

Index

- Abraham, 37, 108, 181–182, 229–230
 Acosta, José de, 193, 223, 278
 barbarian classification, 206–207, 223, 249, 282
 contrast with Las Casas, 247, 283–284, 306
 De procuranda indorum salute, 205, 207–208
 influence on Locke, 205, 234, 240, 242, 244, 247
 Natural and Moral History of the Indies, 205–206, 209, 234, 247
 new method of evangelization, 207–209, 259, 312, 325
 on greed, 247
 on just war, 205–206
 on money, 247
 on right of traveling, 209
 providential commerce, 209–210
 Virginia Company promotional tract, 205, 207–209
 Adorno, Rolena, 84
 Africa, European expansion into, 1, 41, 45, 75, 325
 African slavery, 48, 69, 85, 152, 183, 196, 277
 agricultural criterion, 227–233, 235–236, 241, 268, 284–286
 Albert the Great, 92
 Alexander the Great, 80, 203, 303
 Alexander VI, Pope, 24, 52, 56, 62, 64, 77, 116, 136, 139, 147, 169, 177, 184, 199
 Alexandrine title, 74, 79, 99, 141, 146, 156, 159, 192, 265, 287, 292, 296
 alliances with infidels, 38
 according to Spanish Crown, 61, 69, 205
 as superfluous, 189
 in Columbus, 60
 in Cortés, 70–71
 in Grotius, 45, 190, 197–198
 in Vitoria, 44
 in Vladimiri, 44
 prohibited, 197, 202
 Almain, Jacques, 88
 ambassadors, immunity of, 258–260
 Amerindians
 Algonquian, 17, 284
 Aztec, 2, 69–73, 155, 168, 172, 191, 206, 234, 275–276, 280, 293, 315
 Carib, 60–62, 69, 81, 100
 Caribbean, 79, 82–83, 306
 Chichimeca or Michoacán, 71, 191, 279
 Chiriguano, 234
 Cholulan, 71
 Floridian, 142, 207, 234, 247, 282
 Inca, 2, 91, 97, 100, 114, 155, 168, 206, 234, 272, 280, 284, 299–302, 306, 308, 310
 Lucayan, 59
 Mohegan, 226, 249
 Narragansett, 225, 231–233
 Powhatan, 191, 225, 231
 Taíno, 55–61, 81–82, 93, 191, 297, 306
 Tlaxcalan, 44, 70, 72
 Totonac, 70
 Wampanoag, 231
 anarchy, 10–21, 42, 279
 Aquinas, Thomas, 5–6, 74, 76, 78, 86, 88, 92, 95, 103, 114, 131, 151, 165, 221, 261, 264
 against forcible baptism, 135–136
 on *ius gentium*, 255–256, 258, 261, 266
 on justice, 102, 104
 on mystical Body of Christ, 26–27, 156–157, 291
 on natural dominium, 105, 111, 120

- on natural law, 107, 160, 215, 262, 266, 289, 301
- on negative unbelief, 87
- on restitution, 102, 105
- on slavery, 221
- on tyrants, 275
- outsider immunity, 33
- political axiom, 7, 76, 254
 - in Cajetan, 87
 - in Las Casas, 270, 288
 - in Purchas, 202
 - in Soto, 113, 138–139, 270
 - in Vitoria, 130, 269
 - in Vladimiri, 44
- priority of common possession, 236
- Arcos, Miguel de, 100–101, 103, 124–125, 272, 292
- Aristotle, 14, 145, 174, 176, 179, 186, 216, 312
 - on natural justice, 179
 - on natural slavery, 65, 77, 81, 151–152, 207, 274, 283
 - on property, 58
 - on virtue, 127, 177
 - political taxonomy, 268, 278–281, 285
- Armitage, David, 194
- Asia, 1, 80, 180, 206, 223
- Atahualpa, Inca, 97, 100, 292, 299, 302, 316
- atheism, punishment of, 217–218
- Augustine, 33–34, 86, 165, 169–173, 175, 179–180, 221, 280
- Bacon, Francis, 243–245
- Baconian hierarchy of civilization, 244–245
- Baldus of Ubaldis, 90, 269, 271, 287–288, 294, 296, 336
- baptism, 31–32, 97, 119, 125, 291
 - forcible, 35, 40, 47, 49–50, 61, 135–136
 - free consent in, 40, 133, 135–136, 157, 287, 313
- Barcia Trelles, Camilo, 22
- Bartolus of Sassoferrato, 219, 268–269, 271, 287
- Bellarmino, Robert, 89
- Bernard of Clairvaux, 36
- Betanzos, Domingo de, 100
- Beuchot, Mauricio, 264
- Bible, 90, 181, 194, 210, 241, 248, 292
 - Old Testament, 36, 147, 227
 - Book of Genesis, 37, 39, 106, 108, 111, 181, 230, 232
 - Book of Deuteronomy, 67, 182–183, 286
 - First Book of Maccabees, 165
 - Book of Proverbs, 306, 313
 - Book of Sirach, 322
 - Book of Isaiah, 227
- New Testament, 230
 - Gospel of Matthew, 125, 157, 290
 - Gospel of Mark, 132, 290
 - Gospel of Luke, 133
 - Gospel of John, 9, 42, 114
 - Book of Acts, 203, 236
 - Letter to Romans, 96, 147, 180
 - First Letter to Corinthians, 33, 98, 126, 140, 156, 239, 319
- Black Legend, 6, 192, 325
- Brazil, 10, 207
- Brett, Annabel, 5, 261, 273
- Brown Scott, James, 23
- Brufau Prats, Jaime, 138
- Bulkley, John, 249
- Bull, Hedley, 12–13, 143
- Bulls of Donation. *See* Alexander VI
- cacique*, 58–59, 284, 286, 297, 306
- Caesar, Emperor, 97–98, 114, 180, 272
- Caesar, Julius, 213–214
- Cajetan, Tommaso de Vio, 77–78, 92, 99, 110, 113–114, 202, 291
 - election by people, 90–91, 271, 276, 294
 - on evangelization, 100, 115–116, 239
 - on infidel dominium, 85–88, 97, 118, 121, 130, 200–201, 290
 - on papal power, 89
 - on restitution, 103
- Calvinists, 239, 289
- Canary Islands, 45–47, 49–51, 53, 77
- Cáncer, Fray Luis, 142, 150, 204, 208, 322
- cannibal questionnaire, 69, 85
- cannibalism, 18, 61–62, 69–70, 73, 100, 145, 164, 168, 191, 216–217, 313, 315, 318–319, 321
- Cano, Melchor, 88, 95, 137, 147, 168
 - on Amerindian sovereignty, 163–165
 - on charity and intervention, 316–317
 - on native right of refusal, 312
 - on natural equality, 164
 - on right of traveling, 303
- canon law, 8, 14, 75, 159, 184, 190, 267
 - and holy war, 36
 - doctrine of missionary war, 34, 36–37, 40–41, 65, 68, 83, 145, 151, 156
- miserabiles personae*, 75
- on ecclesiastical intervention, 38, 66
- on indirect coercion, 40, 175
- on infidel rights, 37–38

