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THE QUEST FOR A GLOBAL AGE OF REASON. PART II: CULTURAL APPROPRIATION AND RACISM IN THE NAME OF ENLIGHTENMENT

ABSTRACT

The Age of Enlightenment is more global and complex than the standard Eurocentric Colonial Canon narrative presents. For example, before the advent of unscientific racism and the systematic negligence of the contributions of Others outside of "White Europe," Raphael centered Ibn Rushd (Averroes) in his Vatican fresco "Causarum Cognitio" (1511); the astronomer Edmund Halley taught himself Arabic to be more enlightened; The Royal Society of London acknowledged the scientific method developed by Ibn Al-Haytham (Alhazen). In addition, if we study the Transatlantic texts of the late 18th century, it is not Kant, but instead enlightened thinkers like Anton Wilhelm Amo (born in present-day's Ghana), Phillis Wheatley (Senegal region), and Toussaint L'Ouverture (Haiti), who mostly live up to the ideals of reason, humanism, universalism, and human rights. One obstacle to developing a more balanced presentation of the Age of the Enlightenment is the influence of colonialism, Eurocentrism, and methodological nationalism. Consequently, this paper, part II of two, will also deal with the European Enlightenment's unscientific heritage of scholarly racism from the 1750s. It will be demonstrated how Linnaeus, Hume, Kant, and Hegel were among the Founding Fathers of intellectual white supremacy within the Academy.

Hence, the Age of Enlightenment is not what we are taught to believe. This paper will demonstrate how the lights from different "Global Enlightenments" can illuminate paths forward to more dialogue and universalism in the 21st century.

Keywords: Enlightenment, Colonial Canon, colonialism, Eurocentrism, racism, white supremacy, Black Lives Matter.

1. DANTE, RAPHAEL, COPERNICUS, AND THE ARABS

As discussed in Part I, inclusive descriptions of the world's history of philosophy and science, following Plato and Clement of Alexandria, also prevailed north of the Mediterranean Sea for more than two millennia. So, when Dante wrote his *Comedy* (*Commedia*, 1320, two centuries later the adjective "Divine" was added), he included three Muslims among the non-Christian, virtuous, and non-sinful historical figures in "Limbo:" the Kurdish general Salah ad-Din (Saladin, 1137–1193), who for centuries was venerated in Europe for having saved both Christians and Jews when he toppled the Crusader regime in Jerusalem in 1187; the Persian philosopher Ibn Sina (Avicenna, 980–1037), whose *The Canon of Medicine* was the leading medical book in Europe from the 13th century until the early 18th century; and the European Arab philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes, 1126–1198) of Cordoba, Andalusia, who was the first in Europe to couple "pagan" Greek philosophy (especially Aristotle, earning him the nickname of "the great Commentator") with Abrahamic monotheism. Not everything was replicated or developed, though, as Ibn Rushd "considers women essentially identical with men, possessing the same intellectual abilities;" and he "displays an undeniable preference for women's emancipation" as he urged his contemporaries to "allow women a greater role in public affairs for the benefit of the entire state."[1] In several ways, Ibn Rushd paved the way for what is now known as the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, if not a more modern, egalitarian world.

For example, Ibn Rushd's argument for a two-fold truth—that a proposition may be theologically true and philosophically false or vice versa—spurred widespread debate in Europe and created several schools of Averroism at different universities.[2] Such points were attested during the Afro-Asian Philosophy Association's (AAPA) fifth international conference in Cairo in December 1994 titled "Ibn Rushd and the Enlightenment" and developed further in the anthology *Averroës and the Enlightenment* (1998), with a foreword by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Gali.

Tellingly, Dante included both Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd among the greats of the philosophic family, with such illustrious members as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Dante ended his "Limbo list" with the two Muslim polymaths:

> "Euclid the geometer, and Ptolemy,
> Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna,
> Averröes, who made the Commentary, /
> I cannot tell about them all in full." [3]

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[1] Belo, C. 2009. "Some Considerations on Averroes' Views Regarding Women and Their Role in Society." *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 20 (1).

[2] Wahba, M., M. Abousenna. 1998. *Averroës and the Enlightenment.* New York: Prometheus Books.

[3] Dante Alighieri. 1996. *Dante Alighieri's Divine Comedy: Inferno.* Musa, M. (Trans.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 41 (Canto 4). Original: "Euclide geomètra e Tolomeo,/ Ipocràte, Avicenna e Galïeno,/Averoìs, che'l gran comento feo/Io non posso ritrar di tutti a pieno …"

In Canto 10 of the last part of the *Comedy*, "Paradise," Dante, in addition to honoring the role of the Ethiopians, Indians, and Persians,[4] introduced the prominent and controversial Averroist Siger of Brabant (c. 1240–1284) alongside the Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas. Consequently, Dante proposed multiple truths, diversity, and intellectual tolerance.[5]

Accordingly, compared to more recent history, the term "the Dark Ages," or "medieval," or "Middle Ages" for that matter, is hardly fitting to describe the centuries before the 15th century, which was as much an intellectual Golden Age in Andalusia (Spain) and the regions on the Italian Peninsula influenced by the syncretism of Roger II, the Normans, and the Arabs in Sicily from the 12th century. One can argue that there was no Renaissance in Europe, as there was no rebirth. Greek philosophy had never been a part of the daily lives of Western Europeans before the translation and interpretation process started in Baghdad in the eighth century. The ancient Greek accomplishments belonged more to the regions south and east of the Bosporus than the regions west and north; both before and after Socrates, the Greeks were more "Middle Eastern" than "Western European." History, this river of the riveting past, seems more like a continuous flow, ending in the world's ocean with its ebbs and flows, as the North African polymath Ibn Khaldun describes it in his *Introduction (Al-Muqaddimah*, 1377) to his world history. After all, one cannot step into the same river twice.

The concepts of the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment make the past into easy ideological tidbits, but they conceal more than they reveal. For example, from the early 13th century and until Europe's Enlightenment Era, the legendary St. Maurice (Moritz), the most important saint among Christian Europeans for centuries, was depicted as an African. According to the hagiographies, the Christian commander Maurice and his legion from Thebes, in southern Egypt, sacrificed their lives in 287: The African soldiers rejected to kill innocent European civilians in today's Switzerland, as the Roman and non-Christian emperor Maximian had ordered them to do, Olivette Otele contends.[6] In the 1400 and 1500s, Maurice was depicted as a handsome African soldier in European paintings, for instance, in Mathis Grünewald's "Meeting of St. Erasmus and St. Maurice" (c. 1520). The humanizing visualization of Africans is also present in widespread paintings of the black Balthazar as one of the three Magis (wise men) visiting the infant Jesus, as in Albrecht Dürer's nativity scene *The Adoration of the Kings* (1504).

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[4] Barolini, T. 2014. "*Paradiso* 19: Injustice on the Banks of the Indus." *Commento Barolini-ano*, Digital Dante. New York, NY: Columbia University Libraries; https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/paradiso/paradiso-19/

[5] Barolini, T. 2014a. "*Paradiso* 10: Multiple Truth and Intellectual Tolerance," op. cit.

