

Ancient and Mediaeval Political Thought

POLS 3710/PHIL 4360 & 5400

Instructor: Wm McCormick, SJ

Office: McGannon 127

Office Hours: M, 2 - 5:00 P.M. & by appointment

E-mail: mccormickw@slu.edu

Semester: Spring 2020

Class Location: Davis-Shaughnessy 271

Class Time: MWF, 1:10 - 2:00 P.M.

This course traces the development of Western political thought from its beginnings in the Greek city-state to end of the Middle Ages. In so doing, we will explore the communal forms they prescribe: city, empire and Church. The texts we will read were never meant to be mere expressions of a time period, but on the contrary windows into beauty, goodness, truth, and unity between men and with the cosmos and God. We will thus read them as a florilegium of arguments about the best way to live in the light of reason and revelation.

Two things this course is not: an in-depth analysis of any one thinker, idea or text; and an analysis of non-Western political thought.

Course objectives: (1) to read and interpret primary sources in the history of political thought; (2) to use these primary sources to make coherent, well-supported arguments; (3) to become familiar with ideas in ancient and medieval political thought that have influenced Western cultures and institutions; (4) to be able to explain key notions of politics as they emerged in the work of thinkers from Plato's time through the Middle Ages; and (5) to understand how different theoretical approaches are reflected in political and social institutions and practices.

Readings

Plato, *Timaeus* (Kalkavage trans., Hackett)

Plato, *Symposium* (Benardete trans., UChicago)

Aristotle, *Politics* (Lord trans., UChicago)

O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought* (Eerdmans)

Thomas Aquinas, *De Regno* (Eschmann/Phelan trans., PIMS)

Other readings on Blackboard

Be sure to bring the day's assigned reading to class. Please do not buy digital versions of these books, as electronics are not permitted in class. Optional readings are just that, although I encourage you to glance at them before deciding whether to read them. Students taking the course for graduate credit should read most optional readings, and are encouraged to raise them in class discussion.

N.B. I do not require a particular version of the Bible. There are free online versions, e.g., the USCCB [version](#), although the Bible is an excellent book to own. Please avoid translations that purport to be "modern", "contemporary", "living", "dynamic" or other euphemisms for infidelity to the original text. They will not be useful for close textual analysis.

Assignments

Participation: 15% of grade

3 Short papers, 15% each

Midterm exam, 15%

Final paper, 25%

Attendance is critical to your success in this class, and will be checked regularly. More than three unexcused absences will result in a participation grade of 0. The University has set out in full attendance policies here: <https://catalog.slu.edu/academic-policies/academic-policies-procedures/attendance/>

Active participation is highly valued, and will be graded based upon quantity and quality. Please do not confuse attendance with participation: the former is a necessary but insufficient condition of the latter. If you come to class and say nothing, you will earn no participation credit. In general, students must make at least one substantive comment a week for a participation grade of B. An A requires contributing on roughly a daily basis. The texts we read will be rich; it will be a communal effort to draw out even a fraction of their most significant teachings.

A Rant on Class Participation

Some students do not speak up in the classroom because they do not understand the purpose of participation. The point is not to impress others with magisterial orations, but to engage each other in the learning process: to externalize the hard work that is going on in our heads so that we can help each other in learning how to think. In other words, sharing your questions, your confusions, and even your frustrations can be just as valuable as sharing polished statements. Please speak with me if you find it difficult to speak in class. You have things to say and should say them.</rant>

Participation also means you are present to the class and not to your gadgets. All electronic devices, including laptops, should be turned off and stowed before class. Please speak with me if you think you should be exempt from this rule.

Students will write three 2-page papers. All students will write on the first set of readings, but after that students are free to pick any two others. The papers are due at the beginning of the first class of the next unit. Late papers will drop a letter grade per day. (This assignment will be slightly different for students taking the course for graduate credit.)

The midterm exam will include a number of essay questions from which students will choose a few to answer. Students cannot make up this exam without documentation to excuse their absence from them.

The final paper will be due on 4 May, and should be 5-7 pages. Suggested topics will be distributed in April, but students should feel free to propose their own topics.

Students will have the opportunity to earn extra credit by participating in a roundtable on political thought at the Political Science Research Symposium on 7 April 2020.

Graduate Credit (PHIL 5400)

Students taking this course for graduate credit will write two 5-page short papers (20% each) instead of three 2-page short papers. Such students will write a final paper that will be more longer and more research-oriented than that of the undergraduate students, and should consult with the instructor on a topic for their final paper by Easter Monday (13 April). That paper will be due two days before final grades are due to the Registrar. They will take the midterm exam with other students.

