucial to understanding both transatlantic otherness and cultural change. In this specific sense, Las Casas makes Aristotle his "ally of charity" in the defense of Native Americans.

Biographical note: Dr. Michael Schulz is a full time professor, director of the Department for the Philosophy of Religions of the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn / Germany. Director of the Interdisciplinary Latin America Center. Studied philosophy and theology in Mainz, Rome, Munich. Taught at the Facoltà di Teologia di Lugano (Switzerland). Director of the Seminar for Dogmatics, Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University Bonn, where he has also served as dean, director of the Department of Philosophy and Theory of Religions, and director of the Interdisciplinary Latin America Center. He was recently appointed as a "docente colaborador no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Filosofia" at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS) in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Recent publications treat Iberian interpretations of indigenous religions in America.

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"Aristotle Burns in Hell" **Bartolome Las Casas and Juan de Quevedo**

John Pollock-Parker PhD
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Abstract: The problem posed by unfree labor and the attendant abuse of Amerindians and enslaved blacks was totalizing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Few conflicts capture this like those between Bartolomé de las Casas and the first Bishop of Darien Juan de Quevedo, O.F.M., the leader of the first Franciscan presence in what would become the Kingdom of New Granada. Beginning in 1519 Quevedo and Las Casas fought over what the shape of economic and religious responses to the Conquest would be. These conflicts, largely known through the account in the third book of Las

Casas' *Historia*, were nominally about the abuse of indigenous people, but more fundamentally were conflicting models for how the Catholic World ought to reform itself considering the colonial program. Quevedo represented a reactionary and centralizing impulse, while Las Casas articulated a model which embraced human dignity and peripheral centers of authority. Nor was their conflict purely ecclesiological or socially focused. Las Casas and Quevedo also took radically different stances concerning what level of authority was granted to different intellectual traditions. This last conflict was especially noticeable in regards to Aristotle. Quevedo, among others, based his theory of Spanish superiority upon a conception of "natural" slaves and masters, a point Las Casas rejected. The conflict between these two traveled to the very center of the Spanish World and culminated with Las Casas, at Court, attacking not only Quevedo's support of brutal coercive economic practices but the centrality and supremacy of Aristotelian philosophy in the Catholic intellectual world.

Biographical note: John Pollock-Parker holds a PhD in the History of Christianity from Boston University. His research focuses on the reception and deployment of medieval sources in debates concerning slavery. Dr. Pollock-Parker currently teaches classics in Springfield MA.

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Plenary Presentation 1

(John Carter Brown Library):

"Women's Labor Rights in Las Casas's Projects. Reforming Working Conditions, Procuring Healthy Pregnancies and Deliveries, Denouncing Sexual Violence."

Paola Uparela
University of Florida

4. Las Casas and Global Missions

Chair: Ian C. Levy, Providence College

A Dutch Reformed Theologian Reads Las Casas, Acosta, and Calancha on 'How to convert the heathens'

Dwight E. R. TenHuisen
Calvin University

Abstract: Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617-1666) was a Dutch Reformed theologian who wrote many polemical works, but of particular interest for a conference dedicated to exploring Bartolomé de las Casas as “Reformer” is *De conversione Indorum et Gentilium*. Published after Hoornbeeck’s death in 1669 in two parts, its origin stems from the published texts of 30 disputations by 22 of his students, *De conversione Indorum et gentilium: disquisitiones institutae in Academia Lugduno-Batava*, published in 31 installments in Leiden between 1662 and 1664. Hoornbeeck’s work has recently been edited and translated into English by Ineke Loots & Joke Spaans as *On the Conversion of Indians and Heathen*. In their introduction, Loots and Spaans summarize the importance of this deeply Reformed work: “‘How to convert the heathens’ was a subject that others had written about before, but never in this way: with all the theoretical force of orthodox Reformed academic theology” (1).

Hoornbeeck (and his students) were readers of Spanish authors, and the disputations are laced with references to authors that scholars of colonial Latin America might or might not expect in a text dedicated to evangelization and conversion methods: Acosta, Calancha, Las Casas, Inca Garcilaso, López de Gómara, Loyola, Vitoria, etc. The references to these authors and their texts are sometimes surprising, both for where they appear in Hoornbeeck’s text and where they are absent. This is particularly true in the case of Bartolomé de Las Casas. In this presentation, I examine how Hoornbeeck (selectively) “reads” and interprets Las Casas, Acosta and Calancha as he lays out his proposals on the appropriate way to evangelize in the context of early modern European colonization.

Biographical note: Dwight TenHuisen received his PhD in comparative literature from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign with specializations in early modern colonial literature in Spanish, German, and Portuguese. He is a professor of Spanish

and German at Calvin University, where he has taught a range of language, culture, and literature courses at the undergraduate level; he has also directed multiple semester programs for undergraduates in Spain, as well as short-term programs in Brazil and the Philippines. He has written on the hagiographic discourse in Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*, Staden's *Wahrhaftige Historia*, and Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação*, as well as on the transformations of the hagiographic discourse, the domestication of alterity, and the elimination of self-representation in the reception of these authors in the context of early modern confessional geographies. His current project is to examine Antonio de la Calancha's *Cronica moralizada* in the context of early modern Augustinian evangelization strategies and of networks in a global context, and one of his most recent articles examines Calancha and his translators as readers of Bartolomé de Las Casas.

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Las Casas and Disputed Martyrdom in La Florida

Nicole T. Hughes
Stanford University

Abstract: This is a presentation about how Bartolomé de las Casas did not allow a disastrous mission to La Florida change him, and therefore he became a reformer. Las Casas had argued for the universality of the Apostolic method in his treatise *De unico vocationis modo omnium gentium ad veram religionem* (composed c. 1524–1550s). For him, the only way for Christians to evangelize was and would always be the Apostolic way, which he deemed “peaceful.” He was unequivocal: “The one and only way of teaching all humanity the true religion was established by divine providence for the whole world and for all times.” Las Casas gambled that his Dominican companion Friar Luis Cáncer, who had supposedly deployed the method in war-ravaged Guatemala to great success, could prove the Apostolic method’s universality on La Florida’s notoriously dangerous missionary front. Instead, Cáncer suffered a violent death at the hands of Native assailants on Timucua land, becoming a bargaining chip for Las Casas’s critics, who argued that militarized methods of evangelization were warranted there. This presentation shows how Cáncer’s demise sparked criticism of Christian antiquity as the universal interpretive framework and paved the way for new conceptions of a temporally divided world. Early missionaries to the Americas portrayed themselves as latter-day apostles and indigenous peoples as ancient “pagans” based on the belief, vociferously defended by Las Casas, that evangelization mirrored the spread of Christianity in antiquity. Following the disastrous mission to La Florida, Las Casas

turned his energies to proving that Cáncer was a true martyr. In the debates that ensued, Las Casas and his contemporaries would respectively try to shoehorn La Florida into a paradigm of a temporally unified world, continuous with Apostolic times, or into a new paradigm of a temporally divided world, where different “situations” merited different evangelization methods.