[6] Otele, O. 2021. *African Europeans. An Untold History*. New York: Basic Books, 18–32.

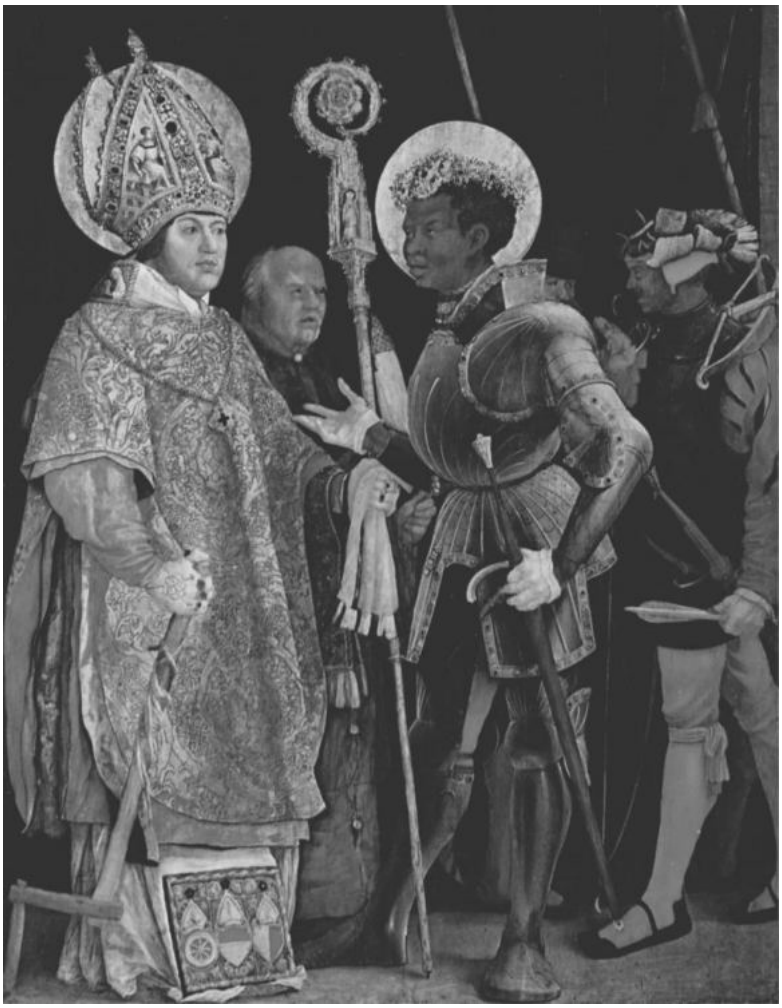

Figure 1. *The painting "Meeting of St. Erasmus and St. Maurice" by Mattias Grünewald, c. 1520. Both Maurice and Erasmus are venerated martyrs and saints in the Roman Catholic Church. Here, Maurice stands in silver armor. Ill.: Wikicommons*

After all, this was the era when Africans had explored Europe for more than a hundred years: Ethiopian emperors had sent embassies to Rome, Naples, and Iberia from 1402. In 1416, three Ethiopians were invited to, and joined, the ecumenical Council of Constance, in today's southern Germany. The Africans were well received: In May 1428, King Alfonso V of Aragon—one of Western Europe's most vital powers—sent a memorandum to the Yeshaq I (ruled 1414–1429), asking for "what kind of help" he "could have in money," in addition to military aid, from the Ethiopians.[7]

[7] Quoted in Krebs, V. 2021. *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe.* Sham: Palgrave McMillan, 85.

At the same time, as Geraldine Heng has argued, there was a gradual build-up of religious prejudice in Europe during the centuries before the Catholic "reconquest" of Muslim Granada/Alhambra, in January 1492, and the Inquisition, settler colonialism, and the internal Christian religious wars in Europe that were to follow.[8] Thus, for instance, the Jews were expelled from England already in 1290; Edward I and the Commons of Parliament negotiated an expulsion order 75 years after the Magna Carta was signed.

Nevertheless, the general worldview among Europeans of letters before the 1700s was to honor and credit the teachings of one's teachers and forebears, as the general acknowledgment was that we are all "dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants" (*nanos gigantium humeris insidentes,* John of Salisbury, 12th century). After all, the European world maps were, in those days, relatively more "correct" when it comes to the sizes of the continents than now: Since the 7th century, the Isodoran maps (T and O maps) presented Asia on top: it covered half of the earth's surface, while Africa and Europe made up approximately a quarter each. In 1459, Fra Mauro's world map had a similar ratio, but he put Africa and South on top, like Al-Idrisi, Roger II and the Arabs.

The priority on Asia and Africa, which is more than ten times the size of what is now known as Europe, shifted with the gradual implementation of the projection by the Flemish cartographer Mercator, who put Europe and North on the top. More importantly, his Mercator projection of 1569 exaggerates the areas far from the equator. Greenland, for example, is shown as large as the African continent, even though Africa is more than fourteen times the size of this Danish colony. Mercator himself stated explicitly, in the title of his map, that his new representation of the globe was only "adapted for use in navigation" (*ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata).* The distorted projection was meant for sailors, not for textbooks in schools or Google Maps, which adopted the Web Mercator projection in 2005. Maps and illustrations influence people's minds and mindsets.

Long before the effects of imperialism, colonialism, and new world maps, the painter Raphael finished his famous fresco *Causarum Cognitio* ("Knowledge of the Causes," today misleadingly known as "The School of Athens") in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican City in 1511. So, in accordance with Dante's worldview, he situated Ibn Rushd (Averroes), with a turban and his hand to his heart, at a central position in the painting. The Muslim Arab philosopher stands just behind what seems to be a writing Pythagoras, while a young disciple holds up a small chalkboard with inscriptions on the Pythagorean idea of perfect harmony through intervals in musical notes. Ibn Rushd looks over the shoulder of Pythagoras, but his eyes seem focused on neither the ancient's writing nor on the Pythagorean chalkboard. Instead, Ibn Rushd appears to study

[8] Heng, G. 2018. *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

a book held up before him by a male figure, often believed to be the pre-Socratic Parmenides (b. c. 515 BCE), who argued that existence is eternal. In such a way, Raphael summarized the history of philosophy as a continuum from the ancients via the Muslim Arabs, by the general understanding of his era, as we also can witness in Giorgione's *The Three Philosophers* (c. 1509) (on the right-hand side of Raphael's fresco, not printed here, is seemingly the Persian Zarathustra (Zoroaster), holding a celestial sphere in one hand, alongside Ptolemy).

