

HUMAN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES TRIPOS

PART IIA

POL 7

**HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT
TO c. 1700**

COURSE GUIDE

2017 - 2018

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Introduction to the History of Political Thought Papers:

For several decades now, Cambridge has been the international centre for teaching and research on the history of political thought, a subject which has formed a substantial component of the undergraduate degrees in both History and Politics. On the Politics side, there is a widespread view among those who teach the subject here that the study of political ideas in their historical contexts offers an invaluable training for thinking critically and flexibly about politics more generally.

Much of the teaching for this paper is organised by the History Faculty. It is responsible for the production of the reading lists, and will have arranged the lectures that will be delivered throughout the academic year. Sometimes Politics students feel intimidated by the lectures—they worry that they don't know enough about the relevant ancient, mediaeval, and early modern history, for example, and they come to believe that the History students are better placed than they are to benefit from what's being said. But if you have thoughts like this, it's worth exploring the other side of the coin. It's true that Historians may initially be more familiar with some aspects of the subject than Politics students. But Politics students (especially if they have taken the Part One paper) usually have considerably more experience at handling political argument at a decent level of sophistication by the time they come to study for this paper, and that gives them a very useful platform on which to build their engagement with the syllabus here—since taking political argument seriously is ultimately what this paper is about.

Introduction to the Period:

This paper spans the history of western political reflection from the city states of ancient Greece to seventeenth-century argument about natural freedom, international law, natural rights, and their implications for political existence. It offers the chance to investigate ancient conceptions of political organization, human nature, virtue, and slavery, in their own time and place as well as under the later impact of Christianity in the dramatic dialogue between the Church and the Roman Empire. The paper then explores the afterlife and seemingly inexhaustible powers of these ancient texts to stimulate and structure political thinking in later centuries. Aristotle's works, Roman philosophy, and Roman law all re-surfaced and were put to work in the Latin West in medieval debates on the relationship between the Church and other powers, the constitutional structure of the Church, kingdoms and cities. It covers humanist responses to the classical past and to classical conceptions of virtue in the political thought of Machiavelli and others, the convergence during the Reformation of various traditions in the Calvinist case for armed resistance to an unjust ruler, and moves beyond Europe to examine the theological and legal analysis of the legitimacy of European conquests in the New World.

Like POL8, POL7 is divided into two parts. Section A is devoted to a close contextual reading of the most important texts by those thinkers universally acknowledged as indispensable for an understanding of western political thought: Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, More, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Locke. Section B is organized around groups of texts which are historically or thematically linked. Some belong together because they were written as contributions to the same controversy, others were separated by several centuries but belong to the same tradition of commentary and reflection on ancient authorities. The paper has been organized to bring out not merely the contrasts but also the continuities and similarities between its component parts, in many of which the same conceptual languages, analytical tools and pivotal terms are at work. You are encouraged to cross the lines dividing these themes and so to appreciate the fascinating ways in which thinkers remained indebted to enduring yet fluid traditions of enquiry which they re-interpreted, subverted, and moulded into new forms under pressure of new problems.

How to study for this paper

Lectures: Because the material to be covered spans a wide chronological and thematic range, and also because many students will not have studied the history of political thought before, a comprehensive array of lectures is offered. This need not cause you alarm since you are not required or expected to attend them all-- but it is worth appreciating that the traditions of political thought covered in POL7 are both cumulative and interlinked, so, even if a lecture is not directly on a topic you are studying, that does not mean it will not help you to understand it. (Do bear in mind, too, that exam questions are proposed by the lecturers.)

Lecturers are encouraged to place their outlines, bibliographies and other material on the paper's Moodle site in advance of the lecture. Your ID will be added to the list of site users by the course organiser at the start of the academic year, based on information received from the administrative offices of History and POLIS. If you have been omitted, you should contact the course organiser.

Supervisions: As with other papers in Politics, the norm is to have six paired supervisions for the paper spread over the Michaelmas and Lent terms. In these supervisions, you should cover six of the twenty-one named authors (section A) and historical topics (section B) that make up the syllabus, in preparation for answering three questions in the examination. In light of the way in which the exam paper is constructed, it is most common to study four authors and two historical topics. Students often comment that they need to do more reading to get on top of the historical topics, so please organise your time so you are able to cover enough material when you are preparing your essays. What you need to do, therefore, is to construct, in conjunction with your supervisor and your supervision partner, a suitable intellectual pathway through this paper. There is no single model of how to do this and different students will find different solutions. Before you start, you should make an initial choice of, say, authors and topics; these will preferably have thematic or historical connections between them. The following eight pathways through the paper offer suggestions—no more than that—as to how you might go about doing this.

<p>Ancient Political Thought</p> <p>A1. Plato A2. Aristotle B9. Greek democracy and its critics B10. Roman political thought A3. Augustine</p> <p>And then <i>either</i> B13. The medieval reception of classical political thought, <i>or</i> A4. Aquinas, <i>or</i> A6. Machiavelli</p>	<p>Early Modern Political Thought</p> <p>B17. Reason of state B18. Sovereignty B20. The British revolutions A7. Hobbes A8. Locke B21. Toleration in the later C17th</p>
<p>Mediaeval Political Thought</p> <p>A2. Aristotle B11. Early Christian political thought A3. Augustine A4. Aquinas B12. Temporal and spiritual in medieval political thought B13. The medieval reception of classical political thought</p>	<p>Religion and Politics</p> <p>B11. Early Christian political thought A3. Augustine A4. Aquinas B12. Temporal and spiritual in medieval political thought B16. Obedience and resistance in Reformation political thought B21. Toleration in the later C17th</p>
<p>Foundations of Modern Political Thought</p> <p>A6. Machiavelli B16. Obedience and resistance in Reformation political thought B17. Reason of state B19. Origins of international law A7. Hobbes A8. Locke</p>	<p>The Legacy of Rome</p> <p>B10. Roman political thought B11. Early Christian political thought A3. Augustine B14. Roman law, C12-16th B15. Renaissance humanism A6. Machiavelli</p>
<p>Natural Politics / Natural Law</p> <p>A2. Aristotle A4. Aquinas B18. Sovereignty B19. Origins of international law A7. Hobbes A8. Locke</p>	<p>‘Great Books’</p> <p>A1. Plato A2. Aristotle B10. Roman political thought <i>Either</i> A5. More <i>or</i> A6. Machiavelli B17. Reason of state <i>Either</i> A7. Hobbes <i>or</i> A8. Locke</p>

The Examination: candidates can expect that a question will be set on each of the prescribed authors in Section A and topics in Section B. But you should be aware that the guarantee of a question on each author and topic does not mean that examiners will set lowest common denominator, generic questions, open to a pre-prepared answer. They are much more likely to ask specific questions, approaching the author/topic from a particular perspective. Candidates are therefore strongly advised to prepare more than the minimum of required authors and topics.

The examination rubric is: Answer **three** questions, at least **one** from each section.

SECTION A

1. Plato
2. Aristotle
3. Augustine
4. Aquinas
5. More
6. Machiavelli
7. Hobbes
8. Locke

SECTION B

9. Greek democracy and its critics
10. Roman political thought from the republic to the principate
11. Early Christian political thought
12. Temporal and spiritual in medieval political thought
13. The medieval reception of classical political thought
14. Argument from Roman law in political thought, 12th -16th centuries
15. Renaissance humanist political thought
16. Obedience and resistance in Reformation political thought
17. Reason of state
18. Sovereignty
19. The origins of international law
20. The political and religious thought of the British revolutions
21. Toleration in the later 17th century

Lectures will take place in the History Faculty Building unless otherwise indicated

Michaelmas Term

DR M. J. RYAN AND DR A.S. BRETT
Plato and Aristotle. (Eight lectures) Tu. 11

DR M.J. BRETT
Romans and Christians. (Four lectures, weeks 1-4) W. 11

DR M. J. RYAN AND DR A.S. BRETT
Renaissance humanism, Machiavelli, and reason of state. (Four lectures, weeks 5-8) W. 11

DR A.S. BRETT
Hobbes. (Four lectures, weeks 1-4). M. 10

Lent Term

DR M.J. RYAN
Roman law and political thought. (Eight lectures) F. 10

DR M.J. RYAN
Temporal and spiritual in medieval political thought. (Four lectures, weeks 1-4) Tu. 9

DR M.J. RYAN
Calvinist political thought. (Four lectures, weeks 5-8) Tu. 9

Easter Term

PROF. M. GOLDIE
Sovereignty, revolution and toleration, 1570-1700. (Four lectures, weeks 1-4) Tu. 11

SAMPLE EXAMINATION PAPER

SECTION A

1. How successfully did Plato accommodate different conceptions of happiness in *Republic*?
2. Was Aristotle's account of constitutions and constitutional change determined by his theory of justice?
3. What role did the concept of nature play in Augustine's political thought?
4. 'In the law of Christ, kings must be subject to priests' [AQUINAS, *De regimine principum*, chapter III]. What implications does this have for Aquinas' broader political theory?
5. Do you agree that it was More's intention to portray the Utopians as living a perfectly virtuous and hence a truly Christian life?
6. Assess the role of the common good in Machiavelli's political thought.
7. Does Hobbes suggest that there are limits to the duties which a subject may owe the sovereign?
8. 'In his account of tyranny and its remedy, Locke regards the ruler and not the people as engaging in rebellion.' Is this a fair view of Locke's meaning?

SECTION B

9. What risks to the polis did Greek democracy represent in the eyes of its critics?
10. How did Roman thinkers react to the collapse of the republic?
11. On what grounds did different early Christian thinkers affirm and reject civic duty?
12. Why did it take opponents of papal power so long to formulate an articulate defence of their position?
13. What room did medieval authors leave for the classical citizen?
14. 'Public law is that which relates to the general condition of the Roman Empire' (Ulpian, Digest 1.1.1). Discuss.
15. Are the political differences between renaissance humanists reducible to advocacy of republican as opposed to advocacy of princely government?
16. What was the importance of natural law and natural reason in resistance theory towards the end of the sixteenth century?
17. What if anything distinguished reason of state from Machiavellianism?
18. What impact did individualism have on theories of sovereignty?
19. How respectful of the autonomy of states were early international law theorists?
20. How useful a category is 'republicanism' for understanding the political thought of the British Civil Wars?
21. Why were the leading advocates of toleration all Protestants?

A1 PLATO

Set text:

Republic. Recommended translation: G.W.F. Ferrari and M. Griffith (Cambridge, 2000). Alternatively trans. F. Cornford (1941), or D. Lee (2nd edn, 1974), or A. Bloom (1968), or Grube and Reeve (1992). Translation by Waterfield (World's Classics) is not recommended.

