

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Department of Politics and International Relations

Honour School of Philosophy, Politics and Economics
Honour School of Modern History and Politics

(215)

Political Thought: Plato to Rousseau

Academic Year 2011-12

Course Provider:

Dr Mark Philp, Oriel College.

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Dr S.White, (Jesus - stuart.white@jesus.ox.ac.uk)

Subject to Departmental approval, certain graduate students and others may teach the course. The names and colleges of such tutors are printed in the *Tutorial Register*, a copy of which is available in electronic form at the Politics Department's web site.

Syllabus

The critical study of political thought from Plato to Hume. Candidates will be expected to show knowledge of at least three of the following authors, with a primary though not necessarily exclusive focus on the following texts: Plato, *The Republic*; Aristotle, *Politics*; Aquinas: *Political Writings*, ed. R.W. Dyson 2002; Machiavelli, *The Prince*, *The Discourses* ed. Plamenatz 1972; Hobbes *Leviathan* Parts I and II; Locke, *Second Treatise of Civil Government*; Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, Books I-VIII, XI, XII, XIX; Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, *The Social Contract*; Hume, *Moral and Political Writings* ed. Aiken 1948. Questions will also be set on the following topics: theories of political stability and civic virtue; the relationship

between the personal and the political; utopian political thought; theories of natural law and justice. In answering examination questions, candidates are expected to discuss the primary texts identified in this rubric, but may also draw on their knowledge of a range of other primary texts from the canon of political thought to the end of the eighteenth century, as indicated in the bibliography issued by the Department.

Content and Structure

The course involves a study of key works and topics in ancient, medieval and Enlightenment political theory. The objective of the course is to introduce students to some of the canonical texts in political thought and to help them to develop an appreciation of their significance for their own time and for contemporary political theory. The paper is designed to enhance students' skills in reading and interpreting texts and to develop their appreciation of the richness of the traditions of political thought in the West, which will contribute to their broader understanding of the discipline.

The paper allows students to choose from a range of classical texts in the history of political thought and also offers a number of supplementary topics which encourage them to examine issues raised by these texts in the context of related discussions in the wider canon of political thought. In both cases, the paper encourages students to develop skills in reading and critically reflecting on the arguments of complex works of political philosophy. It offers students the opportunity to develop an appreciation of the intellectual context in which the texts were written and/or to discuss the arguments of the texts in relation to issues in contemporary political theory. Students, in consultation with their tutors may follow one or other of these options exclusively so long as they are able to demonstrate a sound grasp of the arguments of the texts on which they answer questions. The paper permits students to take either a narrow focus, concentrating on a few thinkers in depth, or aiming for a wide coverage of many. Either approach, however, relies on developing the capacity to grasp both the way particular texts work as arguments, and to gain some independent critical purchase on the arguments themselves. Students are also encouraged to examine different methods of interpretation in the History of Political Thought.

The reading list covers the following topics:

1. Plato
2. Aristotle
3. Aquinas

4. Machiavelli
5. Hobbes
6. Locke
7. Montesquieu
8. Hume
9. Rousseau
10. Citizen virtue and political stability in classical, renaissance, and early modern political thought;
11. The primacy of the personal over the political;
12. Utopia in politics
13. Natural rights and natural law

Objectives

The course objectives are:

- (a) To introduce students to a range of classic texts and issues in the history of political thought.
- (b) To gain a good knowledge of a number of authors and an understanding of the scholarly debates concerning the interpretation of their work and the issues they address.
- (c) To enable students critically to assess the arguments in the text with reference to debates in contemporary political theory or to the context in which the author wrote.
- (d) To develop skills in close textual reading, allowing them to build, where appropriate, on work undertaken in the first-year course 'Introduction to Politics'.

Teaching Arrangements

Teaching for this paper is arranged by college tutors and is delivered in tutorials or small classes. Tutorial teaching is arranged by each undergraduate's College tutor. The normal arrangement is eight tutorials, though the precise arrangements are the responsibility of the tutor concerned. Individual tutors, in consultation with students, will identify which texts are to be studied. Students should expect to write six essays during the term. The essay plays an important part in developing and testing the student's capacity to develop and express a coherent and appropriately subtle interpretation of the arguments of the texts.

The Department of Politics and International Relations, organizes a series of 12 lectures covering a core of major texts on this paper every year. In 2011-12 the lectures will be delivered by Dr Philp in Michaelmas Term and by Professor

Waldron in Hilary Term. The lectures are normally held on Tuesdays at 10 in the Examination Schools.

In addition, the Carlyle Lectures on Political Thought (held annually) brings scholars of international distinction to Oxford to present their work. Specialised seminars in the History of Political Thought are held in Michaelmas Term, led by Ben Jackson and Marc Stears. Lectures in the Modern History Faculty may also be relevant for students reading this paper and they are encouraged to study the Modern History Lecture List. Tutorials will aim to provide a balance between contextual and philosophical interpretation but with the central focus being on the appreciation of the form and character of the arguments in the texts.

Course Assessment

The course is assessed by means of a three-hour unseen examination according to the provisions established in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations 2009*, a copy of which has been issued to each undergraduate student in the Politics Department. Further details are available in the *PPE Handbook*, and *Essential Information for Students*, copies of which have also been issued to each undergraduate and are also available on the Department's web-site. Examiners will judge answers on three criteria: whether the candidate has answered the question in a way that indicates a critical engagement with the text or texts in question; the level of sophistication of the students understanding of the texts and their arguments and context; and the quality of the candidate's argument in relation to the problem raised in the question.