Figure 3. *A section of the fresco "Causarum Cognitio" (later known as "The School of Athens") by Raphael, 1509–1511. The artist depicts Ibn Rushd (Averroes), Pythagoras, and, possibly, Parmenides. Ill.: Wikicommons.*

Moreover, shortly after Raphael finished his fresco in the Vatican, Copernicus completed his *Little Commentary* (*Commentariolus*, registered in 1514), postulating a heliocentric theory. Copernicus refers to the "Chaldean," or Arab, scientist Al-Battani (858–929) and his calculations of the length of a year but writes that he instead trusts the ancient Egyptian calculations (*qualis etiam in Aegyptica antiquitate reperitur*).[9] In his main work, *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* (1543), Copernicus quoted five Arab scientists, such as Al-Battani, Abu Al-Zarkali, and Thabit Ibn Qurra. [10] He noted in his introduction

[9] Copernicus, N. 2004. *Three Copernican Treatises*. Rosen, E. E. (Trans.). Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 7.

[10] Copernici, N. (Torinsensis). 1543. *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium.* Nürenberg: Libri VI. See also Saliba, G. 2007, 193–232. *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

that the idea that the Earth circles around the Sun is not his invention but rather an old idea and that he had read all he could find about former theories.[11] The modest Copernicus even credited the Indians for using "their numbers" since he applied the Indian numerical system (*indicae numerorum figurae*), which recently had been taken in use in northern Europe.[12]

After all, during Copernicus' studies in Krakow (Poland) in the early 1490s, he had access to several Arab works, and in the bookshop of Jan Haller, he bought himself the well-known astrological star treatise by the North African astrologer Albohazen (Haly, 11th century), a work that was translated from Arabic into Latin in 1485.[13] Then, in the late 20th century, the scholars Swerdlow and Neugebauer established that Copernicus used theories developed by Muayyad al-Din al-Urdi (d. 1266), Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–1274), Qutb al-Din al-Shirazi (1236–1311), and Ibn al-Shatir (1304–1375): all leading astronomers and scientists at the observatory in Maragha (today's eastern Iran), established in 1259 under the directorship of Al-Tusi. Rather than being a disconnected figure, they regard Copernicus "as the last Marāgha astronomer."[14]

The intellectual curiosity of Copernicus will come as no surprise for Hobbes and his contemporaries a century later. When another Pole, Johannes Hevelius (Jan Heweliusz, born in Gdansk), published his *Selenographia* (1647), the first known treatise in Northern Europe dedicated to the Moon, his title-page featured two scientists: Galileo Galilei, holding a telescope, and Ibn Al-Haytham (Alhazen), the polymath born in Basra (today's Iraq) in 965 and deceased in Cairo in 1040, holding a geometrical diagram. Fittingly, written beneath Galilei's pedestal is the word "sense" (*sensu*, in the sense of), while under Al-Haytham, the following essential notion is inscribed at the book's cover: reason (*ratione*). While Galilei symbolized knowledge through the senses, Al-Haytham symbolized knowledge through reason. In intellectual circles of Western Europe during the 17th century, Al-Haytham became a materialization of reason and rationality.

When Hevelius got elected as the first foreign Fellow of The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge (est. 1663) in 1664, he continued his work on Arab scientists. In fact, a significant part of the work of this Royal Society in the 17th century was dedicated to Arab texts written by Muslim scholars. For example, the leading astronomer Edmond Halley of the Royal Society taught himself Arabic to translate Apollonius of Perga's work on conics, which was only extant in an Arabic translation by Thabit bin Qurra (826–

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[11] Copernicus, N. 1978. *Copernicus on the Revolutions*. Rosen, E. E. (Trans.). Pennsylvania: Macmillian, 4.

[12] Copernicus, N., 1978, ibid., 27.

[13] Tadeusz Nadzieja. 2012. "Nicolaus Copernicus' Studies in Kraków." *Polskie Towarzystwo Matematyczne, Wiad. Mat.,* 48 (2), 325–329.

[14] Swerdlow, N., O. Neugebauer. 1984. *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's De Revolutionibus.* New York: Springer-Verlag, 295. Quote from Saliba. 2007, op. cit., 209.

901) and commissioned during the House of Wisdom in Baghdad under Caliph Harun Al-Rashid.[15] After all, the first Muslim and Arab Fellow, Muhammad ibn Haddu of Morocco, was elected to the Royal Society in 1682.

Figure 4. *Frontispiece of Johannes Hevelius,* Selenographia *(Gdansk, 1647). Ibn Al-Haytham (Alhazen/"Alhasen") to the left, Galileo Galilei to the right. Artwork by Adolph Boÿ, engraved by Jeremy Falck. Ill.: Wikicommons*

2. AL-HAYTHAM'S METHOD, ETHIOPIA STUDIES, LEIBNIZ

The scholars of the Royal Society in England were named "the new philosophers" since they stressed experiment and observation over abstract argument. Such empiricism also explains why Hevelius placed Al-Haytham on his front page; Al-Haytham was not only the scientist who wrote on the Moon and his magnum opus *The Optics* (1021), a book explicitly referenced by for example

[15] Russell, G. A. (Ed.). 1993. *The "Arabick" Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*. Leiden: Brill.

Descartes, Fermat, and Kepler.[16] He was also the one who first defined the scientific, experimental, and critical method. Al-Haytham introduces *Doubts Concerning Ptolemy* (c. 1028, *Al-Shukūk" alā Batlamyūs/Dubitationes in Ptolemaeum),* the first substantial criticism of the models proposed by Ptolemy, with these words, stressing the need for criticism in scientific investigations:

> "Truth is sought for itself; and in seeking that which is sought for itself one is only concerned to find it. To find the truth is hard and the way to it rough. For the truths are immersed in uncertainties, and all men are naturally inclined to have faith in the scientists. Thus when a man looks into the writings of scientists and, following his natural inclination, confines himself to grasping their pronouncements and intentions, the truth [for him] will consist of their intended notions and their indicated goals."[17]

Scientists tend to make errors, Al-Haytham underscored, which is why they disagree so often. Hence, the Arab scholar emphasized that one should be both critical towards the ancients and toward oneself. Therefore, it is one's duty to attack all texts, including one's own, from every side:

> "The seeker after the truth is, therefore, not he who studies the writings of the ancients and, following his natural disposition, puts his trust in them, but rather the one who suspects his faith in them and questions what he gathers from them, the one who submits to argument and demonstration, and not to the sayings of a human being whose nature is fraught with all kinds of imperfection and deficiency. It is thus the duty of the man who studies the writings of scientists, if learning the truth is his goal, to make himself an enemy of all that he reads, and, applying his mind to the core and margins of its content, attack it from every side. He should also suspect himself as he performs his critical examination of it, so that he may avoid falling into either prejudice or leniency."[18]

Al-Haytham's rigorous research procedure starts by stating the problem, explicitly supported by observations; one should then critically review previous work, conduct verifiable experiments to evaluate hypotheses, interpret the data and then formulate conclusions. After such a process, one could publish the findings. Although written nearly a millennium ago, this can still be considered a relatively modern scientific approach.

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[16] Smith, J. D. 1992. 'The Remarkable Ibn al-Haytham." *The Mathematical Gazette*, 76 (475), 189–198.

[17] Ibn Al-Haytham 1989. *The Optics of Ibn Al-Haytham, Books I–III*. Sabra, A. I. (Trans.). London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 3. (In this "Commentary" by Sabra, he quotes the "Introduction" of *Dubitationes in Ptolemaeum*.)

