University of Wisconsin, Madison Department of History

History 867: European Social and Intellectual History: Political and Social Ideas in Early Modern Europe

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2-4. Office: 5214 Humanities.

Classes: 1-30 to 3-30 on Mondays

Course requirements: this course has two principal aims: (1) to introduce students to the most important and influential theories about the nature, purposes, and objectives of the state and society which circulated in early modern Europe, and which have shaped how people have thought about these questions ever since; (2) to improve students' skills in analyzing and criticizing political arguments and theories, both in discussion and on paper. Students will (1) attend classes and contribute to discussion (this will count for 30% of the grade); (2) write two papers of 10-15 pages (inclusive of bibliography and notes; due 3/14; 5/9; each will count for 25% of the grade); (3) give a classroom presentation (lasting for 30 minutes or less) to introduce the week's discussion (this will count for 20% of the grade).

Required texts: More, <u>Utopia</u>; Machiavelli, <u>The Prince</u>; Vitoria, <u>Political writings</u>; Filmer, <u>Patriarcha and other writings</u>; Hobbes, <u>Leviathan</u>; Locke, <u>Two treatises of government</u>. All these books are published by Cambridge University Press in the series Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.

Other reading: here are some modern writings which are useful as general introductions or for reference:

Burns, J.H., ed., <u>The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700</u>, Cambridge 1991. Up-to-date, important volume, running to over 700pp.

Figgis, John Neville, <u>Studies of political thought from Gerson to Grotius</u>. 1414-1625, Cambridge 1907. Good, clear introduction.

Gierke, Otto von, Natural Law and the theory of society, 1500 to 1800, ed. and translated by Ernest Barker, 2 vols., Cambridge 1934. A classic, though it is difficult and Gierke had some strange ideas.

Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, 2 vols, Cambridge 1978. The best modern account.

Tierney, Brian, Religion, Law and the Growth of constitutional thought.

1150-1650, Cambridge 1982. Important, concise book; excellent on the medieval background to early modern ideas, but less good on those ideas themselves.

Tuck, Richard, <u>Philosophy and government 1572-1651</u>, Cambridge 1993.

Discusses a number of thinkers rarely considered elsewhere, but should be used with caution.

Class schedule, and further suggestions for reading:

 Christian humanism, the Renaissance, and utopianism: Thomas More's Utopia.

Read: More, Utopia.

Suggested reading:

Chambers, R. W., <u>Thomas More</u>, London 1935. Long the standard biography. Good statement of the Catholic interpretation.

Elton, G.R., <u>Reform and Reformation:</u> England <u>1509-1558</u>, London 1977. English historical background.

Erasmus, Desiderius, The essential Erasmus, ed. John P. Dolan, Mentor

- Books, New York 1964; or <u>Praise of Folly</u>, translated by Betty Radice, Penguin Classics, 1971; or other editions of Erasmus' writings (and especially <u>Praise of Folly</u>). Erasmus was the greatest Christian humanist of the age, and a close friend of More's.
- Hexter, J. H., More's "Utopia": the biography of an idea, New York 1965. Something of a classic, though now very dated.
- Kristeller, Paul O., <u>Renaissance Thought: the classic, scholastic and humanist strains</u>, New York 1961. General intellectual background.
- Manuel, F.E., and Manuel, E.P., <u>Utopian thought in the western world</u>, Oxford 1979. Full discussion of utopianism.
- Marius, Richard, Thomas More, New York 1984. Full modern biography.
- Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, 2 vols, Cambridge 1978, vol. 1 (The Renaissance), especially pp.193-262. A good modern introduction, revised in:
- Skinner, Quentin, 'Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" and the language of Renaissance humanism', in Anthony Pagden, ed., <u>The languages of political theory in early-modern Europe</u>, Cambridge 1987, 123-57.
- Surtz, Edward, <u>The praise of pleasure: philosophy, education, and communism in More's Utopia</u>, Cambridge Mass., 1957. Contains much useful information, as does:
- Surtz, Edward, The praise of wisdom: a commentary on the religious and moral problems and backgrounds of St Thomas More's "Utopia", Chicago, 1957.
- Sylvester, R.S., and Marc'hadour, G.P., <u>Essential articles for the study of Thomas More</u>, Hamden, Conn., 1977. Important articles.
- Questions: in what sense is More a humanist, or a scholastic? how seriously should we take what he says? is <u>Utopia</u> feasible, and would you like to live there? what is the point (for More, and also in general) of writing about a utopia? what were the political goals of the Christian humanists?
- II: Machiavelli, Machiavellism, and reason of state.