- canon law (cont.)
 on papal power, 39, 64, 287
 qui foris sunt principle, 33, 126, 139, 159, 165,
 176, 206, 239, 265, 314, 316, 318
 quod omnes tangit maxim, 296–297
 view of infidels, 31–32, 34
 Cárdenas, José, 267
 Caribbean islands, 24, 51, 65, 79, 280
 Carranza, Bartolomé de, 147, 312
 Catholic Monarchs of Spain, 24, 48–49, 52, 65,
 92, 115, 140, 195
 Catholics, 9, 203, 239
 Charles V, Emperor, 5, 72, 141, 145, 172
 antislavery decree, 100, 149
 Letter from Córdoba, 102, 115
 Letter from Pope Clement VII, 169
 Letter to San Esteban, 132
 Letters from Cortés, 70–71, 315
 New Laws, 148–149
 Petition from Las Casas, 150
 Church. *See* canon law, ecclesiastical power
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 15, 119, 160, 222
 definition of commonwealth, 280
 on natural law, 212, 215, 218, 302
 on natural right to defend religion,
 162
 on origin of civilization, 282
 on right of human society, 120
 on unity of humankind, 278
 Cisneros, Francisco Jiménez de, 84
 city life. *See* commonwealth
 civilian jurists, 126, 184, 189
 civilizing mission, 41, 57, 152
 papal endorsement of, 56
 Portuguese, 45–47
 Spanish, 48
 Columbus, 53–56
 Cortés, 71–73
 Palacios Rubios, 62–67
 Sepúlveda, 170, 179–181
 Clement VII, Pope, 169
 Coke, Sir Edward, 202
 Columbus, Christopher, 24, 62
 and forced labor, 58
 and the Spanish Dominicans, 92–93
 description of natives, 55–59, 223
 indigenous alliance, 60
 on enslaving cannibals, 60–61
 quest for gold, 53–55
 right of discovery, 53–55, 302
 taking possession of Indies, 53–57
 commerce, doctrine of providential, 53,
 185–186, 200–203, 209–210, 215,
 249–250, 273, 306, 310, 326–327
 common good, 96, 222, 248, 253, 260, 265, 284,
 294–295, 309
 commonwealth, self-sufficient or perfect, 90,
 96, 99, 114, 278–281, 285, 295, 301
 company sovereigns, 194, 196–197, 220
 Dutch East India Company, 197, 200, 213
 Dutch West India Company, 228
 Massachusetts Bay Company, 227, 229
 Virginia Company, 191, 199, 227,
 229
 and Acosta, 205, 208–210
 and Hobbes, 19, 234
 promotional tract, 203, 207, 210
 conciliarism, 78, 88, 91
 conquest, 19, 23, 31, 235, 303, 325
 biblical, 67–68, 181–183
 Dominican repudiation of, 21, 78, 87–88,
 100–101, 118, 125, 128, 132–133, 148,
 150–165, 208, 221, 285, 317
 European right of, 68, 74, 77, 166, 216
 in Mair, 78–81
 in Palacios Rubios, 64–67
 in Sepúlveda, 145–147, 166–170, 173–176,
 180–186
 Frankish, 35
 modern critics of, 2, 190, 194, 303,
 316
 of Aztecs, 69–73
 of Caribs, 60–62
 of Guanche people, 46–50
 of Lithuanians, 43
 of Peru, 97, 100
 of Taínos, 57–60
 of Wendish people, 36
 Portuguese, 45–48
 Protestant critique of, 116, 192, 198–199,
 203–205, 250
 Spanish replacement of, 73, 205–206
 conquistadors, 49, 72, 100–101, 123
 as tyrants, 276, 293
 conscience, 93, 125, 309, 324
 and penance, 102, 122
 crisis of, 84, 94, 123, 141
 doubtful cases of, 125–127, 208
 erroneous, 162
 liberty of, 238–240
 Constantine, Emperor, 171–172
 Donation of, 98

