

Sahagún, an example of frustration: between  
enthusiasm and pessimism; or,  
Del *pecadillo filosófico* de tomar el Anáhuac por Nueva  
España.

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**Abstract.**

In the present text to approach several problematic that invite to the reflection, as it is to speak of the origin of the *philosophical sin* or *philosophical peccadillo* that the European States justified to dominate, to conquer or to invade other States that they considered inferior; later the internal conflict that lived fray Bernardino de Sahagún is exposed, as example of frustration; and finally, the current rejection of the Catholic Church against the "Doctrine of Discovery" by taking the side of the indigenous peoples is presented, thus opening a new space for the reinterpretation of more than five hundred years of the clash or clash between the New World (indigenous peoples of the West Indies) and the Old World or Europe.

**Key words:** Pecadillo. Bagatelle. Philosophical sin. Doctrine of discovery. Pessimism. Frustration.

**Resumen.**

En el presente texto se abordan varias problemáticas que invitan a la reflexión, como es el hablar del origen del *pecado filosófico* o *peccadillo filosófico* que los Estados europeos justificaron para dominar, conquistar o invadir a otros Estados que consideraban inferiores; después se expone el conflicto interno que vivió fray Bernardino de Sahagún, como ejemplo de frustración; y finalmente, se expone el rechazo actual de la Iglesia católica contra la “Doctrina del descubrimiento” al ponerse del lado de los pueblos indígenas, con lo que se abre un nuevo espacio para la reinterpretación de más de quinientos años del choque o encontronazo entre el nuevo mundo (pueblos indígenas de las indias occidentales) y el viejo mundo o Europa.

**Palabras clave:** Peccadillo. Bagatela. Pecado filosófico. Doctrina del descubrimiento. Pesimismo. Frustración.

**Introduction**

The following is a brief reflection on the *philosophical sin* or *peccadillo*, as Kant calls it, as a justification between powerful nations to conquer the so-called weak nation as a benefit for Humanity, that is the same thing that Spain did with the complicit silence of the rest of the European nations, which also intended to take a part for themselves, of the East and West Indies. But Spain in religious matters was not only divided by Muslims and Jews, but also between religious Christians, for example, some defended the monarchical authority and others were against it. The former would justify *philosophical sin*; the latter would denounce such sin, in their own way. To avoid this conflict between Christians, the crown will assume the desire to Christianize its new subjects following what had been done with Muslims and Jews in Iberian lands. With this ideal, they took missionaries to the lands known as New Spain, to defend their right before Europe, among them came Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who in his first twenty years wasted enthusiasm, but years later fell into a terrible pessimism, product of his evangelizing frustration upon seeing the decadence in which the new nascent society lived as a result of the fall of Tenochtitlán. The behaviors of the natives degenerated, mainly in drunkenness and, the Spaniards, came from their homeland; both had dubious moral and religious behaviors. Something had to be done, the missionaries questioned, and as a reaction to the same frustration, Sahagún began his work -which even today is still

praised-, to know and write what is known today as the *General History of the things of New Spain*; written at the request of his superior, Fray Francisco Toral, and that by saintly obedience he carried out:

[...] I was commanded by the holy obedience of my major prelate to write in the Mexican language whatever seemed to me to be useful for the doctrine, culture and maintenance of the Christianity of these natives of this New Spain, and for the help of the workers and ministers who teach them. Having received this commandment, I made in the Castilian language a minute or memory of all the matters that I had to deal with, which was what is written in the twelve books, and the apostille and canticles. (Sahagún, 2016, p.71).

### Development

The work is divided into three parts: on the notion of philosophical peccadillo or philosophical sin; Bernardino de Sahagún as an example of frustration, between enthusiasm and pessimism; and, finally, on the doctrine of discovery. This is followed by a conclusion. This will help, nowadays, to definitively dissociate oneself from the "doctrine of discovery" or concealment, which left aside, hid or underestimated knowledge, culture and existences of these people and throughout time and up to the present.

### §

Why talk about and from the *philosophical peccadillo* or *philosophical sin* in the present exposition on a frustrated fray Bernardino de Sahagún? The answer is twofold: First, to ask the community of researchers in novo-Hispanic studies and pre-Columbian studies to become aware of the meaning and implications of this "Pecadillo" as an obstacle to generate new questions and paths for research; and, second, to ask the teachers of philosophy, especially those who teach courses in Mexican philosophy, history of philosophy in Mexico, novo-Hispanic philosophy, pre-Columbian and contemporary philosophy of native peoples, philosophy of liberation, Latin American philosophy, and their equivalents, to become aware of what this "*peccadillo*" means and implies in the classrooms of philosophical studies in

Mexico, Latin America and the Caribbean, as an obstacle to reformulate the traditional questions that deal with the philosophers of this continent and to give another turn to those courses, as well as to their own interpretations, abandoning the old habit of situating themselves from the Eurocentric perspective of Western Europe.<sup>1</sup>

We have been very careless, even distracted; therefore we take up Kant again in the bilingual German-Spanish version of *Towards Perpetual Peace* in which the terms of "philosophical peccadillo", "philosophical sin" or rather "peccatum philosophicum" [and] "peccatillum, bagatelle" (Kant, 2018, p.54) and from which we present two translations of what he understands by those terms: 1. In the bilingual version Leyva translates it as follows: "to consider the devouring of a *small* state as easily excusable trifle if by it a much *larger* state becomes the supposedly largest and best in the world" (Kant 2018, P. 54); and, 2. Larroyo's translation: "the "philosophical sin", or peccadillo of trifling, which consists in considering as trifling easily small and weak for the greater good of Humanity" (Kant, 2018. p.54). What is common to both is that a larger State absorbs, dominates or subdues a State considered small, minor or weak; for the benefit of the world, of humanity. Like what Ukraine is experiencing today in the negotiations of the United States -Trump- with Russia, in which it first asks it to renounce certain territories in favor of Russia in order to conclude peace agreements, disadvantageous to a minor State. This is the great and new *philosophical peccadillo* of this quarter of a century that we are living and that years ago did so much damage and has done in these Mexican lands -as well as in other regions of the world- by imitating that way of philosophizing; that *peccadillo*.

