



## Understanding images of American Indians: Through the Theological perspective and the Anthropological perspective

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### **Abstract**

*From the 16th century, European intellectuals and scholars shaped and defined the images of American Indian through two approaches that were theological and anthropological, which highlighted every aspect of their lives in a different manner. In the long run, it generated a conflicting debate about the legitimacy of colonial domination as theological discourse represented by Tzvetan Todorov, Bartolome de Las Casas and Anthony Pagedan sparked conflicting views about Amerindians as barbarians, while categorizing them as rational beings that need careful investigation because they used the concepts of humanity, natural slavery and superior Christianity to justify their practices. Anthropologically, scholars such as Vine Deloria Jr., Dee Brown, and Ruth Benedict described the lives of indigenous people to challenge Eurocentric views. This paper explores different perspectives to portray that the images of American Indians were not fixed as they were influenced by social, cultural and political ideologies that clearly described rich historical and cultural traditions.*

**Keywords:** American Indian, Theology, Anthropology, Colonialism, European, Ethnography

### **Introduction**

The images of American Indian from a theological and anthropological perspective give us a glimpse of their traditions, rituals and faith in terms of historical and cultural traditions. Many historians have given assumptions about American Indians that help us to understand detailed information about their indigenous cultures, along with their diversity. Let's understand some main introductory points through which we can measure the theological<sup>i</sup> and anthropological<sup>ii</sup> perspective. The theological dimensions help us to understand the relation between nature and human, they describe the cosmos and spiritual life of the world, while anthropological aspects provide us with deep details about social, cultural and historical processes that shape the beliefs and were carried forward from one generation to another. Historically, many official reports and sources provided a stereotyped imagination about American Indians that gets challenged through modern scholarship that focuses on the plurality of indigenous and marginalised voices to understand the dynamic nature of their life and expressions. Through analysing theological and anthropological perspectives, one can able to develop a holistic understanding of American Indian. The article argues that the images of American Indian integrated within a broader historical framework for recognising the plurality of cultural diversity and spiritual knowledge that help us to understand the interactions between cultural and historical systems to shape their representation.

### **Theological Perspective**

1. Theoretically, we can see that American Indians have a deep connection with the natural environment, for them, it was holy and sacred and always connected with platonic significance. As we are talking about

indigenous culture, belief and religion and for Amerindians, they are all interrelated, which sees all living beings as interconnected with the natural world.

2. The second most important theoretical aspect was Animism. It was a common feature of the American Indian belief system that shows every element, whether living or inanimate objects, possesses spiritual power. For American Indian, plants and animals are both connected with this concept.
3. American Indians respect their ancestors and always try to follow in their footsteps. Apart from that, they want to pass on the ethics and morals of their ancestors to their descendants through storytelling and myths.

Let's understand through the historian's point of view, the most popular historian Tzvetan Todorov's book *The Conquest of America: Question of Other* which shows the idea that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the arrival of Europeans who adopted destructive attitudes towards native of the Old World. On one side, it provided an image of Amerindians as "savages" classified as violently different and inferior to Europeans and on the other side, they viewed natives as not only equal but also as similar. After understanding, Amerindians never gave that respect on their own terms; they were always classified as different but equal. This difference is very well seen in Todorov's Chapter 3, second part "Equality or Inequality" as seen corrupted in inequality and equality into identity.

The debate began to bloom as indicated by Todorov between Sepulveda and Las Casas at Valladolid in 1550, in which Sepulveda refused to publish his treatise on war against Indians. After all these theological conflicts and speeches, the judges were not able to take decision and got stuck on Las Casas' side. According to Sepulveda, hierarchy decides superiority/inferiority in human nature. As he has given many dialogues such as "Democrats Alters" and then gets stuck to the Aristotelian spirit. He described the war of conquest, not just against Indians but between savagery and endurance by showcasing Indians as barbarians and Spaniards as forbearance and described Indians as inferior to Spaniards, apart from that, a child inferior to an adult, like in that mental sense. After observing all arguments, we can come to find out 4 prepositions that:

1. Slave nature is already inherent in Indians.
2. Amerindians practice cannibalism
3. They are unknown to the Christian Religion
4. They are inhumane and easily condemn human sacrifice.