Secondary reading:

Abbreviation:

CHGRPT: C. Rowe and M. Schofield, eds, The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought (2000)

Suggested secondary reading:

- *J.M. Cooper, 'The psychology of justice in Plato', American Philosophical Quarterly, 14 (1977), 151-57, repr. in Cooper, Reason and Emotion (1999)
- C. Farrar, The Origins of Democratic Thinking (1988), ch. 7
- *A. Laks, 'Legislation and demiurgy: on the relation between Plato's Republic and Laws', Classical Antiquity, 9 (1990), pp. 209-29
- *M. Lane, 'Socrates and Plato: an introduction', in CHGRPT, ch. 8
_____, Greek and Roman Political Ideas (Pelican 2014)
- *A. Nehamas, 'The Republic', in Virtues of Authenticity: Essays on Plato and Socrates (1999)
- *J. Ober, Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule (1998), chs 1, 4
- C.J Rowe, Plato (1984)
- *M. Schofield, 'Approaching the Republic', in CHGRPT, ch. 10
- G. Vlastos, 'Justice and happiness in Plato's Republic', in Vlastos, Platonic Studies (1973)
- J. Waldron, 'What Plato would allow', in I. Shapiro & J. W. DeCew eds., Theory and Practice (1995)
- *B. Williams, 'The analogy of city and soul in Plato's Republic' in E.N. Lee, ed., Exegesis and Argument (1973) [in Classics Faculty Library]

Further secondary reading:

- R. Bambrough, 'Plato's political analogies', in G. Vlastos, ed., Plato: A Collection of Critical Essays (1971), vol. II
- M.F. Burnyeat, 'Utopia and fantasy: the practicability of Plato's ideally just city', in Psychoanalysis, Mind and Art, ed. J. Hopkins and A. Savile (1992); repr. in G. Fine, ed., Plato (1999), vol. II
- G.R.F. Ferrari ed., Plato's Republic (Cambridge 2007)
- A. Laks, 'The Laws' in CHGRPT, ch. 12
- M. Lane, Plato's Progeny: How Socrates and Plato Still Captivate the Modern Mind (2001)
- J. Lear, 'Inside and outside the Republic', Phronesis, 37 (1992), 184-215
- A.W. Nightingale, Spectacles of Truth in Classical Greek Philosophy (2004), chs 3, 4
- M.C. Nussbaum, The Fragility of Goodness (1986), ch. 5
- C.D.C. Reeve, Philosopher Kings (1988)
- M. Schofield, Plato (Oxford 2006)
- J. Sikkenga, 'Plato's Examination of the Oligarchic Soul in Book VIII of the Republic', History of Political Thought, 23 (2002), 377-400
- G. Vlastos, 'The theory of social justice in the polis in Plato's Republic', in H.F. North, ed., Interpretations of Plato (1977)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'There are three primary types of people: philosophic, victory-loving, and money-loving'
[PLATO, Republic, Book IX]. Can Plato's ideal city satisfy everyone? (2016)

What importance does the common good have in the argument of Plato's Republic? (2015)

What is the significance of the 'city of pigs' for the argument of Plato's Republic? (2014)

A2 ARISTOTLE

Set texts:

Politics, trans. B. Jowett, rev. J. Barnes, ed. S. Everson (Cambridge, 1996) or trans E. Barker (Oxford, 1946; rev. R.F. Stalley, 1995) or trans. T. Sinclair, ed. T. Saunders (Penguin, 1981)
Nicomachean Ethics, trans. R. Crisp (Cambridge, 2000) or trans. W.D. Ross, rev. J.L. Ackrill and J.D. Urmsion (Oxford, 1980), esp. bks I, II, V, VI, X

Secondary reading:

Abbreviations:

CHGRPT: C. Rowe and M. Schofield, eds, The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought (2000)

Keyt & Miller: D. Keyt and F.D. Miller, eds, A Companion to Aristotle's 'Politics' (1991)

Lord & O'Connor: C. Lord and D.K. O'Connor, eds, Essays on the Foundations of Aristotelian Political Science (1991)

Rorty: A.O. Rorty, ed., Essays on Aristotle's 'Ethics' (1980)

Suggested secondary reading:

A.W.H. Adkins, 'The connection between Aristotle's Ethics and Politics', in Keyt & Miller

J. Annas, The Morality of Happiness (1993), sections on Aristotle

*J. Lear, Aristotle: The Desire to Understand (1988)

R.G. Mulgan, 'Aristotle and the value of political participation', Political Theory, 18 (1990), 195-215

M.C. Nussbaum, 'Shame, separateness, and political unity: Aristotle's criticism of Plato', in Rorty

*J. Ober, Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule (1998), chs 1, 6

*J. Roberts, 'Justice and the polis', in CHGRPT, pp. 344-65

*C. Rowe, 'Aristotelian constitutions', in CHGRPT, pp. 366-89

M. Schofield, 'Equality and hierarchy in Aristotle's thought', in his Saving the City (1999), ch. 6

* ———, 'Aristotle: an introduction', in CHGRPT, pp. 310-20

*B. Yack, The Problems of a Political Animal: Community, Justice and Conflict in Aristotelian Political Thought (1993)

Further secondary reading:

J. Barnes, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle (1995)

M.F. Burnyeat, 'Aristotle on learning to be good', in Rorty, ch. 5

J. Frank, A democracy of distinction (Chicago 2005)

T.H. Irwin, 'Moral science and political theory in Aristotle', History of Political Thought, 6 (1985), 150-68

D. Keyt, 'Three basic theorems in Aristotle's Politics', in Keyt & Miller

W. Kullmann, 'Man as a political animal in Aristotle', in Keyt & Miller

M. Lane, Greek and Roman Political Ideas (Pelican 2014)

F.D. Miller, Jr, 'Naturalism', in CHGRPT, pp. 321-42

R.G. Mulgan, 'Aristotle's analysis of oligarchy and democracy', in Keyt & Miller

W.R. Newell, 'Superlative virtue: the problem of monarchy in Aristotle's Politics', in Lord & O'Connor

M.C. Nussbaum, The Fragility of Goodness (1986), chs 11-12

J. Ober, 'Aristotle's politics and society: class, status, and order in the Politics', in Lord & O'Connor

R.F. Stalley, 'Aristotle's criticism of Plato's Republic', in Keyt & Miller

B.S. Strauss, 'On Aristotle's critique of Athenian democracy', in Lord & O'Connor

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

2 'A city [polis] is made up not only of a plurality, but also of men who are different in kind'
[ARISTOTLE, *The Politics*, Book II]. Comment. (2016)

Why, for Aristotle, was natural instinct insufficient to create successful political communities? (2015)

Was Aristotle justified in understanding monarchy as a constitution (*politeia*)? (2014)

A3 AUGUSTINE

Set text:

The City of God against the Pagans, trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998) or Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans, trans. H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth, 1972), esp. bks II-V, VIII, XI-XXII

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

J. Herrin, The Formation of Christendom (1987), chs 2-3

R.L. Holmes, 'St. Augustine and the justification of war', in Holmes, On War and Morality (1989)

E.J. Hundert, 'Augustine and the sources of the divided self', Political Theory, 20 (1992), 86-104

*R.A. Markus, Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine (1970)

* ———, 'The Latin Fathers', in J.H. Burns, ed., The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350-c.1450 (1988), ch. 6

* R. Martin, 'The two cities in Augustine's political philosophy', Journal of the History of Ideas, 33 (1972), 195-216

J. von Heyking, 'A headless body politic? Augustine's understanding of populus and its representation', History of Political Thought, 20 (1999)

*P. Weithman, 'Augustine's political philosophy', in The Cambridge Companion to Augustine, ed. E. Stump and N. Kretzmann (2001), pp. 234-52

*J. Wetzel ed., Augustine's 'City of God': A critical guide (Cambridge 2012)

Further secondary reading:

P.D. Bathory, Political Theory as Public Confession: the Social and Political Thought of St Augustine of Hippo (1981)

H.N. Baynes, The Political Ideas of St Augustine's 'De Civitate Dei' (1962)

P.R.L. Brown, 'Saint Augustine', in B. Smalley, ed., Trends in Medieval Political Thought (1965)

———, Augustine of Hippo (1967)

H. Chadwick, The Early Church (1967), ch. 15

———, Augustine (1986)

D. Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome (1967), ch. 6

J.N. Figgis, The Political Aspects of St Augustine's 'City of God' (1921)

P. Garnsey, Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine, chs 13-14

G.J. Lavere, 'The political realism of Saint Augustine', Augustinian Studies, 11(1980), 135-44

———, 'The influence of Saint Augustine on early medieval political theory', Augustinian Studies, 12 (1981), 1-10

R.A. Markus, 'Saint Augustine's views on the just war', Studies in Church History, 20 (1983), 1-13

P. Ramsey, 'The just war according to St Augustine' in J.B. Elshtain, ed., Just War Theory (1992)

J. Rist, Augustine (1994)

R. Williams, 'Politics and the soul: a reading of the City of God', Milltown Studies 19 (1987)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

What are the implications for Augustine's political theory of his conviction that 'true justice is found only in that commonwealth whose founder and ruler is Christ' [AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*, Book II]? (2016)

Could we call Augustine's *The City of God* a manual of Christian citizenship? (2015)

'Rome itself is like a second Babylon' [AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*, Book XVIII]. Discuss. (2014)

A4 AQUINAS

Set text:

Thomas Aquinas, Political Writings, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 2002)

Secondary reading:

Abbreviation:

CHLMP: N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg, and E. Stump eds., The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy (1982)

Suggested secondary reading:

J. Barnes, 'The just war', in CHLMP, ch. 41

J.M. Blythe, Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages (1992), pp. 39-59

* ———, 'Introduction' to Ptolemy of Lucca, On the Government of Rulers, With Portions Attributed to Thomas Aquinas, trans. Blythe (1997)

*J.P. Canning, A History of Medieval Political Thought 300-1450 (1996), ch. 3

J. Coleman, A History of Political Thought: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance (2000), ch. 2

J. Finnis, Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory (Oxford, 1998), chs 7, 8

M. Keys, Aquinas, Aristotle and the promise of the common good (Cambridge 2008)

*D.E. Luscombe, 'Natural morality and natural law', in CHLMP, ch. 37

* ———, 'The state of nature and the origin of the state', in CHLMP, ch. 40

A.S. McGrade, 'Rights, natural rights, and the philosophy of law', in CHLMP, ch. 39

W. Ullmann, 'The medieval Papacy, St. Thomas and beyond', in Ullmann, Law and Tradition in the Middle Ages (1988)

Further secondary reading:

A. Black, Political Thought in Europe 1250-1450 (1992), ch. 1

J.M. Blythe, 'Aristotle's *Politics* and Ptolemy of Lucca', *Vivarium* 40/1 (2002), 103-136

M.B. Crowe, 'St Thomas and Ulpian's natural law', in A.A. Maurer, ed., St Thomas Aquinas 1274-1974: Commemorative Studies (2 vols; 1974), vol. I, pp. 261-282