Read: Machiavelli, The Prince.

Suggested reading:

(for important articles see pp. xxix-xxxi of The Prince)

- Baron, Hans, <u>The crisis of the early Italian Renaissance</u>, Princeton 1966. Highly important on the background to Machiavelli, though its central thesis has been widely challenged (for details see vol.1 of Quentin Skinner's <u>Foundations</u>).
- Burke, Peter, 'Tacitism, scepticism, and reason of state', in J.H.

 Burns, ed., <u>The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700</u>,

 Cambridge 1991, 479-98. Good introduction to important themes.
- Gilbert, Felix, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, New York 1984. Excellent book.
- Hale, J.R., Florence and the Medici, London 1977. General background.
- Hale, J.R., <u>Machiavelli</u> and <u>Renaissance Italy</u>, London 1961, Clear, brief account.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò, <u>The discourses</u>, 2 vols ed. L.J. Walker, London 1950. There are also many other editions of this book, which is extremely important for a full understanding of Machiavelli's thought.
- Meinecke, F., Machiavellism: the doctrine of raison d'état and its place

- in modern history, translated by D. Scott. The classic discussion.
- Pocock, J.G.A., <u>The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought</u>
 <u>and the Atlantic Republican Tradition</u>, Princeton 1975. Large and difficult, but has been highly influential.
- Raab, Felix, The English Face of Machiavelli, London 1964. Standard account of English response to Machiavelli.
- Ridolfi, R., The life of Niccolò Machiavelli, translated by G. Grayson, London 1963. Standard biography.
- Schmitt, C., Kessler, E., and Skinner, Q., <u>The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy</u>, Cambridge 1988. Massive survey of the intellectual background.
- Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, 2 vols.

 Cambridge 1978, vol. 1 (The Renaissance), especially pp. 113-189.

 Useful discussion of Machiavelli and his background.
- Skinner, Quentin, <u>Machiavelli</u>, Oxford 1985. The best brief modern introduction.
- Viroli, Maurizio, From politics to reason of state. The acquisition and transformation of the language of politics 1250-1600, Cambridge 1992. Interesting book, re-assessing Machiavelli's relationship with 'reason of state' literature.
- Questions: what were Machiavelli's objectives in <u>The Prince</u>? how does the teaching of that book cohere with the doctrine of the <u>Discourses</u>? why was the reception of Machiavelli's works generally so hostile? how do his ideas relate to later Tacitism and 'reason of state'?
- III. Natural Law, scholasticism, and the nature and origins of government.

Read: Vitoria, Political writings, pp.xiii-xxviii, 1-44, 153-204.

Suggested reading:

- Aquinas, St Thomas, <u>Selected political writings</u>, ed. A.P. d'Entrèves and J.G. Dawson, Oxford 1970. Fundamental texts in European social and political thinking.
- Bowe, Gabriel, The origin of political authority: an essay in Catholic political philosophy, Dublin 1955. Modern Irish Thomism.
- D'Entrèves, A.P., <u>Natural Law: an introduction to legal philosophy</u>, London 1951. Mostly sensible introduction.
- Grotius, Hugo, <u>De Jure Belli ac Pacis</u> (On the Right of War and Peace), Oxford 1925, (Latin original and English translation). Of fundamental importance.
- Hamilton, Bernice, Political thought in sixteenth century Spain, Oxford 1963. Good, clear discussion.
- Lewy, G., Constitutionalism and statecraft during the golden age of Spain: a study of the political philosophy of Juan de Mariana, S.J., Geneva 1960, Good study of an interesting figure.
- Luscombe, D. E., 'Natural morality and natural law', and 'The state of nature and the origin of the state', in Norman Kretzmann et al, eds., The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy, Cambridge 1982, 705-19 and 757-70. Good, succinct introductions.
- Pufendorf, Samuel, On the duty of man and citizen according to natural <u>law</u>, ed. James Tully, Cambridge 1991. Important late seventeenth-century discussion. A much fuller treatment is:
- Pufendorf, Samuel, <u>De jure naturae et gentium</u>, ed. with English translation by C.H. and W.A. Oldfather, Oxford 1934.

- Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, 2 vols, Cambridge 1978, vol. 2 (The Age of Reformation), especially 113-84. Major modern discussion, to be used with some caution.
- Sommerville, Johann P., 'From Suarez to Filmer: a reappraisal', <u>Historical Journal</u> 25(1982), 525-40. Thomist ideas in English perspective.
- Suårez, Francisco, <u>Selections from three works</u>, 2 vols, vol.2 (translation), Oxford 1944. Highly important and influential writings by one of the greatest Thomists.
- Tuck, Richard, Natural rights theories: their origin and development, Cambridge 1979. Important, difficult, and often wrong.
- Questions: how democratic is Vitoria's thought? how significant are the differences between Vitoria and later (or earlier) natural law thinkers? how dependent are Vitoria's arguments on religious ideas?
- IV. Church and state in early modern Europe; the individual conscience and public religion.

Read: Vitoria, Political writings, 45-151.

Suggestions for reading:

- Clancy, T. H., <u>Papist pamphleteers: the Allen-Parsons party and the political thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615</u>, Chicago 1964. Good, clear account.
- Cargill Thompson, W.D.J., <u>The political thought of Martin Luther</u>, Brighton 1984.
- Cross, Claire, <u>The royal supremacy in the Elizabethan church</u>, London 1969. Discusses English protestant views on church-state relations.
- Figgis, John Neville, 'Erastus and Erastianism', in <u>The divine right</u>
 of <u>kings</u>, second edition, Cambridge 1914, 293-342. Good discussion of some important ideas.
- Höpfl, H., The Christian polity of John Calvin, Cambridge 1982.
- Lecler, Joseph, <u>Toleration and the Reformation</u>, 2 vols, New York 1960. Contains much information, but to be used with caution.
- Oakley, Francis, 'Almain and Major: conciliar theory on the eve of the Reformation', in <u>American Historical Review</u> 70(1964-5), 673-90. Introduction to two important figures.
- Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, Cambridge 1978, vol.2 (The Age of Reformation). Packed with relevant information.
- Tierney, Brian, <u>The crisis of church and state 1050-1300</u>, Toronto 1988. Excellent collection of documents and commentary.
- Wilks, Michael, <u>The problem of sovereignty in the later middle ages</u>, Cambridge 1963. Full discussion of the medieval background.
- Questions: what were the consequences of the Reformation on attitudes
 towards church-state relations? how convincing are the arguments for
 and against Vitoria's theory of church-state relations? What is the
 relationship between Vitoria' theory of natural law and his views
 on church-state relations?
- V. Conquest, slavery, warfare, and the American Indians.

Read: Vitoria, Political writings, 205-351.

Suggestions for reading:

- (in addition to works listed below, see also the list in Vitoria 383-7, and especially the writings by Pagden; many of the works listed under III above are also relevant e.g. those of Grotius and Pufendorf).
- De las Casas, Bartolomé, <u>In defence of the Indians</u>, translated by Stafford Poole, De Kalb, 1992. Classic defence of the Indians by a contemporary of Vitoria.
- Friede, Juan, and Keen, Benjamin, eds., <u>Bartolomé de las Casas in</u> history, De Kalb, 1971.
- Hanke, Lewis, <u>Aristotle and the American Indian</u>, Austin 1959; Bloomington 1970.
- Johnson, James T., <u>Ideology</u>, <u>reason</u>, <u>and the limitation of war</u>, Princeton 1975.
- Keen M.H., The laws of war in the late middle ages, London 1965.
- Klein, Herbert S., Slavery in the Americas, Chicago 1967.
- Muldoon, James, <u>Popes, lawvers, and infidels: the church and the non-Christian world</u>, Liverpool 1979. Important survey of late-medieval and sixteenth-century ideas.
- Russell, Frederick H., <u>The just war in the middle ages</u>, Cambridge 1975. Full discussion.
- Questions: are Vitoria's views on Spanish conduct towards the Indians coherent? to what extent do they arise from his natural law theory? how successful is Vitoria in showing that it can be just to go to war?