Not to forget that the "Europeanization" of philosophy has done much harm in these parts by rejecting the deep native roots that still refuse to incorporate philosophizing in these lands, considering it unworthy of... On the other hand, today, there are German philosophers who have worked on the philosophy of India in the last few years and they say that the great obstacle for the study of this philosophy to spread has to do with the Europeanization of the

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<sup>1</sup> To stop referring to it as a periphery of Western Europe does not necessarily mean to stop knowing or mentioning authors from that zone, but rather to refer to modes of philosophizing beyond traditional servitude.

philosophy.<sup>2</sup> Against this Europeanization of philosophy, we can start from Copleston in *Philosophies and Cultures* (1984) and up to Baggini in *How the World Thinks* (2020) in search of changing this perspective of the traditional European philosophizing in our lands, so that other ways of philosophizing developed here and in other regions of the planet are incorporated and recognized. The present exhibition will take place within the history of philosophy with a Mexican perspective that is a continuation of the reflections made in the last five years around the 500 years of the arrival of Cortés' army (1519) and the fall of the city of Tenochtitlán (1521), as an example of the *philosophical sin* that European nations justified to conquer other nations under the pretext of doing good to humanity. It is not forgotten and what is mentioned here is taken up again, at another time: "After many days and weeks of contemplation, meditation and reflection, by accident I came into my hands a print of the sixteenth century that I began to devour as a delicacy of the gods and that even its digestion does not let me sleep and I do not think it will let me for the rest of my life". (Quintana, 2019, p. 35). But others, and others, and others, and others more that still do not let me sleep, came by chance or coincidence to that print, are retaken, read, investigated, imagined, trying to reproduce in the imagination and mind what is narrated, exposed, revealed, and that forces to make a radical turn, as a Copernican turn, to the traditional explanations or that are still dogmatically defended about the alleged discovery - discovery - and conquest of the antipodean lands or new world.

Thus, in these reflections, *philosophical sin* and *peccadillo* will be used in the same Kantian sense, sin or justification that makes us continue to think that to speak and inquire about matters of conquests that are not considered, even today, by those who feel themselves philosophers, as a very important matter for philosophical reflections as to be included in the same histories of philosophy. There are many other philosophical sins or peccadillos that cause blindness in researchers and teachers in philosophy, in different regions of the planet, that with their actions put a blindfold to the diverse generations of

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<sup>2</sup> In another space the issue of the Europeanization of philosophy and its damage in Mexico today will be developed in more detail.

students of philosophy that come with open eyes, but that are closed, sold, with the pretext that these are not philosophical matters nor have any value to philosophize about them. In 2021, remembering the fall of Tenochtitlan, it was a good opportunity to question that "peccadillo" that we now name as a "gigantic sin" or "pecadillotote" that we must banish from our philosophical classrooms and open the doors and windows not only to defend ourselves from the Covid-19, but to throw away the blindfolds that we had on our eyes to talk about topics that for a long time were excused under the pretext that it was the best for Humanity.

To Spain, the rest of the European nations omitted that "peccadillo" because they also wanted to commit their own "peccadillos", that is, they felt terrible cravings for conquests of territories in the East and West Indies, which, by the way, they justified, to take Humanity to those conquered. That is what happened in the lands of the meso-Anahuac, that if what O'Gorman said is true: "it seems that the name New Spain originated in a remark of one of those who took part in the expedition headed by Juan de Grijalva (1511). Cortes adopted the name, which received official sanction" (2014, p. 2), these lands were named by the "sinners" (conquistadors) as New Spain, 10 years before the fall of the city of Tenochtitlan, that is, in 1511. With this it is necessary that the "myth of the adventurer Cortés" falls, because the conquest was already being planned a long time in advance (then...). And if the words that Angel Maria Garibay translates from Sahagun's Nahuatl text are true: "Hear it: I have known, it has reached my ear, that dizque those Mexicans are very strong, that they are very warlike, that they are very tremendous" (2016, p. 742), he already had much prior information before his arrival in these lands; we believe it was planned long before his 1519 arrival in Tenochtitlán. And Sahagún continues: "Quiero ver, quiero admirar: ha corrido fama en Castilla de que dizque sois muy fuertes, muy gente de guerra" (2016, p. 743). Perhaps that is why he wanted to go all the way to Tenochtitlán, to see and admire?

In 2021, in Spain, the defenders of Hernán Cortés and the Spanish crown and, above all, conservative and extreme right-wing groups have railed against the ways in which this historical moment is interpreted as a violent Spanish action, and which is usually interpreted

from two perspectives from the 16th century: 1. from the Spanish point of view, the invasion, conquest and triumph of Cortés on behalf of the king of Spain; and, 2. from the fall of Tenochtitlán, the defeat of the Mexica empire by the Spanish invader. The former say that Cortés liberated the indigenous peoples from the Mexica yoke; we will address this issue at another time and place. Let this current lawsuit not distract us from reflecting from the *philosophical peccadillo*. Do not forget that these conservative groups defend and justify, without naming the Kantian idea of the philosophical *peccadillo*; that unconsciously it is still seen as easily justifiable smallness that a strong and powerful State conquers another, small and weak, for the greater good of humanity; and of the conqueror, of course. That *peccadillo* made missionaries arrive with good intentions to what they called New Spain, among them the Franciscan Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, and that, according to us, comes with much enthusiasm helped to destroy elements of the subdued culture, and was very happy for the results obtained in the short time of initiating the evangelization; but years later he will be frustrated -according to us-, so what we know as his *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* includes in its writing that frustration and shame and, not so much, a reevaluation and rescue of the Indian past, at the beginning of that work, but in later years, when he sees the failure and the need to recover the best of the ancient culture.

### §

Now it corresponds to present an example of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, as an example of his frustration, between enthusiasm and pessimism; or, of the "peccadillo" generated by taking the Anahuac as the New Spain. In his first years he attacks and destroys everything he considers that provokes offense to God and after living with them longer, he will praise those inhabitants saying that they are skilled to learn and use geometry, grammar, logic, astrology and theology; that they learn and teach it as masters. But austerity, violence and continuous occupations against them, are considered as ten other plagues that affect the inhabitants of Anahuac, in the manner of the Egyptians, and that briefly are, according to Motolinia (2014, pp. 15-21): 1. smallpox; 2. the death of many in the conquest of New Spain; 3. the great

famine after the taking of Mexico City; 4. The great tributes and services that the Indians rendered; 6. The gold mines; 7. The building of the great City of Mexico; 8. The slaves that were made; 9. The service of the mines; 10.

These plagues were like a kind of apocalypse that the inhabitants of these lands suffered and lived through; the lives of these people began to change, we would say radically, if we pay attention to the following words of Sahagún:

[...] this ceased with the coming of the Spaniards, and because they overthrew and overthrew all the customs and ways of ruling that these natives had, and wanted to reduce them to the Spanish way of living, both in divine and human things, having understood that they were idolaters and barbarians, they lost all the rule they had. (2016, p. 562.)

