AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL KINGDOMS AND STATES OF EUROPE

NATURAL LAW AND
ENLIGHTENMENT CLASSICS

Knud Haakonssen
General Editor

Samuel Pufendorf

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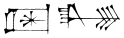
An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe

Samuel Pufendorf

Translated by Jodocus Crull (1695)

Edited and with an Introduction by
Michael J. Seidler

The Works of Samuel Pufendorf



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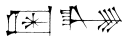

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Frontispiece: The portrait of Samuel Pufendorf is to be found at the Law Faculty of the University of Lund, Sweden, and is based on a photoreproduction by Leopoldo Iorizzo. Reprinted by permission.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In the early twentieth century when his main natural law works were reissued in the Carnegie Classics series,[1] Samuel Pufendorf was known as a theorist of international law; toward the latter end of the century, when he became more familiar to the Anglo-American world, he was studied mainly as a moral and political theorist.[2] However, in his own time in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Pufendorf was known and respected primarily as a historian.[3] Though these roles may now seem distinct and the subject of different professional literatures, they intersected or coincided in that earlier period. Thus, contrary to interpretations that segment Pufendorf's life and thought in either topical or temporal ways, or that seek to prioritize one or another function,[4] his roles as international jurist, natural lawyer, and historian must be seen in active relation to one another. They are present at all stages of his career.

Samuel Pufendorf was born in 1632, at the height of the Thirty Years' War, to a Lutheran pastor in Lower Saxony whose family experienced firsthand some of the terrors of that formative period in European history. When he died in 1694, he was royal historian to both Sweden and Brandenburg, an ennobled international figure whose services were also desired in Vienna to record the history of the empire and its Turk-

1. Pufendorf (1927a), (1927b), (1931a), (1931b), (1934a), (1934b).

2. Krieger (1965); Denzer (1972); Tuck (1981), (1987); Schneewind (1987), (1998); Haakonssen (1996).

3. Döring (1995), "Einleitung" to "Epistolae duae . . . ," in Pufendorf (1995), p. 460; and Döring (1994), p. 214 (on the funeral sermons after Pufendorf's death).

4. Krieger (1965), pp. 201–3, 209; Meinecke (1925), pp. 286–88.

ish wars.[5] His older brother, Esaias (1628–87), who often furthered his career and remained close despite eventual political differences, was an experienced and well-connected European diplomat; and Samuel himself held the posts of secretary to Hedwig Eleonora—widow of Charles Gustav, dowager queen of Sweden, and mother of Charles XI—and of privy councillor in Berlin. Throughout his career, he maintained close ties to members of the Swedish ruling class, whose sons he taught during his university periods at Heidelberg (1660–68) and Lund (1668–76). Indeed, as a historian who emphasized the importance of modern history, Pufendorf was throughout his life appropriately in the thick of things.

Like Esaias before him, Samuel began his formal education in 1645 at the ducal school at Grimma, where his studies included the Greek and Latin classics, especially the ancient historians. This was also a personal passion that he indulged voraciously on the side and that would provide a basis for his broad historical and political understanding. He continued his study of classics, or philology, at the University of Leipzig (1650–58) where, an early biographer reports, his favorite subjects were "divine and natural law" and the associated study of "history, politics, and civil law."[6] Equally important at the time was his membership in the Collegium Anthologicum, an extracurricular academic society where he gave many lectures on historical topics, including church history and the Holy Roman Empire.[7] In 1658 Samuel followed Esaias into Swedish service by becoming tutor to the household of Peter Julius Coyet, Sweden's envoy to Denmark. The renewed war between these countries led to an eight months' long imprisonment in Copenhagen, during which Pufendorf composed the *Elements of Universal Jurisprudence* (1660), his first and structurally most formal natural law

5. Döring (1996b), p. 92, note 57; letter to von Seilern (March 5, 1690), Pufendorf (1996), #175, p. 261, and p. 263, note 1; *Hamburgische Bibliotheca. . . . Die zehnte Centuria,* Art. 37, p. 128; and Moraw (1962), pp. 168–69, 172.