B. Davies, The Thought of Thomas Aquinas (1992)

J. Dunbabin, 'The reception and interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics*', in CHLMP, ch. 38

L.P. Fitzgerald, 'St Thomas Aquinas and the two powers', Angelicum, 56 (1979), 515-56

E. Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas (1957), pt III, chs 3-5

———, A History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages (1955)

A. Kenny, Aquinas (Oxford 1980)

A. de Libera, La philosophie médiévale (2nd edn, 1995), esp. pp. 355-418

D.E. Luscombe, 'Thomas Aquinas and Conceptions of Hierarchy in the Thirteenth Century', in Thomas von Aquin, ed. A. Zimmerman (1988), pp. 261-77

J. Porter, Nature as reason. A Thomistic theory of the natural law (Grand Rapids 2005)

A. Parel, 'Aquinas' theory of property', in A. Parel and T. Flanagan, eds, Theories of Property (1979)

R. Pasnau, Thomas Aquinas on Human Nature: A Philosophical Study of Summa Theologiae, 1a 75-89 (2002)

F. van Steenberghen, Thomas Aquinas and Radical Aristotelianism (1980)

D. Westberg, Right Practical Reason: Aristotle, Action and Prudence in Aquinas (1994)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

What was the role of nature in Thomas Aquinas's political theory? (2016)

Was politics, for Aquinas, ultimately a matter of virtue rather than law? (2015)

What follows, for Aquinas, from the position that law is 'a thing of reason'? (2014)

A5 MORE

Set text:

Utopia [1516], trans. G.M. Logan and R.M. Adams, rev. edn (Cambridge, 2002)

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

*D. Baker-Smith, More's 'Utopia' (1991; repr. 2000)

D. Bevington, 'The dialogue in Utopia: two sides to the question', Studies in Philology, 58 (1961), 496- 509

*B. Bradshaw, 'More on Utopia', Historical Journal, 24 (1981), 1-27

D. Fenlon, 'England and Europe: Utopia and its aftermath', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, fifth series, 25 (1975), 115-35

J.H. Hexter and E. Surtz, 'Introduction', in More, Utopia, eds J.H. Hexter and E. Surtz (The Complete Works of St Thomas More, vol. IV) (1965)

J.H. Hexter, 'Thomas More: on the margins of modernity', Journal of British Studies, 1 (1961), 20-37

*E. Nelson, 'Greek nonsense in More's Utopia', Historical Journal, 44 (2001), 889-918

Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2 vols; 1978), pp. 213-21, 255-62

*———, 'Sir Thomas More's Utopia and the language of Renaissance humanism', in The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe, ed. A. Pagden (1987), pp. 123-57; rev. in Skinner, Visions of Politics (3 vols; 2002), vol. II: Renaissance Virtues, ch. 8

R. Tuck, 'Humanism and Political Thought', in A. Goodman and A. Mackay eds., The impact of humanism Western Europe (1990)

T.I. White, 'Pride and the public good: Thomas More's use of Plato in Utopia', Journal of the History of Philosophy, 22 (1982), 329-54

Further secondary reading:

R.P. Adams, The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet and Vives on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496-1535 (1962)

A.A. Cave, 'Thomas More and the New World', Albion, 23 (1991), 209-29

J.C. Davis, Utopia and the Ideal Society: A study of English utopian writing, 1516-1700 (1981), ch. 2

A. Fox, Thomas More: History and Providence (1982), ch. 2

———, 'Utopia': An Elusive Vision (1993)

A. Fox and J. Guy, eds, Reassessing the Henrician Age (1986), pt I

J. Guy, Thomas More (2000)

J.H. Hexter, 'The loom of language and the fabric of imperatives: the case of Il Principe and Utopia', in Hexter, The Vision of the Politics on the Eve of the Reformation (1973)

G.M. Logan, The Meaning of More's 'Utopia' (1983)

J.M. Parrish, 'A new source for More's Utopia', Historical Journal, 40 (1997), 493-98

J. Romm, 'More's strategy of naming in the Utopia', Sixteenth Century Journal, 22 (1991), 173-83

G.B. Wegemer, Young Thomas More and the Arts of Liberty (Cambridge 2011)

D. Wootton, 'Introduction', to More, Utopia: With Erasmus's 'The Sileni of Alcibiades' (1999)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

To what extent should we regard Thomas More's Utopia as exposing the perils of hereditary monarchy? (2016)

Is it plausible to regard More's Utopia as constituting an Italianate answer to the politics of northern Europe? (2015)

Does More's Utopia resolve the dilemma of counsel raised in Book I of that work? (2014)

A6 MACHIAVELLI

Set texts:

The Prince, ed. Q. Skinner, trans. R. Price (Cambridge, 1988)

Discourses on Livy, ed. J.C. and P. Bondanella (Oxford, 2003) or ed. B. Crick (Penguin, 1970)

Secondary reading:

Abbreviation: Bock: G. Bock, Q. Skinner and M. Viroli, eds, Machiavelli and Republicanism (1990)

Suggested secondary reading:

H. Baron, 'Machiavelli the republican citizen and author of The Prince', in Baron, In Search of Florentine Humanism (2 vols; 1988), vol. II

*F. Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Italy (1984 edn)

*J. M. Najemy ed., The Cambridge companion to Machiavelli (Cambridge 2010)

R. Price, 'The senses of virtù in Machiavelli', European Studies Review, 3 (1973), 315-45

———, 'The theme of gloria in Machiavelli', Renaissance Quarterly, 30 (1977), 588-631

*Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2 vols; 1978), vol. I, ch. 5

* ———, 'Machiavelli's Discorsi and the pre-humanist origin of republican ideas', in Bock, ch. 6

———, 'Machiavelli on the maintenance of liberty', Politics, 18 (1983), 3-15; rev. in Skinner, Visions of Politics (3 vols; 2002), vol. II: Renaissance Virtues, ch. 6

*P. Stacey, Roman monarchy and the renaissance prince (Cambridge 2007)

*M. Viroli, 'Machiavelli and the republican idea of politics', in Bock, ch. 7

———, Machiavelli (1998)

Further secondary reading:

J. Jackson Barlow, 'The fox and the lion: Machiavelli replies to Cicero', History of Political Thought, 20 (1999), 627-45

J. Coleman, 'Machiavelli's Via Moderna: Medieval and Renaissance Attitudes to History', in Niccolò Machiavelli's The Prince: New interdisciplinary essays, ed. M. Coyle (1995), pp. 40-64

V. Cox, 'Machiavelli and the Rhetorica ad Herennium: deliberative rhetoric in The Prince', Sixteenth Century Journal, 28 (1997), 1109-1141

F. Gilbert, 'Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari: a study on the origin of modern political thought', in Gilbert, History: Choice and Commitment (1977)

P. Godman, From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance (1998)

J.H. Hexter, 'Il Principe and lo stato', in The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation (1973)

M. Hörnqvist, Machiavelli and Empire (2005), chs 2-4

J.M. Najemy, 'Machiavelli on the Necessity of Interpreting Religion', Journal of the History of Ideas, 60 (1999), 659-8

H. Pitkin, Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolò Machiavelli (1984)

J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment (1975; reissue with new postscript 2003), esp. pt II

N. Rubinstein, 'Machiavelli and Florentine republican experience', in Bock, ch. 1

Q. Skinner, Machiavelli (1981; new edn, 2000)

———, 'Political philosophy', in C.B. Schmitt and Q. Skinner, eds, The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy (1988), ch. 8, esp. pp. 408-42

D.J. Wilcox, The Development of Florentine Humanist Historiography in the 15th Century (1969)

M. Viroli, From Politics to Reason of State (1992)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

How should we explain Machiavelli's conviction that 'government by the populace is better than government by princes' [MACHIAVELLI, Discourses on Livy, Book I]? (2016)

'All the states, all the dominions that have held sway over men, have been either republics or principalities' [, The Prince, Ch. 1]. Does this dichotomy determine how Machiavelli thought about politics? (2015)

Why was war so central to Machiavelli's political thought? (2014)

A7 HOBBS

Set text: Leviathan [1651], ed. R. Tuck, rev. edn (Cambridge, 1996)

Students may also wish to consult the 3-volume edition by Noel Malcolm (2012) in the Clarendon Edition.

Secondary reading:

Abbreviations: Sorell, Companion: T. Sorell, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes (1996)

Skinner, Visions: Q. Skinner, Visions of Politics (3 vols; 2002), vol. III: Hobbes and Civil Science

Suggested secondary reading:

M.M. Goldsmith, 'Hobbes on law', in Sorell, Companion, ch. 11

K. Hoekstra, 'The de facto turn in Hobbes's political philosophy', in T. Sorell and L. Foisneau (eds.), Leviathan After 350 Years (2004)

_____, 'Hobbesian equality', in S. Lloyd ed., Hobbes today (Cambridge 2013)

*N. Malcolm, Aspects of Hobbes (Oxford 2002), esp. chs 1, 2, 5, and 13

J.G.A. Pocock, 'Time, history and eschatology in the thought of Thomas Hobbes', in Pocock, Politics, Language and Time (1972), pp. 148-201

* D. Runciman, Pluralism and the Personality of the State (Cambridge 1997), ch. 2

Q. Skinner, Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes (Cambridge 1996)

_____, 'Hobbes on representation,' European Journal of Philosophy 13 (2005), 155-184

* _____, Hobbes and republican liberty (Cambridge 2008)

* J. Sommerville, Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context (1992)

P. Springborg ed., The Cambridge companion to Hobbes's 'Leviathan' (Cambridge 2007)

R. Tuck, Hobbes (Oxford 1989)

_____, 'Hobbes and democracy', and reply by K. Hoekstra, 'A lion in the house', both in A.S. Brett and J. Tully eds., Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought (Cambridge 2006)

Further secondary reading:

D. Baumgold, Hobbes's Political Theory (1988)

_____, Contract theory in historical context: Essays on Grotius, Hobbes and Locke (Leiden 2010)

D. Boonin-Vail, Thomas Hobbes and the Science of Moral Virtue (Cambridge 1994)

C. Condren, Thomas Hobbes (Twayne 2000)

R. Harrison, Hobbes, Locke, and Confusion's Masterpiece (Cambridge 2003)

D. Johnston, The Rhetoric of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Cultural Transformation (1986)

S. Lloyd, Ideals as interests in Hobbes's 'Leviathan' (Cambridge 1992)

N. Malcolm, Thomas Hobbes. Leviathan (Oxford 2012), vol. I: Introduction

M. Oakshott, 'Introduction to Leviathan' [1946], in Hobbes on Civil Association (1975), ch. 1

A. Ryan, 'Hobbes's political philosophy', in Sorell, Companion, ch. 9

J. Scott, 'The peace of silence: Thucydides and the English Civil War', in T. Sorell and G.A.J. Rogers eds., Hobbes and History (Routledge 2000)