- Córdoba, Pedro de, 82, 84, 86, 133
 Letter to King Charles, 102, 115
 preachers alone method, 115–116
corpus mysticum, 10, 24, 26, 76, 254, 314
 in Aquinas, 26–27, 156–157, 291
 in Las Casas, 26–27, 156–157, 290–291,
 294–296, 318–319
 in Soto, 139–140
 in Suárez, 295
 in Vitoria, 26, 98, 295
 secular political, 294–297
 Cortés, Hernán, 69, 128, 191, 275, 285, 315
 according to Sepúlveda, 172–173
 alliance with natives, 70–71
 as tyrant, 276, 292–293
 meeting with Las Casas, 292–293
 on forced labor, 71–73
 wars against idolatry, 69–71
 cosmopolitanism, 119
 Christian neo-Stoic, 201, 203
 Kantian, 12, 20, 327
 moral, 250–251, 273
 Cotton, John, 3, 227, 229–231
 Council of Constance, 43, 45
 Council of the Indies, 25, 100, 103, 116, 148,
 150, 298
 Council of Trent, 95, 146, 163, 314
 Covarrubias y Leyva, Diego, 214
 Crockaert, Peter of, 95
 Crusades, 35–38, 40, 42, 45, 48, 62, 86,
 120, 325
 Cushman, Robert, 230–231, 241

 Dante Alighieri, 89–90, 169
 Dávila, Pedrarias, 67–68
 Decalogue, 176, 179, 181, 263
 Deza, Diego de, 92–93
 dispossession, 173–174, 176, 194–195, 270,
 327
 of enemies of Christ, 48, 50
 of native savages, 174, 225–226, 230, 250
 of pagan idolaters, 43, 147, 171, 173, 175,
 307
 Dominicans, 5–6, 103, 124, 138, 150, 183–184,
 208, 272
 and the Valladolid junta, 21, 26, 147–149,
 163, 170
 at University of Salamanca, 25, 94
 internal dispute over Indies, 99–101, 103, 166
 legacy for Protestant thinkers, 116, 190, 199,
 201–202, 204, 239
 of Española, 25, 82, 84, 86–87, 93–94, 102,
 115, 132, 276
 of San Esteban, 92
 dominium
 founded in grace, 43, 238
 founded on liberty, 112, 271, 290
 infidel, 32, 37–38, 44, 52, 76, 85–88, 97–99,
 103, 110, 112–113, 175, 201
 natural, 105–107, 111–112
 over political affairs, 64, 113, 164, 286
rerum, 63, 107–110, 112, 267, 275
 universal papal, 8, 43, 66, 68, 113,
 192
 Donatists, 43, 171, 173
 Donne, John, 227, 229
 Duarte of Portugal, King, 45–47

 East Indies, 89, 194, 201, 208, 214, 220
 ecclesiastical power, 14, 26–27, 32, 36, 66, 77,
 97, 125, 217
 and civil authority, 7, 10, 38, 89, 91, 98,
 233, 288
 in court, 123, 150
 limits of, 27, 33, 98–99, 159
 Edict of Nantes, 238
 empires
 Catholic ideology of, 41–43
 ideology of European, 173–174, 176, 186
 native, 2, 195, 234
 of commerce, 196–198, 200, 207, 209,
 212, 325
 of evangelization, 74, 190
 pagan, 99, 147, 169, 174–175
 papal ratification of European, 77, 147
 practice of European, 185
 Protestant ideology of, 193–194
encomienda, 50, 57–58, 60, 62, 69, 72–73,
 81–84, 123, 148–150, 165, 183, 284, 298
 enemies
 of faith, 32, 35, 46, 48, 50, 61, 79, 166
 of human race, 214–215, 218, 222, 260
 English Crown, 195–196, 227, 249
 Enrique of Portugal, Prince, 45, 47
 Enriquillo, 297–299, 302
 Erasmus of Rotterdam, 95
 Erdmann, Carl, 34
 Española, 55–56, 59, 82, 85, 93, 102, 148,
 284, 297
 ethno-racial argument, 79–82
 Eugenius III, Pope, 36
 Eugenius IV, Pope, 46–47