[18] Ibid.

The intellectual inclusion of the Royal Society was not unique during the 17th century. For example, two years after Hevelius put Al-Haytham at the title page of his scientific work, and two years before Hobbes underscored the non-European and non-Greek origins of philosophy in *Leviathan*, the German orientalist Hiob Ludolf (1624–1704) met the Ethiopian monk and lexicographer Abba Gorgoryos (c. 1595–1668) in Rome in 1649. Gorgoryos lived at the Collegium Aethiopicum in Rome with others from the Horn of Africa, and the student Ludolf asked him to teach him Ge'ez, the traditional language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church. After a later invitation by Ludolf, Gorgoryos traveled alone from Rome and all the way to Gotha, in the middle of today's Germany, and reunited with Ludolf in 1652.[19]

Together, they co-authored the first grammar of the Amharic language and an Amharic-Latin dictionary, their work based on an Italian-Amharic glossary composed by Gorgoryos. This cooperation laid the foundation for modern European scholarship on Ethiopia.[20] The cooperation between Gorgoryos and Ludolf had a lasting effect in Europe, as Wolbert E. Smidt emphasizes, for it was "much influencing the Enlightenment's image of Ethiopia. When Kant (1802, see also Smidt 2004, 2006) formulated a new ethnological theory and placed all peoples of the world in a hierarchical order in the eighteenth century, he exempted Ethiopia from his radically negative judgment of Africa, which according to him had been rejected by history." [21]

Such an intellectual curiosity continued well into the 18th century. In 1703, Gottfried W. Leibniz (1646–1716) explained the binary system by referring to the ancient Chinese classical work *The Book of Changes* (*I Ching*), a work on sixty-four hexagrams by the legendary Fu Xi, written after 900 BCE and sent to him by a Jesuit in China. In the text "Explanation of the binary arithmetic, which uses only the characters 1 and 0, with some remarks on its usefulness, and on the light it throws on the ancient Chinese figures of Fu Xi" (1703), Leibniz stated:

> "What is amazing in this reckoning is that this arithmetic by 0 and 1 is found to contain the mystery of the lines of an ancient King and philosopher named Fuxi, who is believed to have lived more than 4000 years ago, and whom the Chinese regard as the founder of their empire and their sciences. There are several linear figures attributed to him, all of which come back to this arithmetic …"[22]

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[19] Schmidt, W. G. C. 2015. "Gorgoryos and Ludolf: The Ethiopian and German Fore-Fathers of Ethiopian Studies: An Ethiopian scholar's 1652 visit to Thuringia." *ITYOṖIS: Northeast African Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, Extra Issue 1, 11–25.

[20] Ibid., 20, footnote 10.

[21] Ibid., 18.

[22] Leibniz, W. 1703. *Die mathematische schriften von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.* Vol. VII. *Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences.* Gerhardt, C. I. (Ed.), 223–227, 225. Translated from the French; http://www.leibniz-translations.com/binary.htm

Instead of honoring the Greeks and Romans, Leibniz preferred the heritage of the Arabs of Andalusia—something which Friedrich Nietzsche[23] and the author Fernando Pessoa also argued some two centuries later—as he continued:

> "But this ordinary arithmetic by tens does not seem very old, and at least the Greeks and the Romans were ignorant of it, and were deprived of its advantages. It seems that Europe owes its introduction to Gerbert, who became Pope under the name of Sylvester II, who got it from the Moors of Spain."

3. ANTON WILHELM AMO AND WITTENBERG UNIVERSITY ON AFRICA

By chance, in the early 17th century, Leibniz was a frequent visitor at the court of Wolfenbüttel, where one of the most vital philosophers of the early German Enlightenment grew up. Anton Wilhelm Amo (1700–1752) was kidnapped from his mother and father in Axim, in present-day Ghana, before the age of eight and brought to the Prince of Wolfenbüttel in Saxony—before Amo decided to return to his family in West Africa by ship in 1746–1747. In the meantime, Amo the African (*Afer*, as he named himself) had achieved the best education: in 1729, he defended the law thesis *On the Rights of Moors in Europe* (*De jure Maurorum in Europa*) at the University of Halle—probably the first thesis in Europe arguing against the white enslavement of Africans.[24]

In addition, Amo wrote two dissertations in Latin, in 1734 (*On the Impassivity of the Human Mind*) and 1738 (*Treatise on the Art of Soberly and Accurately Philosophizing*).[25] However, it was not until 2020 that the first translation of his texts into English got published outside of East Germany (DDR); by Oxford University Press. Amo has been labeled a "Cartesian thinker;" to be more precise, he criticized Descartes for being too inconsistent. Fittingly, Amo taught philosophy at the universities of Halle, Wittenberg, and Jena in the 1730s.

The Indian Muslim scholar Soltan Gün Achmet from Ahmedabad and the Christian Arab Solomon Negri from Damascus were other non-Europeans also teaching philosophy in Preussen during the first half of the 18th century. Tellingly, Leibniz published his *Discourse on the Natural Theology of the Chinese* in 1714, while Christian Wolff held a famous Halle lecture in 1721 on the rea-

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[23] Nietzsche, F. W. 1931. *The Antichrist*. H. L. Menchen (Trans.). New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 175. Excerpt: 'Christianity destroyed for us the whole harvest of ancient civilization, and later it also destroyed for us the whole harvest of Mohammedan civilization. The wonderful culture of the Moors in Spain, which was fundamentally nearer to us and appealed more to our senses and tastes than that of Rome and Greece, was trampled down (— I do not say by what sort of feet —)."

[24] This section builds upon Herbjørnsrud's lecture at the international conference on Amo in Halle, Germany, on October 29–31, 2018: "Anton Wilhelm Amo: An African Philosopher in Early Modern Europe." It was organized by Dwight Lewis (University of South Florida) and Falk Wunderlich (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

[25] Herbjørnsrud, D., 2017, op. cit.

sonableness of Confucian moral philosophy. This address, it has to be said, created an uproar among the Pietists, who pressured the Prussian king to expel Wolff from the territory for several years. Nevertheless, despite setbacks, the first half of the 18th century was a reasonably enlightened era in crucial parts of Europe; global intellectual curiosity had some of its best days in the region. One of the most significant texts demonstrating the *Zeitgeist* of this Early Enlightenment, before the 1740s, is a greeting from the Rector of the University of Wittenberg, Johann Gottfried Kraus, to Amo, attached to his 1734 dissertation. Kraus begins, in the text dated May 24, 1733, by stating: "Africa in the past had great honor, whether with regard to its [fertility in human] natural aptitude, devotion to letters, or religious teaching. For it brought forth a great many very eminent men, by whose natural aptitude and devotion divine as much as human wisdom has been taught." [26]

Kraus then names several African writers who have been vital for European philosophy and intellectual history: Terence of Carthage (who defined himself as "Afer," African, known for the statement "I am human, and I think nothing human is alien to me"), the theologian Tertullian of Carthage (d. c. 220, described as having dark complexion),[27] and the Church Father Augustine of Hippo (born in the Amazigh (Berber) city of Thagaste, in present-day Algeria, to his Amazigh mother, Monnica). Today, reference works generally characterize these as Roman or Latin writers—even though they, like Augustine, defined themselves as Punic (Amazigh, "Berbers") and African. [28]