Q. Skinner, 'Conquest and consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement controversy', in G.E. Aylmer ed., The Interregnum (1972); rev. in Skinner, Visions, ch. 10

T. Sorell, Hobbes (1986), esp. chs 1-2, 8-10

R. Tuck, 'The civil religion of Thomas Hobbes', in N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner, eds., Political Discourse in early modern Britain (1993), pp. 120-38

_____, 'Introduction' to Leviathan, ed. R. Tuck (1996; replaces the 1991 introduction)

W. von Leyden, Hobbes and Locke: The Politics of Freedom and Obligation (1981)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'This is more than Consent, or Concord; it is a reall Unitie of them all, in one and the same Person' [HOBBS, *Leviathan*, Ch. 17]. Why was Hobbes so insistent on this point? (2016)

Did Hobbes in *Leviathan* subordinate natural law to natural rights? (2015)

What relationship did Hobbes see between self-preservation and sociability? (2014)

A8 LOCKE

Set texts:

'Second Treatise', in Two Treatises of Government, ed. P. Laslett (Cambridge, 1988),
or in Locke, Second Treatise of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration,
ed. Mark Goldie (Oxford World's Classics, 2016)
A Letter Concerning Toleration [1689], ed. J.H. Tully, trans. W. Popple (Indianapolis, 1983), or ed.
R. Klibansky, trans. J.W. Gough (Oxford, 1968), or ed. M. Goldie (Indianapolis, 2010)

Suggested additional primary reading:

John Locke: Political Essays, ed. M. Goldie (1997)

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

D. Armitage, 'John Locke, Carolina and the Two treatises of government',
Political Theory 32 (2004), 602-27
R. Ashcraft, 'Revolutionary politics and Locke's Two Treatises', Political Theory, 8 (1980), 429-86
D. Baumgold, Contract theory in historical context: Essays on Grotius, Hobbes and Locke (Leiden 2010)
J. Dunn, The Political Thought of John Locke (1969)
———, 'The claim to freedom of conscience: freedom of speech, freedom of thought,
freedom of worship?', in O.P. Grell et al., eds, From Persecution to Toleration (1991)
*M. Goldie, 'Introduction', to John Locke, Two Treatises of Government (Everyman, 1993)
*J. Marshall, John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility (1994), esp. ch. 6
J. Scott, England's Troubles (2000), ch. 16
J. Scott, 'The law of war: Grotius, Sidney, Locke and the political theory of rebellion',
History of Political Thought, 13 (1992), 565-85
J. Tully, A Discourse on Property (1980)
*———, An Approach to Political Theory: Locke in Contexts (1993), esp. ch. 1
J. Waldron, God, Locke, and Equality (2002)

Further secondary reading:

R. Ashcraft, John Locke's Two Treatises of Government (1987)
H. Dawson, 'Locke on language in (civil) society', History of Political Thought, 24 (2005)
J. Dunn, 'What is living and what is dead in the political theory of John Locke?', in Dunn,
Interpreting Political Responsibility (1990)
M. Goldie, 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism', Political Studies, 31 (1983), 61-85
R. Grant, John Locke's Liberalism (1987)
I. Harris, The Mind of John Locke (1994)
D.A. Lloyd Thomas, Locke on Government (1995)
C.B. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (1962), pt IV
K. Olivekrona, 'Appropriation in the state of nature', in J. Lively and A. Reeve, eds,
Modern Political Theory from Hobbes to Marx (1989)
A.J. Simmons, On the Edge of Anarchy: Locke, Consent and the Limits of Society (1993)
N. Tarcov, Locke's Education for Liberty (1984)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'The community may make compounded and mixed forms of government, as they think good' [LOCKE, *Second Treatise*, § 132]. Do Locke's foundational political principles tend toward any particular form of government? (2016)

Was Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* more a defence of property than of liberty? (2015)

In the *Second Treatise*, what power does Locke give the legislative, and why? (2014)

B9. GREEK DEMOCRACY AND ITS CRITICS

Primary reading:

Abbreviation: EGPT =M. Gagarin and P. Woodruff (eds), Early Greek Political Thought from Homer to the Sophists (Cambridge, 1995)

Suggested primary reading:

Herodotus, Histories, bk III. 80-3 [in EGPT]

Ps-Xenophon (the Old Oligarch), 'Constitution of Athens' [in EGPT]

Aristophanes, The Knights

Isocrates, 'Panegyricus' (vol. I); 'Areopagiticus', 'Antidosis' (vol. II); 'Against Callimachus' (vol. III), all in Isocrates, Loeb Classical Library (3 vols; 1961-1968)

Thucydides, History, bk II. 35-46, 60-64, bk III. 37-48 [in EGPT]

Euripides, Suppliant Maidens, ll. 399-456 [in EGPT]

Plato, Protagoras, 320-8; Gorgias; Republic, bks VI, VIII

Aristotle, Politics, bks III-VI

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

J. Dunn, Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future (2nd edn, 1993), ch. 1

———, ed., Democracy: The Unfinished Journey (1992)

C. Farrar, The Origins of Democratic Thinking (1988)

M.I. Finley, 'Athenian Demagogues', Past and Present, 21 (1962), 3-24

M.H. Hansen, Athenian Democracy in the Age of Demosthenes (1991, 1999), esp. chs 1, 13

K. Hoekstra, 'Athenian democracy and popular tyranny', in R. Bourke ed., Popular sovereignty in historical perspective (Cambridge 2016)

*M. Lane, Greek and Roman Political Ideas (Pelican 2014)

———, 'Popular sovereignty as control of office-holders: Aristotle on Greek democracy', in Bourke ed., Popular sovereignty (as for Hoekstra)

C. Meier, The Greek Discovery of Politics (1990)

J. Miller, 'Warning the Demos: Political Communication with a Democratic Audience in Demosthenes', History of Political Thought, 23 (2002), 401-17

*J. Ober, Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule (1998)

*J. Ober and C. Hedrick eds, Dēmokratia: A conversation on democracies ancient and modern (1986)

R. Osborne, Athens and Athenian Democracy (2010)

A. Saxonhouse, Free Speech and Democracy in Ancient Athens (2008)

D. Scott, 'Plato's critique of the democratic character', Phronesis, 45 (2000), 19-37

G. de Ste Croix, The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World (1981; rev. 1983), ch. 7 & appdx IV

*B.S. Strauss, 'On Aristotle's critique of Athenian democracy', in C. Lord and

D.K. O'Connor, eds, Essays on the Foundations of Aristotelian Political Science (1991)

Further secondary reading:

D.S. Allen, The World of Prometheus: the politics of punishing in democratic Athens (1999)

———, Why Plato Wrote (2010)

J.P. Euben, J.R. Wallach and J. Ober, eds, Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of American Democracy (1994)

M.I. Finley, Democracy Ancient and Modern (2nd edn, 1985)

M.H. Hansen, Was Athens a Democracy? (1989)

J. Ober, Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens (1989)

———, Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens (2008)

K. Raaflaub et al. eds., Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece (2007)

J.T. Roberts, Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought (1994)

P. Rose, Sons of the Gods, Children of the Earth (1992), esp. pp. 246-65

P. Vidal-Naquet, Democracy Ancient and Modern (1995), esp. pp. 82-140

B. Williams, Shame and Necessity (1988)

H. Yunis, Taming Democracy (1996)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

To what extent did the differences between democrats and anti-democrats in ancient Athens turn on differing conceptions of political knowledge? (2016)

Did proponents and critics of democracy in ancient Athens agree on the end but disagree on the means of politics? (2015)

How far was the nature and control of public speech the central issue for both democrats and anti-democrats in ancient Athens? (2014)

B10. ROMAN POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM THE REPUBLIC TO THE PRINCIPATE

Suggested primary reading

Cicero, On Duties, trans. M. Atkins and M. Griffin (Cambridge, 1991)

Cicero, On the commonwealth and On the laws, in De re publica, trans. J. Zetzel (Cambridge, 1995) or The Republic; and The Laws, trans. N. Rudd (Oxford, 1998)

Seneca, On mercy and On the private life, in Seneca. Moral and political essays, ed. J.M. Cooper and J.F. Procopé (Cambridge, 1995)

Sallust, The war with Catiline and The war with Jugurtha, Loeb Classical Library (1921)

Livy, Ab urbe condita, Loeb Classical Library (1919-67): bk I, chaps 24, 57; II, 32; III, 44; VIII, 28.

Tacitus, Annals, Loeb Classical Library (1925-1937): bk I, 1-15; II, 27-36; III, 26-8; 52-70; IV, 1-22; 28-35; 42; VI, 8; 13; 22.

Secondary reading

Abbreviations:

CHGRPT: C. Rowe and M. Schofield (eds), The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought (Cambridge, 2000)

Justice and Generosity: A. Laks and M. Schofield (eds), Justice and Generosity (Cambridge, 1995)

Suggested secondary reading:

J. Connolly, The life of Roman republicanism (Princeton 2014)

M. Griffin, 'Seneca and Pliny', in CHGRPT, pp. 532-58.

*A.A. Long, 'Cicero's politics in *De officiis*', in Justice and Generosity, pp. 213-40.

*M. Schofield, 'Cicero's definition of *res publica*' in J.G.F. Powell (ed.), Cicero the Philosopher: Twelve Papers (Oxford, 1995), pp. 63-83.

*P. Stacey, Roman Monarchy and the Renaissance Prince (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 23-72.

T.E.J. Wiedemann, 'Reflections of Roman political thought in Latin historical writing', in CHGRPT, pp. 517-31.

———, 'Sallust's *Jugurtha*: concord, discord, and the digressions', Greece and Rome, 40, pp. 48-56.

Further secondary reading:

J. Annas, 'Cicero on Stoic moral philosophy and private property', in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds), Philosophia Togata: essays on philosophy and Roman society (Oxford, 1989)

E.M. Atkins, '*Domina et regina virtutum*: justice and *societas* in *De officiis*', Phronesis, 35 (1990), 258-89.

———, 'Cicero', in CHGRPT, pp. 477-516

D. Hoyos ed., A companion to Roman imperialism (Brill 2013), chh. by Stevenson and Adler

J. Richardson, The Language of Empire. Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century B.C. to the Second Century A.D. (Cambridge 2009)

M. Schofield, 'Epicurean and Stoic political thought', in CHGRPT, pp. 435-56.

———, 'Two Stoic approaches to justice', in Justice and Generosity, pp. 191-212.

———, Saving the City: Philosopher-Kings and Other Classical Paradigms (London, 1999), ch. 10.

