
Renaissance, Reformation and Reason of State : political thought from Machiavelli to Locke

Ronan SHARKEY

Syllabus

1. The Renaissance and the decline of Aristotelianism

- a. Introduction to early-modern political thought
- b. Pre-modern politics: Aristotelian moral psychology and political community
- c. Pre-modern politics: Aquinas
- d. The breakdown of the Aristotelian synthesis
- e. Ciceronian virtues and the realities of politics

Reading: Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics, Politics*; Aquinas, *Political Writings*; Cicero, *On duties*

2. Humanism and politics I: Erasmus and More

- a. Erasmus on the education of Princes
- b. More's *Utopia* and the modern state

Reading: More, *Utopia*; Erasmus, *On the education of a Christian prince*

3. Humanism and politics II: Machiavelli

- a. The rise of the Italian city-republics
- b. Florence, the Medici and the tragedy of Savonarola
- c. Guicciardini and Machiavelli on Florentine history
- d. Machiavelli the diplomat
- e. Vice and *virtù*: Machiavelli's subversion of humanist morality
- f. Armies and mercenaries
- g. Political leadership
- h. Corruption and political liberty in the *Discorsi*
- i. Machiavelli and modernity

Reading: Machiavelli, *The Prince; Discourses*; Black 2013

4. Reformed politics I: Luther and after

- a. Luther's theological development
- b. Luther's conservatism
- c. Luther on secular power

- d. Luther on education, authority and the church
- e. The Radical Reformation

- **Reading:** Luther, *On Secular Authority*; Cargill-Thompson 1984; *The Radical Reformation*, ed. Baylor, Cambridge, 1991

5. Reformed politics II: from Calvin to Bodin

- a. Calvin on Civil Government
- b. The republic of Geneva and the execution of Michael Servetus
- c. Calvinism and Puritanism in later 16th century Europe: Knox
- d. The Monarchomachs and Bodin
- e. Bodin on sovereignty

Reading: Calvin, *On Civil Government*; Knox, *On Rebellion*; Bodin, *On Sovereignty*; Höpfl 1982; Skinner 1978, II

6. Methodological interlude: understanding (in) the history of political ideas

- a. Texts, acts and individuals
- b. Whiggism and liberalism
- c. Straussianism, positivism and the death of political philosophy
- d. The contextualist approach I: Collingwood and MacIntyre
- e. The contextualist approach II: the Cambridge school
- f. Questions for contextualism

Reading: Strauss 1958, 1988; Laslett 1956; Collingwood 1978; Dunn 1968; Skinner 2002, vol. I; Pocock 2009; Tully 1988; Goldie 2006; Philp 2008; Bevir 2011

7. Grotius, Hobbes and the New Natural Law

- a. Tacitism and Neo-Pyrrhonian scepticism
- b. Grotius's simplification of natural law
- c. Hobbes, humanism and Galilean science
- d. The political context of Hobbes's political thought:
 - i. Absolutism and the Civil War
 - ii. The Republic and the Levellers
 - iii. Hobbes, preceptor to princes

Reading: Grotius, *On the Law of War and Peace*; *The English Levellers*; Hobbes, *De Cive*, *Leviathan*, *Behemoth*; Tuck 1987, 1993; Sommerville 1992; Malcolm, 2012

8. Hobbes, political authority and the state

- a. Hobbes's philosophical anthropology
- b. The redefinition of the virtues: prudence
- c. The redefinition of the virtues: justice
- d. Negative liberty and violence
- e. The laws of nature
- f. The "compact":
- g. Hobbes on religion and theology

Reading: Hobbes, *Leviathan* (various editions); Oakeshott 1975; Skinner 2007, 2007

9. Hobbes, Harrington and the question of liberty

- a. Hobbes's "confusing clarity"
- b. The neo-Roman tradition of popular sovereignty
- c. Milton and Harrington on popular freedom
- d. Peace *or* freedom?
- e. Liberty and political obligation

Suggested readings: Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* in *Political Writings*; Harrington, *Oceana*; Skinner 2008; Worden 1990, 1991

10. The genesis of Locke's political philosophy

- a. Locke's life and intellectual development
- b. Science, scepticism and puritanism
- c. Locke on toleration: from the *Essays on the Law of Nature* to the *Epistola de tolerantia*
- d. The epistemology of toleration
- e. Filmer's absolutism

Readings: Locke, *Essays on the Law of Nature* in *Political Writings*; *Two Treatises of Government*; *Letter on Toleration*; Dunn 1969a; Sommerville 1991

11. Locke and Filmer on patriarchy and property

- a. The textual history of the *Second Treatise*
- b. The politics of trust
- c. The natural condition of mankind and natural rights
- d. Property and "self-ownership"
- e. MacPherson on Locke on property
- f. Legitimacy and sovereignty
- g. Tyranny and liberty

Reading: Filmer, *Patriarcha*; Locke, *Two Treatises*; MacPherson 1962; Tully 1980, 1993; Sommerville 1991

12. Liberalism, ideology and history after Locke

- a. Locke, the Scottish Enlightenment and the American Revolution
- b. The liberal tradition: 19th and 20th centuries
- c. Undoing liberal historiography
- d. Historical method and social criticism
- e. Can liberalism be transcended?
- f. After liberalism?