- evangelization
 and restitution, 102, 115, 118
 by commerce, 197–198, 203, 205
 by conquest, 34, 36–37, 40–41, 46–48, 61, 67,
 169–173, 204
 conflict at Valladolid, 141–143, 208, 324
 new method of, 207–209, 259, 312, 325
 peaceful method of, 9–10, 25, 100, 115–118,
 124, 133–135, 138, 152, 159, 202, 204, 239,
 288, 298, 310
 excommunication, 46, 56, 82, 84, 123
- Ferdinand of Spain, King, 24, 48–49, 56, 59, 68,
 82, 84
- Fernández de Enciso, Martín, 67–68,
 87–88, 278
- Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 67, 69,
 151–152, 167, 278, 284
- Fernández-Santamaria, José, 176
- Fitzmaurice, Andrew, 302
- Florida, 142, 199, 204, 208, 234, 280, 282, 322
- Fourth Lateran Council, 35
- Francis I, King, 192, 198
- Franciscans, 84, 123, 298
- Frederick II, Emperor, 38
- freedom of the will, 27, 34, 40, 102, 112, 122, 124,
 128, 157, 266, 282, 287, 290–291
- Garcés, Bishop Julián, 103
- García de Loaysa, Cardinal, 100, 103
- Gentili, Alberico, 4, 90, 175, 197, 211, 260, 310
 and Roman law, 211–212, 226
 and the New World, 197, 200, 217, 221, 227
 on freedom of commerce, 201, 214
 on natural law of occupation, 226–227
 on natural slavery, 221
 on private wars, 215
 on right of punishment, 213–214, 217, 221–222
 wars against atheists, 217–218
- geopolitical hierarchy of civilization, 79–82,
 151, 166, 180–181, 186, 206, 244, 273
- Gerson, Jean, 104
- gold, 51, 60, 196, 203, 247, 272
 as currency, 248
 critique of Spanish pursuit of, 82–83, 93,
 115–116, 233, 247, 304–305, 307
 extractive mining of, 53–55, 59, 71–73, 85,
 117, 149, 209, 272, 302
 idolatry of, 55, 73, 185, 233, 322, 327
 lawful seizure of, 173, 303–304
- Gratian, 33–34, 36, 166, 271
- greed, 25, 100, 103, 218, 247–248, 273, 316,
 321–322
- Greeks, ancient, 80, 155
- Gregorio, *Licenciado*, 83
- Gregory the Great, Pope, 33–34, 131, 152, 169
- Gregory VII, Pope, 35
- Gregory IX, Pope, 39, 67
- Grotius, Hugo, 4, 21, 23, 211, 226, 260, 310
 and legal humanism, 211–212, 256
 and Native Americans, 236
 and opinion of Innocent IV, 216–217
 critique of Portuguese trading, 89, 197,
 200, 214
 in English School of IR theory, 12
 law of nations, 219–220, 256
 Mare Liberum, 116, 192, 200, 228
 modern critics of, 282, 303, 316
 on free commerce, 198, 200–201, 215
 on friendship through exchange, 200, 215
 on individual right of punishment, 212–213,
 215, 222
 on natural slavery, 221–222, 283
 on natural sociability, 12, 20, 235
 on private wars, 182, 213, 215
 on right of occupation, 51, 227–229, 236
 on the rights of infidels, 44, 116, 190, 197, 201
 On the Rights of War and Peace, 12, 215–216,
 220, 228
 on uncivilized barbarians, 214, 216, 218
- Guatemala, 142, 150, 281, 298
- Gutiérrez, Gustavo, 162
- Hakluyt, Richard, 192, 198–199, 201, 204, 223
- Hanke, Lewis, 85
- Henry VIII, King, 96
- heretics, 31, 38, 110
 coercion of, 170–172, 238
 dispossession of, 86, 173
 toleration of, 3, 238–239
 wars against, 35
- Hobbes, Thomas, 26, 90, 227, 256
 and IR theory, 12
 on European expansion, 19
 on international state of nature, 14, 16–17,
 19–20
 on natural law, 14–16, 19
 on natural right, 15, 222, 234
 on savage Americans, 17–20, 191, 234–235
 on state of nature, 15–16, 19, 234
- hospitality, norm of, 201, 207, 209, 214, 311
- Hostiensis, Cardinal, 43–44, 63–64, 66, 120