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

Was Roman political thought intrinsically imperialist? (2016)

How did Roman political thinkers understand and solve the problem of social division? (2015)

In what ways was Roman political thought 'Roman'? (2014)

B11. EARLY CHRISTIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading:

The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans, ch. 13, New Testament

Tertullian, Apology (Loeb, 1984)

Lactantius, Divine Institutes, trans. A. Bowen and P. Garnsey (Liverpool, 2003), bks 3-5.

Ambrose, De officiis, ed. and trans. I.J. Davidson, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2001),

I.105-174, III.1-52, pp. 179-219, 345-87.

Ambrose, Letter 17 (Against Symmachus), Letter 21, Letter 51 (To Theodosius, on the massacre at Thessalonica), and Sermon against Auxentius in A. de Romestin (ed.), St. Ambrose, Select Works and Letters (repr. Edinburgh, 1989). Excerpts from Letters 17, 21, 51, and the Sermon against Auxentius, are also easily available in J. Stevenson and W.H.C. Frend (eds), Creeds, Councils and Controversies. Documents illustrating the history of the Church AD 337-461 (revised ed., London, 1989).

Augustine, The City of God, trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), bks 2-5, 8, 19.

St. Gregory the Great. Pastoral Care, tr. H. Davis, Ancient Christian Writers 11 (New Jersey, 1950), parts 1-2.

Secondary reading

Abbreviation:

CHMPT: J.H. Burns (ed.), The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450 (Cambridge, 1988)

Suggested secondary reading:

T.D. Barnes, Tertullian. A historical and literary study (Oxford, 1971; reissued 1985)

*H. Chadwick, 'Christian doctrine', in CHMPT, pp. 11-20.

H. Chadwick, The Early Church (London, 1968)

*M. Colish, 'Cicero, Ambrose and Stoic Ethics: Transmission or Transformation?', in A.S. Bernardo and S. Levin (eds), The Classics in the Middle Ages: Papers of the Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies (1990), 95-112.

*R.A. Markus, Saeculum. History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine (rev. ed., Cambridge, 1988)

———, 'The Latin Fathers', CHMPT, pp. 92-122.

*F. Young, 'Christianity', in C. Rowe and M. Schofield (eds), The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 635-660.

Further secondary reading:

H.X. Arquillière, L'Augustinisme Politique. Essai sur la formation des théories politiques au moyen âge (2nd ed., Paris, 1972).

A. Cameron, Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: the Development of Christian Discourse (Berkeley, 1991)

J.F. Childress, 'Moral Discourse about War in the Early Church,' in The Journal of Religious Ethics 37, no. 1 (2009), 131-58.

M. Colish, The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, 2 vols (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 34-5, 1985)

F. Dvornik, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Theory. Origins and Background (2 vols, Washington, 1966), vol. 2.

B. McGinn, 'The development of Christian theologies of history' and 'The exegesis of the Apocalypse in Latin Christianity', both in McGinn, The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought (New York/London, 1985)

N. McLynn, Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital (Berkeley, London, 1994)
L.J. Swift, 'St Ambrose on Violence and War,' in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association, 101 (1970), 533-43.

And see above, A3, under Augustine.

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

Were the political theories of early Christian thinkers defined by their differing visions of the Church? (2016)

'Not so much a wholesale rejection as a re-writing of classical political theory.' Do you agree with this evaluation of early Christian political thought? (2015)

What became of the notion of commonwealth (*res publica*) in early Christian thought? (2014)

B12. TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading

Bernard of Clairvaux, Five Books on Consideration, trans. J.D. Anderson and E.T. Keenan (Cistercian Fathers Series 37) (Kalamazoo, 1976)

Innocent III, selections from Venerabilem and Novit, in B. Tierney, The crisis of church and state (Toronto 1988), pp. 133-8.

Innocent IV, selections from commentary on Novit and Quod super his, in Tierney, Crisis, pp. 153-6.

Hostiensis, selections from commentary on Per venerabilem and Solitae, in Tierney, Crisis, pp. 156-7.

John of Paris, On royal and Papal Power, trans. J.A. Watt (Toronto, 1971)

Giles of Rome, On Ecclesiastical Power, trans. R.W. Dyson (Woodbridge, 1986),
bk I, 4-6; bk II, 4, 7-12; bk III, 3, 9, 12.

Marsilius of Padua, The Defender of the Peace, Discourse II, trans A. Brett (Cambridge, 2005)
or A. Gewirth (1956, repr. 2001), chapters 2-11, 15-18, 20-26, 29-30.

Secondary reading

Abbreviation:

CHMPT: J.H. Burns (ed.), The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450 (Cambridge, 1988)

Suggested secondary reading:

J.P. Canning, Ideas of power in the late middle ages 1296-1417 (Cambridge 2011)

J.R. Eastman, "Giles of Rome and Celestine V: The Franciscan Revolution and the Theology of Abdication",
The Catholic Historical Review, 76, 1990: 195–211

G.S. Garnett, Marsilius of Padua and 'the Truth of History' (Oxford, 2006)

D. Luscombe, 'Hierarchy in the late middle ages', in J.P. Canning and O.-G. Oexle (eds),

Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 113-26.

K. Pennington, 'Law, legislation and government, 1150-1300', in CHMPT, pp. 444-53.

B. Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge, 1955)

W. Ullmann, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (4th ed., London 1978), pp. 231-79.

J.A. Watt, 'Spiritual and temporal powers', in CHMPT, pp. 367-423.

Further secondary reading:

K. Froehlich, 'St. Peter, Papal Primacy, and the Exegetical Tradition, 1150-1300', in C. Ryan (ed.),
The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150-1300 (Toronto, 1989), pp. 3-44.

D. Luscombe, 'The *Lex Divinitatis* in the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Pope Boniface VIII', in C. Brooke,
D. Luscombe, G. Martin and D. Owen (eds), Church and Government in the Middle Ages
(Cambridge, 1976), pp. 205-22.

W.H. Principe, 'The School Theologians' Views of the Papacy, 1150-1250', in Ryan (ed.),
Religious Roles of the Papacy, pp. 45-116.

- J. Rivière, Le Problème de l'Église et de l'État au Temps de Philippe le Bel (Louvain/Paris, 1926), pp. 191-227.
- B. Tierney, Crisis, 127-31; 150-53.
 ———, 'The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century. Some Methodological Considerations', Mediaeval Studies, 27 (1965), pp. 227-45.
- W. Ullmann, 'Boniface VIII and his contemporary scholarship', Journal of Theological Studies, 27 (1976), pp. 58-87; repr. in Ullmann, Scholarship and Politics in the Middle Ages (1978)
- J.A. Watt, The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century (London, 1965)
 ———, 'Hostiensis on *Per venerabilem*: the role of the College of Cardinals', in B. Tierney and P. Linehan (eds), Authority and Power (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 99-113.

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'The disagreements over papal and secular power in the decades around 1300 were essentially disagreements about the consequences of the Fall.' Do you agree? (2016)

How important were medieval arguments concerning government within the church to conceptualising the relationship between temporal and spiritual government? (2015)

What was the importance of historical argument in medieval controversies over the relationship between spiritual and temporal powers? (2014)

B13. MEDIEVAL RECEPTION OF CLASSICAL POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE LATIN WEST

Suggested primary reading

- John of Salisbury, Policraticus, ed. and trans. C.J. Nederman (Cambridge, 1990)
- Albert the Great, 'Questions on Book X of the Ethics', in A.S. McGrade et al. eds., The Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts, Vol. II: Ethics and political philosophy (Cambridge 2001)
- Thomas Aquinas, On the government of princes (= On kingdom), in Political Writings, trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge, 2002)
- Giles of Rome, 'On the Rule of Princes', in Cambridge Translations, as above
- Ptolemy of Lucca, On the Government of Rulers, With Portions Attributed to Thomas Aquinas, trans. J. M. Blythe (1997)
- Peter of Auvergne, 'Commentary and Questions on Book III of Aristotle's Politics (selections)', in Cambridge Translations, as above
- Dante, Monarchy, ed. P. Shaw (Cambridge, 1996)
- Marsilius of Padua, The defender of the peace, Discourse I, trans A. Brett (Cambridge, 2005) or A. Gewirth (1956, repr. 2001)

Secondary reading

Abbreviations:

- CHLMP = N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg, and E. Stump eds., The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy (1982)
- CHMPT = J.H. Burns (ed.), The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450 (Cambridge, 1988)
- Weijers and Holt = O. Weijers and L.Holtz eds., L'enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des Arts (Paris et Oxford) (Turnhout: Brepols 1997)

Suggested secondary reading:

- A.S. Brett, 'Issues in translating the Defensor pacis', in G. Moreno-Riaño ed., The world of Marsilius of Padua (Turnhout: Brepols 2006)
- A. Celano, Aristotle's Ethics and medieval philosophy (Cambridge 2016)
- J. Dunbabin, 'The reception and interpretation of Aristotle's Politics', in CHLMP, ch. 38
- D.E. Luscombe and G.R. Evans, 'The twelfth-century Renaissance', in CHMPT, ch. 12

- C.J. Nederman, 'Nature, sin and the origins of society: the Ciceronian tradition in medieval political thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49 (1988), 3-26
- C.J. Nederman and J. Bruckmann, 'Aristotelianism in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 21 (1983), 203-229
- L. Peterman, 'Dante's *Monarchy* and Aristotle's political thought', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1973), 1-40
- V. Syros, 'The sovereignty of the multitude in the works of Marsilius of Padua, Peter of Auvergne and some other Aristotelian commentators', in *The world of Marsilius of Padua*, as above

Further secondary reading:

- J. Aertsen and A. Speer eds., *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter? / What is Philosophy in the Middle Ages?* (Berlin 1998 = *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 26)
- I. Bejczy and C. Nederman eds., *Princely virtues in the middle ages* (2007)
- J.M. Blythe, 'Aristotle's *Politics* and Ptolemy of Lucca', *Vivarium* 40/1 (2002), 103-136
- _____, *The worldview and thought of Tolomeo Fiadoni (Ptolemy of Lucca)* (Brepols 2013)
- C. Flüeler, L. Lanza and M. Toste eds., *Peter of Auvergne: University master of the 13th century* (Berlin 2015)
- C. Lohr, 'The new Aristotle and "science" in the Paris arts faculty', in Weijers and Holt
- D. Luscombe, 'Commentaries on the *Politics*', in Weijers and Holt
- G. Moreno Riano and C. Nederman eds., *A companion to Marsilius of Padua* (2011)

See also the extensive bibliography online at http://www.paleography.unifr.ch/petrus_de_alvernia/ (click on Bibliographia)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

How did medieval political thinkers respond to ancient concepts of citizenship and citizen rule? (2016)

How did the encounter with classical political thought impact upon the way medieval authors thought about the government of princes? (2015)

In what ways and to what effect did medieval authors appeal to the concept of nature in their political philosophy? (2014)