Considering humans as slaves, whether they were Indian or not, the Spaniards thought that it was our right to do this, seeing as how it was not acceptable. On the other side, Las Casas, who just falsified Sepulveda's claims by describing personal values as prevailing above social values. Even Todorov<sup>iii</sup> mentioned Las Casas as evidence in relation to declaring that Indians were never regarded as slaves. Importantly, even many official documents of royal houses prove his points, and the sovereign people also refused to sell Indian as slaves. Notably, evidence was Isabella's testimony, which claimed the same points. He gave the general expression that equality should be the basis of all human laws and policies. No one can deny that. He showed the resemblance between Indians and Christians as they have values of discipline and peace-loving people. He said just because they are different, it doesn't mean they are barbarians<sup>iv</sup>. In his arguments, what I found was that Las Casas never made religion an agenda and always acted as a theologian instead of a historian, and he was not even able to know more about the Spaniards, which is why his arguments were one-sided.

Another theologian, Anthony Pagdean, in his famous book *The Fall of Natural Man*, as in Chapter 1, *The problem of recognition*, emphasised various examples for identifying American Indian, this set some parameters, as in the end of the 15th century, that were physical characteristics, size of brain, humours, and behavior. According to him, European, non-Europeans and non-Christians classified category of advanced people's as barbarian (Turks) and this word emerged as crucial to identify American Indian and their culture to brief understanding we can analyze from Chapter 2 "The image of Barbarians" in this barbarian word depicted with different meaning like in 7th and 8th century it used to depict term "foreigner" and in 4th century used to show cultural inferiorities, then

for Hellenistic Greek this word used for who don't speak Greek. For Europeans, American Indians were defective members of society. He described the Normans as barbarians, and even Las Casas used this word for Spanish Colonists because of their behavior towards Indians.

Some of the earliest observers, like Oviedo,<sup>v</sup> who didn't know the meaning of that word but showed a resemblance between Indians and Ethiopians, were classified as savages. So he didn't know about Indian behavior, but he gave this statement because by locating Indians into a period of human prehistory, their ancestors were barbarians, so were they.

As one of the professional theologians, Francisco De Vitoria<sup>vi</sup> ( c. 1492 - 1596), didn't want to ask questions, all he wanted was to find a solution to a problem that troubled Oviedo, like why Indian not behave in a structured manner, not like European society. On a wider scale, barbarians were used for those who were backward and not progressed, simpler words like primitive ones that describe the earliest humans as by Aristotle, Plato<sup>vii</sup> and Cicero. Here is what is troubling most if all men were sons of Noah, so why is there a difference? After such doubts in the 16th century, a solution was found that was totally psychological that the natural Indian mind inherited in them that is called the "Aristotle Theory of Natural Slavery".

In his Chapter 3 *The theory of Natural Slavery*, he emphasized that Indian may be slaves by nature, and even Vitoria connected this to divine law in a discussion on Spanish occupation led by theologians considered as a junta. An Amerindian pressed for service on the island, being committed to convert to Christianity, as Vitoria said, war on Indian means war on the inhabitants of Seville. Isabelle and Ovando insisted on that point for treating them in the right manner, but by the 1520s, it emerged as the chief economic activity in Nicaragua<sup>viii</sup>. As Montesinos ' protest was not to make Indian slaves but to make them virtual slaves under encomienda, this was introduced by Columbus because they think, through a free workforce becoming available, they would come in direct contact with non-Christians daily. That's why in the last attempt, the Law of Burgos was introduced in 1513; otherwise, the Indians would flee to the jungle. The social demand led to describing Indian life as, according to Europeans, suicidal, etc. and for Spaniards, there was a lack of money, and even to imitate sufferings. After that, in the 20th century, Las Casas and other theologians described that law was formed not as punishment for Indians but to convert them to the Spanish crown's intentions.

So, from a theoretical point of view, the psychology-driven model emerged from the Spaniards clearly as an agency of encomienda<sup>ix</sup>.

According to Bernardo De Meso, the hidden version of Las Casas was not original in the real sense. But some parameters used by later writers for showing Amerindian nature:

1. Geographical and Climatic Fatalism<sup>x</sup>
2. Considering Indians as an inferior species.
3. Emphasising the Aristotelian theory of ethismos<sup>xi</sup>

It is a controversial issue whether Indians were both slaves or free agents, which shows the consistency of the natural world. Agreed with Mesa that men are God's creation, we can't neglect the fact that all are real men, their brain capacity may differ, but not their type. All those laws complicate the issue of Indian nature.