Biographical note: Nicole T. Hughes is Assistant Professor of Iberian and Latin American Cultures at Stanford University. Her research focuses on the early modern world, especially sixteenth-century New Spain (Mexico) and Brazil. Her first book project, "Staging History: The Theatrical Invention of New Spain and Brazil in the Sixteenth Century" analyzes dramatic performances in which missionaries, conquistadors, and indigenous elites superimposed depictions of far-flung conflicts and enactments of local struggles. She argues that by envisioning other parts of the world and relating those images back to the Americas, participants in these theatrical spectacles created foundational narratives of New Spain and Brazil. The book is a substantial reworking of her dissertation, which was a finalist for the Latin American Studies' Association Maureen Ahern Award for best dissertation in Colonial. Latin American Studies (2017–2020). She has peer-reviewed articles published or forthcoming in the academic journals *Representations*, *Colonial Latin American Review*, and *Renaissance Quarterly*. Her research has received support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Mellon Humanities International Fellowship), the John Carter Brown Library, and the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut (Berlin). She was previously a Mellon Scholar in the Humanities at the Stanford Humanities Center and was awarded the Stanford-Tinker Faculty Research Fund from the Center for Latin American Studies in 2021. At Stanford, she directs the Renaissance working group and serves on the editorial board of the peer-reviewed digital journal *Republics of Letters*.

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A Legacy of Bartolomé de Las Casas in East Asia: Domingo de Salazar and the Affairs of China

**Natsuko Matsumori
University of Shizuoka**

Abstract: Bartolomé de las Casas is famous principally in relation to Colonial Latin America. However, his words and actions have considerable influence throughout the world. This presentation focuses on his legacy in East Asia, where Las Casas never

visited. His legacy can be examined both directly—by tracing the history of the reception of his texts—and indirectly—by analyzing the words and actions of those who were influenced by him. This presentation adopts the latter method and analyzes his influence through the reading of the texts of Domingo de Salazar, who has often been called “Las Casas in the Philippines.” In so doing, this presentation pays attention to the affairs of China (*las cosas de China*)—the early modern discussions about the mission and trade in China, in which Salazar and his contemporaries actively participated. Scholars have indicated various points of lascasian influence on Salazar. Among them, this presentation focuses especially on the right of communication in just war theory. First, this presentation clarifies the details and main issues in the affairs of China, seeking the position of Salazar in such discussions. Then, it traces the transition process of Salazar’s view about the missionary work in China, from the approval of the use of military force to the assertion of the peaceful mission and compares his view with views of others, such as Dominicans Miguel de Benavides and Juan Cobo and Jesuits Alonso Sánchez and Matteo Ricci. Finally, this presentation considers what parts of Las Casas’s thought influenced Salazar, in relation to Francisco de Vitoria’s just war theory as their sources.

Biographical note: Natsuko Matsumori is Professor of History of Political Thought at the University of Shizuoka. Since receiving her Ph.D. in Political Science at the Complutense University of Madrid, she has held, among other positions, the following: Assistant Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University; Invited Professor at the University of Salamanca and at Keio University; Collaborative Researcher at Kyoto University and at the National Museum of Ethnology; Visiting Scholar at Harvard University and at the Max Planck Institute for European Legal History and Legal Theory; and Screening Committee Member at Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. She researches scholastic influence on the formation of early modern political thought. Her principal publications include: *The School of Salamanca in the Affairs of the Indies* (Routledge, 2019), *From Barbarism to Order* (University of Nagoya Press, 2009, Suntory Prize for Social Sciences and Humanities), and *Civilización y barbarie* (Biblioteca Nueva, 2005).

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5. Legal Reasoning in Lascasian Thought

Chair: Daniel R. Brunstetter, University of California, Irvine

Las Casas's Use of Legal Rules to Reinterpret *Inter caetera* (1493):

*What serious man has ever taken up the pen without an exact
knowledge of...the law?* – Bartolomé de Las Casas

Matthew Cavedon

Emory University Center for the Study of Law and Religion

Abstract: Las Casas used context to convert a tough legal document into an argument for liberating the Americas. In the 1550–51 junta at Valladolid (and his written arguments published afterward), Bartolomé de Las Casas undertook a radical analysis of Pope Alexander VI's 1493 bull, *Inter caetera*. According to many Spanish jurists, the bull legitimized imperial domination of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. But to Las Casas, it strictly limited colonization, conditioning it on peace and indigenous consent. I'll explain how Las Casas supported his counterintuitive conclusion with background legal norms. Historians may debate the extent to which Las Casas had formal legal training, but he creatively cited six legal rules: (1) "the will of a ruler is always to be judged in conformity with the law"; (2) the Church's non-consensual jurisdiction over non-Christians is strictly limited; (3) legal texts must be interpreted to avoid "inhumanity or absurdity"; (4) factual recitations matter; (5) "a papal rescript favoring one individual should not prejudice the rights of a third party"; and (6) "what touches all must be approved by all."

This presentation will: (a) note the controversy over Las Casas's legal training; (b) develop the pre-Las Casas history of each rule; (c) explain how Las Casas applied them to reshape *Inter caetera* in favor of indigenous freedom; and (d) comment on Las Casas's analysis with reference to how "canons of construction" inform the interpretation of American legal instruments today.

Biographical note: Matthew P. Cavedon is the Robert Pool Fellow at the Center for the Study of Law and Religion at Emory University. He graduated from Harvard College, writing his undergraduate thesis on the political thought of the School of Salamanca. Cavedon received his JD/MTS from Emory in 2015. Following graduation, he worked as a Constitutional Fellow at the Institute for Justice. He then

clerked for the Hon. Lisa Godbey Wood of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Georgia. Following this, Cavedon served as an assistant public defender in northeast Georgia. Immediately before returning to CSLR, he clerked for the Hon. Nels S. D. Peterson of the Supreme Court of Georgia. Cavedon recently wrote a history of the Spanish reception of *Inter caetera* and a reassessment of St. Thomas Aquinas's political philosophy. He is preparing to write an article on the canons of construction that have been recognized by Georgia courts. His research interests include Catholic legal history, Spanish scholasticism, and current controversies regarding natural law and the liberal order.