Readings: Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*; Dumont 1977; Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*; Rawls, *Political Liberalism*; Gray, *Liberalism, Post-Liberalism*; Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory: after secular reason*; Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*

Présentation des modalités d'évaluation

A. Continuous assessment (in the seminars): 60% comprising:

(i) Essay (“term paper”): refer to seminar programme; (ii) Oral presentations: refer to seminar programme; (iii) “grade modifying mark” (at the discretion of the seminar teacher)

B. Final examination (4h): 40%

Références bibliographiques :

Classical texts (in roughly chronological order)

- Aristotle, *Ethics* (numerous editions)
- Aristotle, *Politics* (numerous editions)
- Aquinas, *Political Writings*, trans. R.W. Dyson, Cambridge, 2002
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Bondanella, intr. M. Viroli, Oxford World’s Classics, 2005 (or trans. Price, intr. Skinner, Cambridge, 1988)
- Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, ed. Bondanella, Oxford World’s Classics, 1997
- Guicciardini, *Dialogue on the Government of Florence*, ed. Brown, Cambridge, 1994
- Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Jardine, Cambridge, 1997
- More, *Utopia*, ed. Logan and Adams, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 2003
- Luther and Calvin, *On Secular Authority*, ed. Höpfl, Cambridge, 1991
- *The Radical Reformation*, ed. Baylor, Cambridge, 1991
- Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, ed. Franklin, Cambridge, 1992
- Grotius, *On the Law of War and Peace*, ed. Neff (Cambridge)
- Hobbes, *De Cive*, tr. Silverthorne, ed. Tuck, Cambridge, 1998
- Hobbes, *Leviathan*, numerous editions incl. Tuck 1988 and Malcolm 2012 (scholarly edition)
- Hobbes, *Behemoth, or the Long Parliament*, ed. Holmes, Chicago, 1990
- *The English Levellers*, ed. Sharpe, Cambridge, 1998
- *Divine Right and Democracy. An anthology of political writings in Stuart England*, ed. Wootton, Penguin, 1986
- Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana and A System of Politics*, ed. Pocock, Cambridge, 1992
- Milton, *Political Writings*, Trans. Gruzelier, ed. Dzelzainis, Cambridge, 1991
- Filmer, *Patriarcha and other writings*, ed. Sommerville, Cambridge, 1991
- Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Laslett, Cambridge, 1960
- Locke, *Political Writings*, ed. Goldie, Cambridge, 1997

Secondary literature (alphabetical order)

- BERLIN, Isaiah, “The Originality of Machiavelli” in Berlin, *Against the Current*, Oxford, 1981
- BEVIR, Mark, “The Contextual Approach” in Klosko 2011
- BLACK, Robert, *Machiavelli*, Routledge, 2013
- BOCK, Gisela, SKINNER, Quentin and VIROLI, Maurizio, eds., *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, Cambridge, 1990
- BRETT, Annabel and TULLY, James, ed., *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Cambridge, 2006
- BROWN, Keith C., ed., *Hobbes Studies*, Blackwell, 1965
- BURCKHARDT, Jacob, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1878), available at: <http://virgil.org/dswo/courses/med-ren-survey/burckhardt.pdf>
- BURKE, Peter, “Tacitism, scepticism and reason of state” in Burns and Goldie 1991