6. Adlemansthal [Dahlmann], "Vita, Fama, et Fata Literaria Pufendorfiana . . . ," in *Samuels Freyhrn. von Puffendorff kurtzer doch gründlicher Bericht von dem Zustande des H. R. Reichs teutscher Nation . . .* (Leipzig: Gleditsch und Weidmann, 1710), #3, p. 650.

7. See Pufendorf (1995), pp. 21–86; Döring (1992b), pp. 165–68, 174; and Döring (1988).

work. Notably, that same experience also led to a lesser-known political tract, *Gundaeus Baubator Danicus* (1659), which explored the status and rights of ambassadors in the context of international law.[8]

The *Elements* was published in the Netherlands, where Pufendorf was secretary to Coyet while also studying at Leiden University and editing several classical texts. Its dedication to Karl Ludwig, the reinstated Elector Palatine, soon secured for him a chair at Heidelberg in philology and international law (*ius gentium*).[9] There he cultivated close ties with a number of young Swedish aristocrats,[10] in part through a series of important theses (written by himself and defended by students), which were later included in his *Select Academic Dissertations* [*Dissertationes academicae selectiores*] (1675). These early pieces focused on topics (for example, patriotism, systems of states, irregular states) that remained central to his thought and elaborated the bare theoretical framework of the *Elements* through a rich analysis of historical examples, thereby creating the foundation for his main natural law treatise, *On the Law of Nature and of Nations* (1672). At Heidelberg, Pufendorf also composed a historically based justification of the Elector's disputed population politics (the *Wildfangstreit*),[11] he wrote a short history of the fifteenth-century Albanian folk hero George Kastrioti Skanderbeg (who had led a successful resistance against the Turks),[12] and he produced (under the pseudonym Severinus de Monzambano) his notoriously irreverent, or

8. Pufendorf (1995), pp. 125–55.

9. See Döring (2006) on Pufendorf's Heidelberg period.

10. These included Otto Wilhelm von Königsmark, who later secured for Pufendorf the post of secretary to Ulrike Eleonora. Königsmark entered imperial service in the 1680s during the joint European effort against the Turks, and Pufendorf's history of Skanderbeg (see note 12, below) was dedicated to him. See Döring's biographical entry in Pufendorf (1996), p. 399.

11. *Prodromus solidae et copiosae confutationis mox secuturae scripti . . .* (Heidelberg, 1665), in Pufendorf (1995), pp. 187–93; and the Introduction to Pufendorf (2007), pp. 11–12.

12. *Georgii Castriotae Scanderbeg vulgo dicti Historia, compendio tradita* (Stade, 1664). This piece indirectly supported the empire's defensive war against the Ottomans, which occupied the imperial diet of Regensburg (1664), and it was commissioned by Karl Ludwig or Johann Philipp von Schönborn, elector of Mainz. However, it was not published until 1684, after the Turkish attack on Vienna (1683). See Döring (1992a), pp. 200–201, and Palladini (1999a), #1346, p. 316.

realistic, account of the Holy Roman Empire, *The Present State of Germany* (1667), which also foreshadowed many of his later works, including the *Introduction.*

In 1668 Pufendorf left Heidelberg for a chair in natural law at the newly established University of Lund, in Sweden. There he completed *On the Law of Nature and of Nations* and its shorter pedagogical compendium, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1673), vigorously defending them against the fierce attacks of Lutheran and Neo-Aristotelian critics in both Sweden and Germany. When renewed hostilities with Denmark forced the closure of the university in 1676, he became royal Swedish historian in Stockholm. In that capacity he produced two long histories of Sweden, including *Twenty-six Books of Commentary on Swedish Affairs, from the Expedition of Gustavus Adolphus into Germany to the Abdication of Christina* (1686), and its sequel, *Eight Books of Commentary on the Achievements of Charles Gustav, King of Sweden,* which appeared posthumously in 1696 even though it was essentially completed when Pufendorf was loaned to Brandenburg in 1688. In Berlin he quickly completed his *Nineteen Books on the Achievements of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg* (1695) and then turned to the unfinished (and, until 1784, unpublished) fragment, *Three Books of Commentary on the Achievements of Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg,* which is notable for its detailed account of the English Revolution of 1688.[13]