GENERAL BACKGROUND READING

For a general overview which connects classical and modern political theory see:

Wolff, Jonathan, An Introduction to Political Philosophy (1996)

Or, the more challenging Wolin, Sheldon, Politics and Vision (1961, republished 2004)

Useful background Texts

Allen, J. W., A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (1920)

Ball, Terence, Reappraising Political Theory (1995)

Coole, Diana, Women in Political Theory (1993)

Elshtain, Jean B., Public Man, Private Woman (1987)

Gierke, Otto, Political theories of the Middle Ages (1981)

McClelland, John S., A History of Western Political Thought (1996)

Hampshire-Monk, Iain, A History of Modern Political Thought (1992)

Morrow, John, History of Political Thought (1998)

Okin, Susan M., Women in Western Political Thought (1980)

Plamenatz, John, Man and Society Vol 1 and 2 2nd ed (Longman, 1992)

Rawls, John, Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy (2007)
 Sabine, George, and Thorson, Thomas, A History of Political Theory (1973)
 Skinner, Quentin, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (1978)
Visions of Politics Vols 2 and 3 (2002)
 Strauss, Leo, and Cropsey, Joseph, (eds) History of Political Philosophy 2nd ed
 (Mc Nally, Chicago, 1972)
 Tuck, Richard, The Rights of War and Peace (2000)
 Ullman, W., A History of Political Thought: the middle ages (1965)
 Waldron, Jeremy 'What Plato would allow' in Theory and Practice: Nomos
XXXVII ed., Shapiro and Wagner DeCwe, chap 5, and Nussbaum response.
 Goldie, M., and Wokler, R., Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political
Thought

On methodology in the history of political thought see:

Boucher, David, Texts in Contexts (1985)
 Brett, Annabel and James Tully (eds.), Rethinking the Foundations of Modern
Political Thought (2006)
 David Leopold and Marc Stears, Political Theory: Methods and Approaches (2008)
 Skinner, Quentin Visions of Politics Vol 1 (2002)
 Tully, James, (ed.) Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics (1986)

READING LIST

The bibliographies for each of the set texts are arranged as follows:

Section A: A list of questions on the author and texts taken from examination papers. Tutors may direct students to answer one of these questions but students should be aware of the range of questions, which may be asked on the authors they study.

Section B: Set texts

Section C: Supplementary Texts and Contemporary Writing

Section D: Preliminary readings on the set texts

Section E: Further reading on the texts and author. Core reading is marked *, essential reading **

Section F: Relevant websites

1. PLATO

A:

Q. 'Plato's concern for the common good is incompatible with individual development' Discuss

Q. Describe and evaluate the significance of the analogy Plato draws between the structure of the soul and the structure of the state.

Q. What is the *Republic* about?

Q. Thoroughly unequal, but perfectly just.' Is this a defensible view of Plato's *Republic* ?

Q. Can the argument of Plato's *Republic* be summed up in the following syllogism: 'Political rule presupposes wisdom; wisdom is discoverable by philosophy; hence philosophers should be rulers?'

B: Set Text

Plato, The Republic ed., G R F Ferrari ed., Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought(2000) (there are also editions edited by Cornford, F. M.) (OUP 1945), Grube, revised Reeve (Hackett) and Waterfield, Robin, ed., World's Classics.

C: Supplementary Text

Plato, The Laws (ed., Thomas Pangle) (1980); The Statesman (Loeb edition), The Apology/Defence, Crito and Gorgias

D: Reading

Annas, Julia, An Introduction to Plato's Republic (1981)

Kraut, Richard, ed., Plato's Republic: critical essays (1997)

Schofield, Malcolm, Plato (2006)

E: Further Reading

Annas, J., 'Plato's Republic and Feminism' Philosophy 51 (1976) see Fine below

Annas, J., Platonic Ethics Old and New 1999 (ch 4)

Barker, Ernest, The political thought of Plato and Aristotle (1959) (the Plato chapters appear also in his Greek Political Theory (1947))

Bobonich, Christopher Plato's Utopia Recast (2002), 41-88

Coole, Diana, Woman in Political Theory ch 2 (1993)

Cooper, John M., Reason and Emotion: Essays in Ancient Moral Psychology and Ethical Theory (Princeton, 1999) Part One esp. ch. 3, 4, and 5.

Craig, Leon, The War Lover: A study of Plato's Republic (1994)

Crombie, Iain M., An Examination of Plato's Doctrines vol 1 (1979)

Elshtain, Jean B., Public Man, Private Woman ch 1 (1987)

Ferrari, G. R. F., The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic 2, 5-7, 9, 10, 12-14, 16 (2007)

Fine, Gail, (ed.), Plato (Oxford, 1999) ch. 1, 4, 6-14

Hall, Robert Plato (1981)

Irwin, Terence Plato's Ethics ch 11-20 (1977) *

Klosko, G., The development of Plato's political theory (1986)

Kraut, Richard., 'Plato on Justice', in Kraut (ed.) The Cambridge Companion to Plato (CUP 1994) ***

Kraut, ed Plato's Republic: Critical Essays (1997)
 Leys, W., 'Was Plato non-political?' Ethics 1965 ***
 Neu, J., 'Plato's analogy of State and Individual' Phil 46 1971 ***
 Okin, Susan M Women in Western Political thought 1-3 (1983)
 Okin, S. M. 'Philosopher Queens and Private Wives: Plato on Women and the family' in Shanley, M. L. and Pateman C., (eds.,) Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory
 Popper, Karl The Open Society and its enemies vol 1 (1962)
 Reeve, Christopher D Philosopher Kings: the argument of Plato's Republic (1988)
 Versenyi, L., 'Plato and his liberal opponents' Philosophy 46 1971
 Vlastos, G., 'The theory of social justice in Plato' in North, Helen, (ed.), Interpretations of Plato, p. 1-40.
 See Wolin and Strauss and Cropsey for background reading)

On Plato's predecessors:

see Irwin, Terence, Classical Thought (OUP 1989); and Dodds, E., The Greeks and the irrational ch. 6 (Un. of California Berkeley 1957) and The Ancient concept of progress ch. 6, (OUP, 1973)

F:

On classical sources generally see:

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

<http://noesis.evansville.edu/bin/index.cgi> - a source of classical texts

<http://www.perseus.csad.ox.ac.uk> - classics site

<http://classicsa.mit.edu> - Plato and Aristotle site

<http://plato.evansville.edu> - exploring Plato's dialogues

<http://evansville.edu/plato.htm> - site devoted to Plato and his dialogues

Also the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu> for detailed and up to date commentary on Plato

2. ARISTOTLE

A:

Q. What does Aristotle mean when he says that the polis is self-sufficing ?

Q. 'In Aristotle everything is explained in teleological terms. The Politics is no exception. As such it has no place within modern political thought because it substitutes functional explanation for causal explanation.' Discuss

Q. What, according to Aristotle is 'natural' about the *polis* ?

Q. How does Aristotle combine the moral and the sociological aspects of the polis?

Q. Aristotle objected to Plato that his search for unity ended by abolishing what is distinctively political about politics. What is the nature of the complaint, and is Aristotle right?