In Chapter 4, *From Nature Slaves to Nature Children*, through this, he converted ideas from the exploitation of the natural world to develop harmony with the natural world. In starting, humans saw themselves as slaves to nature, which is why they exploit for their own benefit. As civilisation progressed, it came to establish a delicate balance between nature and living beings. As Amerindian<sup>xii</sup> interest increased, Rubeus wrote in 1513 that Spaniards occupied very few islands, and by 1532, some Amerindian empires of Mexico and Peru were discovered. Some evidence proved that native Americans have a highly developed culture as by the conquest of Hernan Cortes<sup>xiii</sup> and Pizarro<sup>xiv</sup> they revealed it to Europeans. By the 1530s, we have seen development in the intellectual life of Spain, and the "School of Salamanca<sup>xv</sup> " emerged, which consisted of theology, logic and nature and Victoria played a very important role in this. The main concern was whether Amerindians were seen as similar to

Europeans, then it becomes a challenge because of unstructured behavior and always working against nature. The theory of law provides the Salamanca theologians' analysis of the problem of the Amerindians. As for Vitoria, reality shown in America and Indians became a basis of the nature relation problem between different groups of men, and he termed it the "republic of all the world". In 1537, Vitoria delivered "De Temperantia" which tells about the practice of cannibalism, and then in the same year, he delivered on "De Indis" for describing solutions about the image of barbarians that were unjust and unreal. Overall, the debate that happened at Valladolid between Salamanca theologians and non-academicians, or we can say between Las Casas and Sepulveda, in which theologians used anthropology to show habituation roles in creating human communities that will help us to understand the reality of Indians.

In his Chapter 5, *The Rhetorician and Theologian*, for classification, they used language, symbols and Sepulveda termed as homunculi that were considered of unnatural origin just to depict an image of a half-man, inducing some qualities like humanity, religion, etc., described as natural master. According to him, only the Spanish can increase the status of Indians by making them true Christians, and native people were much closer to animals like spiders, etc. This all shows sub-humanity in the Amerindian. So, as these first five chapters of Anthony Pagden give us a glimpse of theological perspectives, and overall, we can see his whole book and importantly their perspectives deeply influenced by Aristotelian thoughts and theories related to slavery and show in a magnificent manner how men were the important factor in making the Spanish approach towards policies of India. His orientation shows ideas of various philosophers of the 16th century in Europe about their ideas about white races that took the form of debates in Spanish universities, Rome and Paris.

According to Diego Von Vacano<sup>xvi</sup> in his Article named as *Las Casas and The Birth Of Race*, in which he attempts to show Las Casas as a protector of Indians. He showed that the concept of race came into the scenario from political thinking. Rhetorically, he constructed various racial categories and gave a radical understanding of Amerindian race and culture and connected race to modernity. He showed his deep influence in Latin America. As Las Casas *Apologetica Historia*<sup>xvii</sup>, which provides ethnographic information for theologians and is shown as the ultimate source of good things about Indians, for presenting in an incredible manner. According to him, at that time, thinkers created different prejudices that led to concern about man's nature and physic affinity with other men; for him, racial features were less important than the social tradition and customs that show great images of American Indian psychology.

Another article by Donald L. Ross, named Aristotle's *Ambivalence on Slavery*, gives two lines of approach about slavery: a consequentialist slavery in which it describes that if slavery provides benefit, it is great, but later it describes a non-consequentialist approach that is unjust even under the umbrella of "Nicomachean ethics<sup>xviii</sup>", which is based on Aristotle's thought. According to Claudia's article *Redefining Slavery*, the coming of racial slavery in the New World shows the emergence of modernity that came with violence, and the natives of the New World were not able to settle by the papacy as non-Christian societies, which Amerindians regarded as in the same category. As importantly, when slavery reached its peak, it showed evidence of replacing Indian slaves with Africans, treating them in an inappropriate manner. It redefined Columbus's discovery of the New World in which the concept of humans is based in terms of dominium that describes the right to property.

Another theologian, Linda Hogan, has shown some parameters about American Indian such as :

1. Connecting Amerindians with the natural world that is seen as sacred comes with spirituality.
2. A vast array of different cultural languages in American Indian tradition, and they connect with Christ's incarnation by describing it as a universal phenomenon.
3. The history of Europeans has been dominating and oppressive towards native Americans.
4. American Indian very much connected with ancestral lands and located and for them it was regarded as sacred sites.