While still in Sweden, Pufendorf collected the lectures on European history that he had given at Lund, and perhaps Heidelberg, and issued them in 1682 as *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe.* Ironically in view of its immediate success, this was a forced publication. Because an unauthorized Swedish translation based on circulating student manuscripts had appeared in 1680, Pufendorf was compelled to publish an official version in order to assert his authorship ("than to suffer that another should rob me of it").[14] To remedy the absence of a separate chapter on Sweden in

13. Seidler (1996).

14. Preface, p. 6. Martinière, "Eloge historique" (1753), p. xv, says that the *Introduction* was circulated in manuscript form to the young people Pufendorf was teaching, and Siebenkäs (1790), p. 52, that Pufendorf was forced to publish.

the manuscript version—whose pedagogical aim had been to educate young Swedes about the rest of Europe—Pufendorf followed up with his *Continued Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe, Wherein the History of the Kingdom of Sweden and Its Wars with Foreign Crowns Are Especially Described* (1686), a work as long as the much wider ranging original. That same year, before leaving Sweden for Brandenburg, Pufendorf also issued his *Scandinavian Quarrel* (*Eris Scandica*), a collection of polemical essays defending his natural law theory against a variety of critics. And in Berlin, before his death in 1694, he published two important works on religion that addressed church-state relations, religious unification, and toleration.[15] At the same time he was preparing the second edition of *The Present State of Germany,* which he had substantially revised to reflect current European conditions.

The Introduction—Background, Content, and Reaction

Pufendorf's original *Introduction* consisted of a preface and twelve chapters, each devoted to a different European state. The relatively short chapter I pays tribute to the ancient historians as "equally usefull and pleasant,"[16] and continues to adhere formally to the traditional four-monarchies scheme (Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome) associated with Daniel 2:31–44. However, that framework is not employed in the unified, millenarian fashion of universal history, and Pufendorf subjects each ancient empire (especially Rome) to the same realistic, reason-of-state analysis as the rest of the work. Subsequent chapters

15. Pufendorf (2002b) and (2002c).

16. This comment is from the Preface, pp. 5–6, which also says: ". . . that the History of later Times is so much neglected is a great Mistake and want of Understanding in those to whom the Education of Youth is committed; for I lay down this as a Principle, That we are to study those things in our Youth, which may prove usefull to us hereafter, when we come to riper Years, and apply our selves to Business. Now I cannot for my life apprehend, what great Benefit we can expect to receive from Cornelius Nepos, Curtius, and . . . , as to our Modern Affairs, tho' we had learned them by heart, . . ."

all focus on the supposedly neglected but more useful study of modern history (i.e., the recent history of modern states), where the fourth monarchy—the Holy Roman or German Empire (chapter VIII)—appears merely as one political entity among others. The twelfth chapter, which is devoted to the papacy or the court of Rome, had appeared separately already in 1679 under the pseudonym of Basileus Hypereta and was neatly folded into the larger work.[17] The missing thirteenth chapter, as it were, as found in the later English and Latin versions, was not by Pufendorf himself but is most likely Crull's condensation of the *Continued Introduction*.[18]

According to the Preface, Pufendorf's respective accounts of individual states were based on their own historians, which made for some differing perspectives that he explicitly chose not to "reconcile or decide."[19] Moreover, as literary historians report, he relied mainly on one main source in each case,[20] including the following authors: Mariana (Spain), Vasconcellus (Portugal), Vergilius (England), Aemylius (France), Grotius (United Provinces), Simler (Switzerland), Lehmann (Germany), Pontanus (Denmark), Neugebauer (Poland), Herbsteiner (Russia), and Messenius (Sweden—in the *Continued Introduction*).[21]