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The Analogous Positionality of Jews and Indigenous People in Juan López de Palacios Rubios's *Libellus de Insulis Oceanis* (c. 1504/1516)

Rady Roldán-Figueroa, Boston University

Abstract: Juan López de Palacios Rubios was an influential jurist who lived between 1450 and 1524. He served as a distinguished jurist under Queen Isabella I of Spain (r. 1474–1504). His royal appointments included the Council of Castile as well as roles at the University of Salamanca and at the University of Valladolid. To modern audiences, he is better known as the author of the *Requerimiento*, a legal proclamation that was read to indigenous people of the Americas demanding that they submit or face the dire consequences of war. He was also the author of *Libellus de insulis oceanis*, which he wrote for King Ferdinand around 1512 to 1514. Regarded as the first treatise justifying the conquest of the “New” World, in the *Libellus* he defended the right of the Spanish crown over the Indies. In the work, Palacios Rubios used extensive legal and theological examples of Christian treatment of Jews to justify Spanish claims over the indigenous groups in lands recently conquered by Spain. The contention of this presentation is that Palacios Rubios used a method of analogous situational positionality to establish an equivalency between Jews and indigenous groups and consequently forge a theology of conquest that justified the latter's loss of political sovereignty. Bartolomé de las Casas, who preserved the treatise, later drew on this experience to argue against the forced conversion of the indigenous people of the Americas. Hence, Palacios Rubios's argument was of great consequence to the development of Las Casas's thought. This

presentation will focus on examination of Palacios Rubios's arguments and their relation to his theology of conquest.

Biographical note: Dr. Roldán-Figueroa is Associate Professor of the History of Christianity at Boston University. He specializes in early modern global Christianity, Christianity in colonial Latin America, the intersectionality of Catholicism, race, and colonialism as well as the history of Christian spirituality. He is the author of *The Ascetic Spirituality of Juan de Avila (1499-1569)* (Brill, 2010), and *The Martyrs of Japan: Publication History and Catholic Missions in the Spanish World (Spain, New Spain, and the Philippines, 1597–1700)* (Brill, 2021). He is also co-editor with David Orique of *Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P.: History, Philosophy, and Theology in the Age of European Expansion* (December 2018, Brill) and, *The Transatlantic Las Casas: Historical Trajectories, Indigenous Cultures, Scholastic Thought, and Reception in History* (Brill, 2022). He has published thirty-eight articles and book chapters and his articles have appeared in *Critical Research on Religion*, *European History Quarterly*, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History*, *The Seventeenth Century*, and *History of European Ideas*.

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La reforma tributaria de Fray Domingo de Salazar para las Filipinas fundamento: filosófico e inspiración lascasiana

Víctor Zorrilla
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Abstract: En torno a 1593, el dominico fray Domingo de Salazar, obispo de Manila, presentaba al Consejo de Indias una propuesta para moderar o eliminar los tributos que pagaban los habitantes de las islas Filipinas. A través de esta reforma tributaria, Salazar pretendía fomentar la prosperidad de la región y facilitar la conversión de los naturales. En la propuesta, Salazar—a quien Lewis Hanke considera un “Las Casas de las Filipinas”—expone el fundamento teórico y jurídico del cobro de tributos en los ámbitos temporal y eclesiástico. Explica que el rey solo tiene derecho a exigir tributo si ha obtenido el dominio legítimamente, ya sea por elección o por guerra justa. Ahora bien, Salazar argumenta que en Filipinas no ha habido elección por parte de los naturales, pues estos han sido sometidos por medio de la violencia. Por otra parte, en las guerras de conquista no concurrieron las condiciones de una guerra justa. Por ello—sostiene—el rey carece del derecho a cobrar tributo a los filipinos infieles sobre la base del gobierno temporal. Salazar también niega que el rey tenga derecho a exigir tributo a los infieles por razones de gobierno espiritual. Acepta, en cambio, que se cobre

un tributo moderado solo a los naturales que ya hayan sido cristianizados, siempre que los encomenderos entiendan que tal tributo se exige por el bien de los mismos naturales. Se analizará la reforma tributaria que propone Salazar para iluminar su fundamento filosófico y jurídico, mostrando, así, cómo esta reforma se inspira en la tradición de defensa de los naturales iniciada por Francisco de Vitoria y Bartolomé de las Casas.

Biographical note: Victor Zorrilla (PhD in Philosophy, Universidad de Navarra, 2009) teaches history of political thought at the Universidad de Monterrey (Mexico). His research has focused on the debates concerning Indian rights and the justification of conquest in early modern Spain. His publications include a book on Las Casas's notion of the state of nature (*El estado de naturaleza en Bartolomé de las Casas*, Pamplona, 2010) and several articles on Las Casas, José de Acosta, Juan de Silva, and other Spanish authors. He is currently researching the adaptations of the just war theory in sixteenth-century Spanish American thought.

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6. Implications of Las Casas's Legacy

Chair: Andrew Wilson, Japan Lutheran College and Seminary

Una reforma jurídica: del privilegio religioso a la vindicación democrática

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Abstract: Esta ponencia tiene que ver con la reforma que experimentó Bartolomé de las Casas en el ámbito del derecho, especialmente en su concepción sobre la restitución. Estoy de acuerdo, en tesis de máximos, con la propuesta del Congreso de que la modernidad se fraguó ante las exigencias evangélicas en todos los órdenes de la vida, espirituales, políticos, económicos y, por supuesto, también jurídicos. En este proceso de transición hacia la modernidad, Bartolomé de Las Casas representa en el orden espiritual y político un protagonismo muy relevante, sobre todo en el ámbito de la reclamación de los derechos humanos. Sin embargo, no ha sido hasta en nuestros días cuando se ha reclamado su relevancia racionalmente jurídica.

De modo especial, Las Casas reclamó a la modernidad haciendo un uso jurídico diverso, atendiendo a las fuentes clásicas del derecho romano y canónico (*ius commune*), pero ofreciéndoles un sentido y significado absolutamente diverso, alejado de lo que la tradición iusfilosófica había determinado hasta el momento, convirtiéndose así, una vez más, en un profeta incomprendido. Sin embargo, sus propuestas jurídicas, lejos de quedarse anquilosadas en el pasado, cobran hoy un nuevo espesor, porque su reclamación a la restitución ya no percibe como una propuesta voluntarista más del Defensor de los Indios, sino que su estudio de los cánones y leyes romanas, aunque denostados por los tribunales españoles, adquieren una relevancia más que moderna, contemporánea.

La bibliografía que tomaremos como referencia comienza con quienes tomaron en serio la original perspectiva jurídico-positiva de Bartolomé de Las Casas, tales como Pennington, Adorno y otros, y continúan en otros ámbitos como Mario Ruíz Sotelo y Alejandro Rosillo, pero especialmente quiero ofrecer el resultado de mi estudio personal.