For example, in a letter to his African friend, Maximus of Madura, who had started to use the name in the language of the Roman colonizers, Augustine wrote in 390: "For surely, considering that you are an African, and that we are both settled in Africa, you could not have so forgotten yourself when writing to Africans as to think that Punic names were a fit theme for censure."[29] Moreover, in 418, Augustine participated in the synod Council of Carthage, which he termed "A Council of Africa" as it summoned hundreds of African bishops. They argued against the European import of heretic Pelagianism and, in *The Code of Canons of the African Church*, declared: "But whoever appeals to a court on the other side of the sea [Rome] may not again be received into communion by any one in Africa."[30]

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[26] Amo, A. W. *Anton Wilhelm Amo's Philosophical Dissertations on Mind and Body*. Menn, S., J. E. Smith (Eds., Trans.). New York: Oxford University Press, 191.

[27] *Wilhite, D. E. 2007. Tertullian the African. An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities. Berlin: De Gruyter.*

[28] Ellingsen, M. 2005. *The Richness of Augustine: His Contextual and Pastoral Theology*. Louisville: Westminister John Knox Press.

[29] Augustine. 1887. *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. First Series, Vol. 1. Schaff, P. (Ed.). NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co. Letter 17, "*To Maximus of Madaura,*" can also be read at https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102017.htm

[30] Hefele, C. J. 2007. *A History of the Councils of the Church.* Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 461.

So, for Kraus and others at the University of Halle in 1734, it was natural to describe Terence, Tertullian, Augustine as Africans. However, since the mid-1700s, this *Zeitgeist* has changed dramatically. When it comes to descriptions of African intellectuals compared to the present-day textbooks, the contrast is also evident in a later passage by Kraus. Like Leibniz three decades earlier, he credited the Arabs (Moors) for bringing the light, liberal learning, and cultivation of letters to Europe. This description of intellectual export seems to allude to the Amazigh Tarik ibn Ziyad and his troops who crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in April 711, conquering Andalusia from the Visigoths and symbolizing the cultural pollination of Andalusia. Commenting on the Arabs, Kraus continued:

> "For in the teaching of this people, to whom letters to have been transferred, liberal learning was cultivated, and when the Moors crossed from Africa into Spain, the ancient writers whom they brought over with them gave much assistance to the cultivation of letters, which was then beginning to emerge from darkness. Thus from such ancient times letters have owed a debt to Africa."

Hence, the Arabs from Africa helped Europe "to emerge from the darkness," while also Europe owes "a debt to Africa." Rector Kraus was, of course, not the only one at the University of Wittenberg who held such perspectives. The university's President, Ludwig Rudolph, also extended his greetings to Amo's dissertation in 1734. Rudolph started his address like this, underscoring Africa's richness of goods and human intellect:

> "We rightly praise Africa, and Guinea, its region furthest from us, which the Europeans have long called the Gold Coast in view of its plentiful yield of gold—this country, in which you first saw the light, [which is called] by us the mother not only of many goods and treasures of nature, but also of most fertile natural aptitudes."[31]

Noteworthy, Africans have the most fertile natural aptitudes, and Amo manifests such golden treasures. As late as 1738, Carl Günther Ludovici's included Amo's work in his book on the philosophy of Christian Wolff, describing him as "one of the most prominent Wolffians." [32] Nevertheless, a new mindset was about to evolve in Europe.

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[31] Amo. 2020, op. cit., 197.
[32] Quoted in: ibid., 30.

4. HUME, KANT, HEGEL, AND THE HERITAGE OF LINNEAUS

Only a mere decade later, when the brutal Transatlantic slave trade and its legitimization had taken its toll on the European mind, after a cultural lag, this inclusive and appreciative worldview gradually but radically transformed. Then, in 1753, David Hume penned an infamous footnote addition to his 1748 essay *Of National Character*. In glaring contrast to the achievements of Amo and African European intellectuals like the minister Jacobus Capitein (1717–1747), Hume now professed: "I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites […] Not to mention our colonies, there are Negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity …"[33]

Additionally, Hume writes that some in Jamaica talk about an African as "a man of parts and learning," but he rejects such an assessment: "likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly." Comparisons between Africans and animals were a new invention among those who gained the status of foremost European intellectuals. In this, Hume was not alone in this new era.

In 1735, the Swedish botanist Carl Linneaus published his first edition of *Systema Naturae* in the Netherlands. In a peculiar but relatively neutral way, Linneaus divided the human species into four types or varieties in this order: *Europaeus albus* (European white), *Americanus rubescens* (American reddish), *Asiaticus fuscus* (Asian tawny), *Africanus niger* (African black). After 1748, he started to expand on this division, as The Linnean Society of London (est. 1788) brought to light in a recent historical article, "Linneaus and Race," by Dr. Isabelle Charmantier, Head of Collections, published in September 2020. As Charmantier concludes: "Linnaeus' work on the classification of man forms one of the 18th-century roots of modern scientific racism."[34]

Linneaus' manuscript draft entitled *Antropomorpha*, edited between 1748 and 1758, has numerous reworked pages on the topic of humans and skin color. Finally, in 1758, he published the 10th and expanded edition of *Systema Naturae*, including five pages where Linneaus described the different forms of humans. As The Linnean Society of London characterizes the development: "The result of this expansion of the classification of man was the 1758 10th edition of Systema naturae, which became the basis for scientific racism."

Linneaus gave his four simple categories of humans, which matched the continents, five different attributes: Europeans were defined as "white, sanguine, muscular" when it comes to skin color and "medical temperament," while their

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[33] Hume, D. Texts Online. Essay XXI. *Of National Characters* (1748, 1753); https://david hume. org/texts/empl1/nc. See also Eze, C. 1997. *Race and Enlightenment: A Reader*. London: Blackwell, 33.

[34] Charmantier, I. 2020. *Linneaus and Race*; https://www.linnean.org/learning/who-was-linnaeus/linnaeus-and-race

"behavior," in general, is "light, wise, inventor." Asians, on the other hand, are "sallow, melancholic, stiff," and their behavior is "stern, haughty, greedy." The Swede typified Africans as simply "black, phlegmatic, lazy," and "they" behave "sly, sluggish, neglectful." As Charmantier notes:

> "Africanus consistently remained at the bottom of the list. Moreover, in all editions, Linnaeus' description of Africanus was the longest, most detailed and physical, and also the most negative. […] Linnaeus" classification of man was certainly viewed by contemporaries in a hierarchical manner, and carried on being used in such a way through the following decades. Thus Linnaeus' hierarchy, with black people at the very bottom, associated with negative moral and physical attributes, stuck."[35]

Even though Linneaus himself did not use the word "race," the English translation of 1792 included classifications of people by human sub-species. With this new scientific paradigm readily available, it was no surprise that Hume never retracted or changed his footnotes on Africans, Blacks. Furthermore, Kant followed suit, as "most of [Kant's] academic employment was based on his courses about race," the authors infer in the Introduction to the first chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy and Race* (2017).[36]