- Q. Discuss the political significance of Aristotle's account of gender relations
- Q. 'Mechanics, or any other class that is not the producer of virtue have no share in the state.' (Aristotle) Discuss this view of citizenship.

B: Set Text

Aristotle, The Politics (CUP (ed.), Barnes, 1988)

C: Supplementary Texts

It is also worth reading Nicomachean Ethics, and The Athenian Constitution in Moore, J., Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy (1983)- now included in the 2nd edition of the Cambridge edition of the Politics)

See also Aristotle, Politics Books I and II (ed. Saunders, 1995) and volumes on books III and IV (ed., Robinson), V and VI (ed Keyt), and VII and VIII (ed. Kraut) (1997) in Oxford Texts and commentaries.

D: Reading

Keyt, David, and Miller, Fred, A Companion to Aristotle's Politics (1991)

Kraut, Richard, Aristotle (2002)

Mulgan, Richard G., Aristotle's Political Theory (1977)

Nussbaum, Martha C., in Amelia Rorty (ed) Essays on Aristotle's Ethics (1980)

E: Further reading

Barker, Ernest, The political thought of Plato and Aristotle (1959)

Barnes, Jonathan, *et al*, Articles on Aristotle Vol 2 (1977)

Booth, S., 'Politics and the Household: A commentary on Aristotle's Politics Bk.. 1' History of Political Thought II (2) 1981

Coole, Diana, Women in Political Theory ch 2 (op. cit)

Cooper, John M., Reason and Emotion: Essays in Ancient Moral Psychology and Ethical Theory (Princeton 1999) Part Two esp. ch. 14-17.

Elshtain, Jean B., Public Man, Private Woman ch. 1 (op. cit)

Evenson, S., 'Aristotle and the Foundations of the State' Political Studies 36 (1) 1988, 89 ***

Hardie, William R., Aristotle's ethical theory (1980)

Irwin, Terence, Classical Thought (1989).

Johnson, Curtis, Aristotle's Theory of the State (1990)

Matthews, G., 'Gender and Essence in Aristotle' Aust J Phil Supp 1986

Mayhew, R., Aristotle on the self-sufficiency of the City History of Political Thought XVI (4) 1995

Morrall, John B., Aristotle (1977)

Mulgan, R., 'Aristotle and the Political Role of Women' History of Political Thought XV (2) 1994

Nussbaum, Martha C., The Fragility of Goodness ch 11 (1986)

Ober, Josiah, Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule (Princeton, 1999) ch.6.

Okin, Susan M, Women in Western Political Thought ch 4 (op. cit)

Rosler, Andres, Aristotle on Political Obligation (2005)

Ross, William D., Aristotle (1949)

Yack, Bernard The Problems of a Political Animal (1993)

See Wolin and Strauss and Cropsey for Background Reading

F:

<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/a/aristotle/htm> - discussion of Aristotle

<http://noesis.evansville.edu/bin/index.cgi> - a source of classical texts

<http://www.perseus.csad.ox.ac.uk> - classics site

<http://classicsa.mit.edu> - Plato and Aristotle site

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature

Also the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy on the www:
<http://plato.stanford.edu> for entries on Aristotle

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

3. AQUINAS

A:

- Q. Should Aquinas be considered a liberal political thinker on account of his doctrine that people may unjustly overthrow an unjust ruler?
- Q. Are the methods or the conclusions of Aquinas of greater interest today?
- Q. How far is Aquinas's doctrine of natural law compatible with his avowal of Aristotelianism?

B: Set Text

Aquinas: Political Writings, edited and translated by R.W. Dyson, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

C: Supplementary Texts

See also eds. Baumgarth, W. P., and Regan, R. J., Saint Thomas Aquinas on Law Morality and Politics (1988)

and Nederman, C. J., and Forhan, K. L., Medieval Political Theory - A reader: The quest for the body politic, 1100-1400 (1993)

D: Reading

Finnis, John, Aquinas (1998)

E: Further reading

Canning, Joseph, A History of Medieval Political Thought, (1996)

Catto, Jeremy, 'Ideas and Experience in the Political Thought of Aquinas' Past and Present 1976

Dunbabin, Jean, 'Aristotle in the Schools', in Trends in Mediaval Political Thought, (ed.) Smalley, B.

D'Entreves, Alexander Passerin, Natural Law (1970)

The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought (ch.G 2) (1939)

Eschmann, I. T., 'St Thomas Aquinas on the Two Powers' Medieval Studies 20, 1958
Morrall, John B., Political Thought in Medieval Times (1962)

Gierke, Otto, Political theories of the Middle Ages (1981)

Skinner, Quentin, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought Vol 2 chap. 4 and 5. (op.cit).

Ullmann, Walter, A History of Political Thought: the Middle Ages (1965)

Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages, (1961) pp. 243-58

Weisheipl, James A., Friar Thomas D'Aquino. His life, thought and works (1974).