VI. Gender, the family, and political authority: patriarchalism.

Read: Filmer pp.ix-xxxvii, 1-68.

Suggestions for reading:

- Bodin, Jean, <u>On sovereignty</u>, ed. and trans. by Julian Franklin, Cambridge 1992. Extracts from Bodin's highly influential Six livres de la <u>république</u>, which Filmer was very fond of quoting.
- Brennan, T., and Pateman, C., "Mere auxiliaries to the commonwealth":
 women and the origins of liberalism, in <u>Political Studies</u> 27(1979),
 183,200
- Butler, M.A., 'Early liberal roots of feminism: John Locke and the attack on patriarchy', in <u>American Political Science Quarterly</u> 72(1978), 132-50.
- Clark, L.M.G., 'Women and John Locke: or who owns the apples in the garden of Eden', in Canadian Journal of Philosophy 7(977), 699-724.
- Daly, James, <u>Sir Robert Filmer and English political thought</u>, Toronto 1979. Fullest account, but use with caution.
- · Nicholson, L.J., Gender and history, New York 1986.
- Okin, Susan M., Women in western political thought, New Jersey 1979. Covers the whole of history.
- Pateman, Carole, <u>The sexual contract</u>, Stanford 1988. Important book about the presuppositions of contract theorists.
- Phillips, J.E., 'The background of Spenser's attitude towards women rulers', in <u>Huntington Library Quarterly</u> 5(1941-2), 5-32. Much useful information.

- Schochet, Gordon J., <u>Patriarchalism</u> and <u>Political Thought</u>, Oxford 1975. There is also a reprint with a different title. Good, standard introduction.
- Shanley, M.L., 'Marriage contract and social contract', in Western political quarterly 32(1979), 79-91. Important article.
- Sommerville, Johann P., 'From Suarez to Filmer: a reappraisal', <u>Historical Journal</u> 25(1982), 525-40. Filmer and the Thomists.
- Sommerville, Johann P., <u>Politics and ideology in England 1603-1640</u>, Harlow 1986. Background. Chapter 1 is particularly relevant.
- Sommerville, Johann P. 'Richard Hooker, Hadrian Saravia, and the origins of the divine right of kings', in <u>History of Political</u>
 <u>Thought</u> 4(1983), 229-45. Partly on an Elizabethan figure whose ideas were strikingly like Filmer's namely, Saravia.
- Questions: what did Filmer and others hope to achieve by using patriachalist arguments for royal absolutism? how important is patriarchalism in Filmer's system? what can be said for and against the ideas that Filmer's patriarchalism is absurd or self-

VII. History, custom, constitutionalism, and the English Civil War.

Read: Filmer pp.69-171.

Suggested reading:

- Aylmer, G.E., <u>The Levellers in the English Revolution</u>. London 1975. Anthology with commentary.
- Burgess, Glenn, <u>The politics of the ancient constitution: an introduction to English political thought.</u> 1603-1642, <u>London 1992</u>. Defence of <u>Pocock</u>.
- Hotman, François, <u>Francogallia</u>, translated by J.H. Salmon, ed. R.E. Giesey, Cambridge 1972. Classic statement of French ancient constitutionalism.
- Pocock, J.G.A., <u>The ancient constitution and the feudal law</u>, Cambridge 1957; reissued with a postscript, Cambridge 1987. Highly influential account.
- Salmon, J.H.M., <u>The French religious wars in English political thought</u>, Oxford 1959. Important discussion of French influence on English thought.
- Sanderson, John, <u>'"But the people's creatures": the philosophical basis</u> of the English Civil War, Manchester 1989.
- Sharp, A., <u>Political ideas of the English Civil Wars</u>, Harlow 1983. Anthology with commentary.
- Sommerville, Johann P., 'History and theory: the Norman Conquest in early Stuart political thought', in <u>Political Studies</u> 34(1986), 249-61. Attacks Pocock.
- Weston, Corinne C., 'England: ancient constitution and common law', in J.H. Burns, ed., <u>The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700</u>, Cambridge 1991, 374-411. Good introduction.
- Winstanley, Gerrard, Works, ed. G.H. Sabine, Ithaca 1941; <u>The law of freedom and other writings</u>, ed. Christopher Hill, Harmondsworth 1973.
- Wootton, David, <u>Divine Right and Democracy</u>, Harmondsworth 1986. Good anthology of seventeenth-century English writings, with commentary.
- Zagorin, Perez, A history of political thought in the English revolution, London 1954. Mostly sensible guide.

Questions: what principles (if any) underlay the English Civil Wars?
how does the <u>Freeholders</u> cohere with Filmer's other writings? what,
if anything, was the English doctrine of the ancient constitution?
how successful was Filmer's attack on Hunton?

VIII. Hobbes, science, politics, and the state of nature.

Read: Hobbes ix-xxvi, lxxiv, 1-115.

Suggested reading:

Brown, K.C., ed., <u>Hobbes Studies</u>, Oxford 1965. Excellent collection of essays.

Cranston, M., and Peters, R., <u>Hobbes and Rousseau</u>: a <u>collection of critical essays</u>, New York 1972. Useful essays on various aspects of Hobbes' thought.

Descartes, René, <u>Discourse on method</u> and <u>Meditations</u>. Available in many editions. Background to Hobbes' scientific ideas and geometrical approach.

Hobbes, Thomas, <u>De Cive</u>, Latin and English versions, Oxford 1983, and Hobbes, Thomas, <u>The Elements of Law</u>, London 1889, reprinted 1969, are highly important earlier versions of Hobbes' theory.

Montaigne, Michel de, <u>Essays</u>, especially the <u>Apology for Raimond Sebond</u> (ii.12). Classic of Renaissance skepticism.

Rogow, Arnold, <u>Thomas Hobbes: radical in the service of reaction</u>, New York 1986. Biography.

Sommerville, Johann P., <u>Thomas Hobbes: political ideas in historical context</u>, London/ New York 1992.

Sorell, Tom, Hobbes, London 1986. Brief introduction.

Tuck, Richard, Hobbes, Oxford 1989. Good short introduction.

Tuck, Richard, 'Hobbes and Descartes', in G.A.J. Rogers and Alan Ryan, eds., <u>Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes</u>, Oxford 1988, 11-41. Puts forward the thesis that Hobbes is replying to Descartes.

Tuck, Richard, 'The "modern" theory of natural law', in Anthony Pagden, ed., The <u>languages of political theory in early-modern Europe</u>, Cambridge 1987,

Tuck, Richard, Natural rights theories, Cambridge 1979. Interesting arguments on Hobbes' context.

Watkins, J.W.N., <u>Hobbes's system of ideas</u>, London 1973. Useful guide; good on science.

Zagorin, Perez, 'Hobbes's early philosophical development', in <u>Journal</u> of the <u>History</u> of <u>Ideas</u> 1993, 505-18. Attack on Tuck.

Questions: what was Hobbes' methodology? how (if at all) does it relate to the scientific revolution, skepticism, and Descartes? what are the most important and original features of Hobbes' state of nature, the right of nature and the law of nature? how convincing are Hobbes' arguments?

IX. Absolutism, royalism and sovereignty.

Read: Filmer 172-286.