- huacas*, 272, 307
 Huayna Capac, Inca, 299
 human sacrifice, 70–71, 73, 145, 147, 167–168, 183, 191, 218, 260, 313–315, 318–319
 humanism, 189, 226, 243
 imperial, 144, 146, 175–176, 180–181, 183, 193, 206, 325
 legal, 180–181, 194, 204, 211–212, 217–218, 225, 250, 256–257, 284, 316
 realist, 144–145
 scholastic-juristic, 121, 264–266, 268, 301
 Stoic, 197, 221
 Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan, 94–95
 Hus, Jan, 43
 idleness, 58–60, 82–85, 110, 167, 194, 224, 229, 235
 idolatry, 4, 55, 82–84, 130, 185, 248, 327
 and Crusades, 35–36
 as self-critique, 4, 74, 155, 233, 247, 322–323
 immunity from punishing, 134, 156–159, 165, 238–240, 307–309
 just defense of, 161–163, 308
 legal displacement of, 4, 190–192, 194, 211, 218, 229, 244, 327
 wars to punish, 39–41, 60–62, 67–71, 85, 145, 156, 167–175, 307, 321
 image of God, 5, 7, 13, 77, 103, 105–106, 111–112, 120, 128–129, 153, 202, 222, 225, 240, 267, 282–283, 307
 infidels
 ambivalent status of, 2–3, 32–33, 207, 223
 Amerindians as, 103, 129
 categorical displacement of, 4, 189
 crux of Valladolid junta, 3, 6
 papal jurisdiction over, 39, 63, 146
 rights of, 2, 31–32, 37, 44, 75, 92, 120–121, 129–130, 146
 in Protestant colonial context, 190, 195, 200, 202, 226
 innocence, category of, 82, 93, 100–101, 118, 125, 252, 254, 259, 293, 313–321
 Innocent III, Pope, 296
 Innocent IV, Pope
 ideological reception history of, 42
 at Valladolid, 141, 156
 in Grotius, 216–217, 316
 in Mair, 78–79
 in Palacios Rubios, 62–63, 65–67
 in Sepúlveda, 145–146, 168
 in Vitoria, 260
 in Vladimiri, 43
 on lawful dominium of infidels, 37–38
 on punishing violations of natural law, 38–41, 62
 Quod super his, 36–43
 Innocent X, Pope, 10
 international law
 ambivalent origins of, 1–3, 190
 and indigenous peoples, 252–253
 and papacy, 8–10
 and Spanish theologians, 22–24, 176, 261
 and Valladolid, 3, 21–22, 144, 325
 and Westphalia, 10–11
 modern, 197, 206
 International Relations theory, 11, 14, 20
 and natural law, 143
 concept of tradition, 11, 21
 English School of, 12–13
 pluralist-solidarist debate, 252
 intervention
 abuse of, 216, 321
 humanitarian, 252–253, 314
 Spanish theologians on lawful, 315–322
 to civilize, 46
 wars of, 37, 40, 169
 iron, utility of, 185, 244–245
 Isabel of Spain, Queen, 24, 48–49, 77
 policy toward native peoples, 59, 61
 Isidore of Seville, 166, 255, 271
 Israel
 claim of conquest, 66, 182
 elective power of, 38, 286, 292
 peoplehood, 253
ius
 cognitionis, 119–121
 commune, 5, 14, 152, 264, 271, 287
 communicandi, 309
 defendendi, 96, 112, 132–133, 136, 139, 275, 301
 docendi, 137, 139
 humanae societatis, 44, 120–121
 mendicandi, 304
 negotiandi, 137, 259
 peregrinandi, 137, 209, 259
 praedicandi, 132–133, 136–139, 311–313
 utendi, 107, 111–112
 objective sense, 104, 106–107, 112, 119–121
 subjective sense, 103–107, 111–114, 120–122

- Jeronymites, Order of, 69, 84–85, 94, 102
 Jesuits, 16, 89, 205, 208, 289, 325
 Jews, 44, 236, 298
 as infidels, 31, 39–40, 86, 129, 159, 239
 Christian views toward, 32–36, 49, 131,
 135
 Julius II, Pope, 56

 Kant, Immanuel, 12, 20, 190, 234, 326–327
 Keal, Paul, 252

 las Casas, Bartolomé de, 3, 6, 21, 91
 and Aristotle, 151, 278–281
 Apologética historia sumaria, 153–155,
 278–282
 Apologia, 151–153, 155–161, 270, 313,
 318–319
 barbarian category, 155–156, 281–282
 Confesionario, 123, 150–151, 163, 264
 De unico vocationis modo, 103, 117–122, 125,
 128, 151, 298
 description of native peoples, 283–286
 evolution of view on papal title, 287–292
 exclusion from international legal thought,
 6, 153
 exit solution to Indies, 309–310
 final writings, 273, 286, 289–302, 305–310,
 320–322
 meeting with Cortés, 292–293
 on native right of resistance, 144, 152–153,
 161–163, 292, 297–299, 301–302
 on natural human equality, 153, 161
 on new decretal of Pope Paul III, 159, 290
 on religious nature of humanity,
 160–163
 pope as universal caretaker, 318–320
 Principia quaedam, 264, 267–269,
 286
 Lauterpacht, Hersch, 12
 Law of Burgos, 57, 62, 83–84, 123
 law of nations, 2, 76, 189, 270
 according to canon law, 14
 and Valladolid, 3, 155, 161
 as natural law, 16, 89–90, 181, 218–220,
 226–227, 259
 as subjective right of peoples, 7, 22, 108, 251,
 253, 261–262, 265–267, 272, 275, 315
 European, 179–182, 184–186, 191, 220–221,
 256
 primary/secondary distinction of, 218–220,
 235, 263, 268–269
 scholastic universal, 87, 164, 256–257, 265,
 268, 270–273, 284
 according to Las Casas, 265–266,
 268–269
 according to Soto, 257, 261–263
 according to Suárez, 16, 266–267
 according to Vitoria, 22, 107–110,
 258–261
 Leo XIII, Pope, 10
 Locke, John
 and Francis Bacon, 243–245
 and world commerce, 248–250
 library of, 205, 222–223, 243
 on international state of nature, 20
 on money and unlimited desire, 246–249
 on natural right of punishment, 222–223
 on toleration, 3, 238–240
 on wild Indians in the state of nature, 234,
 240–241, 243–247
 twofold right to property, 241–243, 250
 lord of the world
 pope as, 98, 319
 Roman emperor as, 89, 113, 269
 Lupher, David, 113
 Lutherans, 88, 166, 177, 239