Overall, Linda Hogan works on major themes related to American Indian like spirituality, historical events and indigenous issues, that provide theoretical reflection for explaining the experiences of American Indian. Another prominent theologian, Oren Lyon, provided perception in theoretical language and displayed deep information about various themes such as communal spirituality and the sacredness of nature and showcased social justice.

## **Anthropological Perspective:**

1. Through an anthropological perspective, we can study American Indian culture through the lens of religious practices, kinship systems, economic practices and social organisation.
2. The kinship system shapes religious practices that influence the transmission of religious knowledge.
3. Through this, we can easily understand the impact of Colonisation<sup>xix</sup> and assimilation of different cultures as seen through the arrival of Europeans.

Anthony Pagdean, in his book *The Fall of Natural Man*, gives anthropological perspectives about Amerindians in his Chapter 6, where he describes a heated argument between Las Casas and Sepulveda, with his reference to *Democrats Secundus*, which gives us three basic propositions:

1. Indians were culturally inferior to Spaniards, and they required tuition.
2. Because they committed unnatural crimes, they were not granted the right of dominion.
3. To make a valid charter of Spanish conquest was the "Bulls of Donation<sup>xx</sup>".

As Las Casas shows, the first 2 propositions are curses because they reflect in cultural terms that their birth behavior was real. To refute these points, another work came into the picture that was named "Argumentum Apologiae". Then another work by Las Casas, *Apologetica Historia*, which described ethnological information about American Indian because he wanted to present Indians' real determinism and not the so-called casualness. It was written after 1551 just to falsify Sepulveda's claims of describing Indians as "barbarians". Both works, "Argumentum Apologiae" and *Apologetica Historia*, came for the intention of public reading. But the first one had issues without knowledge, and *Apologetica Historia* survived only because it was a short vernacular version. This shows that before conquest, Indians fulfilled characteristics of true civil society, and it never appealed to Aristotle's psychology; in this, he included a small essay regarding primitive culture by showing comparable aspects in relation to Amerindians.

Even Las Casas dismantled Aristotle's "Theory of Natural Slavery" because he considered both cultural types as barbarians, which was something inappropriate. For Las Casas and even for Vitoria, if men were slaves, they were imperfect, so if Indians were barbarians, they were definitely slaves of nature's slaves. In this manner, he falsified his theory. After the 16th century, some observers, like Acosta,<sup>xxi</sup> also accepted his claim. Las Casas claimed in *Apologetica Historia* that before the conquest, Indian society was run by a government that acted like the father or head of the family, which was oppressive in form; that's why that form of government was regarded as barbarous. So if all this existed, then according to Aquinas, those who have knowledge represent the majority known as scientia, as those who lack it are known as moraines<sup>xxii</sup>. Indeed, Indians deprived of knowledge, who don't know about god, are considered non-Christians, so they were considered incapable in their eyes. But this was really unthinkable for understanding.

The fourth category of barbarians for Las Casas was those who were non-Christians, and he used the term city to show they were secular, rational, and had the ability to possess power to civilize, by showcasing the houses of the cities in Mexico and the Inca. So basically *Apologetica Historia* has proved that Indians have the full potential to civilize. The fifth category, as shown in Argumentum Apologiae, shows Las Cas's understanding of Indian people by putting people of Mexico, Inca<sup>xxiii</sup> and Florida natives in the second category of barbarians because they have a great social environment, have kings, judges and great cities, magnificent temples. But he described that Indians don't know how to write, but are good in mechanical arts; they show more resemblance to spiders and

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bees. That's why they are regarded as lacking in reasoning. In the end, Oviedo, Las Casas and Salamanca theologians agreed that Indians have full possession of being rational souls.

Overall, as *Democrates Secundus*<sup>xxiv</sup> and *Apologetica Historia* were not original works for sure, but yes, their argument was mainly concerned about the image of the American Indian. By the 18th century, what we understand, Las Casas used empirical data to show Aristotelian anthropology.