- BURNS, J.H., “Scholasticism: survival and revival” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- ———, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, Cambridge, 1988
- ———, and GOLDIE, Mark, eds., *The Cambridge History of Modern Political Thought 1450-1700*, Cambridge, 1991
- CARGILL-THOMPSON, W.D.J., *The Political Thought of Martin Luther*, Brighton, 1984
- COLEMAN, Janet, “Property and Poverty” in Burns 1988
- COLLINGWOOD, Robin George, *An Autobiography*, Oxford, 1978
- DUMONT, Louis, *From Mandeville to Marx. The Genesis and Triumph of Economic Ideology*, Chicago, 1977
- ———, “The Identity of the History of Ideas”, *Philosophy*, vol. 43, n° 164, April 1968, pp. 85-104 (also in Dunn 1980)
- ———, “The politics of Locke in England and America in the eighteenth century” in Yolton 1969 (also in Dunn 1980)
- ———, *The Political Thought of John Locke*, Cambridge, 1969a
- ———, *Political Obligation in its Historical Context*, Cambridge, 1980
- ———, *The History of Political Theory and Other Essays*, Cambridge, 1996
- ELLIOTT, John H., *Europe Divided 1559-1598*, Fontana, 1968
- ELTON, Geoffrey, *Reformation Europe 1517-1555*, Fontana, 1963
- FIGGIS, J.N., *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414-1625*, Cambridge, 1916
- FRANKLIN, Julian H., “Sovereignty and the mixed constitution: Bodin and his critics” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- GILBERT, Felix, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, Princeton, 1965
- GOLDIE, Mark, “The Context of the *Foundations*” in Brett and Tully 2006
- ———, “Absolutism” in Klosko 2011
- GRAFTON, Anthony, “Humanism and political theory” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- GUARINI, Elena Fasano, “Machiavelli and the crisis of the Italian republics” in Bock, Skinner and Viroli, 1990
- HALE, J.R., *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy*, Pelican, 1972
- ———, *Renaissance Europe 1480-1520*, 2nd ed., Blackwell, 2000
- HILL, Christopher, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*, Penguin, 1975
- ———, *The Century of Revolution, 1603-1714*, Routledge, 1991
- ———, *Puritanism and Revolution*, 2nd ed., Pimlico, 2001
- HÖPFL, Harro, *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*, Cambridge, 1982
- KLOSKO, George, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Philosophy*, Oxford, 2011
- MACPHERSON, Crawford Brough, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke*, Oxford, 1962
- MANENT, Pierre, *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*, Princeton, 1995
- MANSFIELD, Harvey C., *Machiavelli's Virtue*, Chicago, 1988
- NAJEMY, John M., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, Cambridge, 2010
- OAKESHOTT, Michael, *Hobbes on Civil Association*, Blackwell, 1975
- OAKLEY, Francis, “Christian Obedience and authority, 1520-1550” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- PAGDEN, Anthony, ed., *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 1987
- PAREL, A.J., “The Question of Machiavelli's Modernity” in Sorell, 2000

- PARKER, Geoffrey, *Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648*, Blackwell, 2001
- PHILLIPSON, Nicholas and SKINNER, Quentin, eds., *Political discourse in early modern Britain*, Cambridge, 1993
- POCOCCO, J.G.A., *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, Princeton, 1975
- ———, *Political Thought and History. Essays on Theory and Method*, Cambridge, 2009
- POPKIN, Richard H., *The History of Scepticism from Savonarola to Bayle*, Oxford, 2003
- ROGERS, G.A.J. and RYAN, Alan, eds., *Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes*, Oxford, 1988
- RUBINSTEIN, Nicolai, “Machiavelli and Florentine republican experience” in Bock, Skinner and Viroli, 1990
- ———, “Italian political thought, 1450-1530” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- RYAN, Alan, *Property and Political Theory*, Blackwell, 1984
- SALMON, J.H.M., “Catholic resistance theory, Ultramontaniam and royalist response, 1580-1620” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- SKINNER, Quentin, “The ideological context of Hobbes’s political thought”, *The Historical Journal*, ix, n° 3 (1966), pp. 286-317
- ———, *Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. I: *The Renaissance*; vol. II: *The Reformation*, Cambridge, 1978
- ———, *Machiavelli, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 1981
- ———, “Machiavelli’s *Discorsi* and the pre-humanist origins of republican ideas” in Bock, Skinner and Viroli, 1990
- ———, “The Italian City Republics” in Dunn, John, ed., *Democracy: the unfinished journey, 508 BC to AD 1993*, Oxford, 1992
- ———, *Liberty before Liberalism*, Cambridge, 1998
- ———, *Regarding Method (Visions of Politics, vol. I)*, Cambridge, 2002
- ———, *Renaissance Virtues (Visions of Politics, vol. II)*, Cambridge, 2002
- ———, *Hobbes and Civil Science (Visions of Politics, vol. III)*, Cambridge, 2002
- ———, “Hobbes on Persons, Authors and Representatives” in Springborg, 2007
- ———, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, Cambridge, 2008
- SOMMERVILLE, Johann P., “Absolutism and royalism” in Burns and Goldie 1991
- ———, *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context*, MacMillan, 1992
- SORELL, Tom, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes*, Cambridge, 1996
- ———, ed., *The Rise of Modern Philosophy*, Oxford, 2000
- SPRINGBORG, Patricia, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes’s Leviathan*, Cambridge, 2007
- STRAUSS, Leo, *Thoughts on Machiavelli*, Chicago, 1958
- ———, “On the spirit of Hobbes’s political philosophy” in Brown 1965
- ———, *Persecution and the Art of Writing*, Chicago, 1988
- THOMAS, Keith, “The Social Origins of Hobbes’s Political Thought” in Brown, 1965
- TUCK, Richard, “The Modern Theory of Natural Law” in Pagden, 1987
- ———, “Scepticism and Toleration in the seventeenth century” in Mendus, 1988
- ———, “Optics and sceptics: the philosophical foundations of Hobbes’s political thought” in Leites, Edmund, ed., *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 1988a
- ———, *Hobbes*, Oxford, 1989
- ———, *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651*, Cambridge, 1993
- ———, “The civil religion of Thomas Hobbes” in Phillipson and Skinner, 1993a