F:

<http://www.nd.edu/Departments/Maritain/etext/stthomas.htm> - Aquinas web-site

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature

Also the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

4. MACHIAVELLI

A:

Q. What did Machiavelli understand by virtù and fortuna, and how were they related in his thought.

Q. What if anything is distinctively modern about Machiavelli's political thought 'Machiavelli's political sympathies were republican?

Q. How coherent and how central to his political thought, is Machiavelli's concept of virtue?

Q. Does Machiavelli's rejection of Christianity leave the Prince entirely free from ethical constraints?

Q. Where there are good arms, good laws inevitably follow. Why does Machiavelli attach so much importance to military art?

B: Set Texts

The Prince;

The Discourses

C: Supplementary Texts

Machiavelli Art of War

(which is in : Allan Gilbert (ed) The Chief Works of Machiavelli (1989)

Mandragola, Tercets on Fortune and Ambition, and The Golden Ass.

see also ed B Kohl and R G Witt The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on

Government and Society (1979).

D: Reading

Skinner, Quentin, Machiavelli (1981)

Viroli, Maurizio, Machiavelli (1998)

Bock, Gisela, *et al*, eds. Machiavelli and Republicanism pt 2 (1990)

E: Further reading

Baron, H., 'Machiavelli, republican citizen' Eng.Hist Rev. 1961

Benner, E., Machiavelli's Ethics 2010,

Berlin, Isaiah, 'The Originality of M' in Against The Current ***

De Grazia, Sebastian, Machiavelli in Hell ***(1992)

Elshtain, Jean B., Public Man, Private Woman 92-9 (op.cit)Gilbert, Felix, Machiavelli and Guicciardini (1965)

Fleisher, M., 'Machiavelli and the ways of Politics' History of Political Thought XVI (3) 1995. 330-55

Gilbert, F., Humanist concept of the Prince, J Mod Hist 1939

Hale, John, Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy (1972)

Hexter, J. H., 'Loom of Language' Amer.Hist. Rev 1964

Hörnqvist, Mikael, Machiavelli and Empire (2004)

Najemy, J. M., The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli 2010

Norton, 'Christianity' History of Political Thought IV (1) 1983

Orr, 'Time' Political Studies 17 (2) 1969

Price, 'Glory' Renaissance Quarterly 30 1977 pp 588-631

'Virtue' European Studies Review 3 1973 pp.318-45

'Ambition' History of Political Thought III (3) 1982

'Self-love, egoism, and Ambizione in M's thought' History of Political Thought 9 (2) 1988

Pitkin, Hannah, Fortune is a woman (1984)

Pocock, John, The Machiavellian Moment (Part Two esp 6 and 7) *** (1975)

Skinner, Quentin, Foundations of Modern Political Thought Vol 1 op.cit.

Strauss, Leo, Thoughts on Machiavelli (1958)

Viroli, Maurizio, From Politics to Reasons of State (1992)

Wood, 'Virtue' Political Studies 15 (2) 1967 Hannaford, 'Reply to Wood' Political Studies 20 (2) 1972

See also Wolin, Plamenatz, Allen for Background Reading

F:

<http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~pgrose/machi/index.html> - Machiavelli entry

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

5. HOBBS

A:

- Q. Are Hobbes's laws of nature rational principles, moral principles, or something else?
- Q. How good was Hobbes's case for the claim that the state of nature is a state of war?
- Q. For Hobbes, the covenant is a dramatic device; it plays no essential role in his argument for men's obligation to obey their governments.' Discuss.
- Q. Hobbes's account of politics is incoherent; if men were as he depicts them, they could never get out of the state of nature, but if they were no as he depicts them, they would never get into such a state. Is that fair criticism?
- Q. Is Hobbesian "man" really male? Does this matter for political theory?
- Q. Why does Hobbes's employment of natural rights point him in an absolutist direction?

B: Set Text

Hobbes, Leviathan ch 1-31

C: Supplementary Texts

De Cive (1983) (esp. Pt 111, ch., 15) and De Homine (1978); and the last two books of Leviathan

D: Reading

Sommerville, Johannes P., Thomas Hobbes: political ideas in historical context (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1992)

E: Further reading

Baumgold, Deborah, Hobbes's Political Theory (CUP 1988)

Cranston, Maurice, and R S Peters (eds), Hobbes and Rousseau (Doubleday, NY 1972) esp the essays by Barry and Skinner ***

Dietz, Mary K, Thomas Hobbes and Political Theory (1990)

Eisenbach, 'Hobbes on Church, State and Religion' Hist Pol Thought III (2) 1982

Gauthier, David, The Logic of Leviathan (1969)

, 'Why one ought to obey God' Can.J.Phil 7(3) 1977 ***

Gert, Bernard, Hobbes (2010)

Goldsmith 'Hobbes' "Mortal God" is there a fallacy in Hobbes' Theory of Sovereignty' Hist Pol Thought 1(1) 1980

Halliday, R. J., *et al.*, 'Hobbes' belief in God' Pol Stud 31 (3) 1983

Hampton, Jean, Hobbes and the Social Contract Tradition (1986)

Harrison, Ross, Hobbes, Locke, and Confusions Masterpiece (2003)

Johnston, David, The Rhetoric of Leviathan (1986)

Kavka, Gregory, Hobbesian Moral and Political Theory (1986)

von Leyden, W., Hobbes and Locke (1982)