Motolinia, also a Franciscan, expresses it dramatically as follows: "The land was so destroyed by the aforementioned revolts and plagues that many houses were left completely barren, and there was no house where there was no room for pain and weeping, which lasted for many years" (Motolinia, 2014, p. 23). The words of Fray Toribio Motolinia hit the sore point of the memory of the pain and weeping of that time, to which must be added the statement expressed above, years after evangelizing in these lands made by Sahagun, as a product of his frustration, that is, he questions what they -the missionaries- and the Spanish crown did against the inhabitants of Anahuac, wanting to **reduce them to the way of life of Spain**,<sup>3</sup> including the Holy Office, vices and other habits and customs. This action of forcing them to live in the manner of Spain is another "sin or philosophical peccadillo" even wanting, in good faith, the best good for the conquered in the name of Humanity and divinity. The destructive zeal driven by the religious zeal of conquerors and missionaries -among them the first Sahagún-, contributed to the destruction of the indigenous past in books, sculptures, temples, relocation of cities, among other elements, when seeking to destroy all those customs and pagan way of governing; as a consequence, the moral and political culture of

<sup>3</sup> The underlining and bold is ours; it is to highlight the importance of the issue.

the original peoples that had in their organization was lost. Sahagún, in his period of enthusiasm, recognizes that it was necessary to destroy all the idolatrous things and customs of that republic:

It was necessary to destroy all idolatrous things, and all idolatrous buildings, and even the customs of the republic that were mixed with rites of idolatry and accompanied with idolatrous ceremonies, which were in all the customs that the republic had, and for this reason it was necessary to disrupt everything and put them in another way of police, which had no trace of idolatrous things. (Sahagún, 2016, pp. 562-563).

But years later, already frustrated, he falls into -strong- pessimism when he affirms:

But seeing now that this way of policing breeds very vicious people, of very bad inclinations and very bad deeds, which makes them hateful to God and men, and even causes them great illnesses and short lives, it will be necessary to remedy (Sahagún, 2016, p. 563).

In other words, this attempt to make the inhabitants of the Anahuac live in the Spanish way failed. Sahagún and many other missionaries are frustrated, to the extent of saying, this Franciscan who does not marvel at the native behavior:

[...] because the Spaniards who inhabit it, and much more those who are born in it, take on (*sic*) these bad inclinations; what they are born in it, very much like the Indians, in appearance they seem Spanish and in conditions they are not; if they do not have much warning, a few years after their arrival they become others; and this I think is done by the climate, or the constellations of the earth. (Sahagún, 2016. p. 563).

Not to forget that among the same religious there were those who changed their behavior and will, they arrived with good will, which declined and transformed, so they also enter into the justification of the change of their behavior by the influence of the constellations - stars

- or the climate of this land led to misconduct. For that reason, next, we will present in cascade more data that allow to identify the pessimism and frustration of Sahagún, and that it is necessary to apply to Franciscans and also to other religious orders -with exceptions-, because they feel that after so many years of effort they see setbacks in their work:

1. Sahagún recognizes that neither those who are educated in the schools can be subdued nor do they learn what they are taught because their new methods are not like what was used before, for example:

We too can no longer take hold with those who were believed in the schools, because as they do not have that fear and subjection that they formerly had, nor do we raise them with that rigor and austerity that they were raised in the time of their idolatry, they are not subjected nor taught, nor do they take what they are taught, as if they were in that former company of the old ancients. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 564)

2. The effort for the teaching of childhood is relaxing, Sahagún recognizes, because there is no one to teach reading, writing, singing or music:

But as these exercises have been relaxing little by little and among them there is almost no one who has pride and industry to teach these things by himself, if we ourselves do not understand them, there is no one in the schools of our homes who teaches reading and writing, or singing, or the other things of music, almost everything is falling. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 564).

3. Sahagún could say, we were deceived or we can say that the religious themselves were self-deceived, did not want to see, or did not understand, until later that, although they accepted the baptism and became servants of God, they did not abandon their customs. Sahagún recognizes that this conversion was very false and recognizes that it is impossible to remedy what he perceives:

[...But it was short-lived, because they made the more religious understand that all idolatry, with all its ceremonies and rites, was already forgotten and abandoned, that there was no reason to have this recatamiento, since all were baptized and servants of the true God; and this was very false, as we have seen so clearly here, that even now there are still many leftovers of idolatry and drunkenness, and many bad habits,

which would have been much remedied if that business went forward as it began. And if it was so in a few parts, outside of all, and persevered until now, it is almost impossible to remedy. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 565).

4. This Franciscan, after so many years of evangelizing effort, recognizes the difficulty and the great fatigue caused to him and to the rest of the missionaries, the little that the native peoples have appropriated the teachings of Christianity:

[...] there has been so much difficulty in putting them on the right path from them, that even now there are very few who go the right way to receive these sacraments, which gives us great fatigue, and much knowledge of how little they have profited in Christianity. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 565)

5. For this religious after so much missionary fatigue these people do what they want, he says that not all, but many make feasts and ancient songs that he does not understand, and without respecting their moral and religious authority:

In this way they sing when they want and get drunk when they want, and make their parties as they want, and they sing the ancient songs that they used in the time of their idolatry, not all but many, and no one understands what they say because they are very closed songs. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 566)

6. This friar sees how everything gets worse every day, and his frustration is that it cannot be controlled or remedied in spite of so many years of missionary work, he recognizes that the missionaries cannot remedy it, he recognizes his impotence:

This goes forward, every day it gets worse, and there is no one who tries to remedy it, because it is understood only by a few and they dare not say; the things of drunkenness get worse every day, and the punishments that are made are not so that the business is remedied, but rather so that it gets worse. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 566)

7. Sahagún is sincere, they do not work with the same passion, dedication, dedication or discipline the same friars, because of them all that was achieved was lost, given to the ground:

Also by carelessness of the friars who did not cure to look at how things were going until everything gave on earth. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 568).

8. About the Holy Cross of the College of Tlatelolco, the young people of the college are not easy to govern, to accept the authority of the friars and do not learn easily and the Franciscans get tired of putting their effort in education:

I am very fearful that this will be completely lost, one because they are heavy to govern and not very inclined to learn, the other because the friars get tired of putting with them the work they need to carry them forward, the other, because there is no one who favors them, not even with just a tomín. ( Sahagún, 2016, p. 568)

9. For the epidemic of 1576, Sahagún (2016) said that almost no one went to school because of death or illness (p. 568), but there was another epidemic before (1545) with great mortality that affected the same evangelizing process:

[...] there was a very great mortality and pestilence in New Spain, and a great amount of blood came out of the mouths of the men and women, like water from the mouths of the natural men and women, so that an infinite number of people died and died. And because in every house there was no one to take care of the sick, many died of hunger. And every day, in every, in every town, many dead were buried. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 433).