 Machiavelli, Niccolò, 22, 144–145
 Mair, John, 77, 88, 151–152
 and geopolitical hierarchy, 80–81
 as critiqued by Las Casas, 153, 274,
 276–277
 modern view, 78, 95
 on Christian-infidel relations, 78–80
 on natural slaves across Atlantic, 81
 martyrdom in the New World, 204, 208,
 310, 322
 Mesa, Bernardo de, 82–83
 Mexico, 65, 69–73, 85, 123, 172, 293
 Miantonomo, Chief, 233
 Minaya, Bernardino de, 149
 money
 among Native Americans, 246, 285
 and idolatry, 25, 247–248
 as criterion of civilization, 46, 185, 240, 242,
 246–250, 268
 Montesino, Antonio, 82–83, 93–94, 233
 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, 196
 Montezuma, Emperor, 71, 275–276, 285,
 292–293
 More, Thomas, 226
 mortal sin, 162, 311

- and dispossession of dominium, 38, 43, 128, 130, 164
 - of *encomenderos*, 82, 123
- Moses, 67, 144, 182, 253
- Muldoon, James, 37
- Muslims, 31–32, 35, 38, 41, 78, 86, 138
 - toleration of, 129, 159, 239
 - Wars against, 31, 35–36, 42, 46, 48, 50, 79, 110, 166
- Native Americans. *See* Amerindians
- natural law, 2, 5, 37, 75–77, 200, 235, 248, 250, 303
 - according to canon law, 14
 - and bounds of just defense, 132, 320
 - and elective power of people, 91, 274–275
 - and natural religion, 160–161, 218
 - and vengeance, 212, 215, 301–302
 - as distinct from law of nations, 255–258, 262–263
 - authorizes war, 182, 185
 - of occupying land, 226–230, 242
 - of the commons, 236
 - politics at Valladolid, 3, 143–144, 147, 151–153, 156, 165, 167, 175–176, 179–180, 193, 205, 313
 - precepts of, 19, 67, 107, 177, 179, 181, 194, 220, 244, 259, 292
 - secularization of, 147, 175–179, 186, 189, 211, 217
 - universal enforcement of, 39, 67, 146, 168–170, 173–174, 184, 193, 211, 214, 216, 218, 260
- natural rights
 - ambivalence of, 1–2, 4, 194, 226, 237–238, 240, 250, 326
 - and natural kingship of Christ, 38–39
 - freedom of trading, 201, 215–216, 218–219
 - native forfeiture of, 223–224
 - right of conquest, 166–167, 180–181
 - right of conscience, 238, 240
 - right of consent, 91–92, 271–272, 286, 291–292, 296–297
 - right of liberty, 138–139, 157, 271, 289
 - right of merchandizing, 225
 - right of parental consent, 136
 - right of punishment, 212–218, 221–223, 225
 - right of self-preservation, 15–16, 106
 - right to defend one's religion, 161–163
 - right to private property, 240–243, 249
 - right to property, 232, 237–238
 - right to subdue earth, 225, 228–230, 232, 236–237, 244
- New Laws of 1542, 73, 148–150
- Nicholas V, Pope, 48, 177
- O'Donovan, Oliver, 5, 8, 253
- Ortiz, Tomás, 100
- Ottoman Turks, 35, 41, 113, 121, 221, 295
- Ovando, Nicolás de, 59
- Padua, University of, 90
- pagans
 - according to canon law, 31
 - and removal of idolatry, 35–36, 39–40, 67–68, 147, 168, 174
 - coercion of, 34, 171–172
 - immunity from coercion, 131, 161, 239–240
 - lawful rule of, 7, 97, 147, 159, 175, 180
- Pagden, Anthony, 174
- Palacios Rubios, Juan López de, 62, 83, 128, 146, 166, 168, 175, 182, 216
 - and natural slavery, 65
 - and opinion of Hostiensis, 64
 - De insulis oceanis*, 62–67
 - doctrine of war against infidels, 65–67
 - on papal donation, 62, 64
 - view of native property, 63, 65
- papal power, 3, 38–39, 63, 89, 91, 130, 176, 287, 318–320
 - constraints on, 98–99, 131, 140, 160
 - secular transference of, 64, 176, 186
- parecer*, 82, 85, 125
- Paris, University of, 77, 95
- Parish, Helen, 9
- Paul III, Pope, 8–10, 13, 48, 103, 148–149, 159, 290
- Paul, Apostle, 33, 99, 126, 139, 147, 156, 180
- pearl fishing, 58, 74, 116, 149, 304
- Peña, Juan de la, 312–313
- penance, sacrament of, 102, 122–123, 126, 150, 212
- Peru, 65, 97, 99, 101, 114, 209, 272–273, 288, 299, 305, 308
- peruleros*, 100, 134, 272, 292, 308
- Philip II of Spain, King, 21, 73, 163, 180, 286, 299, 306
- pirates, 212–215, 222
- Pitts, Jennifer, 189
- Pius V, Pope, 321