B14. ARGUMENT FROM ROMAN LAW IN POLITICAL THOUGHT, 12TH-16TH CENTURIES

Primary reading

Suggested primary reading (not on Camtools):

- The Digest of Justinian*, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, trans. A. Watson (4 vols; Philadelphia, 1985), vol. I: Constitutions 'Deo Auctore', 'Tanta', 'Omnem', pp. xlvi-lxiv, and bk I, titles 1-4, pp. 1-14.
- Justinian's Institutes*, trans. P. Birks and G. McLeod (London, 1987), 1.1, 1.2
- The Code of Justinian*, in *The Civil Law*, trans. S.P. Scott, titles: 1.1.1; 1.14.1; 8.52(53) 2.
- Available online at <http://www.constitution.org/sps.html>

Suggested primary reading (on Camtools):

- Azo: Selections from *Summa codicis* and *Lectura codicis*, on Code 3.13 and 8.52.2 respectively.
- Azo: Glosses to Digest, 1.1.5; 1.1.9; 1.3.31-32; 1.4.1; 3.4.
- Accursius: Standard Gloss to Code 3.13 and 8.52(53) 2; Digest 1.1.5; 1.1.9; 1.3.31; 1.3.32; 1.4.1; 3.4.
- Marinus de Caramanico: Select passages from the *Proemium* to his commentary on the Constitutions of the Kingdom of Sicily.
- Cinus of Pistoia: Introduction to a legal opinion on the laws of Florence.
- Johannes Faber: Select passages from commentary to C. 1.1.1.
- Bartolus of Sassoferrato: Selections from commentary on D. 1.1.9.
- Bartolus of Sassoferrato, *On the Governance of a City, On Guelfs and Ghibellines, On the Tyrant*, trans. M. Ryan and G. Garnett.
- Oldradus de Ponte: Select passages from *Consilium* 69 and 83.
- Baldus de Ubaldis: Select passages from his legal opinion *Rex Romanorum* and his commentary on D. 1.1.9.

Petrus Helyas: Select passages from his legal opinion on the war between France and England.
Jean de Terre Vermeille (Jean de Terre Rouge): Select passages from his treatise *On those who rebel against their kings*.
Guillaume Budé: Selections from his commentary on D. 1.3.31 and his *Livre de l'institution du prince*.
Jacques Cujas: Selections from his *Observationes* on C. 6.23.3 and 6.32.3.

Secondary reading

Abbreviations:

CHMPT: J.H. Burns (ed.), The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450 (Cambridge, 1988)

TRHS: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

Suggested secondary reading:

*J.P. Canning, 'Law, sovereignty and corporation theory, 1300-1450', in CHMPT, pp. 454-76.

* ———, Ideas of power in the late middle ages 1296-1417 (Cambridge 2011), Ch. 5.

*K. Pennington, 'Law, legislative authority, and theories of government, 1150-1300', CHMPT, ch. 15.

* ———, The Prince and the Law, 1200-1600 (Princeton, 1993), chapters 1-3, 6.

*M. Ryan, 'Bartolus of Sassoferrato and free cities', TRHS, 6th series, 10 (2000), 65-89.

———, 'Rulers and Justice, 1200-1500', in P.A. Linehan and J.L. Nelson (eds), The Medieval World (London/New York, 2001), pp. 503-15.

———, 'Freedom, law and the Medieval state', in Q. Skinner and B. Stråth (eds), States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 51-62.

———, 'Political Thought' in D. Johnston (ed.), The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law, pp. 423-51 (2015)

P. Stein, 'Roman Law', in CHMPT, pp. 37-47.

B. Tierney, Religion, Law and the Growth of Constitutional Thought, 1150-1650 (1982), chs 1-3

* C. Woolf, Bartolus of Sassoferrato: His Position in the History of Medieval Political Thought (Cambridge, 1913)

Further secondary reading:

J.P. Canning, 'Ideas of the state in the 13th and 14th century commentators on the Roman Law', TRHS, 5th series, 33 (1983), 1-27.

———, The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis (Cambridge, 1987; reissued 2002)

———, A History of Medieval Political Thought 350-1450 (1996), pp. 161-73.

———, 'Italian juristic thought and the realities of power in the fourteenth century', in J.P. Canning and O.-G. Oexle (eds), Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages, ed. Canning and O.G. Oexle (Göttingen, 1998), 228-39.

R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West, vol. 6 (repr. London / Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 293-324

H. Höpfl, 'Fundamental Law and the Constitution in Sixteenth-Century France', in R. Schnur (ed.), Die Rolle der Juristen bei der Entstehung des modernen Staates (Berlin 1986), 327-56

E.H. Kantorowicz, 'Kingship under the Impact of Scientific Jurisprudence', originally in M. Clagett, G. Post and R. Reynolds (eds), Twelfth-Century Europe and the Foundations of Modern Society (1961), pp. 89-111, reprinted in E.H. Kantorowicz, Selected Studies (1965), pp. 151-66

Daniel Lee, Popular Sovereignty in Early Modern Constitutional Thought (Oxford, 2016)

P. Stein, Roman Law in European History (1999), esp. chs 3-4.

W. Ullmann, 'De Bartoli sententia: Concilium repraesentat mentem populi', in Ullmann, The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages (Aldershot, 1976)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

To whom did medieval experts in Roman law accord the power to legislate and why? (2016)

Was private law more important than public law in the political thought of the Roman lawyers? (2015)

What did medieval lawyers understand by the term 'people' (*populus*)? (2014)

B15 RENAISSANCE HUMANISM AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Abbreviations:

CHRP: C.B. Schmitt et al., eds, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (1988)

Kraye: J. Kraye, ed. *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts*
(2 vols; 1997), vol. II: *Political Philosophy*

Suggested primary reading:

Leonardo Bruni, 'Panegyric to the City of Florence', in B.G. Kohl and R.G. Witt, eds, *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society* (Philadelphia, 1978), pp. 135-78

Bartolomeo Sacchi (Il Platina), 'On the Prince' [1471], in Kraye, ch. 6

Bartolomeo Scala, 'Dialogue on Laws and Legal Judgements' [1483], in Kraye, ch. 12

Giovanni Pontano, 'On the Prince', in Kraye, ch. 5

Aurelio Lippo Brandolini, 'Republics and Kingdoms Compared' [*c*. 1491], ed. and tr. J. Hankins
(I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard 2009)

Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* [1513], ed. Q. Skinner, trans. R. Price (Cambridge, 1988)

Francesco Guicciardini, 'How the Popular Government Should be Reformed' [1512], in Kraye, ch. 13

Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy* [*c*.1518], ed. J.C. and P. Bondanella (Oxford, 2003)
or ed. B. Crick (Penguin, 1970)

Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince* [1516], ed. L. Jardine (Cambridge, 1997)

Thomas More, *Utopia* [1516], eds G. M. Logan and R. M. Adams (Cambridge, 1989)

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

J.M. Blythe, "'Civic humanism" and medieval political thought', in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and reflections* (2000), pp. 30-74

A. Grafton, 'Humanism and political theory', in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700*, ed. J. H. Burns and M. Goldie (1991), pp. 9-29

*J. Hankins, 'Rhetoric, history and ideology: the civic panegyrics of Leonardo Bruni', in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (2000), pp. 143-78

_____, 'Exclusivist republicanism and the non-monarchical republic', *Political Theory* 20 (2010)

*P. Kristeller, 'Humanism', in CHRP, ch. 5

*N. Rubinstein, 'Political theories in the Renaissance', in A. Chastel et al. eds, *The Renaissance: Essays in Interpretation* (1982), pp. 153-200

*Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols; 1978), vol. I: *The Renaissance*

R. Tuck, 'Humanism and political thought', in A. Goodman and A. MacKay, eds, *The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe* (1990), pp. 43-65

M. Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State* (1992)

Further secondary reading:

H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (2nd edn, 1966), esp. the 'Epilogue'

P. Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (1998)

J. Hankins, 'The "Baron thesis" after forty years and some recent studies of Leonardo Bruni',
Journal of the History of Ideas, 56 (1995), 309-38

J. Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', in CHRP, ch. 11

J. McConica, *Erasmus* (1991)

E. Nelson, 'The problem of the prince', in J. Hankins ed., *The Cambridge companion to renaissance philosophy* (Cambridge 2007)

J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975; reissue with new postscript 2003), pt II

J.E. Seigel, *Rhetoric and Philosophy in Renaissance Humanism* (1968)

Q. Skinner, 'Political philosophy', in CHRP, ch. 12, rev. as 'Republican virtues in an age of princes'
in Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, vol. II, *Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge, 2002), ch. 5

_____, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996), ch. 2

R.G. Witt, *'In the Footsteps of the Ancients': The origins of humanism from Lovato to Bruni* (2000),
esp. ch. 11

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

Why did Renaissance humanist writers on politics think that virtue was so important, and how did they think it could be attained? (2016)

How distinctive was the contribution that Renaissance humanists made to the political theory of the fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries? (2015)

How did the style of Renaissance political thought affect its substance? (2014)

B16 OBEDIENCE AND RESISTANCE IN REFORMATION POLITICAL THOUGHT

Suggested primary reading:

Luther and Calvin, On Secular Authority, ed. H. Höpfl (Cambridge, 1991)

John Knox, On Rebellion, ed. R. Mason (Cambridge, 1994)

George Buchanan, A Dialogue on the Law of Kingship among the Scots

[written c. 1569, printed 1579], trans. R. Mason and M.S. Smith (Aldershot, 2004)

François Hotman, Francogallia [1573], trans. R.E. Giesey and J.H.M. Salmon (Cambridge, 1972)

Theodore Beza, The Right of Magistrates [1574], in J.H. Franklin, ed., Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1969), pp. 101-35

Anon., Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos [1579], trans. G. Garnett (Cambridge, 1994)

Secondary reading:

Abbreviation:

Burns and Goldie: J.H. Burns with M. Goldie, eds, The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700 (1991)

Suggested secondary reading:

R.R. Benert, 'Lutheran resistance theory and the imperial constitution', Il Pensiero Politico, 6 (1973), 17-36

*R.E. Giesey, 'The Monarchomach triumvirs: Hotman, Beza and Mornay', Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance, 32 (1970)

H. Höpfl, The Christian Polity of John Calvin (1982), chs 7, 8

*R.M. Kingdon, 'Calvinism and resistance theory', in Burns and Goldie, ch. 7

P. Matheson, 'Humanism and reform movements', in A. Goodman and A. MacKay, eds, The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe (1990), ch. 2

A.E. McGrath, Reformation Thought: An Introduction (1988), chs 5, 8

F. Oakley, 'Christian obedience and authority', in Burns and Goldie, ch. 6

*J.H.M. Salmon, 'An alternative theory of popular resistance: Buchanan, Rossaeus and Locke', and 'Bodin and the Monarchomachs', both in Salmon, Renaissance and Revolt (1987)