10. Returning to the epidemic of 1576 and thinking about the College of Tlatelolco, Sahagún, reflects saying that medicine could have been taught, which he recognizes as a deficiency of Franciscan vision and that in this new plague there is no one to help the poor Indians for lack of doctors, as he sees with his eyes the mortality in Mexico City:

And if he had had attention and warning that these Indians had been instructed in Grammar, Logic and Natural Philosophy, and Medicine, they could have succored (a) many of those who have died, because in this city of Mexico we see with our eyes, that those who come to bleed and purge them as it is convenient, with time they heal, and the rest die; and as the Spanish doctors and bleeders, who know how to do them, are few, they help few, and they are almost tired and sick, and the bleeders and doctors are dead, and there is no longer anyone who can even come, or help the

poor Indians, and so they die because they have no remedy or help. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 433)

11. Sahagún opposes the Indian devotion to Our Lady -Virgin- of Guadalupe in Tepeyac because there Tonantzin was worshipped, whom they called our mother, because she comes from far away to leave offerings; he says that the said devotion is suspicious -we will explain this matter in detail at another time because of its relevance- because there are more churches dedicated to the Virgin and they do not go to them. He considers that in the new devotion they hide their old religious beliefs:

Near the mountains there are three or four places where they used to make very solemn sacrifices, and they came to them from very distant lands. One of these is here in Mexico, where there is a small hill called *Tepeacac*, which the Spaniards call *Tepeaquilla*, and now it is called Our Lady of Guadalupe. In this place they had a temple dedicated to the mother of the gods, whom they called *Tonantzin*, which means *Our Mother*; there they made many sacrifices in honor of this goddess, and they came to them from very distant lands, from more than twenty leagues, from all these regions of Mexico, and they brought many offerings; Men and women, and young men and women came to these festivities; there was a great concourse of their people on these days, and they all said let us go to the feast of *Tonantzin*; and now that the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, also called *Tonantzin*, has been built there, we are going to the feast of *Tonantzin*. Now that the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, also called *Tonantzin*, has been built there, it was taken from the Preachers who call Our Lady the Mother of God *Tonantzin*. From where this foundation of this *Tonantzin* was born is not known for sure, but we know for sure that the word means from its first imposition to that ancient *Tonantzin*, and it is something that should remedy because the very name of the Mother of God Our Lady is not *Tonantzin*, but *God and Nantzin*; this seems to be a satanic invention, to alleviate the idolatry under the error of this name *Tonantzin*, and now comes to visit this *Tonantzin* from far away, as far away as before, which devotion is also suspicious, because everywhere there are many churches of Our Lady, and they do not go to

them, and come from distant lands to this *Tonantzin*, as formerly. (Sahagún, 2016, pp. 681-682)

12. Sahagún, in addition to suspecting the native faith towards the Virgin of Guadalupe, does so with other beliefs of saints, as he considers that behind these devotions are their ancient religious beliefs, as false converts, which causes frustration to his evangelizing work:

I well believe that there are many other places in these Indies, where reverence and offerings to idols are made in disguise of the feasts that the Church celebrates to God and his Saints, which would be well investigated so that the poor people would be disabused of the deception they now suffer. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 683).

13. Sahagún, like other Franciscans, looks with optimism and enthusiasm to go as missionaries to China, which is more hopeful than that achieved in the lands of New Spain or Peru, since Christian teaching here has only been passing through; which reflects the great frustration and disappointment that he has in his work in these lands:

Paréceme que ya nuestro Señor Dios abre camino para la Fe Católica entre en los Reinos de China, donde hay gente habilísima, de gran policía y de gran saber; como la Iglesia entre en aquellos Reinos, y se plante se plante en ellos la Fe Católica, creo durará por muchos años en aquella mansión, porque por las Islas, y por esta Nueva España, y el Perú no ha hecho más de pasar de camino, y aun hacer camino para poder conversar con aquellas gentes de las partes de la China. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 685)

14. Here we present another frustration and regret of Sahagún for the enormous evangelizing effort he put in, as well as of the rest of the religious orders, since he sees in New Spain, peaceful, sterile land and difficult to cultivate in the Catholic faith, from which little fruit is extracted or where what is planted dries up:

The Church departed from Palestine, already in Palestine live, reign and lord infidels; from there she went to Asia, in which there are now nothing but Turks and Moors; she went also to Africa, where there are now no Christians; she went to Germany, where there are now nothing but heretics; she went to Europe, where in

the greater part of it the Church is not obeyed. Where it has now its seat more quietly is in Italy and Spain, from whence passing the Sea Ocean it has come to these parts of West India, where there were diversities of people and languages, of which already many have ended, and those that remain are on their way to end; the most populous and most well-stopped than all these West Indies has been and is this New Spain, and that which now most prevails and has luster is Mexico, and its district, where the Catholic Church is stationed and peaceful. But as far as the Catholic Faith is concerned, it has barren land and very laborious to cultivate, where the Catholic Faith has very few roots, and with much labor very little fruit is made and with little occasion what has been planted and cultivated dries up. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 683)

15. In more on the epidemic of 1576, Sahagún mentions that the religious of the various orders, besides the Franciscans, are getting tired and sick, so that they cannot attend to so many sick, that many priests are missing to attend to them, after two months of tireless labor:

[.....] many Spaniards went many days to the houses of the Indians giving them food, and bleeders bleeding them, and doctors curing them, and clergymen and religious, as well of San Francisco, as of Santo Domingo, as of San Agustín, as of the Theatines, went to their houses to confess and console them, and this lasted for two months, and then everything ceased, because some got tired, others got sick, others were busy with their farms; Now many of the aforementioned priests, who used to help and no longer do so, are missing.<sup>4</sup> In this town of *Tlatilulco*, the religious of San Francisco used to go around their houses confessing and consoling them, and giving them bread from Castile to eat, bought from their own alms; and everything is now running out, because bread is very expensive, and there can no longer be any; and the religious are getting sick and tired, for which there is great tribulation and affliction. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 684).

<sup>4</sup> The indigenous depopulation was a way for the civil and religious Spaniards to legally appropriate their lands, so it does not rule out the idea of abandoning them to their fate, to their death, for the agandalle. We will talk about it some other time.

All the above references, in the voice of Bernardino de Sahagún express frustration and pessimism, he recognizes that his effective actions at the beginning, after many years it seems they are getting lost, he recognizes that the situation is worsening so he and his community religious, begin to reflect deeply to know what is happening and what can be done to see how their work is crumbling, everything is giving to the ground. He also recognizes the tiredness and carelessness of the friars in their evangelizing work, which together with the bad Spanish behavior in their eagerness to impose their customs that were alien to the indigenous people, led to the failure of their work. The above, accelerated that the people of the natives did not obey; they got drunk; to sing whatever they wanted; and, to return to the old customs, with the appearance of worshiping the Christian God and the saints supposed their new faith, worshiping their old deities. After so many years of work in the education in the Catholic faith, the religious discovered that it had few roots and, in addition, the epidemics served to show a shortage of priests willing to help. These and other issues plagued the interior of Sahagún for many years.