Grading Scale: A=93-100; A-=90-92; B+=87-89; B=83-86; B-=80-82; C+=77-79; C=73-76; C-=70-72; D=60-69; F=below 60.

Writing

The University offers writing help at Busch Student Center, Suite 331, or online:

<http://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/index.php>

Student Success Center

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit the Student Success Center to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

Disability Services

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Once successfully registered, the student also must notify the course instructor that they wish to access accommodations in the course.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at Disability_services@slu.edu or 314-977-3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Once approved, information about the student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

Note: Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one are encouraged to contact Disability Services.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service via which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website at: <https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy-academic-integrity-6-26-2015.pdf>.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the Dean/Director of the College, School or Center in which your program is housed.

Title IX

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886) and share the basic facts of your experience with her. The Title IX coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. To view SLU's sexual misconduct policy and for resources, please visit the Office of the General Counsel.

Basic Needs Security

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

Further Reading

Primary Texts

N.B. As for the most part we only read selections of texts in this course, one could continue our itinerary by reading the rest of those classics, or by reading other excerpts in O'Donovan.

Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*; *Summa Contra Gentiles*; Aristotelian commentaries

Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*

Augustine of Hippo, *Letters*, *Confessions*

Burns, J.H., and Thomas M. Izbicki (eds.), 1997, *Conciliarism and Papalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cicero, *De Legibus*, *De Republica*, *De Amicitia*

Duns Scotus, *Political and Economic Philosophy*, Allan B. Wolter (ed. and trans.), St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 2001.

Gratian, *Decretum*

The Greek Fathers (Origen, Chrysostom, etc.)

Izbicki, Thomas M. and Cary J. Nederman (eds. and trans.), 2000, *Three Tracts on Empire*, Bristol: Thoemmes Press

Plato, *Republic*, *Gorgias*, *Apology*

Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the Government of Rulers*

William of Ockham, lots of stuff

Secondary Texts

Robert Alter, *Genesis; The Five Books of Moses*

Henri-Xavier Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme politique: essai sur la formation des théories politiques du Moyen Âge*

Harold Berman, *Law and Revolution*

Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe: 1250-1450*

Rémi Brague, *The Law of God, Eccentric Culture*

Michael Bruno, *Political Augustinianism: Modern Interpretations of Augustine's Political Thought*

J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie, eds., *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*

Joseph P. Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages, 1296–1417*

Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*

Janet Coleman, "Medieval Discussions of Property: *Ratio* and *Dominium* according to John of Paris and Marsilius of Padua," *History of Political Thought*, 4(2) 1983: 209–228.

Christopher Dawson, *opera omnia*

Fulvio di Blasi, *God and the Natural Law*

John Finnis, *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory* (take with a grain of salt)

Ernest Fortin, A.A., *opera omnia*

Etienne Gilson, *opera omnia*

Marc Guerra, *Christians as Political Animals*

Russell Hittinger, *The First Grace*

Andrew Willard Jones, *Before Church and State*

Robert Kraynak, *Christian Faith and Modern Democracy*

Pierre Manent, *The City of Man; Metamorphoses of the City*

Jacques Maritain, *opera omnia*

Charles N.R. McCoy, *The Structure of Political Thought*

Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic*

Francis Oakley, *The Emergence of Western Political Thought in the Latin Middle Ages* trilogy

Olive O'Donovan, *The Desire of Nations; Bonds of Imperfection*

James Powell, ed, *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*, ch. 10, Pennington on medieval law

Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI), *Church, Ecumenism and Politics; Liberating Logos*

Hugo Rahner, S.J., *Church and State in Early Christianity*

Heinrich Rommen, *The State in Catholic Thought; The Natural Law*

James V. Schall, S.J., *opera omnia*

Yves Simon, *Philosophy of Democratic Government*

Leo Strauss, *opera omnia*

Michael Walzer, *In God's Shadow: Politics in the Hebrew Bible*

Tentative Schedule (subject to change)

Readings are found in O'Donovan, except where "(BB)" indicates a reading is on Blackboard.