17. [Pufendorf, Samuel] *Basilii Hyperetae historische und politische Beschreibung der geistlichen Monarchie des Stuhls zu Rom* (Leipzig: Wittigau; Franckfurt: Knoch, 1679). Niceron (1732), p. 284, does not identify the changes made to this work when it was incorporated into the *Introduction* in 1682. He notes, though, the appearance of a similar (also anonymous) work a few years later, *Theodosii Gibellini Caesaro-Papia* (Franckfurt, 1684), which some had attributed to Esaias Pufendorf. This latter work saw further editions in 1691 and 1720. Adlemansthal (1710), p. 800, notes its close similarity to *Basilii Hyperetae. . . .*

18. See Appendix 1, Publication History, pp. 606–7 (at notes 17–20) below.

19. Preface, p. 7.

20. Meusel (1782), p. 198, probably drawing on Ludwig, "Eulogium" (1721), pp. 480–81.

21. Juan de Mariana [1536–1624], *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae libri XXX, editio nova, ab auctore recensita, & aucta . . .* (Mainz, 1619); Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos [1523–1599], *Deliciae Lusitano-Hispanicae: in quibus continentur De magnitudine Hispanici Imperii relatio: novi orbis regionum a Lusitanis subactarum brevis descriptio. De Lusitania ceterae Hispaniae adiuncta historia* (Cologne, 1613); Polydorus Vergilius [ca. 1470–1555], *Anglicae historiae libri vigintisex, ab ipso autore postremùm iam recogniti, adque amussim, salva tamen historiae veritate, expoliti Simon Grynaeus lectori* (Basel, 1546); Paulus Aemilius Veronensis [ca. 1455–1529], *De rebus gestis Fran-*

The controversial account of the papacy relied on "an anonymous Frenchman" and, perhaps, a student manual on church history by the Lutheran theologian Hieronymus Kromayer, who had taught the subject at Leipzig during Pufendorf's residency there.[22] Basileus Hypereta's preface (1679)—not transferred to the *Introduction*—also refers to church histories by M. Antonius de Dominis and Petrus Suavis but deems these unhelpful because of their focus on doctrinal disputes and clerical matters of little interest to politicians.[23] In general, the *Intro-*

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corum, a Pharamundo primo rege usq[*ue*] *ad Carolum octavum libri X, editio ultima superioribus emendatior* (Basel, 1601); Hugo Grotius [1583–1645], *Annales et historiae de rebus Belgicis* (Amsterdam: Blaev, 1657); Josias Simler [1530–76], *De Helvetiorum republica, pagis, foederatis, stipendiariis oppidis, praefecturis, foederibus tum domesticis, eorumque origine ac legibus, tum externis, pagorumque singulorum privata reipublicae ratione, libri duo. Quibus etiam Helvetiorum res gestae, domi forisque, a Rodolphi ad Caroli V. Imperium exponuntur . . .* (Paris, 1577); Christoph Lehmann [1568–1638], *Chronica der freyen Reichs-Statt Speyer: . . . Zum andern, von Anfang und Auffrichtung deß Teutschen Reichs . . .* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Daniel Fievet, 1662); Johannes Isaac Pontanus [1571–1639], *Rerum Danicarum historia libris X* (Hardervici Gelrorum, 1631); Salomon Neugebauer [1611–54], *Historia rerum Polonicarum concinnata . . . libris decem* (Hannover, 1618); Sigismund von Herberstein [ca. 1486–1566], *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii . . . quibus Russiae ac Metropolis eius Moscoviae descriptio, chorographicae tabulae, religionis indicatio, modus excipiendi & tractandi oratores, itineraria in Moscoviam duo, & alia quaedam continentur . . .* (Basel, 1571); Johannes Messenius [ca. 1579–1636], *Historia suecorum gothorumque, per . . . Ericum Olai . . . concinnata, res commemorans LXVII potentissimorum regum, tertia marique gloriosissime gesta, primordio capto ab anno restauratae salutis humanae primo, ad MCDLXIV hoc thema continuans, . . .* (Stockholm, 1615).

The composition of the *Continued Introduction* (1686) took place concurrently with Pufendorf's *Twenty-six Books of Commentary on Swedish Affairs* (1686), which rested on thorough archival research. Also, his accounts made use of other sources at various points, including William Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (London, 1673) at note 39, p. 302, and note 50, p. 308, below.