Once again, the terrible frustration born of the pessimism of the Spaniards' own conduct is highlighted, despite Sahagún justifying the conduct of the Spaniards who had recently arrived in Anáhuac, blaming the climate or the constellations, as mentioned above. It is not known if he lived this frustration with humility, but we believe that he did live it with terrible frustration after the failure of wanting to impose by force the ways of life of Spain, including the experiences of Christianity as they did in those lands. This pessimistic frustration of failure, of not making the project of the Spanish crown work, allows us to identify the consequences of the Spanish "peccadillo"; of the pride of the conqueror who does not recognize or accept his "philosophical sin", which will lead the missionaries themselves, among them Sahagún, to recognize that what they were doing was useless and the question now is: What now? Here we maintain that Sahagún's much praised work of gathering information and recording it is not born out of his eagerness to know the cultures of the Anahuac, but is born out of that sincere frustration that leads him to affirm and recognize:

But **it is a great shame for us**<sup>5</sup> that the natural Indians, sane and wise ancients, knew how to remedy the damage that this land imprints on those who live in it, obviating natural things with contrary exercises; and we go to the water under our bad inclinations; and true; a people is raised, both Spanish and Indian, which is intolerable to rule and very heavy to save: fathers and mothers cannot take hold with their sons and daughters to separate them from the vices and sensualities that this land breeds. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 563)

This reference expresses all of Sahagún's painful feelings, his painful humility in recognizing that his work, as well as his missionary and Spanish civilizing work, had failed on the part of the Church and the Monarchy. Here is the true defeat of the *philosophical peccadillo*, of arrogant naivety, disguised as superiority. The representatives of the true God, of the Church, of the Pope, as well as of the monarchy have failed; for this reason we must recognize the emotional, existential and spiritual strength of Sahagún, as a religious and as a person, when he expresses: ***It is a great shame of ours***. With such frustration, pessimism -and now, shame- of Sahagún; we oppose Ángel María Garibay who in his general proem to the work of Bernardino de Sahagún, argues: "Of his soul these writings bear witness, in which his ardent charity towards the Indians, his boundless enthusiasm for the things of antiquity and his curious and insatiable itch to know everything and to explain everything is clear" (in Sahagún, 2016, p. 11), because we did not see in his work that boundless enthusiasm for things of antiquity, as María Garibay believes and maintains. Sahagún was able to help the natives of those lands, but not from that ardent charity mentioned by Garibay, but rather, from the great shame (humility) that he acquired throughout his life in those lands. We do not question Sahagún's charity towards the Indians, but rather we highlight, from the testimony of his own soul, the great shame he felt for the failure of his missionary work and for the destruction of the Indian past in which he also participated at the time. That failure leads him to see more hope for the propagation of Catholicism in China than in these lands of New

<sup>5</sup> The bold letters are ours to highlight Sahagún's feelings.

Spain and other regions of the New World. From that great shame we must ask ourselves if it was enough to question the military conquest, to justify it or not. Here enters the internal dilemma of the man Sahagún, before being a priest and/or subject of the crown, as many missionaries did, although not all of them questioned harshly that warlike action. So, if the following words of Sahagún are real, then he justified the actions of Hernán Cortés as a divine action, justifying what would later become the *doctrine of the conquest* - to be questioned below:

[...] it pleased our God that the most valiant captain D. Hernando Cortés, in whose presence he was present, made his way and overthrew the wall with which this infidelity was closed and walled in. Hernando Cortés, in whose presence and by whose means God our Lord worked many miracles in the conquest of this land, where the door was opened for the preachers of the Holy Gospel to enter and preach the Catholic faith to these miserable people, who so long ago were subject to the servitude of so many idolatrous rites. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 698).

This unexpected or not very well known praise to H. Cortés, as well as the divine action in favor of the *conquest* through various miracles, can be interpreted in Sahagún -which should not be cause to demerit all his work of inquiry into the culture of the ancient Mexicans-, as well as the justification they made of the war against the Moors as a kind of holy war against the natives, because God was on the side of the conqueror, on the side of the true religion. Among those miracles, he considered the plague -which he would later interpret differently, lamenting the deaths it caused in New Spain- that occurred in the process of Cortés' conquest, since without that divine action they would not have won the war, as he refers to it:

Likewise, he miraculously delivered him from a battle, where he and all his people were on the verge of being lost. Miraculously our Lord God sent a great pestilence over all the Indians of this New Spain, in punishment for the war they had made against his Christians, sent by him to make this journey. Miraculously he sent him in favor to return to the conquest after having been destroyed by his enemies,

in the pursuit of which he miraculously delivered him many times from the hands of the enemy who had him on the point of killing him.

Finally, having come out with the victory, he did as a most Christian man and most faithful knight of the king, in which he then offered the price of his labors to his king emperor D. Carlos V, and wrote to the Supreme Pontiff to send preachers of the holy Gospel for the conversion of this Indian people; which our Lord God highly intended in having started this business, as is contained in this abbreviated history that follows. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 698).

For his research work history he mentions: "which was written at a time when those who were alive were found in the same conquest, and they gave this account, and principal people and of good judgment, and that it is certain that they told the whole truth" (Sahagún, 2016, p. 699). Here we must question that if we give the word "conquest"<sup>6</sup> a military sense, then Sahagún would justify the destruction of the natives, an action that he harshly criticized; although he possibly conceived it, not in the military sense, but as a great divine feat, in the sense that God performed the prodigy of liberating these people from idolatry by bringing them the true religion. We have already shown the praise he gave to H- Cortés, for the contribution he made in bringing the gospel to those lands and that, in the great epidemic, God worked in favor of the conquerors. So how to understand this Franciscan, his words can help us better:

It has also been known for very certain, that Ntro. Lord God (on purpose) has had this half part of the world hidden until our times, that by his divine ordination he has had the good will to manifest it to the Roman Catholic Church, not with the purpose that its natives be destroyed and tyrannized, but with the purpose that they be enlightened from the darkness of idolatry in which they have lived, and be introduced into the Catholic Church, and informed in the Christian religion, and to

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<sup>6</sup> In another text and at another time we will expose the multiple meanings of such a problematic word when used in the most dramatic moments that took place between indigenous people and Spaniards in what is Mexico, but it should be extended to other dramatic situations in other regions of the past and present world.

reach the kingdom of heaven, dying in the faith of true Christians. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 697)

Our friar, with the above words, we see that he did not justify the warlike violence against the natives, he did not want or accept their destruction and tyrannical treatment against them, and that it was what he saw all the time. That is why he sided with Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and the Indian defenders, of whom he would later become a supporter. So does this great shame include or not the praises to the conquest of Cortes? To Hernan Cortes? Did he repent or not, of his words or how to interpret them since he says that God worked on the side of the conqueror by sending an epidemic in the middle of the war of conquest? Did God reveal this New World for its destruction or for its evangelization? Was it God's will that with these pandemics all the natives died or not? What is God's will, that the natives be violated and enslaved or that they be free? What does God say about the failure to convert the natives to the Spanish way of life? What does God say about rescuing the wisdom of the ancient sages to save New Spain, is it heresy or not? Is recognizing the wisdom of the ancient Mexicans against the Holy Scriptures and against God or not? Does God want the death of the sinner or that they convert? Does God want the death of the natives or that they convert? And is God on the side of the natives and not on the side of the conquerors? If God is a God of liberation like the Jewish people enslaved in Egypt, does God not want the same liberation for the natives: does He want them to be free?