Part I: A Prolegomena	
WEEK 1 <i>Introduction of Themes</i>	
Mon, 13 Jan	Course Introduction
Wed, 15 Jan	O'Regan (BB), Taylor (BB) Discussion: Where are we? Where did we come from?
Fri, 17 Jan	Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> (BB); Rousseau, <i>The Social Contract</i> (BB) <i>Optional: Manent, "City, Empire, Church, Nation" (BB)</i> <i>Optional: Pope Benedict XVI, Regensburg (BB); Collège des Bernardins (BB)</i>
Part II: The Ancients and the End of Man	
<i>Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr Day: 20 Jan</i>	
WEEK 2 <i>Cosmos</i>	
22-4 Jan	Plato, <i>Timaeus</i> (Cf. Prologue , Gospel of John, 1:1-18 (BB))
WEEK 3 <i>Eros</i>	
27-31 Jan	Plato, <i>Symposium</i> <i>Optional: Benardete and Bloom commentaries</i>
WEEK 4 <i>Polis</i>	
3 Feb	<i>Ethics</i> , I (BB)
5-7 Feb	<i>Ethics</i> , V (BB)
WEEK 5 <i>Polis - II</i>	
10-14 Feb	<i>Politics</i>
Part III: The God of Abraham	
WEEK 6 <i>Holy Writ I: David's Royal City</i>	
17 Feb	Genesis 1-4 <i>Optional: Oakley, OT (BB)</i>
19 Feb	Exodus (skim, focusing on 1-7; 13:17-15:21; and 32:1-34:35); Ezekiel 17 <i>Optional: Odell commentary on Ezekiel (BB)</i>
21 Feb	1 & 2 Samuel (skim)
WEEK 7 <i>Holy Writ II: The Kingdom of God</i>	
24 Feb	Christ born under Roman Empire: Luke 2:1-14 & 3:1-6 (cf. Matthew 1) Render unto Caesar: Mark 12:13-17; Mt 22:15-22 Kingdom of God: Mt 13:24-58; Lk 12:49-53; Luke 17:20-21 <i>Optional: Oakley, NT (BB)</i>
26 Feb	Christ before Pilate: John 18:33-19:22
28 Feb	Early Church: Acts 1-2 Obedience to Civil Authority: Romans 13:1-14; 1 Peter 2 Body of Christ: 1 Corinthians 12; Romans 5; Ephesians 3; Colossians 1:15-29 <i>Optional: Kraynak, CFMD (BB)</i>
WEEK 8 <i>The Two Cities</i>	
2 Mar	Augustine: O'Donovan, 113-37

4 Mar	Augustine: O'Donovan, 137-63
6 Mar	McCoy, "Augustine" (BB)
Part IV: Christendom	
WEEK 9	<i>The Two Powers</i>
16 Mar	Lactantius, Eusebius, Justinian <i>Optional: Oakley, "Patristic Affirmation"</i>
18 Mar	Pope Gelasius; Pope Gregory I, <i>Pastoral Rule</i>
20 Mar	Bernard of Clairvaux; John of Salisbury
WEEK 10	<i>Sacerdotium et... Imperium? Regnum?</i>
23 Mar	John of Paris <i>Optional: Griesbach (BB)</i>
25 Mar	Dante
27 Mar	Marsilius of Padua
WEEK 11	<i>Sacerdotium et... Imperium? Regnum? - II</i>
30 Mar	Gregory VII; Pope Boniface VIII, Unam sanctam (BB)
1 April	Giles of Rome <i>Optional: McCoy, "Giles, Quidort and Marsilius" (BB)</i>
3 April	James of Viterbo
Part V: Aquinas	
WEEK 12	<i>Doctor communis: Scripture</i>
6-8 April	Commentary on Matt 5:3-10 <i>Good Friday and Easter Monday: 10 and 13 April</i>
WEEK 13	<i>Doctor communis: Law, Toleration & Economics</i>
15 April	<i>ST</i> , " Questions on Law " (ST I-II.90-108) <i>Optional: Hittinger, Ch. 2 (BB)</i>
17 April	Letter to the Duchess of Brabant <i>Summa Theologiae II-II.77-78</i>
WEEK 14	<i>Doctor communis: De regno</i>
20 April	<i>DR</i> , I.1-6
22 April	<i>DR</i> , I.7-12
24 April	<i>DR</i> , II.1-4 (II.5-8 optional) <i>Optional: Hittinger, "The Three Necessary Societies" (BB)</i>
Part VI: Fin de siècle	
WEEK 15	<i>Early Modern Itineraries</i>
27 April	More and Vitoria
29 April	Luther
1 May	Saint Ignatius of Loyola (BB)
WEEK 15	<i>Summa</i>
4 May	<i>Revisit Week 1 readings</i> <i>Optional: Pope Benedict XVI, Regensburg (BB); Collège des Bernardins (BB)</i>