22. Hieronymus Kromayer [1610–70], *Ecclesia in politia. Id est historiae ecclesiasticae centuriae XVI . . .* (Leipzig, 1666). See Döring's Introduction to "Brevis commentatio . . ." (1675), in Pufendorf (1995), p. 201. Palladini (1984) shows also that Pufendorf's account relied on Guicciardini.

23. Marco Antonio de Dominis [1560–1624], *De republica ecclesiastica libri X* (Heidelberg, 1618); and Paolo Sarpi [1552–1623], *Petri Suavis Polani* [pseud.] *historiae Tridentini libri octo: ex Italicis summa fide ac cura Latini facti,* editio quinta & ultima (Gorinchem, 1658). Also see Pufendorf's letter to Thomasius (December 30, 1688), in Pufendorf (1996), #158, pp. 235–36, where Pufendorf comments on the proper

duction relies on other authors mainly for the older, distant histories of individual states, but as the respective accounts approached his own time Pufendorf made more use of his own experience and research; for here, according to Ludwig, he held "the chief place."[24]

The final sections of each chapter, which were termed "politick remarks" or "politische Anmerckungen" by later authors, are of special note. Comprising Pufendorf's "Observations . . . concerning the good and bad Qualifications of each Nation, . . . as also what concerns the Nature, Strength and Weakness of each Country, and its form of Government"[25]—a kind of political commentary already found in *The Present State of Germany*[26]—they applied the Preface's distinctions about different types of state's interest (*ratio status*) to the peculiar form and condition of each country. Pufendorf was not the first to offer a history of individual European states as such, and others had lectured on the topic before, including Hermann Conring (1606–81) at Helmstedt and Johann Andreas Bose (1626–74), professor of history at Jena (since 1656) with whom Pufendorf was personally acquainted.[27] There

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way to write ecclesiastical history and suggests that the results will differ in the case of a theologian and an honest man.

24. Ludwig, "Eulogium" (1721), p. 481.

25. Preface, p. 7. Note that Pufendorf refers to such observations "as are generally made" in this regard, suggesting that the approach was not new or unique to him. See note 57, p. xxiv, below.

26. See chapter VI on the form, and chapter VII on the strength and diseases, of the German Empire.

27. Hammerstein (1972), p. 239; Döring (1992b), pp. 159–60, note 473; and Valera (1986), 119–43, especially 122–26. Bose studied with Johann Heinrich Boecler (at Strassburg), a leading German Tacitist, before returning to Leipzig and then Jena, where he would have met Pufendorf. His *Introductio generalis in notitiam rerum publicarum orbis universi. Accedunt eiusdem dissertationes de statu Europae . . .* (Jena 1672, though based on lectures held already in 1662) is considered an early example of what became, in the eighteenth century, the science of *Statistik*, a historical and empirical study of individual states similar to that of Pufendorf in the *Introduction.* Conring had lectured on such topics already in 1660, also under the title of "notitia rerum publicarum." These lectures were issued against his will by two students in 1668, and they appeared at Geneva in 1675 under the title *Thesaurus rerum publicarum totius orbis.* See Behnen (1987), p. 77, note 3, and p. 83; and Pasquino (1986), especially p. 163, note 64, and pp. 164–65, note 70. Achenwall—one of the

were also contemporary analyses of Europe in terms of state's interest, such as Petrus Valckenier's *Das verwirrte Europa* (1677) and Christian Widemann's *Academia status* (1681).[28] The "new moment" in Pufendorf's approach was the emphasis on modern history and, especially in these sections, the concrete assessment of individual states and their external relations in terms of a normative notion of interest rooted in his natural law theory.[29] That is, it was the unusual combination of Pufendorf's philosophical theory of the state with his practical observations of contemporary political affairs that gave the work its pull.

