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HERTOG POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM 2014 SUMMER FELLOWSHIP WEEK 1 – MACHIAVELLI Washington, DC

Machiavelli is one of the most profound and challenging political thinkers. He cannot be understood merely by extracting generalizations. One has to take seriously his account of virtue and the low, but solid ground on which he recommends we construct our political regimes, and one must pay attention to particular characters, incidents, and key terms. The chronology (xxix–xxxi), index of proper names (pp. 145–151), and glossary (pp. 113–140) help one to do so. In particular, we explore the following themes and terms: founding, corruption, renewal, fortune vs. virtue, ordinary vs. extraordinary, appearance vs. truth, nature, necessity, acquisition, glory, and prudence. We read the entirety of The Prince along with excerpts from the *Discourses on Livy*.

Section 1 – Catherine Zuckert, professor, University of Notre Dame

Section 2 – Vickie Sullivan, professor, Tufts University

Section 3 – Alan Levine, professor, American University

Monday, June 23, 2014

8:00 a.m. – 8:45 a.m.

Group Breakfast

9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.

Introduction to The Prince and Discourses on Livy

- The Prince, Dedicatory Letter; Letter to Vettori, pp. 107–111
- Discourses, Dedicatory Letter; Book I: Preface

Questions:

- 1. What light do the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* and the dedicatory letter and the preface to Book I of the *Discourses* cast on the addressees and purposes of the two works?
- 2. Why does Machiavelli, according to the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* and the preface to Book I of the *Discourses*, acquire his political knowledge from both modern experience and ancient reading?
- 3. What light does the analogy to those who sketch landscapes in the dedicatory letter of *The Prince* cast on the distinction between the natures of princes and peoples and on Machiavelli's own status?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Hereditary and Mixed Principalities

- The Prince, Chs. 1–5
- Discourses, Book I, Chs. 16, 19, 20; Book II, Ch. 2, §§1, 3

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Questions:

- 1. What is the underlying basis of the typology of states in *The Prince*, Chapter 1?
- 2. What light do *Discourses*, Book I, Chapters 19–20, cast on the issue of hereditary rule discussed in *The Prince*, Chapter 2, and the treatment of republics in Chapter 5?
- 3. What are the implications and the moral and political consequences of Machiavelli's assertion in *The Prince*, Chapter 3, that the desire to acquire is "a very natural and ordinary thing"?
- 4. Does Machiavelli stick to his announcement in *The Prince*, Chapter 2, that he will leave out reasoning on republics? Note the example he offers for wise princes to imitate in *The Prince*, Chapters 3–5.
- 5. What are the implications of the treatment of republics in *The Prince*, Chapter 5? Compare *Discourses*, Book I, Chapters 16 and 20, and Book II, Chapter 2.
- 6. Machiavelli uses the term "princes" in *Discourses* Book I, Chapter 20, for example, to include the leaders of a republic. What implications might this have for how to read *The Prince?*

12:30 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.

Semiweekly Group Lunch

Tuesday, June 24, 2014

9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m. New Princes

- The Prince, Chs. 6–7
- Discourses, Book, I, Chs. 9, 18, 25-26; Book III, Ch. 30, § 1
- Discourses, Book, I, Chs. 9, 10 (§§ 1-3, 6), 18, 25–26, 37 (§ 2);
 Book III, Ch.30, § 1

Questions:

- 1. Why are founders the most important examples for Machiavelli? What can we learn from their examples that we might not learn otherwise?
- 2. How should we understand the treatment of Moses in *The Prince*, Chapter 6, and *Discourses*, Book III, Chapter 30, Section 1?
- 3. What is the point of the story of Remirro de Orco in *The Prince*, Chapter 7?
- 4. Is Cesare Borgia Machiavelli's model prince?
- 5. Do the distinctions between acquiring by one's own arms and virtue, and acquiring by the arms of others and fortune, hold up?
- 6. What sets Caesar and Romulus apart in Machiavelli's view?
- 7. What might Machiavelli mean when he says that Rome was never free after Caesar?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Criminal and Civil Principalities

- The Prince, Chs. 8–10
- Discourses, Book I, Ch. 27, 33, 46, 55 (§§ 4–5)

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Questions:

- 1. Is crime compatible with virtue and glory?
- 2. Should a would-be prince in a republic seek to come to power with the support of the people or that of the great?
- 3. What is the ultimate distinction between the people and the great? Is it a difference of natures?
- 4. Why is the origin of tyranny so difficult to perceive?
- 5. How does Machiavelli propose overcoming corruption?

2:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. Tour - U.S. Supreme Court

3:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Speaker – U.S. Supreme Court

Justice Antonin Scalia, associate justice, U.S. Supreme Court

Wednesday, June 25, 2014

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Ecclesiastical Principalities and the Political Uses of Religion

- The Prince, Ch. 11
- Discourses, Book I, Chs. 11–12, 14; Book II, Ch. 2, §§ 2, 5; Book III, Ch. 1, §§ 1–4

Questions:

- 1. How and why is Cesare Borgia's story told differently in *The Prince*, Chapters 6 and 11?
- 2. Is religion politically useful and even necessary, according to Machiavelli?
- 3. What for him are the politically relevant differences between the religious practices of ancient Rome and Christianity?

10:30 a.m. – 12:30 p.m. Arms and Politics; Morality and Politics

- The Prince, Chs. 12–15
- Discourses, Book I, Ch. 43

Questions:

- 1. How does the point of Machiavelli's story of David and Goliath differ from its point in the Bible?
- 2. Are war and arms all that matter and can laws be disregarded?
- 3. What is the role of writers, according to the end of *The Prince*, Chapter 14? How does this square with previous writers in Chapter 15?
- 4. What is Machiavelli's teaching about morality?
- 5. What is Machiavelli's teaching on "imaginary republics"? Who might he be implicitly attacking, and what are the revolutionary implications of this teaching?

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2:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. Speaker

Harvey Mansfield, professor, Harvard University

Thursday, June 26, 2014

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Morality and Politics (continued)

- The Prince, Chs. 16–18
- Discourses, Book III, Chs. 40-42

Questions:

- 1. Does Machiavelli's teaching about morality serve only the prince or his subjects as well?
- 2. Does it matter what qualities a prince really has, or is appearance all that matters?
- 3. What are the similarities and differences, if any, between the teaching Machiavelli ascribes to the ancient writers in *The Prince*, Chapter 18, and his own teaching in that chapter?
- 4. How does the moral character of Machiavelli's advice to republics in *Discourses* Book III, Chapters 40–42, differ from that of his advice to princes in *The Prince*?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Conspiracies, Soldiers, and Armed Subjects; A Prince's Conduct, Ministers, and Advisers

- The Prince, Chs. 19–23
- Discourses, Book II, Ch. 24, §§ 1-2; Book III, Ch. 35

Questions:

- 1. What is the point of the discussion of conspiracies in *The Prince*, Chapter 19?
- 2. What is the point of the discussion of the Roman emperors in *The Prince*, Chapter 19?
- 3. Do princes have to avoid being hated by the people?
- 4. What are the implications for the rule of princes of the advice in *The Prince*, Chapter 20, to arm their subjects and not build fortresses?
- 5. Does the end of Chapter 21 make Machiavelli a forerunner of modern liberalism?
- 6. How is it possible for a minister "never to think of himself but always of the prince," given Machiavelli's view of human nature?
- 7. What is the relation between the threefold typology of brains in *The Prince*, Chapter 22, and the distinctions between princes and peoples in the dedicatory letter and between the great and the people in Chapter 9?
- 8. What does Machiavelli's discussion of advisers imply for his own role as a teacher or adviser of princes?

7:00 p.m. – 10:00 p.m. Tour – National Monuments

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Friday, June 27, 2014

9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m. Italy and Fortune

- The Prince. Chs. 24–26
- Discourses, Book II, Ch. 29; Book III, Chs. 9, 31

Questions:

- 1. What is Machiavelli's teaching about virtue and fortune?
- 2. How should we understand the treatment of Moses in *The Prince*, Chapter 26?
- 3. Is the plea to liberate Italy in Chapter 26 the culmination or a contradiction of the overall argument of *The Prince*?

10:30 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Machiavelli's Constitution and Ours

• Discourses, Book I, Chs. 2-6, 30, 34-35, 58

Questions:

- 1. What kind of political order or constitution does Machiavelli favor? On what grounds does he favor it?
- 2. How does it compare to that of the United States?

12:30 p.m. – 2:30 p.m. Semiweekly Group Lunch