*Q. Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2 vols; 1978), vol II: The Age of Reformation

Further secondary reading:

W. Balke, Calvin and the Anabaptist Radicals (1981), chs 2, 10

J. H. Burns, 'The political thought of George Buchanan', Scottish Historical Review, 30 (1951), 60-8

W.D.J. Cargill Thompson, The Political Thought of Martin Luther (1984)

F.E. Cranz, An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought (1959)

R. von Friedeburg, Self-Defence and Religious Strife in Early Modern Europe: England and Germany, 1530-1680 (2002)

M. van Gelderen, The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590 (1993)

*_____, 'So meerly humane': theories of resistance in early modern Europe', in A. Brett and J. Tully eds., Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought (Cambridge 2006)

D.R. Kelley, Francois Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal (1973)

R.M. Kingdon, 'John Calvin's contribution to representative government', in P. Mack and M.C. Jacob, eds, Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe (1987), pp. 183-98

S. Kusakawa, The Transformation of Natural Philosophy: The Case of Philip Melanchthon (1995), ch. 5

I.D. McFarlane, Buchanan (1981), ch. 11, pt 2

- G. Oestreich, 'The religious covenant and the social contract', in Oestreich, Neostoicism and the Early Modern State (1982)
- , 'The origins of the Calvinist theory of revolution', in B. Malament, ed., After the Reformation (1980); rev. in Skinner, Visions of Politics (3 vols; 2002), vol. II, ch. 9
- J. Witte, Law and Protestantism: The Legal Teachings of the Lutheran Reformation (2002), ch. 4
- , The Reformation of Rights (2007)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

Assess the importance and effectiveness of historical argument in Calvinist resistance tracts. (2016)

What was the role of law in sixteenth-century Protestant thinking on obedience and resistance? (2015)

To what extent did theological arguments shape Lutheran and Calvinist theories of resistance? (2014)

B17 REASON OF STATE

Suggested primary reading:

- Justus Lipsius, Politica [1589], trans. J. Waszink (Amsterdam, 2004) or as Six Bookes of Politickes or Civil Doctrine, trans. W. Jones [1594; on EEBO] (facs. repr. 1970)
- Giovanni Botero, The Reason of State [1591], trans. P.J. and D.P. Waley (1956), including 'The Greatness of Cities', trans. R. Peterson [1606], pp. 227-80
- Michel de Montaigne, 'Of the Useful and the Honourable', 'Of the Disadvantages of Greatness', 'Of Evil Means Employed to a Good End', 'Of Glory', in Essays, trans. M.A. Screech (1991)
- Francis Bacon, 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', 'Of Empire', 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation', in Essays (numerous editions)
- Thomas Hobbes (attrib.), 'A Discourse upon the Beginning of Tacitus', in Three Discourses, ed. N.B. Reynolds and A.W. Saxonhouse (1995), pp. 31-70
- Henri, duc de Rohan, Treatise of the Interests of the Princes and States of Christendom, trans. H. Hunt (1640) [on EEBO]
- Armand du Plessis, duc de Richelieu, The Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu, trans. H.B. Hill (1964)

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

- J. Bartelson, 'Making exceptions: some remarks on the concept of Coup d'État and its history', Political Theory, 25 (1997), 323-46
- *P. Burke, 'Tacitism, scepticism and reason of state', in J.H. Burns with M. Goldie, eds, The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700 (1991), pp. 479-98
- H. Höpfl, 'Orthodoxy and Reason of State', History of Political Thought, 23 (2002), 211-37
- *N. Keohane, Philosophy and the State in France: Renaissance to Enlightenment (1980), chs 4-5
- *N. Malcolm, Hobbes and reason of state (Oxford)
- M. Peltonen, Classical Humanism and Republicanism in English Political Thought, 1570-1640 (1995), chs 3-4
- *J.H.M. Salmon, 'Rohan and reason of state', in Renaissance and Revolt (1987)
- *J.H.M. Salmon, 'Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England', in L.L. Peck, ed., The Mental World of the Jacobean Court (1991)
- Q. Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2 vols; 1978), vol. I, ch. 9; vol. II, ch. 8
- R. Tuck, Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651 (1993), chs 2-4
- *M. Viroli, From Politics to Reason of State (1992), chs 4-6

Further secondary reading:

- G. Baldwin, 'Reason of state and English parliaments, 1610-42', History of Political Thought, 25 (2004), pp. 620-41
- R. Bireley, The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe (1990)

- R. Boesche, 'The politics of pretence: Tacitus and the political theory of despotism', History of Political Thought, 8 (1987), 189-210
- W.F. Church, Richelieu and Reason of State (1973)
- P.S. Donaldson, Machiavelli and Mystery of State (1988), chs 4-5
- H. Dreitzel, 'Reason of state and the crisis of political Aristotelianism: an essay on the development of 17th century political philosophy', History of European Ideas, 28 (2002), 163-87
- H. Höpfl, Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630 (2004), chs 5-8
- A. McCrea, Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584-1650 (1997), pp. 3-101
- F. Meinecke, The Doctrine of Raison d'État and its Place in Modern History (1957), chs 2-7
- G. Oestreich, Neostoicism and the Early Modern State (1982), pt I
- N. Rubinstein, 'The history of the word politicus in early-modern Europe', in A. Pagden, ed., The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe (1987)
- K.C. Schellhase, Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought (1976), chs 5-7

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'The achievement of reason of state was to isolate power as a distinctive component of political success.' Do you agree? (2016)

Did the notion of 'reason of state' transform prior understandings of political community? (2015)

Was reason of state more a new understanding of the object of government than of government itself? (2014)

B18 SOVEREIGNTY

Suggested primary reading

- Jean Bodin, Bodin on Sovereignty: Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth [1579], trans. J.H. Franklin (Cambridge, 1992)
- James VI and I, The Trew Law of Free Monarchies, in Political Writings, ed. J.P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1994)
- John Cowell, The Interpreter (London, 1610), s.v. 'King (Rex)' [on EEBO]
- Francisco Suárez, On Laws and God the Law-giver, Bk III, Chh. 1-4, in Francisco Suárez. Selections from Three Works (Oxford 1944), vol. II (translation)
- Sir Robert Filmer, Patriarcha, in Patriarcha and Other Political Works, ed. J.P. Sommerville (Cambridge, 1991)
- Hugo Grotius, The rights of war and peace, trans. F.W. Kelsey (3 vols; Oxford, 1913) or ed. R. Tuck (Indianapolis 2005), Bk I chh. 3-4
- Thomas Hobbes, On the citizen, ed. R. Tuck and M. Silverthorne (Cambridge 1998), ch. 6; Leviathan, ed. R. Tuck (Cambridge 1996), chh. 16-18

Secondary reading:

Abbreviation:

CHPT = J.H. Burns, ed., The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700 (1991)

Suggested secondary reading:

- D. Baumgold, Contract theory in historical context: Essays on Grotius, Hobbes and Locke (2010), chh. 2 and 4
- A.S. Brett, Changes of state (2011), Ch. 5
- J. Daly, 'The idea of absolute monarchy in seventeenth-century England', Historical Journal, 21 (1978), pp. 227-51
- J.H. Franklin, 'Sovereignty and the mixed constitution: Bodin and his critics', in CHPT, ch. 10
- J.H.M. Salmon, 'Catholic resistance theory, Ultramontaniam and the royalist response', in CHPT Ch. 8 History of Political Thought, 17 (1996), 500-22
- Q. Skinner, 'A genealogy of the modern state', Proceedings of the British Academy 162 (2009), 325-70

- J. P. Sommerville, 'James I and the divine right of kings: English politics and continental theory' in L. L. Peck (ed.), The mental world of the Jacobean court (1991)
 _____, Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context (1992), Chh. 4-5
 R. Tuck, Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651 (1992), Ch. 5
 _____, The sleeping sovereign (Cambridge 2016)

Further secondary reading:

- G. Burgess, Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution (1996), Part I
 L. Foisneau, 'Omnipotence, necessity and sovereignty', in P. Springborg ed.,
The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes's Leviathan (2007)
 K. Hoekstra, 'The *de facto* turn in Hobbes's political philosophy', in T. Sorell and L. Foisneau eds.,
Leviathan after 350 years (2004)
 H. Höpfl, Jesuit political thought (2004), chh. 9, 10, 13, 14
 J.H.M. Salmon, 'Bodin and the Monarchomachs', in Salmon, Renaissance and Revolt (1987), ch. 5
 _____, 'The legacy of Jean Bodin: absolutism, populism or constitutionalism?'
 J. P. Sommerville, 'From Suarez to Filmer', Historical Journal, 25 (1982), 525-40
 _____, 'Absolutism and royalism', in CHPT
 R. Tuck, 'Hobbes and democracy', and K. Hoekstra's reply, 'A lion in the house', both in A.S. Brett
 and J. Tully eds., Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2006)
 S. Tutino, Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth (Oxford, 2010)

For further reading on Hobbes see under A7

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

Did theorists of sovereignty sacrifice all forms of political deliberation to the imperative of a ruling will? (2016)

What were early modern theories of sovereignty designed to refute? (2015)

Did early modern authors agree on the nature of sovereign power even while they disagreed on its origin and location? (2014)

B19 ORIGINS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Suggested primary reading

- Francisco de Vitoria, Relections 'On dietary laws, or self-restraint'; 'On the American Indians';
 'On the law of war', in A. Pagden and J. Lawrance eds., Vitoria. Political Writings (Cambridge 1991)
 Francisco Suárez, On Laws and God the Law-giver, Bk II chh. 17-20; Bk III ch. 2; De Charitate
 Disputation XIII, 'On war', sections 1, 2, 4 and 5, in Francisco Suárez.
Selections from Three Works (Oxford 1944), vol. II (translation)
 Alberico Gentili, De iure belli libri tres (Oxford: Clarendon 1933), vol. II (translation),
 Bk I chh. 1-6, 12-16
 Hugo Grotius, The rights of war and peace, trans. F.W. Kelsey (3 vols; Oxford, 1913) or ed. R Tuck
 (Indianapolis 2005), 'Preliminary Discourse'; Book I chh. 1-2, Bk II chh. 1, 14, 17, 20, 22-25
 Thomas Hobbes, De cive, ed. R. Tuck, trans. M. Silverthorne (Cambridge 1998), ch. 14, section 4

Secondary reading

Suggested secondary reading:

- D. Armitage, 'Hobbes and the foundations of modern international thought,' in A.S. Brett
 and J. Tully eds., Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought (2006)
 A. S. Brett, Changes of state. Nature and the limits of the city in early modern natural law (2011),
 chh. 1, 3, 8
 G. Cavallar, The rights of strangers. Theories of international hospitality, the global community
 and political justice since Vitoria (2002), chh. 2 and 3