Malcolm, Noel, Aspects of Hobbes (2002) *

- McNeilly, F., The Anatomy of Leviathan (1968)
- Macpherson, C. B., The Political theory of Possessive Individualism (1962)
- Morgan, G, 'Hobbes and the right of self-defence' Pol Stud 30(3)1982, reply Trainov 32(2)1984
- Oakeshott, Michael, Hobbes on Civil Association (1975)
- Pateman, C., Hobbes and Patriarchy' BIPS 19 1989 (or CP's Disorder of Women)
- Pettit, Philip, Made with Words: Hobbes on Language, Mind and Politics (2008)
- Raphael, David D., Hobbes (1977)
- Riley, Patrick, Will and Political Legitimacy (1982)
- Rogers, G. A. J., and Ryan, Perspectives on Thomas Hobbes (1988)
- Rudolph, 'Conflict, Egoism and Power in Hobbes' Hist Pol Thought VII (1) 1986
- Skinner, Quentin, Hobbes and Republican Liberty (2008)
- Skinner, Quentin Visions of Politics Vol III (2002)
- Skinner, Quentin, Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes (1996)
- Sorell, Tom, Hobbes (1986)
- Sorell, T and Foisneau L., Leviathan after 350 years (2004)
- Springorg, P, The Cambridge Companion to Leviathan (2007)
- Strauss, Leo, Hobbes's Political Philosophy (1936)
- Tuck, Richard, Hobbes (1969) see also Tuck, Philosophy and Government 1572-1651 esp. ch. 7.
- Warrender, Howard, The Political Philosophy of Hobbes (1957) (cf. Pol Stud 8(1) 1960) also Brown, Keith C., (ed), Hobbes Studies (Blackwell, Oxford, 1965) (also Plamenatz) ***

F:

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>
<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy
<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/h/hobbes.htm> - Hobbes website
<http://www.educacao.pro.br/hobbes.htm>- Hobbes website
<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature
 Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>
<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

6. LOCKE

A:

- Q. Explain Locke's doctrine of consent to government. Is the doctrine strictly necessary to his account of legitimate government?
- Q. How subversive are Locke's views of resistance to government?
- Q. Whether it is mythical or not, the state of nature plays an indispensable role in Locke's political theory. Discuss this role.

Q. What role does the will of the majority have in Locke's treatment of political obligation?

Q. Was Locke misguided in trying to account for all the legitimate functions of government in terms of 'the preservation of property'?

B: Set Text

Locke, Second Treatise of Civil Government (ed.), Laslett, Peter, CUP 1988)

C: Supplementary Texts

First Treatise of Civil Government ((ed.), Laslett, Peter, 1988)

Essays on the Law of Nature (in Wootton, David, below) (1988) ((ed.), von Leyden esp pp 30-60, 75-82)

Letter Concerning Toleration (in Wootton, David, below) But see also the critical edition with Locke's other religious writings in Clarendon Edition of An Essay Concerning Toleration, ed J Milton and P. Milton (2006)

Two Tracts on Government (ed.), Abrams, Philip, (1967)

See also Wootton, David, (ed.), Political writings/John Locke (Penguin, 1993) or the more comprehensive:

Locke, John, Political Essays ed., Goldie, Mark, (1997).

D: Reading

Ashcraft, Richard, Locke's Two Treatises of Government (1987)

E: Further reading

Aglim, J. 'Locke's state of Nature' Pol. Stud 26(1) 1978

Ashcraft, Richard, Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises (1987)

'Revolutionary Politics' Pol. Theory 8 (1980) 429

Butler, M., 'Locke and Patriarchy' Am Pol. Sci. Rev. 72, 1978

Chen, S., 'Locke's Political arguments for Toleration' HPT XIX (2) 1998

Coole, Diana Women in Political Theory ch 4 (op. cit.)

Dunn, John, The political thought of John Locke (1969)

Rethinking Modern Political Theory (First 3 chaps) (1985)**

Pol. Obligation in its Historical Context (1980) (Consent) ***

Locke (1984)

Elshtain, Jean B., Public Man, Private Woman ch 3 (op. cit.) (1993 edition)

Franklin, Julian, John Locke and the economy of Sovereignty (1981)

Gauthier, D., 'Why one ought to obey God' Canad. J Phil VII (3) 1977

Goldie, M., 'John Locke and Anglican Royalism' Pol Stud 31(1) 1983

Gough, John, Locke's Political Philosophy (1950)

Grant, Ruth, John Locke's Liberalism (1987)***

Harris, Ian, The Mind of John Locke (1994)

Harrison, Ross, Hobbes, Locke, and Confusions Masterpiece (2003)

Laslett, Peter, 'Introduction' to ed of Two Treatises **

von Leyden, W., Hobbes and Locke (1982)

- Lloyd-Thomas, David, Routledge Philosophy guidebook to Locke on Government (1995)
- Marshall, John, John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility (1994)
- Pateman, C., 'The fraternal social contract' in Disorder of Women
- Riley, Patrick, Will and Political Legitimacy (1982)
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- Waldron, Jeremy, God, Locke and Equality (2002) **
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F:

- <http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/l/locke.htm> Locke website
- <http://www.trincoll.edu/depts/phil/philo/phils/locke.html> - Locke website
- <http://www.nobunaga.demon.co.uk/htm/locke.htm>
- <http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Locke/second/second-frame.html>
- <http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature
- Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>
- <http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

7. MONTESQUIEU

A:

- Q. Discuss the meaning and significance of Montesquieu's principles of government
- Q. Was Montesquieu a liberal? or Was Montesquieu a conservative?
- Q. Did Montesquieu prefer monarchies or republics, and on what grounds?
- Q. Was Montesquieu consistent in his description of free governments?
- Q. Does Montesquieu succeed in applying his belief in universal justice to the study of different forms of government?