Suggested reading:

(many items listed above are also relevant, e.g. works of Bodin and

,

Grotius)

- Bossuet, J-B, Politics drawn from the very words of holy scripture, ed. and trans. by Patrick Riley, Cambridge 1991. Classic of French absolutism.
- Burns, J.H., 'Absolutism: the history of an idea', London 1986. Succinct discussion.
- Burns, J.H., 'Sovereignty and constitutional law in Bodin', in <u>Political Studies</u> 7(1959), 174-7. Examines the question of the relationship between sovereignty and fundamental law.
- Figgis, John Neville, <u>The divine right of kings</u>, Cambridge 1896, rev. ed. 1914. Classic account.
- Henshall, Nicholas, <u>The myth of absolutism</u>, London 1992. Argues that absolutism did not exist.
- Lossky, A., 'The absolutism of Louis XIV', in <u>Canadian Journal of</u> History, 19(1984), 1-15.
- Milton, John, <u>Political writings</u>, ed. Martin Dzelzainis, Cambridge 1991. Read in connection with Filmer 197-208.
- Parker, David, <u>The making of French absolutism</u>, London 1983. Historical background.
- Skinner, Quentin, 'Conquest and consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement controversy', in G.E. Aylmer, ed., <u>The Interregnum</u>, London 1972. On providentialism and the <u>de facto</u> argument.
- Sommerville, Johann P., 'Absolutism and royalism', in J.H. Burns, ed.,

 <u>The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450-1700</u>, Cambridge 1991, 347-73.
- Questions: is the term 'absolutism' useful in describing early-modern theory or practice? how effective is Filmer's critique of Grotius, Hobbes and Milton? how successful is Filmer's defence of absolute monarchy and his attack on alternative theories?

X. Hobbes and the nature of the state.

Read: Hobbes pp.117-244.

Suggested reading:

(most of the items in list VIII above are relevant)

Gauthier, David, <u>The logic of Leviathan</u>, Oxford 1969. Games-theoretical approach.

Hampton, Jean, <u>Hobbes and the social contract tradition</u>, Cambridge 1986. Approach similar to Gauthier's but reaches very different conclusions.

Hobbes, Thomas, <u>Behemoth</u>, London 1889; reprinted with new introduction 1969, 1990. Important on historical context.

Johnston, David, <u>The rhetoric of Leviathan</u>, Princeton 1986. Well-argued book.

Laird, John, <u>Hobbes</u>, London 1934. Much information on Hobbes, his precursors, and his contemporaries.

Oakeshott, Michael, <u>Hobbes on civil association</u>, Oxford 1975. Influential account.

Skinner, Quentin, 'The context of Hobbes's theory of political obligation', in Maurice Cranston and Richard Peters, eds., <u>Hobbes and Rousseau</u>, New York 1972, 109-42. Very influential article.

Skinner, Quentin, 'Thomas Hobbes on the proper signification of liberty', in <u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u> 40(1990),

121-51.

State, Stephen A., 'Text and context: Skinner, Hobbes, and theistic natural law', in <u>Historical Journal</u> 28(1985).

Warrender, Howard, The political philosophy of Hobbes: his theory of obligation, Oxford 1975. Important book.

Questions: how does Hobbes differ from Filmer and other absolutists?

in what sense is Hobbes a natural law theorist? what are the functions of Hobbes' discussion of covenant? in what ways (if any) is Hobbes' system dependent upon God? what can be said for the idea that Hobbes' absolutism is very mitigated/ moderated? is Hobbes a liberal?

XI. Theories of property and John Locke.

Read: Locke pp.3-126, 267-302.

Suggested reading:

(many items on lists XIII and XV are also relevant, as are a number of works in list III above, including books by Pufendorf and Grotius; see also list in Locke 429-50)

Cherno, M., 'Locke on property', in Ethics 1957.

Cranston, M., John Locke, London 1957. Standard biography.

Dunn, John, John Locke, Oxford 1984. Good, brief introduction.

Dunn, John, <u>The political thought of John Locke</u>, Cambridge 1969. Difficult but worthwhile.

Macpherson, C.B., The political theory of possessive individualism, Oxford 1962. Highly influential Marxist approach.