Todorov, in his book, described Cabeza De Vaca's views that some things do not happen, like Indian armies going against Spaniards or taking their Indian wife, etc. As they boarded the ship to return to Spain, they saw Indians as friendly, and they assured them that Christians would not harm anyone. Importantly, Vaca described that due to some situations not able to reach the destination where we Christians and Indians stayed together. As he emphasized the three terms "Christians", "Indians" and "we" who stand together. One of the bishops, Landa, wanted to know about Indians, so he gave harsh punishments to Indians and imprisoned them just to acquire information about them. Most importantly, the conversion to the Christian religion after knowing about Indian history, customs, etc., practicing the same thing. The most important figures were Sahagun<sup>xxv</sup>. We have observed an important difference between Las Casas and Sahagun: for Las Casas, all Indians were the same, possessing the same qualities, but on the other hand, Sahagun refers to individual qualities or by their names.

The most important figure was Diego Duran,<sup>xxvi</sup> who lived closely with the Indians, and he was influenced by colonialism. He described Indians as primitive, old and always wanting Spanish intervention. But for Duran, "others" need to assimilate with European culture to become civilized, a view also described by many European colonisers.

An article providing anthropological perspective that was written by Paul S. Vickery named as *Bartolome De Las Casas: Prophet of New World* described that Las Casas was sent as messenger from God to protect or for on behalf of Indians as in 1566, just two years before his death, he written *Last Will and Testament* and given idea that i am here to preach God and give message it not my responsibility that hearer will listen or not. Notably, in 1518, Las Casas gave a direct prophetic speech during that time. King Charles, who just wanted to settle priests and farmers in a given area, would exploit the Indians for his own benefit. Las Casas described genocide<sup>xxvii</sup> like how many Indians died at the hands of Spaniards, which was considered a sin for treating someone in an inhumane way. According to him, God will punish for this. Not only this, he was awarded so many titles, like working on behalf of the justice of Indians, a successful agitator, notably, Simon Bolivar described him as a great man who fought for humanity. Others are given titles like "Father of America" etc.

Overall, all things are revolving majorly around religion for increasing the population of Christians and to spread them across all parts by setting a false narrative about the American Indian. He properly fitted this term "Prophet" that has a literal meaning in the Greeks who speak for others. It is not wrong to describe him as secular and theoretical simultaneously. His main concern was encomienda institutions, as this system came to profit both Indians and Spaniards, but unfortunately, Spanish people started using it in an inappropriate manner and pushed Indians into the forced labour system.

Another article written by Daniel R. Brunstetter named as *Sepulveda, Las Casas and Other* that describes about modern politics for establishing relation between universal human rights and politics that ruined the system as Las Casas always in favor of Indians, through debate between Sepulveda and Las Casas a lot of aspects we got to know about American Indian so according to Daniel, both are not contested about Spanish constellations it's basically for Las Casas for extending and showing faith on other doesn't mean to tolerate everything that was wrong. He knows that equal human rights came with violence, but that was necessary so that one can exploit unnecessarily and will behave in a judicious manner. Some of the most important works that provide information about an anthropological perspective include Vine Deloria Jr.'s book, named *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* in 1969, another book, named *God Is Red: A Nature View of Religion* in 1972, which on a wide scale highlighted the history of American Indian and their indigenous practice.

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Another famous American writer, Dee Brown, published many works, among them *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, which provided information about how natives were treated during that time in history. For anything that showed European colonisers' exploitation of the American Indian, as shown by Francis Jennings book titled *The Invasion of America: Indian, Colonialism and Conquest* in 1975, which displayed complex interactions.

A notable work by Ella Cara Deloria has displayed ideas of American Indian culture and language that showed American anthropology in her works, such as *Dakota Texts* in 1932 and *Water Lily* in 1988. Importantly, the works of Ruth Benedict show information about various tribes, such as the Zuni, etc. Her famous book *Patterns of Culture* 1934 explored Amerindian diversity. All these anthropologists challenged the traditional narrative that was put up on indigenous peoples by providing ethnographic information about the complexities of Native Americans through their diversity.