Nota biográfica: Ramón Valdivia, Licenciado en Derecho por la Universidad de Sevilla (1997), Bachiller en Teología por el Centro de Estudios Teológicos de Sevilla (2003), Licenciado en Filosofía por la Universidad Gregoriana de Roma (2006), Doctor en Filosofía por la Universidad Lateranense de Roma (2008), Doctor en Derecho por la Universidad de Sevilla (2020). Profesor Ordinario de la Facultad de Teología "San Isidoro de Sevilla" y del CES Cardenal Spínola CEU. Las publicaciones más relevantes abarcan facetas de estudio de la libertad religiosa, la justicia y el poder en Bartolomé de Las Casas (2010 y 2020, respectivamente). Tiene diversos capítulos sobre la relevancia de las Leyes de Burgos de 1512. Otra faceta es el estudio de problemas bioéticos relacionados con la influencia de la Inteligencia Artificial. Desde el 27 de mayo de 2023 es Obispo Auxiliar de Sevilla.

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La actualidad del pensamiento de Francisco de Vitoria y Bartolomé de las Casas

Mariano Delgado, Universidad de Friburg Suiza

Abstract: Los pensadores de la Escuela de Salamanca, a los que pertenece también Las Casas, aunque no fuera nunca profesor académico, parten de la libertad e igualdad del género humano como fundamento del dominio particular y político, independientemente de la religión. Por ese motivo se les llama “iusnaturalistas”. Para Vitoria, los bárbaros o infieles extraeuropeos descubiertos en su tiempo eran “verdaderos dueños pública y privadamente, de igual modo que los cristianos”. El universalismo de los salmantinos con el postulado de la igualdad jurídica, biológica y moral de la humanidad es hoy consenso general y la base de los derechos humanos.

Vitoria fue el primer europeo que postuló la igualdad jurídica universal y la idea de un solo orbe “que en cierto modo constituye una única república” y tiene “el poder de promulgar leyes justas y convenientes para todos” (*Reflectio de potestate civili*). Esta visión de un orbe común es fundamental. Pero despierta también, ayer como hoy, muchas cuestiones, p.e. la de la instancia o de las normas para regular conflictos como el del bien común. Los críticos les reprochan a los salmantinos que han sido pensadores “sistémicos” al servicio de la “realpolitik” y las pretensiones del Imperio Español.

Las Casas conocía muy bien la idea vitoriana de un solo orbe y sacó de ella las consecuencias necesarias en favor de la libertad y los derechos de dominio (particular y político) de los pueblos amerindios que el maestro salmantino no se había atrevido a defender del todo. Las Casas consideraba a los indios de facto y no sólo en potencia como pueblos con los mismos derechos políticos que los europeos.

El intento de encontrar en Vitoria y Las Casas un pensamiento político todavía válido en las crisis de nuestro tiempo conduce quizá a más preguntas que respuestas. El iusnaturalismo deductivo no es hoy el denominador jurídico común de la familia humana. ¿Pero qué podría serlo en su lugar? ¿Que sería de la “tremenda originalidad” de Vitoria con su idea de un solo orbe como comunidad política sin el cambio de perspectiva de Las Casas y su discurso en favor del bien común de los pueblos amerindios, de los más débiles? Las preguntas que se discutieron entonces son en parte las de ahora: ¿Qué instancia debe decidir cómo se pueden dirigir hoy los movimientos migratorios teniendo en cuenta el bien común universal y el derecho de los más desfavorecidos a una vida digna en medio de la familia humana? ¿Quién decide cómo utilizar los recursos de la humanidad para que todos tengan el derecho a “Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness”? ¿Y bajo qué criterios se deben tomar esas decisiones? ¿Cómo sopesar bien valores y alternativas en situaciones de conflicto humanitario para tomar las decisiones adecuadas? ¿Cómo contrarrestar hoy en el mundo secular que no

tiene en cuenta la doctrina teológico-filosófica de la concupiscencia las tendencias ingenuas al optimismo antropológico o al “buenismo”, como si el “hombre nuevo” y virtuoso estuviera a la vuelta de la esquina o fuera el fruto automático de determinadas estructuras sociales? ¿Y cómo podemos evitar hoy las trampas sistémicas?

Biographical note: Mariano Delgado, born 1955 in Berrueces (Spain), is a Swiss and Spanish citizen, Dr. theol. (1985, Innsbruck/Austria), Dr. phil. (1994, FU-Berlin/Germany), habilitation in fundamental theology (1995, Innsbruck), Dr. theol. h.c. (2018, Sankt Augustin/Germany). Since September 1997 Full Prof. for Church History at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. Since 2008 founder and director of the Institute for the Study of Religions and Interreligious Dialogue. Since 2001 editor of the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* (ZMR); Editorial or advisory board member of numerous scientific journals. Editor or co-editor of the following book series: *Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* (Schwabe: Basel / Kohlhammer: Stuttgart), *Religionsforum* (Kohlhammer: Stuttgart), *Studien zur interkulturellen Geschichte des Christentums / Studies in the intercultural history of christianity / Etudes d'histoire interculturelle du christianisme* (Peter Lang: Bern, New York), *Early Modern Christianities Beyond Europe* (Vandenhoeck: Göttingen). Head of the Section *Religious Studies, History of Religions, Ethnology* of the “Görres Gesellschaft” (Germany). Dean of the Class VII (World Religions) of the *European Academy of Sciences and Arts* (Salzburg/Austria), member of the European Academy of Religion (Bologna/Italia) and numerous scientific institutions. 2000–2003 President of the “Schweizerische Theologische Gesellschaft / Société Suisse de Théologie” (SThG/SSTh). 2010–2012 and 2019–2022 Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Fribourg.

Main research interests: Church history as mission history and Christian history of religion and culture, studies on the political theology of the Salamanca School, on Bartolomé de Las Casas and on Spanish mysticism, political theologies of the 20th century, history of German-language theology in the 20th century; interreligious dialogue.

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The Shelf-Life of Bartolomé de Las Casas' Political and Philosophical Activism: A Tale of Two Enlightenment Legacies

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Abstract: The legacy of Bartolomé de las Casas extends well beyond the sixteenth century and the Spanish-speaking world. His long life advocating for the rights of the New World natives against the intellectual and political grain of sixteenth century Spain forged a complex legacy that spans the centuries after his death until today. This paper explores his reputation in the Enlightenment—a key philosophical time-period when the modern notion of human rights and good government based on liberty and equality were arguably crystallized. Within the diverse morass of ideas that define the Enlightenment, the legacy of Las Casas is represented by multiple narratives which shed light on the complex heritage of his activist thought. In the first section, I examine two negative legacies that were synonymous with his name. The description of Las Casas in the works of historians such as Zarate and Herrera painted a picture of Las Casas as an exaggerator who purposefully overstated the horrors of the conquest to denounce the reputation of the conquistadors and the Crown (which tended to be valorized). Las Casas was also accused of being a perpetrator of the African slave trade, a position that found its roots in the account of Herrera, and which notable thinkers such as De Pauw and Robertson (whose translated *History of America* was popular in France) drew from to accuse Las Casas of duplicity and undermine his reputation. In the second section, I examine more positive reputations, linked to his defense of native populations from Spanish cruelty. Exploring the reception of Las Casas' deeds in key Enlightenment thinkers including Prévost, Voltaire, Diderot, Marmontel and Raynal, reveals how his defense of native populations was ultimately seen as a philosophical watershed in modern intellectual history that inspired deeper reflection on issues such as tolerance, human dignity, human rights and the progress of civilization. His image as defender of the rights of the other eventually extended to blacks. The later stages of the Enlightenment saw a rebuking of the slave trade accusations in a passionate apology of Las Casas written by the Abbé Grégoire. Grappling with these competing narratives helps us to better understand the legacy that ultimately endured, which portrayed Las Casas as a reformer who illuminated an imagined path forward for mankind based on tolerance and a common humanity.