- planting colonies, 191, 199, 202, 230
- Plato, 174, 177
- Plymouth, 230–231, 326
- possession
 - by Spanish political rule, 52–56, 65, 68, 81, 166, 184–185
 - common, 14–15, 37, 65, 109, 228, 236, 260, 273, 305
 - factual, 51
 - of vacant land, 194, 226–230, 233, 242–243
 - Spanish versus English, 51–52
- Potosí, silver mines of, 272
- Proast, Jonas, 3, 238
- Promised Land, 67–68, 173, 182, 253
- Ptolemy of Alexandria, 80
- Pufendorf, Samuel von, 303–304, 316
- punishment
 - according to individual outside state, 215–217
 - according to jurisdictional authority of state, 260, 301, 315, 320
 - according to papal jurisdiction, 38–40
 - origin of, 37–38, 213
- Purchas, Samuel, 201–202, 240, 326
 - and effective use of land, 229
 - on merchants and mutual commerce, 202–203, 210
 - on superior right over native savages, 223–225
 - on the rights of infidels, 202
- Puritans of New England, 195, 225, 228
 - contrasting views of native property, 229–233
- realism, IR tradition of, 11–12, 15, 21–22, 141, 144
- Reconquista, 32, 42, 48–51, 53, 62, 123, 166
- relecciones*, 96
- repartimiento*, 49, 58, 84, 150, 293
- Requirement, 50, 57, 62, 64, 87, 158, 166, 182
 - logic of, 66–69, 109, 142, 183
 - practice of, 70–72, 97, 168
 - rejection of, 110, 131, 275, 287
- restitution, 101–103, 148
 - and discourse of infidel dominium, 103, 109–113, 115, 118, 120–121
 - and salvation, 102, 121–123
 - and subjective right, 102, 104–106, 121
 - pursuit of native, 101, 150–151, 272, 288, 292, 305, 307–309, 321
- Roman law, 127, 259, 294
 - and Protestant jurists, 196, 211, 220
 - Digest* of Justinian, 119, 219, 226, 267, 290, 306
- ferae bestiae*, 109, 207
 - of occupation, 8, 164, 186, 227, 241, 270, 275, 304–307
- res nullius*, 51, 184–185, 226, 241, 272, 302, 304, 325
- terra nullius*, 51, 226, 243
 - Ulpian the jurist, 179, 255–257
- royal patronage, 41–42, 48–49, 77, 149
- royal power
 - conferred by papacy, 64, 66, 110
 - natural constraint on, 272, 292
 - origin in the people, 91, 98–99, 114, 233, 271, 274–275, 291–297
 - purpose of, 96
- Salamanca
 - city of, 82, 92, 100–101
 - School of, 95–96, 192, 204, 312
 - University of, 21, 25, 94, 102, 135, 146, 148, 151, 163, 214, 221, 264, 288, 303
- Santo Domingo, Bernardo de, 85
- Santo Domingo, city of, 56, 93, 298
- Saracens. *See* Muslims
- Satan, 9, 36, 149, 208, 224
- savages
 - Amerindians as, 2, 17–19, 72, 190–191, 199, 206–208, 229, 231, 235, 244–245, 250
 - category of international legal thought, 2, 52, 194, 199, 213, 219, 223–226, 240, 326
 - Europeans as, 152, 190, 247
- Schmitt, Carl, 23
- scholasticism, 5–7, 175, 177, 206, 251
- self-determination, concept of, 252–253, 270
- Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 3, 21, 81, 90, 141, 204, 217, 220, 244, 250
 - and natural subjugation, 145, 151, 165–167, 180–181, 207, 285
 - apologist for Roman empire, 147, 169, 175, 179–180
 - conflict with Dominicans, 148, 150–151, 162–164, 168–169, 259, 264–265, 286, 288
 - defense of missionary war, 142–143, 145, 151, 156, 169–173
 - Democrates primus* and secularization of wisdom, 176–180
 - Democrates secundus*, 168–170, 183
 - discourse of imperial humanism, 143–144, 147, 173–176, 179–181, 184–186, 206, 257
 - imperial possession of uncivilized, 109, 181, 183–186, 325