## Conclusion

American Indian described by so many terms as used by various theologians and anthropologists. Some are regarded as barbarian, uncivilized, poor (as by Las Casas, who is always shown in favor of Indians). But I agree with some points raised during the debate that it's the pre-conquest era, where the evolution of technology and other techniques is not on a high level. But due to this just because they were poor, we can't consider them as barbarians. In that primitive environment, many historians shown evidence of having magnificent temples, great cities, described about hereditary system as they adapted through this that don't make them barbarous, after understanding all five categories of barbarian described by Las Casas, all I able to understand that American Indian connected to their ancestral grounds, feel more connected with animals and nature and they saw environmental sites as sacred and holy that doesn't differentiate them. According to me, we can't put a term that they don't have faith in god, for their ancestors were God figures, but as Sepulveda indicated about the tactics used by Spaniards to keep Indians close to Christians. Las Casas tried their best to safeguard the Indians; in that way, he was also regarded as Black Legend<sup>xxviii</sup>. All people are equal. We can't divide them by race, which shows that modernity leads to division in society. Even the book *The Fall of Natural Man* has been best for describing experiences and historical cultures of the American Indian by putting deep emphasis on colonisation and highlighting the struggle for preservation of culture done by them. This book portrayed a respectful image of Amerindians and supported their rights in a contemporary manner. As time goes by, evolution happens, and the changes in behavior comes along with it.

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Theological: literally means the study of religion, as already done by Francisco de Vitoria, etc.

<sup>ii</sup> Anthropological: study of what makes us human

<sup>iii</sup> Tzetvan Todorov described all these points in his famous book, "*Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*", first published in 1982, detailing Spanish colonials' contact with natives upon the discovery of the Americas.

<sup>iv</sup> Barbarians: At that time, it denoted a savage who was considered to be uncivilized and primitive.

<sup>v</sup> Oviedo: Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1478--1557) was one of the most important early chroniclers of the Spanish presence in the Americas.

<sup>vi</sup> Francisco de Vitoria, on the contrary, (see De Indis) sought to mitigate the harshness of the conquest by arguing that law – civil, natural and divine – should prevail everywhere.

<sup>vii</sup> Plato: taking his opinion forward, he was a Greek philosopher during the Classical Period

<sup>viii</sup> Nicaragua's Caribbean coast was first seen by Spanish explorers in 1508. It was not until 1522, however, that a formal military expedition, under Gil González Dávila, led to the Spanish conquest of Nicaraguan territory.

- <sup>ix</sup> The encomienda (Spanish pronunciation: [enˈkoˈmjenda] (listen) was a Spanish labour system that rewarded conquerors with the labour of conquered non-Christian peoples.
- <sup>x</sup> Fatalism
- <sup>xi</sup> McKinney said he is confident that Ethismos, which means addiction in modern Greek and a word for building good habits in ancient Greek.
- <sup>xii</sup> Amerindian: Blend of American + Indian, attested since about 1900
- <sup>xiii</sup> Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés (c. 1485-1547) is best known for conquering the Aztecs and claiming Mexico on behalf of Spain.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Pizarro: Francisco Pizarro was an explorer, soldier and conquistador best known for conquering the Incas and executing their leader, Atahuapla.
- <sup>xv</sup> the School of Salamanca refers to two or three generations of pupils of Francisco de Vitoria, who was, in effect, the founding father of the school in both the broad and narrow sense
- <sup>xvi</sup> American Writer
- <sup>xvii</sup> Its spirit and tone are theoretical, for its central purpose was to incorporate the Indian into the Aristotelian-Christian scheme of human nature on the highest level of philosophical abstraction.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Aristotle's best-known work on ethics: the science of the good for human life, that which is the goal or end at which all our actions aim
- <sup>xix</sup> the act of taking control of an area or a country that is not your own, especially using force, and sending people from your own country to live there
- <sup>xx</sup> The Bulls of Donation, also called the Alexandrine Bulls, and the Papal donations of 1493, are three papal bulls of Pope Alexander VI delivered in 1493, which granted overseas territories to Portugal and the Catholic Monarchs of Spain
- <sup>xxi</sup> José de Acosta, SJ, was a sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit missionary and naturalist in Latin America.
- <sup>xxii</sup> The people of Marinduque celebrate the Moraines Festival as a way of atonement for their sins
- <sup>xxiii</sup> The Inca people were a pastoral tribe in the Cusco area around the 12th century
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Democrates Secundus (1547) was written in answer to Bartolomé de Las Casas's great denunciation of Spanish atrocities in the New World
- <sup>xxv</sup> Sahagun: *Historia general de las cosas de nueva España* (General history of the things of New Spain) is an encyclopedic work about the people and culture of central Mexico compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún
- <sup>xxvi</sup> *History of the Indies of New Spain*, by Diego Duran
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Some scholars regard the colonisation of the Americas as genocide, since they argue it was largely achieved through exploitation.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Black Legend was apparently the product of an understandable revulsion against the monstrous crimes committed in the Americas by the Spanish conquistadors.

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