

In a finale that befits a work of this magnitude, no less distinguished an authority than Sir John Elliot, who left his own indelible imprint on the “Dispute of the New World” more than two decades ago, offers a reflective summation of its present condition. With customary insight and balance, he concludes that Europe indeed reshaped America and went on to reshape the world; but in doing so, it inevitably altered its self-image as well.

All told, this is a work worthy of reading by both a scholarly and a general audience. Certainly students at the high school and undergraduate levels ought to savor at least portions of its contents, for it stands out as an exemplar of sound scholarship and elegant prose.

STEPHEN J. HOMICK, Middlebury, Vermont

Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c. 1500–c. 1800. By ANTHONY PAGDEN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Notes. Bibliography. Index. ix, 244 pp. Cloth. \$30.00.

The expansion of Western Europe after the fifteenth century brought sweeping changes in aboriginal populations; the formation of new, mixed ones; the development of new trade routes and commerce; the erosion of old cultures; and the creation of new states and political forms. Anthony Pagden’s book concentrates on the various theories that emerged to defend or question that expansion, mostly those treating America and almost all appearing in Spain, France, and England. The three centuries covered were characterized by European settlement in overseas possessions, whereas later European imperialism aimed essentially at economic exploitation.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the theories concentrated on the legitimacy of sovereignty in America, the right to titles, and the rights of natives. Many of the Spanish authorities Pagden discusses are familiar to Latin Americanists, among them Vitoria, Soto, Las Casas, Seaveda, Fajardo, and Solórzano Pereira. French and English writers’ arguments, by denying most of the Spanish claims, had a simpler task. The most unusual Spanish writers opposed overseas expansion: Covarrubias y Leyva held that such vast areas were impossible to govern; Vázquez de Menchaca declared that even conquest could not create natural lordship, so overseas dominions were unnatural. The most extreme European writers, among them some Calvinists, resorted to the theory of *res nullis*. As non-Christians, the natives had no rights.

By the end of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth, the reduction of Spain’s foreign dominions to its non-European territories changed the terms of the European debate. The discussion centered henceforth on what had gone wrong in Spain’s affairs. English and French writers found the causes in the Spanish emphasis on mining and ideas of grandeur; the true basis of wealth was agriculture and commerce, as in the British and French colonies. Their ideas entered Spanish

thinking in such treatises as that of Campillo y Cossío and became embodied in the Bourbon reforms. In the last quarter of the century, the American Revolution added a new note: it demonstrated that the development of sizable European populations overseas meant their eventual independence from the home country.

Two final chapters deal with the calculation of the benefits and losses brought by overseas expansion. That discussion emphasized the costs of overextension, the condemnation of slavery, a kind of cultural relativism, and the idea of confederation. Pagden obviously favors this idea for world organization today, calling it the ancient Greek model, but warns that even though the United States is a stable federation, abroad it imposes its own ideas of proper economic and financial conduct, a new imperialism returning to the Roman concept of a common model.

WOODROW BORAH, University of California, Berkeley

Die Metamorphosen des Messianismus in den iberischen Kulturen. By MARIANO DELGADO. Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, 1994. Bibliography. 133 pp. Paper.

Mariano Delgado traces the development of the messianic mission idea embedded in Iberian culture from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, in an attempt to write “deep (longterm) history” (*Tiefengeschichte*) and to illustrate how nations, races, classes, cultures, or a church selects and adopts biblical messages, and the consequences of this selection. By not taking for granted the religious mandate underlying Spanish expansion (as he criticizes others for doing), Delgado pursues the question of how an ideology based on a reading of the Book of Daniel (in contrast to Chiliasmus) was constructed over time and molded to adapt to changing historical process.

The Spanish and Portuguese messianisms followed the Jewish influence, which meant to create a universal kingdom in *this* world. In the sixteenth century, the Catholic Iberian court (including the king and the court priests) declared itself the legitimate successor to Daniel’s four monarchies. Around 1500, both Spain and Portugal were ripe to substitute Jewish messianism with Iberian messianism. Thus Iberian messianism is an accomplished expression of quintomonarchism; that is, the longing for the fulfillment of Daniel’s announced eschatological fifth kingdom as a universal monarchy.

In the course of four centuries, this universal eschatological mission moved geographically and politically from Spain to Portugal, and then on to the Andean region. It was westbound, and the redemption of humanity would occur when all humans had been converted to the true faith. This geographical shift went together with the transfer of the seat of power (both physically, from Jerusalem to Lima, and politically, from *imperii* to *populo in principem*), the seat of knowledge, and the seat of the church. This triple *translatio* in turn documented the divine call to engage in con-