Contents

List of Contributors xxv

Introduction 1
    Stefan Kadelbach, Thomas Kleinlein, and David Roth-Isigkeit
    I. On the Topicality of the Past 1
    II. The History of International Legal Thought 2
    III. System and Order 7
    IV. From Machiavelli to Hegel 11
    V. The Plan of the Book 13

I. AUTHORS

1. Niccolò Machiavelli’s International Legal Thought: Culture, Contingency, and Construction 19
    David Roth-Isigkeit
    I. Niccolò Machiavelli 20
    II. The Political Condition 22
    III. Techniques of Government 24
    IV. Concept of Law 27
    V. Morality and Normativity 29
    VI. Imperialism 31
    VII. International Law 33
    VIII. Perspectives—Is Machiavelli a Part of the History of International Legal Thought? 36

2. Francisco de Vitoria: A Redesign of Global Order on the Threshold of the Middle Ages to Modern Times 38
    Kirstin Bunge
    I. Introduction: The ‘School of Salamanca’ and Francisco de Vitoria 38
    II. Moral Theology and Jurisprudence 40
    III. Cycles of Reception 50
    IV. Dominium and Law as Integral Parts of the Global Order 53
    V. Conclusion 54

3. Francisco Suárez S.J. on the End of Peaceful Order among States and Systematic Doctrinal Scholarship 56
    Tobias Schaffner
    I. Introduction 56
    II. Biographical, Intellectual, and Historical Background 59
Contents

III. Theory 63
IV. The Reception of Suárez' Aristotelian-Thomist Theory 74
V. Conclusion 76

4. Jean Bodin on International Law
   Merio Scattola 78
   I. The Problem of Sovereignty, or: Is Jean Bodin a Classic Author in International Law? 78
   II. Relationships among Commonwealths in the Six Livres de la République 82
   III. A Method for a Missing Public Law of Nations 85
   IV. Conclusions for the Doctrine of Sovereignty 89

5. Alberico Gentili: Sovereignty, Natural Law, and the System of Roman Civil Law
   Andreas Wagner 92
   I. Introduction 92
   II. Biographical Sketch 93
   III. System and Order: Gentili's Synthesis of Sovereignty and Legal Integration 95
   IV. Reception 105
   V. The Present Role of Gentili's Non-Public Global Law, its Advantages and Drawbacks 108

6. Althusius: Back to the Future
   Thomas O. Hueglin 115
   I. Early-Modern Context: Territorial Absolutism and Political Calvinism 116
   II. Conceptual Foundations: Federal Theology and the Question of Sovereignty 118
   III. A Theory of Federalism: Council Governance, Subsidiarity, and Consent 122
   IV. Reception: Refuted, Condemned, Forgotten, Misread 128
   V. Relevance in Ascendance? 130

   Stefan Kadelbach 134
   I. Introduction 134
   II. Texts, Intentions, Method 136
   III. Grotius and Ensuing Natural Law Philosophy 150
   IV. The 'Grotian Tradition' 153
   V. Conclusion: System and Order in Grotius 157
## Contents

   *Jonas Heller*  
   I. The Question of an International Disorder in Hobbes and Rousseau 161  
   II. The Beginning of Disorder 163  
   III. The Social Contract as Foundation of an International State of Nature 167  
   IV. The International State of Nature as a Condition of War 171  
   V. Rousseau and the Question of Perpetual Peace 174  
   VI. Can International Law Be Possible? 176  
   VII. Remarks about the History of Reception 179  
   VIII. Conclusion: National Orders in International Disorder 181

9. The International Legal Argument in Spinoza  
   *Tilmann Altwicker*  
   I. Introduction 183  
   II. The Absence of Normativity in the International State of Nature 186  
   III. Reconstruction of the International Legal Argument 188  
   IV. Three Analytical Concepts in Spinoza’s International Legal Argument 192  
   V. Conclusion: Spinoza’s Contribution to the Ordering of International Relations 196

10. States, as Ethico-Political Subjects of International Law: The Relationship between Theory and Practice in the International Politics of Samuel Pufendorf  
    *Vanda Fiorillo*  
    I. International Law as a Moral Politics: The Correlation between the Fulfilment of the ‘Offices of Humanity’ and the Exercise of the Natural Rights of States 199  
    II. A Pragmatic Politics: International Treaties as Politico-Diplomatic Instruments Converting the Peace Duties into Inter-State Practice 208  
    III. Conclusion 214