Schlatter, R.B., <u>Private property: the history of an idea, London 1951.</u>
Important.

Tully, James, A discourse on property: John Locke and his adversaries,

Cambridge 1980. Much important material, but to be used with caution.

Waldron, J., The right to private property, Oxford 1988.

Wood, N., John Locke and agrarian capitalism, Berkeley 184.

Question: what is the purpose of Locke's theory of property? how convincing is it? how does it compare with rival theories?

XII. The religion of Thomas Hobbes.

Read: Hobbes 245-338, 402-15.

Suggested reading:

Curley, Edwin, '"I durst not write so boldly", in <u>Hobbes e Spinoza:</u>
<u>atti del convegno di Urbino 14-17 ottobre 1988</u>, 497-593. Argues that Hobbes was an atheist.

Glover, Willis B., 'God and Thomas Hobbes', in Keith C. Brown, ed., Hobbes Studies, Cambridge Mass., 1965, 141-68. Hobbes as theist.

Halliday, R.J., Kenyon, T., and Reeve, A., 'Hobbes's belief in God', in Political Studies 31(1983), 418-33. Hobbes as believer.

Hepburn, R.W., 'Hobbes on the knowledge of God', in M.Cranston and R. Peters, eds., <u>Hobbes and Rousseau</u>, New York 1972, 85-108. Useful survey of Hobbes' statements.

Johnson, Paul J., 'Hobbes's Anglican doctrine of salvation', in Ralph

- Ross et al, eds., <u>Thomas Hobbes in his time</u>, Minneapolis 1974, 102-25. Hobbes as an Anglican.
- Lloyd, S.A., <u>Ideals as interests in Hobbes' Leviathan:</u> the power of mind over matter, Cambridge 1992. Argues that the last two parts of the book are the most important.
- Martinich, A. P., <u>The two Gods of Leviathan: Thomas Hobbes on religion and politics</u>, <u>Cambridge 1992</u>, <u>Argues that Hobbes was an orthodox Calvinist</u>.
- Pacchi, Arrigo, 'Hobbes and the problem of God', in G.A.J. Rogers and Alan Ryan, eds., Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes, Oxford 1988, 177-
- Pocock, J.G.A., 'Time, history and eschatology in the thought of Thomas Hobbes', in Pocock's Politics, language and time, 1973, 148-201.
- Sommerville, Johann P., <u>Thomas Hobbes: political ideas in historical context</u>, London/ New York 1992, pp.108-13, 135-49.
- Spinoza, Benedict, <u>Tractatus</u> theologico-politicus, trans. Samuel Shirley, Leiden 1989; extracts from this book are in <u>The political</u> works of <u>Spinoza</u>, ed. A.G. Wernham, Oxford 1958, 48-255. Interesting texts, worth comparing to Hobbes.
- Questions: was Hobbes an atheist? was he a Christian, and, if so, of what variety? why are there such extreme disagreements amongst the commentators about Hobbes' religion?

XIII. Limited government, resistance, and Locke.

Read: Locke 303-428.

Suggested reading:

(see also list XI above, and the lists at Locke 429-50)

- Ashcraft, Richard, <u>Revolutionary politics and Locke's Two Treatises</u>, Princeton 1986. Very long but important. Locke the radical.
- Buchanan, George, <u>De jure regni apud Scotos</u>, 1579; translations available by Charles F. Arrowood, Austin 1949; and by Duncan H. MacNeill, Glasgow 1964. Very important sixteenth-century discussion.
- Franklin, Julian, ed., Constitutionalism and resistance in the sixteenth century, New York 1969. Extracts from important writings by Hotman, Beza, and from Mornay/ Languet's Vindiciae contra tyrannos. For the complete version of Hotman see list VII.
- Franklin, Julian, <u>John Locke and the theory of sovereignty</u>, Cambridge 1978. Interesting brief analysis.
- Goldie, Mark, 'John Locke's circle and James II', in <u>Historical Journal</u> 35 (1992), 557-86. Important. Casts doubt on Ashcraft's views.
- Scott, Jonathan, <u>Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis 1677-1683</u>, Cambridge 1991. Political background.
- Sidney, Algernon, <u>Discourses concerning government</u>, 1698, ed. Thomas G. West, Indianapolis 1990. Long-winded reply to Filmer, worth comparing to Locke.
- Skinner, Quentin, <u>The foundations of modern political thought</u>, 2 vols, Cambridge 1978, vol.2, pp.111-358. Background to Locke in sixteenth-century constitutionalism.
- Yolton, J. W., ed., <u>John Locke: problems and perspectives</u>, Cambridge 1969. Good collection of essays.
- Questions: how radical was Locke? in what ways do his views differ from those of earlier constitutionalists and resistance theorists? are