- just causes of war in the Indies, 145–146, 166, 313, 318
- legacy for humanist jurisprudence, 186, 193, 211, 217–218, 221, 229, 325
- on naturalness of war, 181–183
- on punishment of native idolaters, 147, 167–168, 173–174, 307
- silver. *See* Potosí, gold
- Singapore, 197, 213
- slavery. *See* *encomienda*, African slavery
- Smith, Adam, 196, 326
- social contract thought, 241, 276, 295
- solidarity, principle of, 119–121
 - and mutual commerce, 209–210, 215
 - and scholastic law of nations, 251–252, 255, 309
 - and the ethic of intervention, 313–318
- Solomon, King, 202–203, 225
- Solórzano Pereira, Juan de, 190
- Song of Roland, 35
- Sotelo, Mario Ruiz, 297
- Soto, Domingo de, 5, 76, 95, 128, 132, 221, 312
 - and apostolic method of evangelization, 133–136
 - avoidance of scandal to faith, 136–137, 208
 - De dominio*, 111–114, 132–133, 271, 288
 - De iustitia et iure*, 95–96, 257, 264
 - distinct view of law of nations, 258, 261–263, 266
 - interpretation of papal grant, 139–140, 156
 - moderator at Valladolid, 3, 141, 145, 285
 - on consent of the people, 91, 139, 257, 272, 293
 - on dominium of infidels, 112–113
 - on intervention to defend innocent, 314
 - on native occupation, 272–273, 305–306
 - on natural right of liberty, 138–139
 - on right of preaching, 132, 137–138
 - on rights of the poor, 304
 - rejection of worldwide imperial rule, 113–114, 132, 270, 272
 - view of natural slaves, 283
- state of nature
 - and money, 246–250
 - empirical, 17–19, 191, 212, 222–223, 233–235, 240–246, 250, 324, 326
 - in contrast to state of innocence, 235–236
 - individuals in, 14–16, 212–217, 222–223
 - international, 16–17, 19–21, 220, 279, 326
 - scholastic theological alternative to, 268, 271, 281–282, 316, 319
- Stoicism, 14, 119, 153, 197, 201, 263
 - neo-, 197, 203, 212, 221–222, 260, 313, 326
- Strauss, Leo, 248
- Suárez, Francisco, 16
 - indirect theory of power, 89
 - international thought of, 23, 266
 - on political consent, 91, 266, 295
 - on right of war, 301
- suicide, 50, 59, 216
- Summenhart, Conrad, 104
- Talmud, 39, 67
- Tenochtitlan, city of, 71
- Teutonic Knights, 43–45
- Thucydides, 15, 17
- Tierney, Brian, 289
- Todorov, Tzvetan, 55
- Tordesillas, Treaty of, 56, 77
- Torquemada, Juan de, 89–90
- Tuck, Richard, 5
- Turks. *See* Ottoman Turks
- tyranny
 - defense of innocent from, 136, 139, 314–318
 - of Amerindians, 71, 73, 139, 260
 - of Spaniards, 82, 91, 101, 115, 153, 161, 199, 292–293, 310, 321
 - scholastic view on, 275–276
- United Nations, 11
- Urban II, Pope, 35
- Valladolid junta
 - legacy for international legal thought, 4, 24, 144, 193–195, 204–205, 216, 231, 251, 313–314, 318, 324–325
 - origins of, 6, 141, 148–151
 - overview of, 3, 21–22, 141–144, 202
- Valverde, Vicente de, 97, 99
- Vattel, Emer de, 2, 20, 189–190, 252, 316
- Vázquez de Menchaca, Fernando, 193
 - civilizational criteria, 235
 - on natives as wild savages, 235
 - on pre-political state of natural liberty, 234–235
 - on primary/secondary law of nations, 218–220
 - parochial view of law of nations, 220–221
- Verapaz. *See* Guatemala
- Virginia colony, 202, 204, 210, 223–225, 231
 - and native retaliation, 191, 223, 225

- Vitoria, Francisco de, 5, 13, 44, 88, 94–96,
 140, 147
 and international law, 21–23
 as secular proponent of empire, 23–24, 176
 contrast with Soto, 112, 132, 137, 257–258, 262,
 273, 310, 312
 critic of Spanish colonizers, 100–101, 125, 131,
 134, 163, 272, 292
 distinction between ruler and people,
 274–276, 306
 on civil jurisdiction to punish, 216, 260
 on infidel sovereignty, 96–99, 109–110, 128–130
 on *ius-dominium*, 105–107
 on law of original occupation, 107–109,
 304–305
 on natural slaves, 282–283
 on right of traveling, 137, 192–193, 209,
 259–261, 302–304, 311, 325
 on right of war, 301, 311–312
 to defend innocent, 315–316, 319
 on the power of the Church, 26, 89, 97–98,
 202, 288, 319
 rejection of worldwide papal rule, 98–99,
 113, 192, 288
Relectio de Indis, 25, 76, 124–131, 252, 277
 Vladimiri, Paulus, 43–45, 66, 76, 120, 198, 315
- war
 just, 36–37, 76, 86, 88, 131, 150–153, 161, 166,
 182, 206, 310
 waging private, 182, 200, 213–217, 301–302
- Westphalia
 beyond, 3, 13, 21–22, 24, 193, 251–253,
 271, 324
 Peace of, 1, 10–11
 political imaginary of, 12–14, 17, 176, 319, 327
 sovereignty myth of, 11, 19–21, 190, 324
- Wight, Martin, 12, 21–22, 143
- Williams, Roger, 3, 195, 232, 326
 critique of English idol, 232–233, 322
 on native forms of property, 231–232
 on native money, 246
 on origin of sovereignty, 233
- Winthrop, John, 236–238, 240
- Wolff, Christian, 189, 197, 273, 282, 316
- world order
 definition of, 13
 imperial humanist view of, 166–167, 175–176,
 179–181
 inclusive ecclesiological view of, 9–10, 13, 24,
 26–27, 287, 318–319, 322–323
 neo-Stoic Christian view of, 198, 222
 protoliberal view of, 240–243
 scholastic theological view of, 5–9, 26–27,
 75–77, 99, 114, 121, 157, 251–252, 254, 261,
 264, 269–270, 313, 316
 theocratic, 165–166
 papalist view, 37–40, 42–43
 royalist view, 45–47, 62–65, 67
- Wyclif, John, 43
- Zuazo, Alonso de, 69, 85