Like many of Pufendorf's other works, the *Introduction* was well received and soon translated into other European languages (see Appendix 1, Publication History, p. 603). According to Ludwig (1695/1700), it gained many adherents (*Liebhaber*) and served as a "manual in history" for almost everyone.[30] Siebenkäs (1790) also referred to its popular, handbook status and noted its "important influence on the teaching of history," to which it had given "a new direction."[31] Brockwell (1702) considered it one of Pufendorf's "most Compleat and Perfect Pieces" and called him a "prophet" on the basis of its political analyses.[32] The Dedication of Etienne de la Chambre's (Bruzen de la Martinière's) grand 1721 French revision of the *Introduction* describes it as "the chief

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eighteenth-century inheritors of this tradition—explicitly traced the origin of the term *Statistik* to the Italian notion of *ragio di stato.* More generally on the study of history at Protestant universities in Germany, see Scherer (1927), pp. 135–213; Bödeker (1986); and Boockmann (1987). Also see p. xxiv, note 57, below, and Appendix 1, p. 603, note 3.

28. Meinecke (1925), pp. 287–88, note 3. Petrus Valckenier, *Das verwirrte Europa. Oder, politische und historische Beschreibung, der in Europa . . . seither dem Jahre 1664 entstandenen . . . Kriegen, und leidigen Empörungen, nebenst deroselben Ursachen und Gründen, . . . in vier Teilen* (Amsterdam, 1677; the German edition); and Christian Widemann, *Academia status, ad status Europae cognoscendos* (Jena, 1681). Niceron (1732), pp. 165ff., lists many other works on Europe (under *Universal-Historie*) in the early eighteenth century.

29. Hammerstein (1972), p. 240.

30. Ludwig (1700), Preface, p. 19.

31. Siebenkäs (1790), p. 52.

32. Brockwell, Preface, in Pufendorf (1976).

work of a wise man who is regarded as the oracle of politicians."[33] These and other estimations were not confined to those with a vested interest in the work, such as its translators, editors, and commentators, but they also issued from the new scholarly journals in which Pufendorf's works, including his histories, were often reviewed.[34] Two such reviews are of particular note since Pufendorf replied to them in print—with his fictive "Two Letters . . . to Adam Rechenberg" (*Epistolae duae . . . ad Adamum Rechenbergium,* 1688).[35] The first appeared in the *Journal des Savants,* where the Abbé de La Rocque made minor corrections to Pufendorf's account—in *Twenty-six Books of Commentary on Swedish Affairs* (1686)—of France's role during the Thirty Years' War, evoking from the latter (in his first "letter") not only a complaint about La Rocque's pro-French and pro-Catholic bias[36] but also some valuable observations on the writing of history. The second, by Jean Le Clerc in the *Bibliotheque universelle et historique,* focused directly (via Cramer's 1688 Latin translation) on Pufendorf's *Introduction,* particularly its comments about religious freedom in the United Provinces (chapter VI).[37] This initial exchange with Le Clerc about the appropriate degree of religious toleration in a state continued with the latter's response to Pufendorf's "Two Letters," and with Pufendorf's *The Divine Feudal Law* (1695), which Le Clerc also reviewed some years later.[38]

33. Dedication, in Pufendorf (1721), vol. 1.

34. See the Reviews section of the Bibliography, pp. 647, and also Zurbuchen (1991), pp. 180–82; Palladini (1978), pp. 64–66; and Döring, in Pufendorf (1995), p. 462, note 43, and p. 467, note 59.

35. See Pufendorf (1995), pp. 488–506.

36. Abbé Jean-Paul de La Rocque, in *Journal des Savants* 15 (1687), pp. 112–20; see Döring's Introduction to Pufendorf's *Epistolae duae,* in Pufendorf (1995), pp. 460–67.

37. See VI.21, p. 308, and note 61, p. 178, below. Le Clerc reviewed Cramer's 1688 Latin translation of the *Introduction* in his *Bibliotheque universelle* 7 (1687), pp. 205–11. On background, see Döring's Introduction to "Epistolae duae," in Pufendorf (1995), pp. 467–71. Also see Appendix 2 in this book, p. 625, note 15.

38. Jean Le Clerc, *Bibliotheque universelle* 12 (1689), pp. 472–86. Le Clerc reviewed Pufendorf's *The Divine Feudal Law* in *Bibliotheque choisie* 7 [1705], p. 392. See Döring's Introduction to "Epistolae duae," in Pufendorf (1995), p. 467, note 59, and p. 477, note 80.