The great shame of Sahagún, was deep inside him, remembering all his life in these lands, his friends and other brothers of the order, remembering words that now, in this "his" existential moment, were big stones tied to his neck, by the scandal of words that he knew of the *Colloquy between Franciscans and Aztec sages*, from the ancient sages, who now recognized the prophetic force of those words as mentioned in *Testimonies, letters and indigenous manifestos. From the conquest to the beginning of the 20th century* (1992): "And with admiration we have heard the words of the Lord of the world who for our love has sent you here, and you have also brought us the book of the heavenly and divine words" (p. 29).

(p. 29). And the warning they gave of the danger that would occur if they destroyed their ancient laws and customs, of the great folly that now shamed and frustrated Sahagún. In the same *Testimonios, cartas y manifiestos indígenas. From the conquest to the beginning of the 20th century* (1992) it is mentioned:

It would be a thing of great folly and lightness to destroy the very ancient laws and customs left by the first settlers of this land, who were the Chichimecas, the Tulanos, the de Colhúa, the Tepanecas, in the worship, faith and service of the aforementioned, in which we were born and raised. And to these we are accustomed and we have them imprinted in our hearts... This is our determination, do what you will. What has been said suffices in answer to and contradiction of what you have said. We have nothing more to say gentlemen (p. 30).

In effect, the actions of the missionaries in destroying temples, royal houses, gods, customs and other elements were a great blunder; for years later these indigenous words were fulfilled, which helped to demonstrate the failure of wanting to make them the Spanish way, by imposing the Spanish way of life on them. Sahagún recognizes that by wanting to end idolatry, they ended with the good old customs, so they had to take up again the defense and recovery of the ancient sages, although free of idolatry, as he saw coming in the voice of indigenous and brothers of order, especially his friend Fray Alonso de Molina, who was exposed before the same holy office for his texts and his rebellion against the Spanish authorities by asking the Indians not to obey other religious and civil authorities, his rebellion becomes open and challenging; and which Sahagún knew first hand, and which is referred to by Ascensión Hernández de León Portilla, in Molina:

The witnesses accuse the guardian (who was Molina) and the friars of taking justice into their own hands, going outside the law and affirm that the "Indians had subtracted themselves from the obedience and jurisdiction of the provisor and that if provisor appeared in the convent, the guardian and said friars expelled them and preached that they should not obey them." (2018, p. 18)

The confrontation becomes more open after that experience of great shame that he felt inside, when he resumes his work, which we now know as the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* by stating:

All nations, however barbarous and lowly they may have been, have set their eyes on the wise and powerful in persuasion, and on men eminent in moral virtues, and on those skilled and valiant in the exercises of war, and more on those of their own generation than on those of others. There are so many examples of these among the Greeks and Latins, Spaniards, French and Italians, that the books are full of this subject.

This same thing was used in this Indian nation, and more principally among the Mexicans, among whom wise rhetoricians, and virtuous, and strenuous, were held in much esteem; and of these they chose for pontiffs, for lords and chiefs and captains, however lowly they might be. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 285).

After launching a hard and strong sentence so that they do not believe other authors who write against the ancient sages, he declares himself the great interpreter of the ancient sages, trying to repair the damage done and made by the missionaries, thus:

In this book it will be seen very clearly that what some emulators have affirmed, that all that is written in these books, before this one and after this one, are fictions and lies, they speak as passionate and liars, because what is written in this book does not fit in the understanding of human man to pretend it, nor could living man pretend the language that is in it.

And all knowledgeable Indians, if they were asked, would affirm that this language is proper to their ancestors, and works that they did. (Sahagún 2016, p. 285).

In the words of the ancient sages we can say about Sahagún that: "He has his eyes on you" (Sahagún, 2016, p. 398), it means that "all the people have their eyes on you, as the one who will make them mercies and favor them in everything" (Sahagún 2016, p. 398). The indigenous community decides to trust him and his group of religious in view of the loyalty

and respect they show. They, the friars, no longer turned their backs on them. We reinforce this with the above mentioned reference fourteen where priests of various religious orders, including Franciscans, abandon the Indians to their fate, no matter the reason, the abandon, only a few like Sahagún and his group fight on their behalf. It seems that there is a great division of interests among the clergy itself, we reinforce the above with the words of Fray Toribio Motolinia who complains about some missionaries of all religious orders including his own order when he says that they come to these lands to want to preach only to the Spaniards, they dry up, he says, until they return to Castile; and that the same indigenous communities reject them:

And it is true that God has punished in many ways those who abhor or disfavor these people, even the friars who have a weak feeling for these Indians or have them in a manner of abhorrence, God brings them disconsolate, and they are in this land as in torments, until the earth throws them away like dead bodies, and without profit; and for this reason some of them have said in Spain things alien to the truth, perhaps thinking it was so, because here God had them blind. And God has also allowed that such friars are held in little esteem, not receiving them in their towns, and sometimes they go to other places to seek the sacraments, because he feels that he does not love them as would be right. And it has happened that when such friars go to the towns, the Indians flee from them... And although this example is particular, I say it for all the friars of all the orders that pass through here in general. (Motolinia, 2014, pp. 182-183).

Within the Franciscan order itself there are also divisions and conflicts, such as the one between Sahagún and his disciple Antonio Valeriano (see point eleven, above) where the friar is not very happy with him for the pilgrimages made to the Guadalupe, because he considers it suspicious to the faith; and, on the other hand, his disciple Antonio Valeriano - an outstanding student at the Colegio de Tlatelolco-, defends this devotion when writing about the miraculous apparitions of the Guadalupe, which he narrates in the *Nican Mopohua*, published until 1649, in which he says that Valeriano wrote it between 1555 and

1560. Sahagún already said -above- that the natives were heavy to rule and not very inclined to learn, so the friars got tired of them. It is necessary to wonder if Sahagún was one of those who got tired of them, and that Valeriano was one of those who tired him and others of his professors. Possibly both groups - indigenous disciples on one side, and on the other the religious teachers - of protagonists represented in their persons - in Sahagún and Valeriano - already had completely different and even irreconcilable projects - which we must investigate more about this. In spite of the antagonism or artificial or real conciliation, they worked together in Sahagún's project because it benefited both groups.<sup>7</sup> Sahagún also refused to accept, in spite of his age and fatigue, the prophecy spoken by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, whom he called a *Dominican saintly man*, in which he said that in sixty years there would be no indigenous people left, at the rate at which they were dying. This great shame felt by this Franciscan made him work hard to defend the indigenous people from destruction<sup>8</sup>, as mentioned above, Sahagún knew about the destruction of many languages and knew that others would disappear, together with their cultures and people, if nothing was done against it:

Thirty years after this happened the pestilence that now reigns, where many villages have been depopulated, and the business goes far ahead, and if three or four months lasts, as it is now going, there will be no one left. And the prophecy I mentioned above says that before sixty years after they were conquered, there will be no man left of them. And although I do not give credence to this prophecy, but the things that happen and have happened seem to make it true, it is not to be believed, however, that these people will end in such a short time as the prophecy says. (Sahagún, 2016, pp. 686-687).