B: Set Text

Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws Books I-VIII, XI, XII, XIX (The best translation is that (ed.), by Anne Cohler *et al*, CUP 1989)

C: Supplementary Texts

See also Richter (ed) selections in The Political Theory of Montesquieu (1977);
 Betts, C. J. (ed.), Persian Letters (1973), and Ehrard, Jean, eds., Consideration sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence (1968)

D: Reading

O'Keohane, Nannerl, Philosophy and the State in France ch 14 (1980)
 Richter, Melvin, 'Introduction' The political Theory of Montesquieu (1977)
 Shklar, Judith, Montesquieu (1987) (also her ch 13 in G Bock *et al* Eds, Machiavelli and Republicanism)

E: Further reading

Althusser, Louis, Politics and History (1972)
 Aron, Raymond, Main currents of sociological thought vol 1(1965-1967)
 Berlin, Isaiah, 'Montesquieu' in Against the current (1981)
 Berman, Marshall, The Politics of Authenticity (1971) pt 1 re Persian Letters
 Carrithers, D., 'Montesquieu's Phil of history' J. Hist. Ideas 1986 pp 61-81
 'Montesquieu's Philosophy of Punishment' Hist. Pol. Thought XIX 2, 1998
 Carithers, D, Mosher, M, and Rahe, P ed Montesquieu's Science of Politics: Essays on the Spirit of the Laws (2001)
 Courtney, C. P., Montesquieu and Burke (1963).
 Durkheim, Emile, Montesquieu and Rousseau (1960)
 Hampson, Norman, Will and Circumstance ch 1 (1983)
 Manicas, 'Montesquieu and the 18th C., vision of the state' Hist. Pol. Thought II (2) 1981
 Martin, Kingsley, French Liberal thought in the 18th century (2nd ed London 1962).
 Pangle, Thomas, Montesquieu's Philosophy of Liberalism (1973).
 Plamenatz, John, 'Montesquieu' in Man and Society (op. cit.)
 Rahe, P., Montesquieu and the Logic of Liberty (2009)
 Shackleton, R., Montesquieu: a critical biography (1961)
 Sonensher, M., Before the Deluge (2007), especially ch. 2

F:

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature
 Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>
<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

8. HUME

A:

Q. Does Hume's concept of allegiance, throw more light upon the origin of government or upon the moral basis of political obligation?

- Q. Is Hume's view that politics can be reduced to a science compatible with his views about the foundations of moral and political reasoning?
- Q. Discuss the political implications of Hume's distinction between 'natural' and 'artificial' virtues.
- Q. Is Hume's concept of allegiance simply another term for political obligation?
- Q. What are Hume's reasons for repudiating the doctrine of the social contract?

B: Set Text

Hume, Hume's Moral and Political Philosophy (ed.), Aiken, Henry D. (Haffner, NY 1948)

This edition comprises:

A Treatise of Human Nature, Bk. II Of The Passions Pt 1 Sect 1; Pt 1 Sect 11; Pt III, Sect 1 & 2; Pt III, Sect 3. Bk. III Of Morals (Complete)

An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals (Complete with Appendix)

And the following essays:

That politics may be reduced to a science; Of the first principles of government; Of the origin of government; Of civil liberty; The Epicurean; The Stoic; The Platonist; The Sceptic; Of the original contract; Idea of a perfect commonwealth.

C: Supplementary Texts

Other essays worth reading include: Of the rise and progress of the arts and sciences; Of commerce; (Collected in Essays, Moral, Political and Literary ed Miller, E., (Liberty Press, Indiana. 1987)

D: Reading

Miller, David, Philosophy and Ideology in Hume's Political Thought (1981)

Gauthier, D, 'Hume: Contractarian' Phil Rev 88(1) 1979 3-38

Moore, J, Hume on Justice and Property, Pol Stud 24(2) 1976

E: Further reading

Brownsey, P. F., Hume and the social Contract Phil Quart 28 (1978)

Cohon, Rachel, Hume's Morality (2008)

Dunn, J 'From Applied Theology to Social Analysis' in Rethinking Political Theory

Forbes, Duncan, Hume's Philosophical Politics (1975)

Hardin, R, Hume: Moral and Political Theorist (2007)

Mackie, John, Hume's Moral Theory (1980)

Moore, J., Hume's political science and the classical republican tradition, Canad J Pol Sci X (1977)

Plamenatz, John, Man and Society (op. cit)

Stroud, Barry, Hume last chapter (1977)

Stewart, John B, The Moral and Political Philosophy of D Hume (1973)

Wolin, S., Hume and Conservatism, in D Livingston and J T King (eds) Hume a re-evaluation (1976)

F:

<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/h/hume.htm>

<http://www.utm.edu/research/hume/hume.html>

<http://www.hi.is/~mike/hume.html>

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

9. ROUSSEAU

A:

Q. Did Rousseau succeed in distinguishing the general will from the will of all.

Q. Rousseau's Social Contract demonstrates in the clearest possible way that popular sovereignty and liberty are incompatible. Discuss

Q. If human nature is as Rousseau described it in the Second Discourse, the political system described in The Social Contract becomes an impossibility. Discuss.

Q. Examine Rousseau's distinction between natural, civil, and moral liberty.

Q. Can Rousseau's attitude towards women be squared with his account of liberty?

Q. Can you attach any (non-sinister) sense to Rousseau's claim that a man who is forced to obey the law is forced to be free?

B: Set Text

Rousseau, The Social Contract; and Discourses 1995

C: Supplementary Texts

Cole, G. D. H., The Social Contract and the Two Discourses (1973)

Gourevitch V., (ed.), The Discourses and other early political writings (1997) and The Social Contract and other later political writings (1997)

Cole's, G. D. H. edition, the new OUP ed. Of the Social Contract and the new CUP ed., all have the essential article on 'Political economy', and the draft chapter 'General society of the human race'.