Like Linneaus, Kant divided humans into four skin colors (white, red, yellow, and black), each with different mental attributes. In his *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764), Kant referred explicitly to Hume's infamous footnote: "The Negroes of Africa have by nature no feeling that rises above the ridiculous. Mr. Hume challenges anyone to adduce a single example where a Negro has demonstrated talents."[37] Kant continued on this note when he published three articles on race in 1775, 1785, and 1788. In his *Physical Geography*, first collected in 1803, the first English edition published in 2013, Kant advocated what we may name white supremacy clearly: "Humanity is at its greatest perfection in the race of the whites." [Die Menschheit ist in ihrer grössten Vollkommenheit in der Race der Weissen.][38]

Such a systematic racial statements from scholars seem to be a new development in global intellectual history. In contrast, Thomas Hobbes did not have any negative words against Africans in his *Leviathan* a century earlier. Instead, he introduced his infamous chapter XIII on the "natural condition of mankind" and wrote: "Nature hath made men so equall, in the faculties of the body, and

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Zack, N. 2017. *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy and Race.* New York: Oxford University Press.

[37] Kant, I. 1991. *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*. Goldthwait, J. T. (Trans.). Berkeley–Los Angeles, CA: California University Press, 110–111.

[38] Kant, I. 1877. *Supplement-Band zu Kant's Werken. Abtheilung I. Die physische Geographie*. Leipzig: L. Heimann's Verlag, 189; English version: Eze, E. C. 1997. *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 63.

mind."[39] Because Hobbes found greater equality among humans when it comes to the faculties of the mind than that of strength. More than a century earlier, the Spanish friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566) regretted his former advocacy for the enslavement of Africans. In his writings from 1527, Las Casas stressed humanism and the equal treatment of Africans: "I came to realize that black slavery was as unjust as Indian slavery [...] and I was not sure that my ignorance and good faith would secure me in the eyes of God."[40]

Even earlier, the Muslim North African polymath Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), rightly described as a founder of the discipline sociology, criticized (supposedly) claims by Galen that sub-Saharan Africans should have weakness in intellect since they have more levity than Greeks. Khaldun stated that such arguments are absurd and without proof, which leads nowhere.[41] Instead, he argued, the climate and living conditions explain the influences on how humans behave. Consequently, Khaldun concluded: "Human nature is one and the same everywhere."[42]

It is noteworthy that several of Kant's peers did not share his dehumanizing views in the late 18th century. For example, in the (white) English writer George Gregory's essay collection of 1785, Gregory saluted both the African American female poet Phillis Wheatley (1753–1784) and the British-African intellectual Ignatius Sancho (1729–1780) for their "striking instances of genius."[43]

In contrast, in 1788, i.e. in the same year when Kant published his *Critique of Practical Reason,* he also published the essay *On the Use of Teleological Principles in Philosophy* in which he endorsed a pro-slavery text and approved "a critique of a proposal to free black slaves."[44] Kant wrote explicitly about differences of the races, and European intellectuals, far and wide, read his works. True, Kant shifted his writing on non-Europeans toward the end of his life, from *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795).[45] However, it was too little, too late. The Haitian Revolution was already well underway by then, and the "Reign of Terror" had replaced the original French Revolution. In 1795, the racist genie was now out of the bottle by far.

As philosophy Professor Charles W. Mills (1951–2021) concluded about Kant in his modern classic *The Racial Contract* (1997):

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[39] Hobbes, T. 1968, op. cit., 183.

[40] Braxton, E. K. 2021. *The Church and the Racial Divide: Reflections of an African American Catholic Bishop.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 75.

[41] Ibn Khaldun. 1967 (1958). *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Rosenthal, F. (Trans.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 64. (NB! In *Inventing the Berbers* (2019), Ramzi Rouighi has demonstrated several vital mistakes in the Rosenthal translation).

[42] Ibn Khaldun. 2012. *Al-Muqaddimah.* Vol. II. Magid Al-Iraki (Trans.). Oslo: Pax Forlag. 816. NB! Rosenthal's translation, 1958 (1967) has skipped this part, see 341–342.

43 Sancho, I. 2015, op. cit., 34.

[44] Kleingeld, P. 2007. "Kant's Second Thoughts on Race." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, 57 (299), 575.

[45] Ibid.

> "… the embarrassing fact for the white West (which doubtless explains its concealment) is that their most important moral theorist of the past three hundred years is also the foundational theorist in the modem period of the division between Herrenvolk and Untermenschen, persons and subpersons, upon which Nazi theory would later draw. Modern moral theory and modern racial theory have the same father."[46]

So, the question is not whether Hume and Kant were children of their time, but to which degree they can be named co-fathers of modern racism and philosophical pseudoscience. This development in the latter half of the 18th century is what we can term "the closing of the European mind." A veil of ignorance has been drawn over the eyes of generations of academics, so it became harder to see the unequal positions they inhabited. Neutrality and original position are still word games mainly for the privileged. As a result, after a gradual evolution over the 19th and 20th centuries, textbooks in philosophy have for decades excluded thinkers who, by chance, are not defined as white, Protestant, Catholic, or men. As Bryan W. Van Norden recently—and quite bluntly—concluded when it comes to the state of the philosophical discipline in the early 21st century: "Western philosophy is racist."[47] Two decades after Kant passed away, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel stated, without backlash from his peers, in his *Lectures of Philosophy of History* (1822–1830):

> "In Negro life the characteristic point is the fact that consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence as, for example, God, or Law […] there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character. The copious and circumstantial accounts of Missionaries completely confirm this …"[48]

Accordingly, Hegel wrote a history that asserted that Europe should get credit for the achievements of North Africa, including ancient Egypt, which he named "European Africa" (following a similar line of thought, it has now become second nature in standard presentations in the 21st century to appropriate Ancient Greece, in the far southeast, as Western European only). Regarding sub-Saharan Africa, Hegel stated: "Africa proper, as far as History goes back, has remained—for all purposes of connection with the rest of the World—shut up; it is the Gold-land compressed within itself—the land of childhood, which

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[46] Mills, C. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. New York: Cornell University Press, 72.

[47] Norden, B. W. V. 2017. "Western Philosophy Is Racist." *Aeon;* https://aeon.co/essays/why-the-western-philosophical-canon-is-xenophobic-and-racist

[48] Hegel, G. W. F. 1901. *Philosophy of History*. Sibree, J. (Trans.). New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 150.

See also Adegbindin, O. 2015. "Critical Notes on Hegel's Treatment of Africa." *A New Journal of African Studies*, 11 (20–21).

lying beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of Night." [49]

The respect for Africa's intellectual heritage and African philosophers like Amo, as Rector Kraus and Wittenberg University propagated in the 1730s, was long gone. Luckily, there are other intellectual representatives than Kant to learn from in the late 18th century, in both Europe and America.