Let us remember that our friar, when he lived through the pandemic of 1576, was between 74 and 75 years old - depending on whether one accepts his date of birth in 1499 or 1500 - and that he arrived in New Spain in 1529 along with 19 companions, eight years after the fall

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the one who conciliated between the two must have been Fray Alonso de Molina.

<sup>8</sup> Could it be this enthusiasm that Angel Maria Garibay is referring to? then we agree with him.

of the Mexica kingdom. He was in Tlalmanalco (1532); his first stay in Tlatelolco (1546); Xochimilco (1550); he was in Tepepulco; as visitor he went to the Province of Michoacán (1558); he returned to Tlatelolco (1560); went to San Francisco el Grande (1565); returned to Tlatelolco (1572), where he lived through the pandemic of 1576; then returned to Tlalmanalco; and, returned to Tlatelolco (1585), where he lived until his death (1590).<sup>9</sup> Of the friendships -indigenous and Spanish- Sahagún received a great source of information, without forgetting that within the group of indigenous was Antonio Valeriano -in spite of their confrontation- and of the Spanish side it emphasizes fray Alonso de Molina (1510-1579).

This Franciscan, of Spanish origin, arrived in Mexico City in 1523 as a child, so he learned the Mexican language very well, and years later he entered the Franciscan order where he was a teacher in Tlatelolco. That, in 1555, he published a bilingual vocabulary, Nahuatl-Spanish: "He was a close friend of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún and they even worked together in the College and in the writing of some books" (In Molina. 2018, p. 15). Another companion in Tlatelolco was fray Ioan Baptista (1555-1613), guardian of Santiago Tlatelolco, who will end up publishing the *Huehuetlatolli* (Mexico, 1600) by following the same paths and concerns of Sahagún by repeating the importance and request to learn from the ancient sages of these lands, their rulers, their social organization; knowledge that would serve as a basis in the face of the decadence that New Spain was experiencing at the end of the 16th century, in which he also recommended it would be useful for the Spanish Christians themselves because the education in their homes left much to be desired, as Sahagún lamented:

If that way of governing were not so fond of idolatrous rites and superstitions, it seems to me that it was very good, and if cleansed of all idolatry that it had and making it completely Christian, it would be introduced in this Indian and Spanish republic, it would certainly be great good and would be cause to free the one republic

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<sup>9</sup> Ángel María Garibay mentions that Sahagún has many obscure points, such as those he identifies between 1540-1550; and from 1572-1785. (In Sahagún. 2016, p. 10).

as well as the other from great evils, and from great works to those who govern them. (Sahagún, 2016, p. 564).

This Franciscan's eagerness to rescue the good education of the ancient Mexicans, which would be very useful to the current indigenous and Spaniards. This became a clamor among the religious of the late sixteenth century. For example, Fray Pedro de Pila when he authorized the publication of the *Huehuetlatolli* (1600) remembered that they were ancient talks of the good customs and upbringing of the children, young men and noble maidens of the natives; Doctor Francisco de Loya praised the publication when referring that the work was written with much erudition, with important and necessary new things, that does not contradict the Christian religion, with which the natives can be taught in Christianity and virtue. Ioan Baptista considered that the *Huehuetlatolli* considered the importance of the good upbringing and education of children:

Confiderando pues yo (Xpiano lector) por vna parte la poca criança, respeto y miramiento barbaridad enel hablar, y poco policia de los Indios moçuelos deste tiempo, y por otra parte la mucha criança, vurbanidad, respeto, cortesia, buen termino y elegancia enel hablar de los Indios antiguos hazian a fus hijos e hijas, perefciome facarlas a luz, paraque en ellas viefffen los hombres. (Ioan Baptista, 1600, p. 11)

Then, it is already much more noticeable the difference between the young Indians and the old ones, the first ones have a barbaric language and little urbanity, and the second ones an elegant language, much breeding, urbanity, respect and politeness. From the aforementioned quotation, it can be identified that Sahagún's last effort was not carried out, but his group carries it out in several ways, among them the project to rescue and publish the *Huehuetlatolli*. For Baptista, this work should not only be directed to the natives but also to the Spaniards, as Sahagún requested at the time, when mentioning the author of the book:

Of which fi the Spanish women of these tîpos had medium care, fus casafas would be better regias, fus sons more educated, and fus husbands more regalados, and less

meloftados eõ infinity of gaftos impertinent, that with it hazê; with which many infiernan fu anima, and sometimes before defto lose fu credit and honor, and dexan many orphans and widows in the Hofpitaes.

By efto entendera, que los Indios antiguos tenían mucha policia en fu gobierno, y alcançavan mucho de moralidad." (Baptista, 1600, p. [16-17]).

## §

Finally we end by questioning the *philosophical peccadillo* since the current renunciation of the Catholic Church - headed by Pope Francis - to the "doctrine of discovery" with which it definitively dissociates itself from said tradition and mentality, a doctrine that we have questioned for more than twenty-five years for being unjust and despot, besides being racist, classicist and exclusionary; and that other authors had already questioned many years before. This rejection of the doctrine became a movement of protest against the old European interpretation, which was accused of being Eurocentric, colonialist and insensitive to the acts of violence committed against the New World and the rest of the planet.

And that in various media that "doctrine" was harshly questioned, including documents of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* without having the official support of the papacy, until under the papacy of Francis, the Vatican published the *Joint Note on the "Doctrine of Discovery" of the Dicastery for Culture and Education and the Dicastery for the Service of Integral Human Development* with Bulletin Number 0238, on March 30, 2023 (<https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/it/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/0238/00515.html#en>) published in English, Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese in the Sala Stampa Della Santa Sede ; as the official position of the Catholic Church. At the beginning of paragraph 6 it says: "The "doctrine of discovery" is not part of the teaching of the Catholic Church". (The Vatican, 2023) Thus it is inferred that all Catholics in the world must abandon this doctrine, in case they share affinity to it, as well as assume a critical stance in Catholic schools and universities in the world. In paragraph seven the above sentence is further elaborated:

The magisterium of the Church upholds, in unequivocal terms, the respect due to every human being. Therefore, the Catholic Church repudiates concepts that do not recognize the intrinsic human rights of indigenous peoples, including what has become known legally and politically as the "doctrine of discovery. (The Vatican, 2023).