Biographical note: Daniel R. Brunstetter Professor of political science at the University of California, Irvine (UCI). He studies political theory, with a focus on

early modern thought and just war. His first book, *Tensions of Modernity*, revisits Europe's initial encounter with the Native Americans of the New World to shed light on how the West's initial defense of so-called 'barbarians' has influenced the way we think about diversity today, and elucidate the arguments of exclusion that unconsciously permeate the moral world we live in. The main thread of the book traces Bartolomé de Las Casas's oft heralded defense of the Native Americans in the sixteenth century through the French Enlightenment. While this defense has been rightly lauded as an early example of human rights discourse, tracing Las Casas's arguments into the eighteenth century shows how his view of equality enabled arguments legitimizing the annihilation by 'just' war of those perceived to be 'barbarians'. His work on just war thinking spans the historical to the contemporary, including themes such as: the history of the just war tradition, cultural heritage, the contested notion of 'barbarians', armed drones, and contemporary debates about the use of force. His work has been published in *Ethics & International Affairs*, *Journal of Military Ethics*, *Political Studies*, *Review of International Studies*, *International Journal of Human Rights*, *Raisons politiques* and elsewhere. He is co-editor of two edited volumes that cover a variety of themes related to the ethics of war: *The Ethics of War and Peace Revisited: Moral Challenges in an Era of Contested and Fragmented Sovereignty* (w/Georgetown University Press) and *Just War Thinkers: From Cicero to the 21st Century* (w/Routledge). His most recent book, *Just and Unjust Uses of Limited Force* (with Oxford University Press), examines the ethics of limited force – what he calls the notion of *jus ad vim*. The book revisits the major wars animating contemporary just war scholarship (Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq, the drone 'wars', and Libya) through the lens of limited force to tease out an ethical account of force-short-of-war. His current book project, *This Butterfly Wing to Remember Me By*, looks at the last letters of members of the French Resistance, penned hours before their execution by Nazi firing squad, to explore the human condition and the lived experience of war. Daniel was the recipient of a Chateaubriand fellowship in 2005. Ph.D., University of California, Davis, 2005, Political Science. MSc, The London School of Economics, 1999, Philosophy. M.A., Tulane University, 1998, Latin American Studies.

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7. Looking Ahead in Lascasian Research

Chair: John Pollock-Parker, Boston University

The Reformation of the Dominican Friar through the Looking Glass of a Filmmaker

Jorge Abril Sánchez
University of New Hampshire-Durham

Abstract: Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's publications constituted an important and early collection of works on international law. His legacy had yet to inspire a cinematographic narrative that relives or retells the personal journey and transformation of the clergyman until 1993, when Mexican filmmaker Sergio Olhovic Greene directed a movie adaptation of Spanish playwright Jaime Salom i Vidal's theatrical piece, entitled *Las Casas, una hoguera al amanecer* (1990). In this innovative production, the director concentrates his camera on the ethical and moral, albeit also physical, changes in the persona of the Dominican throughout three distinctive stages in the life of the social reformer. This representation is reenacted by introducing Bartolomé as a fictional character of a movie that is being shot to narrate the historical life and personal journey of the religious man.

Indeed, at the beginning of the film, he appears on a stage in the company of his mother and sister. In his youth, the young Andalusian seems to fall prey to the sinful avarice and financial pragmatism of thousands of Spaniards that embarked themselves on the adventurous enterprise of the conquest of newly-found land and the accumulation of goods. As the heir to his father, a pioneer and settler, he is spruced up by his forebears with precious clothing and expensive jewelry from the Indies. In a narrow space, in which the fourth wall of the theater or a studio is eliminated and visible to invite the audience of the spectacle to judge the attributes and qualities of the actants, the wealthy gentleman demonstrates a lack of honesty and values when he fails to advocate for the liberation of his indigenous servant Lorenzo, who is forced to travel back to America, after the issue of a royal decree by King Ferdinand. This egotism and narcissistic self-interest intensify in a second segment in the film when Bartolomé, now assigned to an *encomienda* in New Spain, administers and manages his businesses and property, forcing the native population to do menial and abusive work in the mines to extract gold and other precious minerals.

The moral corruption of the *encomendero*, however, is countered by the valid interaction and interference of a missionary, Fray Antonio de Montesinos, a historical

Dominican friar in the Island of Hispaniola, who comes to visit the powerful businessman to inform him of the imminent death of his former servant Lorenzo. The passing of the indigenous subject starts a spark in the heart of the clergyman, who now renews his vows and confirms his religious beliefs to lead the reorganization of the colonial system, the prohibition of the abuses and atrocities against the native population and the reformation of the ecclesiastical authority that sponsored the colonization and subjugation of different territories and peoples. In a considerably long second half of the movie, Bartolomé erects himself as a political dissident and fearless rebel that reproves the lustful appetite and increasing thirst for riches of his uncle Gabriel, and the immoral indifference and the pitiless leadership of the governor. This moral and spiritual transformation reaches its climax at the end of the movie when Fray Bartolomé, now an old dying man, renounces to and repents for his past encounters with innkeepers and public women in Seville, his participation in the economy of an industry that was built on the sweat and blood of enslaved and tortured human beings and his complicity in a large-scale enterprise of abuse and exploitation. The final scene, in which Bartolomé dies, within the frame of the image of a cross projected by an intense light, confirms the purgation and repentance of a social reformer that strove to transform the ethics of colonialism. In this article, I explore the reformed ascension of the Dominican friar to the altars of salvation in the movie first as a reborn Christian free of his carnal vices, and secondly as a tireless defender of the oppressed and the major representative of the critical voices that tried to improve and modify an imperial command and campaign, which would conceive many opportunities and reasons for their enemies to create the paradigm of the black legend of Spain.