5. THE ENLIGHTENED ENLIGHTENMENT: KONDIARONK, WHEATLEY, L'OUVERTURE

Given the cultural and scientific appropriation of philosophical material and the racially motivated defamation of non-Europeans on the part of European Enlightenment thinkers from the 1500s to the 1800s, can we say that racism is the distinctive trademark of the European Enlightenment of the late 18th century?

If we answer positively, where could this new Enlightenment that we are seeking be? One clue could be to seek the values of reason, science, humanism, and progress (progress for "a global all," that is) wherever one might find them in this world, across different continents and different eras throughout history, not confining ourselves to Western Europe or North America in the 18th century. That said, we indeed can encounter such values of reason, universalism, and humanism in the 1700s also in "the West," a term launched after the US joined the "Allied" (Entente Powers) in WWI. Just listen to the words of the poet Phillis Wheatley (1753–1784), who —like Amo—was kidnapped from her family in the Ghana-Senegal region. In a letter printed in the *Connecticut Gazette* and the *Universal Intelligencer* on March 11, 1774, she wrote in the enlightened vein of reason, universalism, and dialogue: "… for in every human Breast, God has implanted a Principle, which we call Love of Freedom; it is impatient of Oppression, and pants for Deliverance."[50]

As if Wheatley was commenting on the statements by her contemporaries Hume and Kant on Africans and non-whites, she finished her article with a robust and enlightened criticism against hypocritical philosophers: "How well the Cry for Liberty, and the reverse Disposition for the Exercise of oppressive Power over others agree—I humbly think it does not require the Penetration of a Philosopher to determine." Consequently, it was not Wheatley who turned out the light in the Enlightenment; instead, she lit a torch for the wretched "yearning to breathe free," to use the words by Emma Lazarus a century later. This cry for liberty from the huddled masses had a long time coming. In 1570, for example, the liberator and abolitionist *Gaspar Yanga* (born in 1545) of the Bran peo-

[49] Hegel, G. W. F. 1901, op. cit. 148.
[50] Wheatley, P. 2001. *Complete Writings*. New York: Penguin Group, 153.

ple (in today's Gabon) headed a *maroon rebellion in Veracruz, Mexico.*[51] Yanga founded the independent town-state San Lorenzo de los Negros (now Yanga), close to the country's most extensive mountain range in former Olmec lands. After repelling colonial forces for decades, this community of freed people (*palenque*) signed an independence treaty with the Spanish crown in October 1631, securing it as a free black settlement; after Mexico's independence in the 19th century, Yanga was declared a national hero (*El Primer Libertador de las Americas*).[52]

Both Wheatley and another vital enlightened thinker, Toussaint L'Ouverture wrote and acted in this transatlantic context. In 1791, L'Ouverture—born into slavery—commenced his long struggle to rid Haiti of slavery and colonizers. The Haitian people succeeded just after his death, on January 1, 1804. Then, the island won its independence from France and became the first nation to permanently ban slavery, creating a monumental new challenge in the colonial and slavery-based Transatlantic world. With symbolic help from five hundred Polish soldiers, who turned against Napoleon and received special status and full citizenship after Haiti's independence, the Haitian Revolution was the first slave uprising that founded a recognized state free from slavery.[53]

Haiti has survived for more than 215 years now, despite France sending warships to demand an indemnity of 150 million francs (comparable to over US$30 billion as of today) for the independence of the Black population at the island. A vital background for the first abolitionist state Haiti, is L'Ouverture's enlightened writings and demands. In July 1792, he signed a letter calling for general liberty and mutual respect between blacks and whites. Addressing the white general assembly, L'Ouverture and two confidantes advocated for the general humanism of the human race and equality by natural right:

> "Under the blows of your barbarous whip we have accumulated for you the treasures you enjoy in this colony; the human race has suffered to see with what barbarity you have treated men like yourself, yes, men—over whom you have no other right except that you are stronger and more barbaric than we; you have engaged in [slave] traffic, you have sold men for horses, and even that is the least of your shortcomings in the eyes of humanity […] We are black, it is true, but tell us gentlemen, you who are so judicious, what is the law that says that the black man must belong to and be the property of the white man? Certainly you will not be able to make us see where that ex-

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[51] Carroll, P. J. 2001. *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

[52] Landers, J. G. 2006. "Cimarrón and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean." In: *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. Lander, J., B. Robinson (Eds.). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

[53] Girard, P. R. 2011. *The Slaves Who Defeated Napoleon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence 1801–1804*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.

> ists, if it is not in your imagination—always ready to form new phantasms so long as they are to your advantage. […] We are your equals then, by natural right, and if nature pleases itself to diversify colors within the human race, it is not a crime to be born black nor an advantage to be white."[54]

These words fit all too well also in the first quarter of the 21st century, whether one wants to support Black Lives Matter, fair payments to workers in the Global South, calls to decolonize the reading lists, or advocate for more universalism and dialogue.

With the recent tome, *The Dawn of Everything. A New History of Humanity* (2021) by David Graeber and David Wengrow, such perspectives have come even more into the intellectual forefront. They do not only refute the popular and Eurocentric narratives by Steve Pinker in his *Enlightenment Now* as "he relies on anecdotes, images and individual sensational discoveries …"[55] In contrast, based on primary sources, Graber and Wengrow demonstrate how several Enlightenment ideals were more precisely a *reaction* to the vigorous critiques of European societies propounded by the Indigenous intellectuals from what we now name "America."

For instance, the First Nation (Wendat) leader Kondiaronk (1649–1701, also known as Gaspar Soiaga) became known for his oratorial and intellectual skills during his discussions with the European settlers. Baron de Lahontan's report *New Voyages to North America* (1703) recorded his conversations with this sage, in his text named Adario, in the vital section "A Conference or Dialogue Between the Author and Adario, A Noted Man among the Savages." Here, Kondiaronk advised the Europeans to follow the way of the First Nations so that "a levelling equality would then take place among you as it now do's among the *Hurons*. "[56] Such were radical statements for Europeans at the time, as they were all under the yoke of aristocracy, inherited royalty, and absolute monarchs. Nevertheless, Kondiaronk continues in his quest for the qualities of wisdom and reason:

> "I have set forth again and again, the qualities that make a man inwardly such as he ought to be; particularly, wisdom, reason, equity, &c. which are courted by the *Hurons*. I have made it appear that the notion of separate interests knocks all these qualities in the head, and that a man swayed by interest can" t be a Man of Reason. "[57]

Intellectuals throughout Europe read such words by Kondiaronk, primarily until the second half of the 18th century. Graeber and Wengrow demonstrate

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[54] L'Ouverture, T. 2008. *The Haitian Revolution*. Nesbitt, N. (Ed.). London: Verso, 6.

[55] Graeber, D., D. Wengrow. 2021. *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity*. London: Penguin, 13–17.

[56] Lahontan, B. de. 1905. *New Voyages to North America*. Vol. II. Gold Thwaites, R. (Ed.). Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co, 572.