In the third paragraph it is recognized that many Christians committed excesses against the indigenous people for which recent Popes have asked forgiveness, thus: "Many Christians have committed acts of evil against indigenous populations, for which recent Popes have asked forgiveness on numerous occasions" (The Vatican, 2023). And emphasizing the fourth paragraph in which Pope Francis asks to abandon such doctrine, as well as the colonizing mentality:

As Pope Francis has emphasized, their sufferings constitute a strong call to abandon the colonizing mentality and to walk together with them, in reciprocal respect and dialogue, recognizing the rights and cultural values of all individuals and peoples... The church is committed to accompanying indigenous peoples and promoting efforts aimed at fostering reconciliation and healing. (The Vatican, 2023)

In the sixth paragraph Pope Francis is quoted exhorting the entire planetary Catholic community to never again allow themselves to be contaminated by such a doctrine that postulates that one culture is superior to another - as we saw above in the justification of philosophical sin or philosophical peccadillo - or to coerce others from that supposed superiority: "May the Christian community never again allow itself to be contaminated by the idea that there is one culture superior to others and that it is legitimate to use means of coercion against others." (The Vatican, 2023). So, in the fifth paragraph the position of the Church against the "doctrine of discovery" is definitive - and it is closely linked to the philosophical peccadillo that we exposed here above - the Church decides to listen to the indigenous peoples and from there decides to confront the "doctrine of discovery" in this way:

The juridical concept of "discovery" has been debated by the colonial powers since the sixteenth century and has found a particular expression in the jurisprudence of the nineteenth century, in the courts of different countries, according to which the discovery of lands by settlers granted the exclusive right to extinguish, by purchase or conquest, the title or possession of such lands by the indigenous populations. Some scholars have argued that the basis of the so-called

"doctrine of discovery" is found in various papal documents, such as the bulls *Dum Diversas* (1452), *Romanus Pontifex* (1455) and *Inter Caetera* (1493). (The Vatican, 2023)

So, from the recent new position of the Catholic Church, if the "doctrine of discovery" is abandoned, it forces the one who abandons it to make a new reinterpretation of various events from 1492 to the present with an external look to Europe. So we cannot judge the believers, religious and missionaries who saw the action of God in the discovery -as is the case presented here of Sahagún- and justification of the violence to the natives of the new lands for considering it the work of God; but we can highlight the conversion of conscience from the entrails of their being of the defenders of Indians -as it will be after his conversion Sahagún- when seeing the terrible tyranny and violence that the same Christians provoked in unjust wars against the inhabitants of the new world. Now we must look at and reinterpret the events since 1492 from the philosophy of Christ or pacifism that we have recovered and exposed -in other places-; and that was disqualified and hidden by the followers of the same "doctrine of discovery" under the pretext of being suspicious to the faith, under the pretext of being reformist and enemy of the Roman Church.

### Conclusions

The return to the circulation of the *Huehuetlatolli* of Father Olmos, in Ioan Baptista, as well as other works of Olmos himself, as well as of Motolinia, Sahagún and other Franciscans, without forgetting Augustinians and Dominicans, and later, the Jesuits, all of them start from that frustration, from that shame of the Spanish failure in politics and religion in these lands. Let us remember those words of Sahagún: "it is our great shame that the natural Indians sane and wise ancients knew how to give remedy to the damages that this land imprints on those who live in it", we give them a double meaning, beyond this friar, including Franciscans and the other religious orders: 1. They recognize -not necessarily with humility, in all cases- that the "supposed superiority" that they showed in the famous "Colloquy between

Franciscans and Aztec sages" (1524) against the natural sages is false because they assumed themselves as representatives of the truth and of Christianity; and, 2. The time has come to learn and apply the teachings of the ancient sages as the only way to save the republics of Indians and Spaniards in these lands. That is what the religious converts did and that is what the present and future natives of these lands must do at present.

With the latter, the rebelliousness of several Franciscans was born, which humanity is grateful for and recognizes not only Sahagún -but many more-, and who redeemed themselves, and redeemed a part of Spain from the *philosophical peccadillo*, by learning from the humanity of the natural sages to build a new Humanity that, now -from there-, will be reflected in an open way by the defense of the natives in the East and West Indies. In this frustration, pessimism, shame of Sahagún, and of a certain Franciscan group, the bases of the *Indian-Mexican humanism* are born, which is still usually called "Novo-Hispanic or Mexican humanism" of Creole base with eternal praises to Jesuits and that it is already necessary to rethink, redefine and redesign in a much broader way and placing it several years before the arrival of those Jesuits.

Here it is necessary to consider and recognize Sahagún, among others, in missionary rebellion against the crown from his recognition and incorporation, to his missionary work, of the indigenous wisdom, so that the same religious will become spokesmen of this wisdom. This should lead us to recognize, without fear, the other reform of Christianity -beyond the one developed in Europe- with a hybrid indigenous-Christian base -and with it the indigenous theology was born- also in the 16th century, which will question the indigenous wisdom.

also from the XVI century, which will question Politics, Law and Theology to the same conquering Europe. The bases of opposition to the "doctrine of discovery", which the Church took more than five hundred years to openly reject, as we saw above, were already being formed here in these disputes. We need to learn how to approach this perspective, for that we must abandon the *philosophical peccadillo* that legitimized and continues legitimizing the "doctrine of discovery" and that does us so much harm in Mexico, in the continent and in the rest of the world.

We postulate that the defense of the Indian, of the natives, is not born from the Spanish missionaries in the two Indians but from their experience and interaction with the same natural sages of which they become a voice in the missionaries -converts to this wisdom-, as we have already mentioned. Therefore, we propose to recognize the merit of the natural wise men silenced by the *philosophical peccadillo* in the Christian-humanist-Mexican process and base the current human rights -with an indigenous look-, in the defense of the other, and other humanist contributions that are usually recognized only as Europeans and Creoles of these lands. The time has come, after the 500th Anniversary of the Fall of Tenochtitlan, to recognize the natural sages -and of all the subdued cultures-; never again silenced or silenced by the *philosophical peccadillo* or by the "doctrine of discovery" or concealment, as we can rename it. We invite the readers to assume their *philosophical peccadillo* as an act of contrition to begin to recognize the great contribution that the natural sages of Cem Anáhuac -that was the name given from these lands, to all this continent- and the rest of the two Indians, eastern and western, have given to humanity, beyond the defense and dignity of human rights.

Once the *philosophical peccadillo* and the "doctrine of discovery" of our planet are abandoned, new paths, new questions, new issues will arise that will help us to open new horizons because the time has come to think about why the indigenous peoples have come out to meet the pluri-intercultural Europe -and this must recognize its own indigenous peoples- or if it is just a mere accident in which they interact, but without a true encounter. We can see this encounter, not only in the indigenous theologies of this continent - of which we have already dealt with and a new text will be published soon - increasingly more visible and recognized, not only by the Catholic Church but also in new and diverse forums with diverse themes and coexistence. We must rethink, that what is currently used, in the case of India, we expand it to those that were named, more than five hundred years ago, as the East and West Indies, and end, then, with the words of Wilhelm Halbfass:

INDIA HAS NEVER COME OUT TO MEET EUROPE, NEVER SEEKED IT, nor has it historically prepared for such an encounter. It has instead been the object of

European interests of political domination, economic exploitation, religious proselytizing, scientific research and historical understanding. (2013, p, 570).

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