J.P. Doyle, 'Francisco Suárez on the law of nations', in Mark W Janis and Carolyn Evans eds., Religion and international law (1999)

*B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann eds., The Roman foundations of the law of nations (2010), esp. chh. 7, 9, 15, 16

N. Malcolm, 'Hobbes's theory of international relations,' in id., Aspects of Hobbes (2002)

B. Tierney, The idea of natural rights (1997), Chh. 11-13

_____, 'Vitoria and Suarez on *ius gentium*, natural law, and custom,' in A Perreau-Saussine and J. Murphy eds., The nature of customary law (2007)

* R. Tuck, The rights of war and peace (1999), Introduction and chh. 1-3

Further secondary reading:

A. Anghie, Imperialism, sovereignty and the making of international law (2005), ch. 1

O. Asbach and P. Schröder eds., War, the state and international law in the seventeenth century (2010), esp. chh. 5 and 9

William Bain ed., Medieval Foundations of International Relations (Routledge, 2016)

L. Benton, A search for sovereignty. Law and geography in European Empires 1400-1900 (2010), esp. chh. 1, 3, 6

A.S. Brett, 'Scholastic political thought and the modern concept of the state', in A.S. Brett and J. Tully eds., Rethinking the foundations of modern political thought (2006)

G. Cavallar, 'Vitoria, Grotius, Pufendorf, Wolff and Vattel: Accomplices of European colonialism and exploitation or true cosmopolitans?', Journal of the History of International Law 10 (2008)

I. Hunter, 'Global justice and regional metaphysics', in S. Dorsett and I. Hunter eds., Law and politics in British colonial thought (Palgrave 2010)

E. Keene, Beyond the anarchical society. Grotius, colonialism and order in world politics (2002)

M. Koskenniemi, 'Empire and international law: The real Spanish contribution', University of Toronto Law Journal 61 (2011)

*D. Luper, Romans in a new world. Classical models in 16th-century Spanish America (2006)

A. Pagden, The fall of natural man. The American Indians and the origins of comparative Ethnology (1982) _____, Lords of all the world (1995), ch. 2

Q. Skinner, The foundations of modern political thought (1978), Vol. II, ch. 5

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'The early modern law of nations was effectively the law of war.' Do you agree? (2016)

What was at stake in the early modern debate over whether the law of nations (*ius gentium*) was positive or natural law? (2015)

'The legal face of empire.' Is this a fair characterisation of early modern thought on law between nations? (2014)

B20. POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE BRITISH REVOLUTIONS

Suggested primary reading:

The civil war (all sources on eebo: no modern edition)

Henry Parker, Observations upon some of His Majesties late Answers and Expresses (1642)

Henry Parker, Jus populi (1644)

Samuel Rutherford, Lex, rex: The Law and the Prince (1644); questions I-IX, XXI-XXV, XXVIII-XXIX.

The Levellers

The English Levellers, ed. A. Sharp (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 33-72, 92-157, 168-78

The Commonwealth

John Milton, Political Writings, ed. M. Dzelzainis (Cambridge, 1991), esp. 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' [1649] (pp. 3-48)

Marchamont Nedham, 'A Discourse of the Excellency of a Free-State', in Nedham, The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated (1650), pt II, ch. 5, pp. 80-94. On eebo; or ed. P.A. Knachel (Charlottesville, 1969); or ed. B. Worden (Indianapolis, 2011), or online: libertyfund.org
Thomas Hobbes, Review and Conclusion to Leviathan [1651], ed. R. Tuck (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 483-491
James Harrington, The Commonwealth of Oceana, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 1-147

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

- * John Coffey, Politics, Religion, and the British Revolutions: The mind of Samuel Rutherford (1997), ch. 6
- * S. D. Glover, 'The Putney Debates: popular vs. elitist republicanism', Past and Present, 164 (1999), 47-80
- M. Goldie, 'The civil religion of James Harrington', in A. Pagden, ed., Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe (1987)
- R.B. Seaberg, 'The Norman Conquest and the common law: the Levellers and the argument from continuity', Historical Journal, 24 (1981), 791-806
- *Q. Skinner, Liberty before Liberalism (1998)
- *K. Thomas, 'The Levellers and the franchise', in G. Aylmer, ed., The Interregnum (1972)
- R. Tuck, Philosophy and Government, 1572-1651 (1993), ch. 6
- *D. Wootton, 'Leveller democracy and the Puritan revolution', in J. H. Burns with M. Goldie, ed., The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700 (1991)
- *B. Worden, 'English republicanism', in J.H. Burns with M. Goldie, ed., The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700 (1991)
- * ———, 'Milton and Marchamont Nedham', in Armitage, Himy and Skinner eds., as above

Further secondary reading:

- D. Armitage, A. Himy and Q. Skinner, eds., Milton and Republicanism (1995)
- J.C. Davis, 'The Levellers and Christianity', in B. Manning, ed., Politics, Religion and the English Civil War (1973)
- M. Dzelzainis, 'Milton's classical republicanism, in Armitage, Himy and Skinner eds., as above
- J. D. Ford, '*Lex, rex iusto posita*: Samuel Rutherford on the origins of government', in R. A. Mason, ed., Scots and Britons (1994)
- R. Gleissner, 'The Levellers and natural law: the Putney Debates of 1647', Journal of British Studies, 20 (1980), 74-89
- I. Hampsher-Monk, 'The political theory of the Levellers: Putney, property and Professor MacPherson', Political Studies, 24 (1976), 397-422
- C. Hill, 'The Norman yoke', in Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1958)
- A. Hughes, 'Gender and politics in Leveller literature', in M. A. Kishlansky and S. D. Amussen, eds., Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England (1995)
- * Michael Mendle, Henry Parker and the English Civil War (1995)
- , 'Parliamentary sovereignty: A very English absolutism', in N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner, ed., Political discourse in early modern Britain (1993)
- , 'The Ship Money case, The case of shipmony, and the development of Henry Parker's parliamentary absolutism', Historical Journal, 32 (1989), 513-36
- Michael Mendle, ed., The Putney Debates of 1647 (2001), esp. chs. by Mendle and Crawford
- J. G. A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment (1975), esp. ch. 11.
- I. M. Smart, 'The political ideas of the Scottish Covenanters, 1638-88', History of Political Thought, 1 (1980), pp. 167-93
- J. Scott, Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution (2004)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

'Power is originally inherent in the people' [HENRY PARKER, *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses*]. How far did defenders of the Parliamentary cause face up to the implications of this claim? (2016)

Examine the role of the concept of 'mixed polity' in the political thought of the British Revolutions. (2015)

How central a value was liberty in the political thought of the British Revolutions? (2014)

B21 TOLERATION IN THE LATER SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Suggested Primary Reading:

- Benedict de Spinoza, Theological-Political Treatise [1670], trans. R.H.M. Elwes (Dover, 1951), esp. ch. XIX
- William Penn, The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience [1670], in The Political Writings of William Penn, ed. A. R. Murphy (Liberty Fund, 2002).
- Samuel Parker, A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie, 3rd edn (London, 1671), esp. chs. 1, 3, 6.
Full text on EEBO via <http://tinyurl.co.uk/2g9b>
- John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration [1685], trans. William Popple [1689], ed. J. H. Tully (Hackett, 1983)
- Samuel Pufendorf, Of the Nature and Qualification of Religion in Reference to Civil Society [1687], trans. J. Crull [1698], ed. S. Zurbuchen (Liberty Fund, 2002), esp. §§1-22, 44-54
- Pierre Bayle, A Philosophical Commentary on ... Luke 14:23 [1686–88], trans. anon. [1708], ed. J. Kilcullen and C. Kukathas (Liberty Fund, 2005), esp. part II
- Jonas Proast, The Argument of the Letter Concerning Toleration (1690), in The Reception of Locke's Politics, ed. M. Goldie, 6 vols (Pickering & Chatto, 1999), vol. V

Secondary reading:

Suggested secondary reading:

- J. Dunn, 'The claim to freedom of conscience: freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of worship?' in From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England, ed. O.P. Grell, J.I. Israel and N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), pp. 171–94
- M. Goldie, 'The theory of religious intolerance in Restoration England', in From Persecution to Toleration, ed. O.P. Grell, J.I. Israel and N. Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), pp. 331–68
- , 'John Locke, Jonas Proast, and religious toleration, 1688–1692', in The Church of England, c.1689–c.1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism, ed. J. Walsh, C. Haydon and S. Taylor (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 143–71
- J. Israel, 'Spinoza, Locke and the Enlightenment battle for toleration', in Toleration in Enlightenment Europe, ed. O.P. Grell and R. Porter (Cambridge, 2000)
- J. B. Schneewind, 'Bayle, Locke, and the concept of toleration', in Philosophy, Religion, and the Question of Intolerance, ed. M.A. Razavi and D. Ambuel (Albany, 1997), pp. 3–15
- R. Tuck, 'Scepticism and toleration in the seventeenth century', in Justifying Toleration, ed. S. Mendus (Cambridge, 1988)
- , 'Hobbes and Locke on toleration', in Thomas Hobbes and Political Theory, ed. M. G. Dietz (Lawrence, KS, 1990), pp. 153–71
- J. Waldron, 'Locke: toleration and the rationality of persecution', in Justifying Toleration, ed. S. Mendus (Cambridge, 1988)

Further secondary reading:

- J. Israel, 'The intellectual debate about toleration in the Dutch Republic', in The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic, ed. J.I. Israel et al. (Leiden, 1997), pp. 3–36
- S. Jenkinson, 'Two concepts of tolerance: why Bayle is not Locke', Journal of Political Philosophy, 4 (1996), 302–21
- J. Kilcullen, Sincerity and Truth: Essays on Arnauld, Bayle and Toleration (Oxford, 1988)
- J. Marshall, John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture (Cambridge, 2006)
- R. Popkin and M. Goldie, 'Scepticism, priestcraft, and toleration', in The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought, ed. M. Goldie and R. Wokler (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 79–109
- G. Schochet, 'Samuel Parker, religious diversity, and the ideology of persecution', in The Margins of Orthodoxy, ed. R.D. Lund (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 119–48
- R. Vernon, The Career of Toleration: John Locke, Jonas Proast, and After (Montreal, 1997)
- M. Yardeni, 'French Calvinist political thought', in International Calvinism, 1541–1715, ed. M. Prestwich (Oxford, 1985), pp. 315–37
- P. Zagorin, How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West (Princeton, 2003)

Suggested supervision questions (from old Tripos papers):

How did late seventeenth-century theorists of toleration analyse the power of clergies? (2016)

Whom did the later seventeenth-century tolerationists not tolerate, and why? (2015)

Was toleration, in the hands of its early modern exponents, a form of individualism? (2014)