- TULLY, James, *A Discourse of Property. John Locke and his adversaries*, Cambridge, 1980
 - ———, *An Approach to Political Philosophy: Locke in Contexts*, Cambridge, 1993
 - ———, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics*, Polity Press, 1988
 - VIROLI, Maurizio, “Machiavelli and the republican idea of politics” in Bock, Skinner and Viroli, 1990
 - ———, *From Politics to Reason of State: the acquisition and transformation of the language of politics 1250-1600*, Cambridge, 1992
 - WARRENDER, Howard, *The Political Philosophy of Hobbes*, Oxford, 1957
 - WORDEN, Blair, “Milton’s republicanism and the tyranny of heaven” in Bock, Skinner and Viroli, 1990
 - ———, “English republicanism” in Burns and Goldie, 1991
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Renaissance, Reformation and Reason of State : political thought from Machiavelli to Locke

Teacher: Ronan Sharkey

Lecturer: Ovidiu Stanciu

Seminar Program

1. Methodological Introduction

Readings: Q. Skinner, "Seeing things their way"; "The Practice of History and the Cult of Fact" in *Visions of Politics*, I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, Ch. 1, 2, p. 1-28.

2. Humanism and politics I

Readings: N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. 1-11; Q. Skinner, *Machiavelli, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

3. Humanism and politics II

Readings: N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch. 12-26; I. Berlin, "The Originality of Machiavelli" in I. Berlin, *Against the Current*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

4. Humanism and politics III

Readings: N. Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, Book I, ch. 1-10, 15-19 ; L. Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967.

5. Reformed politics : Luther and after

Readings: M. Luther, "On Secular Authority: to what Extent it should be Obeyed?" in Luther and Calvin, *On Secular Authority*, ed. Höpfl, Cambridge, 1991, p. 1-45.

6. Methodological interlude: understanding (in) the history of political ideas

Readings: Q. Skinner, "Meaning and understanding in the history of ideas" in *Visions of Politics*, I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, Ch. 4, p. 57-89.

7. Grotius, Hobbes and the New Natural Law

Readings: T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by C.B. Macpherson, Penguin Books, 1985 (1651). Book I, Ch. 13-16. M. Oakshott, *Hobbes on Civil Association*, London: Blackwell, 1975, p. 29-54.

8. Hobbes, political authority and the state

Reading: T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by C.B. Macpherson, Penguin Books, 1985 (1651). Book II, Ch. 17-20, 29.

9. Hobbes, Harrington and the question of liberty

Readings: T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by C.B. Macpherson, Penguin Books, 1985 (1651), ch. 21 –23; Q. Skinner, *Hobbes and Republican Liberty*, 2008, ch. 5.

10. The genesis of Locke's political philosophy

Readings: J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Laslett, Cambridge: CUP, 1960, *Second Treatise*, ch. 1-3, 7-9; J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke*, Cambridge: CUP, 1969, ch. 9-10.

11. Locke and Filmer on patriarchy and property

Readings: J. Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Laslett, Cambridge: CUP, 1960; *First Treatise* ch. 2 and 7; *Second Treatise*, ch.4-6. J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke*, Cambridge: CUP, 1969, ch. 6.

12. Liberalism, ideology and history after Locke

Readings: I. Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty" in I. Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Evaluation:

1. *Written*

Critical assessment of an academic article (40%): 1500 words max. (references and footnotes/endnotes included), 1,5 Line Spacing, Font: 12 Garamond. The students will receive the article on March 6, 2015 and will have to hand in the critical assessment on March 27, 2015, by midnight.

N.B. The paper will be presented in a hard-copy version *and* sent to the following electronic address: ovidius.stanciu@sciencespo.fr

2. *Oral*

1. Two (critical) text presentations during the semester (30% each): 10'-15'/presentation
2. Overall oral participation: +/- 1.5 points of the final seminar grade