Also worth reading Emile, (1991) (ed.), Bloom, A., Basic Books, NY, 1979), esp. the Creed of the Savoyard Priest; also Shklar's synopsis of Julie; in men and Citizens Rousseau's Confessions (1953) and Reveries of a solitary walker (1979)

D: Reading

Bertram, C., Rousseau and the Social Contract (2003)

Cohen, Joshua, Rousseau: A Free Community of Equals (2010)

Keohane, Nannerl, Philosophy and the State in France Last chap. (1980)

Wokler, Robert, Rousseau (1995)

E: Further reading

Barnard, F. M., Self Direction and Political Legitimacy pt., 1 (1988)

Berman, Marshall, Politics of Authenticity pts. II-IV (1971)

- Blum, Carol, Rousseau and the Republic of Virtue: The Language of Politics in the French Revolution (1986)
- Cameron, D 'Rousseau, Professor Derathe and Natural Law' Pol Stud 20 (2), 1972
- Canovan, M, 'Rousseau's 2 concepts of citizenship' in E Kennedy and S Mendus, Women in Western Political Philosophy
- Cassirer, Ernst, The Question of Rousseau, Jean-Jacques (1954)
- Charvet, Jean, The Social Problem in the philosophy of Rousseau (1974)
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- Cobban, Alfred, Rousseau and the Modern State 2nd ed (1964)
- Cranston, Maurice, Jean Jacques Vol 1 ,2 and 3 (Biography) (1983)
- Cranston and Peters eds., Hobbes and Rousseau (1972)
- Dent, N. J., A Rousseau Dictionary (1992)
- Rousseau (1988)
- Derathe, Robert, Jean Jacques Rousseau et la Science Politique de son temps (1974)
- Gildin, Hilail, Rousseau's Social Contract (1983)
- Hampson, Norman, Will and Circumstance ch 2 (1983)
- Masters, R. D., The political philosophy of Rousseau (1968)
- Miller, James, Rousseau, Dreamer of Democracy. (1984)
- Neuhouser, F., Rousseau's Theodicy of Self-Love (2008)
- Riley, Patrick The General Will before Rousseau (1986)
- Rosenblatt, Helena, Rousseau and Geneva (1997)
- Rosenfield, D. 'Rousseau's unanimous contract and the doctrine of popular sovereignty' History of Political Thought VIII (1)
- Shklar, Judith, Men and Citizens (1969)
- Starobinski, Jean, Jean-Jaques Rousseau (U.P., 1988)
- Still, J., Justice and Difference in the works of Rousseau (1993)
- Vivoli, Maurizio, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the 'well-ordered society' (1988).
- Wokler, Robert, (ed) Rousseau and Liberty (1995)
- Wood, E., Meiskins, 'The state and popular sovereignty in French Political Thought: a genealogy of Rousseau's General Will' History of Political Thought IV (2)
- Political Theory 6 (4) 1978, Rousseau Issue

<http://www.utm.edu/research/iep/rousseau.htm>

<http://www.knuten.liu.se/~bjoch/philosophers/rou.html>

<http://www.wabash.edu/rousseau/ljirimg.html>

<http://argos.evansville.edu> - a search engine in ancient and medieval literature

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on the www: <http://plato.stanford.edu>

<http://hippias.evansville.edu> - a search engine in philosophy

10. Citizen virtue and political stability in classical, renaissance, and early modern political thought

Q. 'What were identified as the major sources of order and disorder within the classical states of Greece and Rome? How far did Plato and Aristotle deviate from the analyses of their predecessors, contemporaries and successors?

Q. 'The ancient Greeks united an account of the good life with an analysis of the forces which supported or threatened the order within which that life could develop. Later republican accounts have focused more on the problem of order and its corruption than on the nature of the good life which order makes possible.' Discuss.

Q. Is there a republican theory of the state?

Texts

Plato, The Republic Part Nine (Books 8 and 9)

Aristotle, Politics Books 5, 6, and 7

Thucydides, The History of the Peloponnesian War, Bk. 1, 1-24; Bk. 2, 34-46; Bk. 3, 69-85

Moore, J. M., Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy - especially: 'The Constitution of Sparta' (1983)

Plato, The Laws Book Three, sections 4 and 5

Polybius, Histories Book 6 - in The Rise of the Roman Empire Bk. 6 (1979)***

Livy, Early History of Rome (1979)

Machiavelli, The Discourses Bk. 1

Harrington, Oceana (ed Pocock, 1992)

Montesquieu, Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romaines et de leur Paris (1968) Eng Tans Hackett Edition 2002

Rousseau, 'Draft of a Constitution for Corsica' (in Oeuvres Completes ed Gagnebin/Raymond, Paris, 1959);

'Considerations on the Government of Poland' (in Rousseau; Political Writings tr. Watkins, Edinburgh 1953);

'Lettre á D'Alembert' (in Politics and the Arts ed Bloom, Allan, Ithaca, 1960);

Letters written from the Mountain' in Complete Works (ed.), Vaughan, Charles, Cambridge 1915).

Khaldun, Ibn, The Muqaddimah, Preface and Prolegomena (1967)

Reading

de Romilly, Jacqueline, The Rise and Fall of States According to Greek Authors 1977) ***

- Euben, J Peter, 'Political Corruption', in T Ball *et al* Political Innovation and Conceptual Change (1989)
- Finlay, Moses I., Politics in the Ancient World (1983)
- Goldie, M., and Wokler, R., The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Political Thought (2006) ch 13, 20.
- Hankins, James, Renaissance Civic Humanism (2005)
- Lacoste, Yves, Khaldun, Ibn, esp. pp. 100-117 (1984)
- Nelson, Eric, The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought (2004)
- Ober, Josiah, Political Dissent in Democratic Athens: Intellectual Critics of Popular Rule (Princeton, 1999).**
- Ober, Josiah, Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens (Princeton, 1989), ch.1 and 7.
- Pettit, Philip, Republicanism (1997)
- Philp, M., 'Republicanism and Liberalism: on leadership and political order' Democratization 3(4) 383-419 (1996)
- Pocock, John, G. A. Politics, Language and Time chs 3 and 4 ** (1972)
- Skinner, Q., 'The republican Idea of Political Liberty' in Bock, G., Skinner, Q., and Viroli M., eds, Machiavelli and Republicanism (1990) and Liberty before Liberalism (1997)
- Springborg, P., 'The Contractual State' Hist Pol Thought 8 (3) 1987
- David Wootton, 'The True Origins of Republicanism' available at <http://www.york.ac.uk/crems/downloads/trueorigins.pdf> or in Manuela Albertone, ed., Il repubblicanismo moderno. L'idea di repubblica nella riflessione storica di Franco Venturi (Naples, Bibliopolis, 2007)

11. The primacy of the personal over the political

- Q. 'The emphasis on the value of a political life has regularly been challenged in the history of political thought by the rival claims of the private and personal, for the protection of which politics is no better than a necessary instrument.' Discuss
- Q. 'Self-realisation, authenticity, and a concern with the private self were conceptions foreign to the Greeks, but become a central component of political theory by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.' Discuss.