Pufendorf as Historiographer

What reviewers like Le Clerc, Rechenberg, Bayle, and (Henri) Basnage de Beauval appreciated about Pufendorf's historical writing matched his own assessment of what mattered.[39] Most important was the reliance on documentation and first-hand reports, rather than hearsay or speculation. As royal historiographer in Stockholm and Berlin, Pufendorf made thorough use of the archives to which he had privileged access. He also travelled in Europe to obtain source materials, and he attempted sometimes to obtain important records through personal connections—even from parties otherwise unlikely to provide them, such as the court of Rome.[40] Indeed, Pufendorf's principled reliance on archival materials—that is, his writing of "public" rather than "private" history[41]—sometimes provoked complaints that he had revealed state secrets and led to censorship of certain works for this reason.[42] Other commendations of Pufendorf's historiographical method noted his avoidance of speculation about the motives of historical actors, and his self-limitation to what he took to be the implications of the documentary evidence. Moreover, it was said, he did not ascribe malicious motives to the adversaries of those who had commissioned his works,

39. For more details on individual reviewers' comments, see Piirimäe (2008), pp. 246–48, and Piirimäe (unpublished manuscript), pp. 15–16, and 11–12.

40. On Pufendorf's work in the archives, see his letters to the Austrian councillor Johann Friedrich von Seilern (March 5, 1690), in Pufendorf (1996), #175, p. 262, ll. 34–35; and to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels (mid-November 1690), #194, pp. 293–94, ll. 12–14; on his gathering of materials at Cassel, to von Hessen-Rheinfels (March 29, 1690), #176, p. 264, ll. 23–30; and on his approaches to Christina, Salzer (1904), p. 6, note 15.

41. Moraw (1962), p. 173.

42. On the posthumous censorship of Pufendorf's *Nineteen Books on the Achievements of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg* (1695), see Adlemansthal [Dahlmann] (1710), #42, pp. 786–87, and #43, p. 795; Seidler (1997), p. 215; and Palladini (2003) and—for Leibniz's role—(1999b). On Swedish attempts to censor or control Pufendorf's work, see Piirimäe (unpublished manuscript), pp. 11–13. Some Swedes were upset by Pufendorf's ethnographic characterization of them in the *Continued Introduction* (1686), which was summarized by Crull in XIII.18. See p. 599, and note 40, in the text below, and also note 57 in the Editor's Introduction.

and he left moral judgment about events to the reader. In Tacitean fashion (*sine studio et ira:* "without bias or malice," *Annals* I.1), he sought explicitly to avoid interpolating personal emotion or prejudice into his accounts.[43]

By avoiding both "the writing of falsehoods and the concealment of truths" the historian is distinguished, so Pufendorf, from a fabulist and a flatterer. His role also differs from those of an advocate (lawyer) and a judge. The former is essentially a special pleader or propagandist for his clients, seeking in every way to advance their cause, even by distorting the record; while the latter presumes to render verdicts from an acontextual or disinterested meta-perspective, a view from nowhere, as it were. The historian, instead, should describe things as he finds them and leave judgment to the reader. However, this does not preclude the expression of a particular view. On the contrary, as Pufendorf somewhat misleadingly observed, a historian also plays the tune of the one who pays or feeds him, and so (the former) Queen Christina's complaint (at Rome) that his account of Sweden's involvement in the Thirty Years' War had displeased Catholics was to him "ridiculous." What he meant by such statements was better expressed, perhaps, by two other similes: the historian as secretary or architect who fashions a literary or physical edifice for a ruler by using the latter's own materials and plans. Thus, two historians can write ". . . the history of two hostile princes . . . with the same appearance of truth [*pari specie*], as long as each adjusts himself to the opinions, impressions, and interests of his own prince." Indeed, Pufendorf remarked, waxing autobiographical, the same skillful individual can write both histories, build the same information into both accounts, and even have one borrow from the other, as long as the general perspectives are different. In fact, this describes his own histories of Frederick William and Charles Gustav, respectively, and to some