11. Christian Wolff: System as an Episode?  
    *Thomas Kleinlein*  
    I. A Universal Systematizer and Champion of Academic Freedom 217  
    II. Grotius, Wolff, Vattel, and the Riddle of Scientific Method 218  
    III. The Systematizer’s Scientific Method and International Law 221  
    IV. Three Transitions and Wolff’s *Jus Gentium Voluntarium* 231  
    V. Conclusion 238
Contents

Christian Volk
I. Montesquieu's Methodology and the Status of his Thoughts on the Law of Nations 243
III. Montesquieu and the System of his Thoughts on the Law of Nations 252
IV. The Confederate Republic as the Political–Institutional Form of a Montesquieuesque Law of Nations 259

13. Emer de Vattel on the Society of Nations and the Political System of Europe
Simone Zurbuchen
I. Career and Main Works 263
II. The Law of Nations and the Tradition of Modern Natural Law 265
III. The Natural and the Voluntary Law of Nations 267
IV. The Dualisms at Work: The Example of the Law of War 272
V. Vattel's Legacy 280

Bastian Ronge
I. Adam Smith's Internal Legal Philosophy 284
II. Adam Smith's Theory of Sympathy: The Conceptual Framework 290
III. The Centrepiece of Smith's Philosophy of Law: The Sympathetic Foundation of Rights 293
IV. Rewriting the Systems of Positive Law: The Example of Inheritance Law 296
V. Adam Smith's International Law: Pushing the Limits of Sympathy 298

15. Systematicity to Excess: Kant's Conception of the International Legal Order
Benedict Vischer
I. Introduction 303
II. The Systematicity of International Law 305
III. The Status of the Cosmopolitan System 308
IV. Traits of Openness 317
V. Conclusion 327

16. Fichte and the Echo of his Internationalist Thinking in Romanticism
Carla De Pascale
I. The Early Fichte as the Heir of the Pacifist-Cosmopolitan Tradition 329
II. The Effects Produced on Fichte's Thought by his Reflections on History and by the Historical Problem of Nation-Building 338
### Contents

III. Fichte as a Master of the Romantics 345
IV. The Influence of Fichte in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries 347
V. Conclusion 350

17. The Plurality of States and the World Order of Reason: On Hegel's Understanding of International Law and Relations 352
   **Sergio Dellavalle**
   I. Hegel's Theory of International Law and Relations 353
   II. Hegel against the Background of the Established Paradigms of Social Order 363
   III. Towards a New Paradigm of Order? 374

II. PERSPECTIVES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

18. What Should International Legal History Become? 381
   **Mariti Koskenniemi**

   **Nehal Bhuta**
   I. State Theory and State Concept 399
   II. External State Law's Ontology of Stateness 405
   III. Early Modern Jus Gentium's Constitution of Public Power 408
   IV. Conclusion 417

20. Spatial Perceptions, Juridical Practices, and Early International Legal Thought around 1500: From Tordesillas to Saragossa 418
   **Thomas Duve**
   I. Cartographic and Spatial Revolutions and International Legal Thought around 1500 418
   II. From Alcâcovas to Tordesillas 424
   III. From Tordesillas to Saragossa 431
   V. Conclusion 440

21. The Disorder of Economy? The First Relectio de Indis in a Theological Perspective 443
   **Mónica García-Salmones Rovira**
   I. Vitoria's Theology for International Law 446
   II. Natural Good and Dispensation of Natural Law 451
   III. De Indis 457
   IV. Conclusions 463

22. Power and Law as Ordering Devices in the System of International Relations 464
   **Gunther Hellmann**
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. System, Order, and Anarchy</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Power, Law, and Order</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Conclusion</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Universalism and Particularism: A Dichotomy to Read Theories on</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Armin von Bogdandy and Sergio Dellavalle</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Universalism and Particularism—The Meaning, Value, and Limits</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of a Dichotomy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Applying the Dichotomy</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Beyond the Dichotomy</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Brief Conclusions</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pierre-Marie Dupuy</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Space and Time</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Questioning and Regression</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Back to the Turning Back</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. A Precarious International Constitutionalism</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Competing Notions of Universality</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Globalization</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Towards a Programme to Combat Regression?</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>