Texts

Plato, Republic

Aristotle, Politics

Nichomachean Ethics

Cicero, On Duties (ed., Griffin, Miriam, 1991)

Montaigne, The Complete Essays esp., Sect I, 2, 3, 12, 18-20, 28, 30, 47, Sect II, 5, 7, 8, 14, 16, 19, 25, 29, Sect III, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13 ed. Screech, Penguin, 1991)

Hobbes, Leviathan (ed., Tuck, CUP 1991); De Corpore (ed., Gaskin, J. C. A., OUP, 1994); De Cive (ed., Warrender, Howard, Clarendon Press, 1988 or in the CUP edition, On the Citizen ed., Tuck, Richard, and Silverthorne, Michael, 1998)
 Montesquieu, Persian Letters, (1973)
 Rousseau, Emile, (ed., A. Bloom, Basic Books, NY, 1979); Confessions (Penguin 1953); Reveries of a Solitary Walker (Penguin 1979); Discourses on Arts and Sciences and Inequality (in ed., Cole, G. D. H., Everyman/Dent 1993, or Gourevitch, Victor, 1977)
 Constant, Benjamin, On the Liberty of the Ancients and the Moderns Compared (ed., Fontana, 1988) **

Reading

Schneewind, John B., Moral Philosophy from Montaigne to Kant 2 vols (1988)

12. Utopias in Politics

- Q. 'Considered as contributions to political theory, utopias always appear far-fetched and naive.' Discuss (1997)
 Q. 'If we distinguish Utopian political thought from 'political theory' we leave an emaciated tradition void of prescriptive power beyond the endorsement of strategies for maximising prudence.' Discuss
 Q. What makes a work in political theory 'utopian'?

Texts

Plato, Republic ; The Laws
 Aristotle, Politics Bk.s 1-3 and 7-8
 More, Thomas, Utopia (ed. Logan, George,/Adams, Robert, CUP 1989) ***
 Bacon, Francis, New Atlantis (ed. Johnston, Arthur, 1974)
 Tommaso, Campanella, The City of the Sun (ed., Bonno, Daniel, 1981)
 Harrington, Oceana (ed. Pocock 1993)
 Swift, J., Gulliver's Travels (ed. Turner, Paul, 1986)
 Hume, D., 'The Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth' in Essays, Moral, Political and Literary (ed Miller, E., 1987)

Reading

Claeys, Gregory, (ed.), Utopias of the British Enlightenment (1994)
 Manuel, F., and Manuel, F., French Utopias: An Anthology of Ideal Society (1966)
 Manuel, F., and Manuel, F., Utopian Thought in the Western World (1979)
 Morton, A., L The English Utopia (1952)
 Nelson, Eric 'Greek nonsense in More's Utopia' Historical Journal 44, 2001 – reprinted in his The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought (2004)

13. Natural Law and Natural Rights

- Q. What is distinctive about the modern theory of natural law?

Q. Compare and contrast the roles played by natural law and natural rights in the work of at least two of the following political theorists: Vitoria, Suarez, Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke, Hume or Kant. (1997)

Texts

Pufendorf, S., On the Duty of Man and Citizen (1991)

Vitoria, F., Political Writings esp sections 1,4,6 and 7 (ed Padgen and Lawrance 1991)

Hobbes, Leviathan

Locke, J., Second Treatise ; Essay on the Law of Nature (in (ed.), Wootton, D., Locke's Political Writings Penguin 1993)

Kant, I., The Metaphysics of Morals (ed Gregor, M., 1991)

Kant's Political writing, (ed., Nisbet, 1970)

Suarez and Grotius, in Schneewind, J. B., Moral Philosophy from Montaigne to Kant 2 vols (1988) Volume 1 part 1

Reading

Brett, Annabel, Liberty, Right and Nature (1997)

Burns, T., Aristotle and Natural Law Hist Pol Thought XIX (2) 1998

Dagger, R., 'Rights' in Terence Ball *et al* Political Innovation and Conceptual Change (CUP 1989)

D'Entreves, Alexander Passerin, Natural Law (1970) ***

The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought ch ii. (1939)

Forbes, Duncan, Hume's Philosophical Politics chap 2 (1975)

Gierke, Otto, Political Theories of the Middle Ages (1981)

Goldie, M., and Wokler, R., The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Political Thought (2006) Chap 9-12

Hochstrasser, T., Natural Law Theories in the Early Enlightenment (2004)

Istvan Hont, Chap 1 – Essay on Pufendorf, in his: Jealousy of Trade (2005)

Miller, F., Nature, Justice and Rights in Aristotle's Politics (1995)

Oakley, F., 'Locke, Natural Law and God ' Hist Pol Thought XVIII (4) 1997

O'Neill, Onora, Constructions of Reason (1989) Chs 1 and 2)

Skinner, Quentin, Foundation of Modern Political Thought Vol 2 chap. 4 and 5. (1978).

Swanson, S.G., 'The medieval foundations of Locke, J., Theory of Natural Rights Hist Pol Thought XVIII (3) 1997

Tiernay, B, 'Origins of Natural Rights Language' History of Political Thought 10 (1989) 615 'Tuck on rights' History of Political Thought 4 (1983) 429-41

Tuck, R., 'The Modern Theory of Natural Law', in The Languages of Political Theory in Early Modern Europe. (ed Anthony Padgen, 1987) ***

Philosophy and Government 1572-1651 esp. chs. 2, 4, and 5. (1993)

Natural Rights Theories (1979)

Ullman, Walter, A History of Political Thought: the Middle Ages (1965)

Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages, (1961) pp. 243-58