43. In his posthumous *Seven Books of Commentary on the Affairs of Charles Gustav, King of Sweden* (Pufendorf [1696]), I.1, p. 5, Pufendorf says that "the only commendation I expect for my work from reasonable people is that I have drawn it honestly from reliable sources, without any admixture of emotion or prejudice."

extent the various accounts in the *Introduction,* where the same events are treated in the context of differing national histories.[44]

Historically, the early modern historiographer was situated between two more general or (apparently) less partial roles: that of the so-called universal (or salvation) historian and that of later, more disaffiliated historians purporting to work only for the party of humanity.[45] Despite clear continuities with the classical, "rhetorical" tradition that highlighted virtuous exemplars and ideal types,[46] his own accounts were "pragmatic" in the sense of focusing on the concrete interconnectedness of actual events.[47] In fact, the historiographer's role evolved along with its subject matter, which was the early modern states and rulers in need of legitimating narratives to maintain their internal sovereignty, external independence, and relative claims upon one another. Arising in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in Iberia and Italy, the formal office of royal historiographer moved gradually from there into northern Europe, where it culminated in the seventeenth century together with the process of state-building.[48] Despite or perhaps because of its overt nationalistic function, the role was international in character. That is, not only was it shared or iterated in many states, which had their own historiographers, but it also became professionalized or bureaucratized, with the individuals filling it often switching their employ like diplomats, soldiers, and other state officers.[49] Most significantly, historiographers' works were mainly aimed at an international audience, including a state's or ruler's antagonists. In Pufendorf's terms, the

44. For detailed supporting references for ideas in this paragraph, see Seidler (1997).

45. See Meinecke (1925), pp. 293 and 300–301.

46. There is much in Pufendorf's dedications and prefaces about the exemplary value of history. See Seidler (1997), pp. 209–10.

47. See Reill (1975), pp. 41–43, and Krieger (1965), pp. 172–73, for the distinction and the evolving meaning of "pragmatic." Martinière's "Avertissement" to Pufendorf (1721) refers to the *Introduction* as a new kind of "universal history." Also see Simonetti (1746), in Blanke (1991).

48. Piirimäe (unpublished manuscript), pp. 2–8, and (2008), pp. 242–44; Moraw (1962), p. 166.

49. Meinecke (1925), p. 299.

historiographer was a kind of "public interpreter"[50] whose task it was to lay before the world the case of the political actors he represented and to defend their claims and policies in terms of rational and moral criteria. The crucial and, perhaps, paradoxical assumption was that this could be done without sacrificing truth.

History, Natural Law, and Interest

By recording, portraying, and analyzing political agency as such (as exhibited in the diplomacy, negotiations, treaties, alliances, and other strategic decision-making that were Pufendorf's main concern), history facilitated the extension of natural law reasoning from individuals to the collectives that they comprised or represented. And by articulating the concrete interests of competing states, it allowed their association with the obligations of rulers, thereby linking international to natural law, and politics to morality. This seems to be the meaning of the statement in the "Eloge historique" prefixed to the 1753 French edition of the *Introduction:* that without history, *On the Law of Nature and of Nations* would have been nothing but "abstract speculation," and that Pufendorf composed the *Introduction* as a guide for young people so that they would not be misled by the theoretical treatise.[51] Of course, the *Introduction* and other works were not simple, textbook applications of the latter's principles. Still, they were presumed to be consistent with these in the same way that Pufendorf's historical knowledge about political affairs, both ancient and modern, gave substance and intelligibility to the natural law theory that it in a sense generated. That is, the theory not only emerged from practice as depicted in history, but it also guided it in turn.

The prime directive of Pufendorf's natural law theory, the law of sociality, enjoins humans "inasmuch as [they] can, [to] cultivate and maintain toward others a peacable sociality that is consistent with the

50. Letter to von Seilern (March 5, 1690), in Pufendorf (1996), #175, p. 262, l. 49.

51. "Eloge historique," p. xiv, in Pufendorf (1753). The "Eloge" is an expanded version of the "Mémoires" prefixed to Pufendorf (1721), where the same observation is made.