Biographical note: Jorge Abril Sánchez is an independent early modern scholar that focuses his research on the literature of England and Spain, often from a comparative perspective: Miguel de Cervantes, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega, Andrés de Claramonte, John Dryden, Aphra Behn, Elkanah Settle, William D'Avenant, Sir Robert Howard, Thomas Shadwell, etc. He completed a PhD in English Renaissance Literature at the Universidad de Oviedo, in Spain, in 2021 and he is finishing a second PhD in the Spanish Literature of the Golden Age at the University of Chicago. His scholarly interests range widely, from the study of divination and the immortality of the soul in the Middle Ages (Martín de Braga, Lope de Barrientos, Alfonso de Espina, Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, etc.); and, heresy and treatises of demonology (Martín de Arlés, Pedro Ciruelo, Martín de Castañega, Francisco de Vitoria, Martín del Río, Pedro de Valencia, James I of England, etc.) in Renaissance England and Golden Age Spain; to the description of idolatry, paganism and demonolatry upon the exploration and conquest of America and Asia by Spaniards (Andrés de Olmos, Miguel de Lúcar, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, etc.). He is the co-editor of two collections of articles, entitled *A Novel without Boundaries: Sensing Don Quixote 400 Years Later* (Juan de la

Cuesta 2016) and *Immature Playboys and Predatory Tricksters: Studies in the Sources, Scope and Reach of Don Juan* (Juan de la Cuesta 2020), the author of several book chapters and articles on Cervantes, books of chivalry and war, ekphrastic sexuality and prostitution, and an active theatrical performance reviewer. Currently, he is finishing an edition of a novel by the *avilesino* novelist Rafael Suárez Solís, entitled *Un pueblo donde no pasaba nada*, and the edition of three collections of articles on demonology and demonolatry in Cervantes, and Asturian writers from the Early Modern period and the 19th and 20th centuries.

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El uso de Ezequiel por parte de Las Casas para la reforma transatlántica

Lincoln Son Currie
Boston University

Abstracto: Esta presentación explora la construcción y el significado del discurso profético en la obra de fray Bartolomé de las Casas, específicamente en relación al profeta Ezequiel. En la *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* y otros escritos, por ejemplo, Las Casas adopta de manera explícita un estilo y unos motivos muy similares a los de Ezequiel. En este diálogo con Ezequiel emerge la figura de Las Casas como reformista. Pues al tiempo que, según Las Casas, los indios podrían y deberían ser integrados al catolicismo, su conversión supondría una reforma del catolicismo en cuanto tal. En esta presentación, me gustaría examinar el uso de Ezequiel por parte de Las Casas y reflexionar así sobre Las Casas como reformista transatlántico. En un corolario, Las Casas crítica, con referencias directas a Ezequiel, a los “mercenarios” que carecen de fe verdadera, y afirma también que es la responsabilidad del “oficio de los obispos defender y proteger su pueblo de cualesquier tiranos y salteadores.” Además de esta referencia hay abundantes referencias explícitas a *Ezequiel* en las obras de Las Casas que sirven como una advertencia para cambiar la iglesia católica. Al representar la situación en estos términos, Las Casas implícitamente está al mismo tiempo defendiendo la iglesia católica que proponiendo su reforma. Aboga por que la iglesia no se destruya sino se reforme. En el corazón de esta noción de reforma está la idea de preservar la iglesia mediante la crítica y el cambio. El intento de Ezequiel fue similar. Ezequiel fue un profeta que vivió en exilio y reveló sus profecías que predijeron una destrucción y subsiguiente restauración (se puede decir, *reforma*). De hecho, el libro de *Ezequiel* termina con Dios restaurando la tierra a los judíos (muchos de los cuales fueron

exiliados en Babilonia) a causa de la reforma prometida de los judíos que vivirían ahí en este reino nuevo y restaurado, o se puede decir, reformado. En mi presentación, examinaré la *Apologética Sumaria* y los otros escritos de Las Casas y sus alusiones a Ezequiel, para enfatizar el papel de Las Casas como reformista transatlántico.

Biographical note: Lincoln Son Currie is a junior majoring in journalism at Boston University. He has written for four newspapers, a couple of journals, a blog and a few other places here at BU. He has worked as a research assistant with professor Christopher Maurer on *Zóbel Reads Lorca*, a new edition of Federico García Lorca's *Don Perlimplín* that focuses on Spanish painter Fernando Zóbel's translation of the work, and currently as professor David Colmenares's research assistant for a project regarding the debate over an Asian presence in the Americas prior to the Spanish conquest. After undergraduate studies, he plans to attend the University of Southern California Gould School of Law. His research interests—especially in Spanish—focus primarily on religion. He has done religious comparisons with texts, such as emphasizing the similarities between the book of *Revelation* and "Danza de la muerte" by Federico García Lorca. Since his conversion to Catholicism in 2019, he has become more increasingly interested in theology. And for this, presentation the exciting exploration of the musings of 16th-century monks and friars.

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Reparations: From Las Casas' Doce dudas to Coates' Case

Samuel Fynewever, Calvin University

Abstract: This paper builds on the work of Víctor Zorrilla (2019), considering in detail Bartolomé de las Casas' *Tratado de las doce dudas*. I draw connections with his other works, especially *Treinta proposiciones muy jurídicas* and *Reglas para confesores*, as well as the work of his contemporaries (e.g. Sepúlveda, Acosta, Vitoria) and ramifications of this work in later philosophical, theological, and political thought. Continuity and change between medieval, early modern, and present-day notions of just war and human rights are considered. I briefly argue that wars today continue to be justified in the same manner as they were by Vitoria—namely, that tyranny of a foreign ruler is used to justify invasion and regime change, even towards full-scale occupation. I will also briefly discuss the Lascasian apostolic, nonviolent alternative to evangelism as a plausible way forward for current Christian theological (and secular Western political) engagement with the world. Moreover, this paper draws connections between the

ongoing socioeconomic oppressive lived realities experienced by colonized and historically enslaved indigenous and black people in Peru and the United States. A case for reparations in both countries is advanced, building on Ta Nehisi Coates' 2014 article and considering which theological and philosophical convictions Coates and Las Casas may hold in common. In particular, I will argue that although the practicalities of carrying out reparations (in Peru or the United States) today are much different than they would have been in Peru in the 1550s, even so, the Lascasian arguments for reparations for indigenous people still hold philosophical and juridical weight. In addition, although the full moral weight of Las Casas' soteriological arguments (that completing reparations are a necessary condition for colonizers' salvation) has not enjoyed widespread acceptance since the burning of the *Reglas para confesores*, the prophetic call against comfortable indifference and towards radical, world-uprooting change remains as pertinent today as it was in the 1550s, precisely because the generational trauma of having one's whole world uprooted continues to break the heart of God.