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his arguments convincing?

XIV. Church, state, toleration and Hobbes.

Read: Hobbes pp.338-402, 417-491.

Suggested reading:

(other relevant items are in lists IV and XII)

Eisenach, Eldon J., 'Hobbes on church, state and religion', in <u>History</u> of <u>Political Thought</u> 3(1982), 215-43.

- Farr, James, 'Atomes of Scripture: Hobbes and the politics of biblical interpretation', in Mary G. Dietz, ed., <u>Thomas Hobbes and political theory</u>, Lawrence 1990, 172-96.
- Hill, Christopher, <u>The world turned upside down</u>, London 1972, Classic discussion of radicalism in mid-seventeenth-century England, useful on background to Hobbes' ideas.
- Hooker, Richard, Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie, many editions; most famous statement of Anglican theory of church-state relations
- Jordan, W.K., <u>The development of religious toleration in England</u>, 4 vols, Cambridge Mass., 1932-40. Full but dull.
- Locke, John, A letter concerning toleration (1689; Popple's trans. of Epistola de Tolerantia); ed. R. Klibansky and J. W. Gough, Oxford 1968; J. Tully, Indianapolis 1983.
- Marsilius of Padua, <u>The defender of the peace</u>, 1324; translated by Alan Gewirth, New York 1956. Classic statement of a theory not far from Hobbes's.
- Sommerville, Johann P., <u>Thomas Hobbes: political ideas in historical context</u>, London/ New York 1992, pp. 113-34, 149-60.
- Tuck, Richard, 'The civil religion of Thomas Hobbes', in Nicholas
 Phillipson and Quentin Skinner, eds., <u>Political discourse in early modern Britain</u>, Cambridge 1993, 120-38, amplifies arguments in:

Tuck, Richard, Hobbes, Oxford 1989.

- Tuck, Richard, 'Hobbes and Locke on toleration', in Mary G. Dietz, ed.,

 <u>Thomas Hobbes and political theory</u>, Lawrence 1990, 153-71. Argues that Hobbes favored toleration.
- Walker, D.P., <u>The decline of hell</u>, Chicago 1964. Survey of growth of belief in non-existence of hell.
- Questions: how did Hobbes differ from such Anglican thinkers as Hooker in his theory of church-state relations? how tolerant was Hobbes? how convincing were seventeenth-century arguments for toleration?

XV. Locke and Filmer.

Read: Locke pp.135-263.

Suggested reading:

(see also lists XI and XIII)

Ashcraft, R, ed., <u>John Locke: critical assessments</u>, 4 vols, London 1991.

Grant, R. W., John Locke's liberalism, Chicago 1987.

Parry, Geraint, John Locke, London 1978. Sensible introduction.

Schochet, Gordon, ed., Life, liberty and property: essays on Locke's

political ideas, Belmont 1971.

Seliger, M., The liberal politics of John Locke, London 1968.

Simmons, J., The Lockean theory of rights, Princeton 1992.

Tully, James, <u>An approach to political philosophy: John Locke in contexts</u>, Cambridge 1993.

Wood, N., The politics of Locke's philosophy, Berkeley 1983.

Yolton, J.W., A Locke dictionary, Oxford 1993.

Questions: how convincing are Locke's arguments against Filmer? do they destroy Filmer's case, or can it easily be revived with a few adjustments? does Filmer's critique of democratic ideas destroy Locke's case?