[57] Lahontan, Baron de. 1905, op. cit., 572.

that in the "years between 1703 and 1751, as we have seen, the indigenous American critique of European society had an enormous impact on European thought."[58]

Kondiaronk was one of several First Nations thinkers and orators who impressed and influenced the European colonizers, including the British. On July 4, 1744, the English settlers met, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with the leaders of the Iroquois Confederacy (the *Haudenosaunee*, "the people of the Long House," named after the political arrangement of two "chambers," where all had a say). The Onondaga speaker Canassatego (1684–1750) held a vital speech on the importance of a union between different peoples, like the Iroquois Confederation of six different First Nations.

An impressed Benjamin Franklin printed Canassatego's oration; for more than twenty years, Franklin earned his living on printing papers, rediscovered in 1928, on the treaties with the original inhabitants of what was to become the United States of America. In 1750, Franklin wrote that it "would be a very strange Thing, if six Nations of ignorant Savages should be capable of forming a Scheme for such an Union, and be able to execute it in such a Manner, as that it has subsisted Ages, and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like Union should be impracticable for ten or a Dozen English Colonies, to whom it is more necessary, and must be more advantageous."[59]

Not too long thereafter, Franklin started working on the Albany Plan, which proposed a unified government for the thirteen English colonies. The plan was rejected at the Albany Congress in 1754, but scholars have demonstrated the First Nations' complex political influence on the European settlers.[60] Significantly, the European Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Continental Congress quoted Canassetago's 1744 speech on August 25, 1775, at a diplomatic meeting—stating that the "advice was good"—less than a year before the Declaration of Independence.[61]

However, the European immigrants did not copy the equal treatment of women among the Iroquois, as later honored by Mathilda Joslyn Cage (*Ka-ron-ien-ha-wi*).[62] Nonetheless, as the US Senate declared in its resolution 331, "To acknowledge the contribution of the Iroquois Confederacy of Nations to the development of the United States Constitution …" on October 18, 1988: "Whereas, the original framers of the constitution, including most notably, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, are known to have greatly admired

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[58] Graeber, D., D. Wengrow. 2021, op. cit., 48–56.

[59] Labaree, L. W. (Ed.). 1961. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin. July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753.* Vol. 4. New Haven: Yale University Press, 117–121.

[60] Kalter, S. 2006. *Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania, and the First Nations: The Treaties of 1736–62.* Urbana–Chicago: Chicago University Press.

[61] Quoted in: Miller, R. J. March 2015. "American Indian Constitutions and Their Influence on the United States Constitution." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 159 (1), 37.

[62] Johansen, B. E. 1982. *Forgotten Founders: How the American Indian Helped Shape Democracy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Common Press.

the concepts, principles and government practices of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy."[63]

Interestingly, on November 27, 2001, the House of Representatives also acknowledged the First Nations' revolutionary influence on developing the new US state system in the 18th century. On that day, they unanimously passed resolution 270, which includes this paragraph: "Whereas Native American governments developed the fundamental principles of freedom of speech and separation of powers in government, and these principles form the foundation of the United States Government today."[64]

More recently, Law Professor Robert J. Miller's paper on the topic concludes that the US government, created by the Constitution, "more closely reflects the principles of indigenous governments than those of the European monarchies and political regimes of the late-1700s."[65] Thus, for example, John Adams, the second US president, did acknowledge the democratic traditions among the First Nations. That said, the European American Founding Fathers of the new US state also became influenced by the old world during these last official decades of the Age of Enlightenment. In *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787), Adams writes that it was not the Greeks of Athens but the Phoenicians of Carthage (North Africa) who most resembled the new US state. Adams commenced with Carthage when it comes to the ancient democratic republics, and he specified this Phoenician state's check-and-balances and its people's right to elect their representatives democratically: "The monarchial power was in two suffetes [two annually elected chief magistrates, author comment], the aristocratical in the senate, and the people in a body held the democratical. These are said to have been nicely balanced."[66] Seemingly building on *Politics* by Aristotle, who contended that Carthage had an older, more stable, and more balanced democratic system than the Greek states, Adams noted "another remarkable institution" in the Phoenician city-state. If the senate did not agree on a decision, they sent "an appeal to the people." Hence, Adams concludes regarding Carthage: "This government thus far resembles those of the United States of America more than any other of the ancient republics, perhaps more than any of the modern."[67]

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[63] Congress. 1988. *Iroquois Confederacy and Indian Nations—Recognizing Contributions to the United States*; https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/100/hconres331/text

[64] Congress. 2001. *Expressing the Sense of Congress that Americans Should Take Time during Native American Heritage Month to Recognize the Many Accomplishments and Contributions Made by Native Peoples*; https://www.congress.gov/bill/107th-congress/house-concurrent-resolution/270/text

[65] Miller, R. J. 2015, op. cit., 33.

[66] Adams, J. 1797 (1787). *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America Against Attack of M. Turgot in His Letter to Dr. Price, Dated the Twenty-Second Day of March,* 1778. Vol. 1. 3rd edition. Philadelphia: Printed at Budd and Bartram for William Cobbett, 213.

[67] Adams, J. 1797, op. cit., 212.

6. CONCLUSION: VISIONS, MILLS, HORACE

So, the Enlightenment in the West was never like anything Pinker envisions in his *Enlightenment Now*. Instead, we can unearth the ideals of equality and liberty, and lasting enlightenment values, found outside the traditional, canonical presentations on the 18th century: among the subalterns, in apocryphal reports, in the "theory from the margins," in words by Kondiaronk, Wheatley, Sancho, and Adams. Or we can extract universal values from a statement by L'Ouverture, an intellectual still excluded from the main Enlightenment narratives. In this freedom fighter's *Proclamation* on August 29, 1793, in his quest to unite all the wretched on the island of Haiti to make a fairer, freer, and more enlightened society, L'Ouverture wrote: "Equality cannot exist without liberty. And for liberty to exist, we must have unity."[68]

Unity creates liberty, provides equality. So instead of more pseudoscience and myths about the past, we need a new Age of Reason. Or several new enlightenments, but better this time: enlightenment also for the 99 percent.

First, however, we must know "where we come from." Without a more rock-solid understanding of the past, we risk building new "Houses of Wisdom" on shaky ground. After all, we carry with us an enlightened load and the wretched of the earth's burden.

More than two hundred years after the end of the Enlightenment Era, it is as we, to paraphrase Dante, have not yet journeyed half of our intellectual life's way, finding ourselves within a shadowed and savage forest, as if we have lost the path that does not stray. Alternatively, to use the words by Mills, introducing his *The Racial Contract* (1997): "White supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the modern world what it is today."[69]

In his second letter in the *Epistles*, the Roman poet Horace exclaimed: "He who has begun is half done; dare to know; begin!" [*Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet; sapere aude, incipe.*]

We have also just begun. Probably, we are neither no more than half done, or, like Dante, we are hardly "midway upon the journey."

If not now, when is the time to dare to know? When will we have the audacity to frankly investigate, study, and teach when it comes to the complexity of the "Global Enlightenments" of the past?

REFERENCES AND BIO-NOTE: see part I of this text.

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[68] L'Ouverture, T. 2008, op. cit., 2.
[69] Mills, C. W. 1997, op. cit., 1.