Biographical note: Samuel Fynewever is a senior student of secondary Spanish and mathematics education at Calvin University in Grand Rapids, MI. His research interests include the intersection of language, education and oppression, as well as bilingual (English-Spanish) mathematics education. In an upcoming fifth year, he will study in Honduras, then student teach. Following that, although undecided, Sam is considering teaching internationally through the Peace Corps, then attending graduate school.

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8. Literary and Textual Criticism and the Lascasian Corpus

Chair: Rubén Sánchez-Godoy, Southern Methodist University

Brevísimo archivo extremo del Mal en las Indias

Vanina M. Teglia

Universidad de Buenos Aires-ILH/ CONICET

Abstract: ¿Cómo narrar la violencia de la conquista o, en última instancia, cómo referir numerosas masacres en el siglo XVI? Tal desvelo, pero, también, tales visiones de la

colonización americana constituían el punto cero desde el que partió Bartolomé de las Casas en la década de 1540 para redactar su tratado más trascendente: la *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*. Aquí, el fraile no sólo se propone re-escribir las versiones que los historiadores, cronistas y soldados habían ofrecido de los hechos hasta el momento sino, también, hablar por los muertos, recuperar, en la escritura, una memoria sobreviviente del sufrimiento y los padecimientos vividos por los amerindios desde el arribo de Cristóbal Colón a América. Las Casas otorga una legibilidad moral inaudita a su visibilización del mal en las Indias. Este archivo lascasiano repone, con gran carga ética, lo que considera una faltante en las Historias de las Indias: la indignación por la destrucción de los nativos y de su entorno natural en el contexto extremo de ejercicio de la encomienda y de la guerra “justa”, que se han naturalizado como prácticas conquistadoras. De este modo, la misma *Brevísima* es una respuesta extrema—desesperada y que contiene el efecto de multiplicación saturada—a los asesinatos y a las posteriores muertes pandémicas. Montaje de historias desconectadas, la *Brevísima* “arde”, tal como suele decirse de las recuperaciones de documentos que sobreviven a las masacres y genocidios, entre otras cosas, para dar una lección a los conquistadores, hombres de poder e historiadores que, adrede o no, los han negado. Con las herramientas teóricas desarrolladas para abordar los archivos visuales de los genocidios del siglo XX (de Georges Didi-Huberman y Giorgio Agamben, entre otros) y dada la marcada condición visual de la escritura de la *Brevísima* (Rolena Adorno, 2021), analizaré, en este trabajo, los alcances de la escritura de Las Casas como contra-archivo, archivo del mal y archivo extremo.

Biographical note: Vanina Teglia holds a PhD in Literature from the University of Buenos Aires. With a doctoral dissertation on Utopia of America in Bartolomé de las Casas and Fernández de Oviedo, and being a specialist in Spanish-American colonial literature, she has published several articles in joint volumes and academic journals in Colonial Studies. She prepared critical editions of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Cristóbal Colón and Bartolomé de las Casas. She is currently working on natural histories and mythical universes in the chronicles of the Indies and travel stories of the sixteenth century. She teaches Latin American Literature at the University of Buenos Aires and is a Researcher at CONICET. She won a Fulbright scholar fellowship, a grant from the National Ministry of Education of Argentina, from the John Carter Brown Library, the Huntington Library and the GRISO-UNAV. In 2021, she won the Colonial Section of LASA Award for the best critical-essay written by an Advanced Scholar.

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Bartolomé de Las Casas' Reception of the Late Medieval *Crónica de Guiné* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara

Alexsandro Menez
Brown University

Abstract: This presentation is based on the author's ongoing doctoral research on the reception of Gomes Eanes de Zurara's *Crónica de Guiné* in the early modern period, focusing on its reception in Bartolomé de las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*. Zurara served as the royal chronicler of the Portuguese court during the reign of Afonso V, "the African" (1438–1477), and its *Crónica de Guiné*, which was written between 1453 and 1474, is one of only four late medieval narratives about fifteenth century Portuguese voyages in the Atlantic coast of Africa. It describes several significant events, such as the first passage of the unnavigated Cape Bojador (Western Sahara), the discovery of Atlantic maritime routes that would enable the voyage around Cape of Good Hope and the voyage to the Americas, and the first cross-cultural interaction between Europeans and West African people groups, becoming a significant source for understanding that period. Despite this, all copies of Zurara's chronicle disappeared during the first half of the sixteenth century. There was no record of the chronicle's existence until Ferdinand Denis rediscovered it at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 1837. After that, the discovered manuscript, the so-called *Portugais 41*, promptly received its *editio princeps* in 1841. To write his *Historia de las Indias*, Bartolomé de las Casas referred in detail to the *Crónica de Guiné* and João de Barros' *Primeira Década da Asia* (1552), in which Zurara is likewise a fundamental source for Barros' narrative. This presentation aims to determine whether Las Casas' *Crónica de Guiné* copy corresponds to *Portugais 41* and to discuss Zurara's reception by Las Casas. The paper, thus, seeks to ascertain to what extent Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias* may have contributed to Zurara's later reception.

Biographical note: Alexsandro Menez is a Ph.D. Candidate in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies at Brown University, specializing in late medieval and early modern Iberian chronicles. He holds a Master's in Literary Studies (2017), a Master's in History (2015), a Post-baccalaureate in Brazilian Literature (2016), and a Bachelor's in History (2012). His research has been published in several peer-reviewed journals and funded by renowned foundations from Brazil, Portugal, and the United States. Additionally, he is affiliated with the Center for the Study of the Early Modern World (Brown University) and a visiting scholar at the CHAM - Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar (Universidade Nova de Lisboa).

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9. Las Casas and Debates on Conquest, Sovereignty, and Consent

Chair: Matthew Cavedon, Emory University

Spanish Messianism, Universal Dominion, and Indigenous Rights: Motolinía's Polemic Against Las Casas

José Villagrana
San José State University

Abstract: The ideological struggle between Bartolomé de las Casas, an advocate for indigenous rights and colonial reform, and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, a defender of Spanish justifications for colonial violence, has received extensive critical attention. Las Casas' and Sepúlveda's debate revolves around Aristotelian conceptions of just war and natural slavery with regard to Amerindians. This essay focuses on a comparatively neglected third participant in the debate, the Franciscan Toribio de Benavente Motolinía. Motolinía opposed Las Casas' proposed colonial reforms that recognized Amerindians' sovereignty on the grounds that the prophetic Book of Daniel authorized Spanish claims to universal dominion. In a 1555 letter to Emperor Charles V, Motolinía argues that Las Casas is a false prophet misled by satanic influence; against Las Casas, he claims that Daniel authorizes Charles's right to universal dominion over the world. The apocalyptically-grounded ideological struggle between Motolinía and Las Casas is significant for our understanding of Spanish colonial policy with regard to Amerindians' rights. Motolinía endorsed Charles's claim to universal dominion because it justified using violence and forced labor to correct Amerindians' perceived inherent deficiencies that made them susceptible to idolatry and satanic influence—idleness of will and rational feebleness. By improving such perceived inherent deficiencies through violence and forced labor, Motolinía thought, Amerindians could eventually be assimilated into the prophetic vision of Christ's future kingdom.

Biographical note: José Juan Villagrana is Assistant Professor of English at Santa Clara University beginning in Fall 2023. He is author of *Racial Apocalypse: The Cultivation of Supremacy in the Early Modern World* (Routledge, 2022), and his articles have appeared in the *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, *Studies in Philology*, and *Sidney Journal*. His current book project, *Innocent Racism: How Early Modern European Colonialism Evaded Legal and Moral Responsibility*, examines the reception of Las Casas' legal and racial thought in English colonial literature and law.

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Consent and Legitimacy in Bartolomé de Las Casas's *De Theasuris* (1563)

Rubén Sánchez-Godoy
Southern Methodist University

Abstract: This presentation focuses on the role of consent (*consentimiento*) in Bartolomé de Las Casas's *De Theasuris* (1563). Considered by him as a testament, *De Theasuris* offers a very elaborated exposition of ideas that he has discussed and developed during almost fifty years since his conversion to the indigenous cause. The text advances on ideas that Las Casas has explored from his early *De unico modo* (circa 1537) through the sections of *History of Indies* that he has penned between 1559 and 1561. This text also echoes his work as an advocate for indigenous litigants before the Spanish Crown in the Iberian Peninsula since his return from the Indies in 1547.

As part of his answer to the question about the legitimacy of the appropriation that Spanish conquerors and colonizers made of the “guacas” (treasures that are found in Inca tombs in Peru), *De Theasuris* proposes a detailed assessment of the reasons that legitimize the presence of Spain in the Indies, the way in which Spanish conquerors and colonizers have actually imposed their rule over the indigenous population, and their appropriation of the wealth that they have found since their arrival to the Indies.

Among the ideas that *De Theasuris* discusses to address these issues, “consent” acquires particular relevance to understand three aspects of the Lascasian thought: (1) the harsh critique that he makes to Spanish conquerors, colonizers, and even authorities that, according to him, have used anything but consent to unfairly acquire wealth and subjugate indigenous populations; (2) the political conception that Las Casas has developed during all his years as an advocate for the defense of the indigenous populations, according to which, beyond the jurisdiction that the Pope and the Spanish crown have over the Indies, “consent” is the only acceptable foundation of any legitimate rule over the territories, the wealth, and the populations that live there; (3)

the connection that Las Casas's reflections maintain with Vitoria and Soto about the role of consent in their conception of the state. While scholars such as Quentin Skinner and Annabel Brett have emphasized the relevance of consent in Vitoria and Soto's defense of the state as a human, rational and moral entity (against Luther and Machiavelli), it is our belief that Las Casas advances a conception of the state in which consent of the "other" is the keystone of any political justice.

Biographical note: Rubén A. Sánchez-Godoy (PhD, University of Pittsburgh, 2009) is an associate professor of Spanish American colonial literature in the Department of World Languages and Literatures at Southern Methodist University. His research focuses on texts that recognize the struggles for justice and freedom that missionaries, African captives and indigenous groups promoted against slavery and serfdom in Iberian America from sixteenth through nineteenth century. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals on African explorers in the sixteenth century, indigenous litigants in Spain, an Afro-indigenous maroon community in Esmeraldas (Ecuador), the indigenous nomads in Zacatecas (Mexico), and the Afro-Brazilian author Machado de Assis. In his book, *The Worst of the Remedies: Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Early Critique to African Slavery in the Iberian Atlantic* (2016), Professor Sanchez-Godoy proposes a comprehensive approach to the views of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566) on African slavery, using these views a way to explore the concerns and debates that emerge from the very beginning around the presence of African captives in the Americas. He has recently published two essays: "Una obra de tiranos: Bartolomé de Las Casas y la crítica de la conquista de México-Tenochtitlán en la *Brevísima Relación de la destrucción de Indias* (1552)." *eHumanista*, vol. 50, Jan. 2022, pp. 210+., and "Las huellas textuales de Estevanico en el archivo colonial del siglo XVI," *Perspectivas Afro*, vol. 1, no. 2, mayo de 2022, 104–27. Currently, he is working on the debate on African slavery and indigenous serfdom in the Iberian Atlantic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the role of music in the constitution of Latin American Identities.

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Las Casas and the Politics of the Catholic Reformation: Understanding the Concept of Sovereignty in Political and Juridical Rights

Gabriel Cardoso Bom
FFLCH-USP, Brazil

Abstract: Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566) was a Dominican who acted in the context of the Spanish Empire in America in favor of the "indigenist cause." Both his work and his political activity in the Spanish Court have made him one of the most elementary characters in the narratives about the history of the New World. According to Paolo Prodi, the "catholic-tridentine solution" adopted in the Catholic Reformation was a different proposal with respect to that which was assumed in the Protestant context. The issues raised with the process of formation of the Hispanic "universal monarchy" led several authors to bring up new questions concerning the concept of sovereignty to justify the colonial presence in the New World. Among the Dominican's major political works, those that dealt with the subject of sovereignty include the *De Regia Potestate*, some of the treatises found in the *Tratados* de Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas of 1552, and several parts of the *Apología*, written in the context of the Valladolid Controversy of 1550–1551. Were Las Casas' political conceptions linked to a pulverized perspective of power, as in other medieval authors (interpretation supported by Pennington Jr. and Tierney)? Or, are the Lascasian concepts connected to a new perspective of the state, nascent in the 16th century, linked to imperial and centralized conceptions of power (as Friede and Castro sustain)? We will seek to develop the themes that the Sevillian focuses on to develop his theory of Spanish sovereignty over the New World: the question of the dominium, the function of the Spanish State in relation to the Church, and the attributions of the missionaries within colonial daily life. Analyzing his political-legal writings, we will seek to understand with which themes the concept of sovereignty is developed in Lascasian thought, in view of the discussions of the context of the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Biographical note: Gabriel Cardoso Bom is a History, Philosophy and Sociology teacher in the private network of the city of Santos, on the coast of São Paulo. He has a degree in History from FFLCH-USP, and is currently a Master's student in Social History at the same institution. He develops research on the themes of colonization in Hispanic America and the political, juridical, and theological ideas involved in the colonial process. He is part of LABORINDIO – Research Group on Labor in the Americas.

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Plenary Presentation 2

(Providence College)

**“The Form of Thinking of Bartolomé de Las Casas:
Merits and Limitations”**

Mariano Delgado

University of Fribourg (Switzerland)

