

Hillsdale College  
Department of Politics:  
Politics 720-01-F15

## Machiavelli

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**Mondays and Wednesdays, 11:00 a.m. - 12:15 p.m.**  
**Kendall Hall 411**

**P. A. Rahe**  
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**Office Hours:** Mondays, 1:30-3:15 p.m., Tuesdays, 8:15-10:15 a.m.; and by appointment.

The following books are available at the bookstore and should be purchased by every student enrolled in Politics 720. Translations other than those listed below are not acceptable.

- Thomas R. Martin, *Ancient Rome: From Romulus to Justinian* (Yale): ISBN-13: 978-0300160048
- Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737* (California): ISBN-13: 978-0520215221
- Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things*, tr. Anthony Esolen (Johns Hopkins): ISBN-13: 978-0801850554
- Livy, *The Early History of Rome* (Penguin): ISBN-13: 978-0140448092
- , *Rome and Italy* (Penguin): ISBN-13: 978-0140443882
- Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. William Connell (Bedford/St. Martin's): ISBN-13: 978-0312149789
- , *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., and Nathan Tarcov (Chicago): ISBN-13: 978-0226500362
- , *Art of War*, trans. Christopher Lynch (Chicago): ISBN-13: 978-0226500461
- Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, trans. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (Northern Illinois University Press): ISBN-13: 978-0875805993

There are a number of secondary works that you may also wish to purchase: Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago) and *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders* (Chicago), and Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Chicago). You will almost certainly want to secure a used copy of Claude Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (California). These four works I have also placed on reserve in the college library, along with a number of other books you may wish to consult as we work our way through the reading assigned.

In his various works, Machiavelli makes frequent reference to the history of ancient Rome and to that of his native Florence. If you know very little regarding this history, you will – while

studying Machiavelli – frequently find yourself at a loss. If possible, prior to our first class, you would do well to read quickly the first nine chapters of the Martin volume and the Brucker volume in its entirety. If you find the trajectory followed by Florence intriguing (as you should), you may want to go on and read John M. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575* (Blackwell): ISBN-13: 978-1405182423) – with particular reference to Chapters One, Two, Nine, Ten, and Twelve through and Fourteen.

Many of the books to which Machiavelli alludes – such as Plato’s *Republic*, Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics*, and the Bible – you will have at least a passing familiarity with. Lucretius’ *De rerum natura (On the Nature of Things)* you may never have encountered. For Machiavelli, however, it was arguably fundamental. In the mid-1490s, he went to the trouble of producing a critical edition of that scandalous book, and he knew it almost by heart. It, if possible, you should read it also before the term begins. It repays close attention.

There will be a preliminary examination on Monday, the 5th of October, covering everything assigned to be read prior to that date (including the material from Martin, Brucker, and Lucretius mentioned above), and there will be a final examination, which will be administered in our assigned classroom on the date and at the time assigned by the college. Each student is required to write three typed, double-spaced, 3000-word papers in the course of the term. These should be placed in the pigeonhole on the wall outside my office in Kendall Hall before 9 a.m. on the Fridays of Weeks V, X, and XV. Delivery by e-mail attachment is not acceptable. To avoid difficulties that may arise if a paper is somehow misplaced, students are expected to photocopy their papers before turning them in and to retain a copy for their own records. Paper topics will be assigned at least one week prior to the date each paper is due.

In ordinary circumstances, no incompletes will be given, and no make-up examinations will be administered. Any student found guilty of plagiarizing or of cheating on any examination will be given a failing grade in the course and will be reported to the proper authorities. Such behavior can result in dismissal from the College. It is the student’s responsibility to know and to abide by both the college’s Academic Honor Policy (spelled out in detail in the college catalogue) and the Hillsdale College Honor Code: *A Hillsdale College student is honorable in conduct, honest in word and deed, dutiful in study and service, and respectful of the rights of others. Through education the student rises to self-government.*

Incapacitating illness or serious family problems (such as the sudden death of a close relative) are the only grounds excusing a late paper. I will ask to see written evidence that you were under the care of a physician or the equivalent (such as an obituary). If you cannot complete your work on time, you must contact me **before** the work is due. Leave a note, e-mail me at [paul.rahe@hillsdale.edu](mailto:paul.rahe@hillsdale.edu), or call 607-2391. Unexcused lateness in completing work will result in a penalty of one-half of a letter grade per day.

This will be a discussion course, not a lecture course. Classroom attendance is mandatory, and late arrival for class will not be tolerated. Each student is expected to have done the assigned reading for each and every class on time and to be ready to discuss in detail the reading assigned. Each student is encouraged to do as much of the optional reading in secondary materials as possible. On days when any of Machiavelli’s works are being discussed, students should bring both *The Prince* and the *Discourses on Livy* to class. When his *Art of War* is set for discussion, that text should be brought as well. When selections from Machiavelli’s personal correspondence are assigned, the volume *Machiavelli and his Friends* should be brought as well.

To compute the term grade, the instructor will average six grades assigned you – those that you received on each of the two examinations, those that you received on each of your three

papers, and a grade assessed with an eye to your participation in class. Office hours are listed at the top of the first page of this syllabus. Conferences for other times can be arranged by appointment with the instructor.

Some of the works listed below will be found on reserve. They will be marked with an asterisk.

## Schedule of Classes

Week I: 31 August - 4 September

**M:** No Class

**W:** *Introductory Meeting:* Machiavelli, *The Prince* Dedicatory Letter, I-XIV (with Connell's Introduction and Documents nos. 2-5).

Interpretive Studies On the Letter to Vettori: Robert Black, "Notes on the Date and Genesis of Machiavelli's *De principatibus*," and William Connell, "New Light on Machiavelli's Letter to Vettori, 10 December 1513," in *Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini* (Florence: Florence University Press, 2011) 29-42, 93-127; and \*John M. Najemy, "Machiavelli and Geta: Men of Letters," in *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1993) 53-79.

Interpretive Studies of the Early Chapters of *The Prince*: Nathan Tarcov, "Machiavelli and the Foundations of Modernity: A Reading of Chapter 3 of *The Prince*," in *Educating the Prince: Essays in Honor of Harvey Mansfield*, ed. Mark Blitz and William Kristol (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000) 30-44, and "Arms and Politics in Machiavelli's *Prince*," in *Entre Kant et Kosovo: Études offertes à Pierre Hassner*, ed. Anne-Marie Le Gloannec and Aleksander Smolar (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 2003) 109-21; \*Leo Paul de Alvarez, *The Machiavellian Enterprise: A Commentary on The Prince* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999) 3-71; \*Paul A. Rahe, *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 22-100 (esp. 56-100); Timothy J. Lukes, "Martialing Machiavelli: Reassessing the Military Reflections," *Journal of Politics* 66:4 (November, 2004): 1089-1108.

Recommended Background Reading: *Selected Writings of Girolamo Savonarola: Religion and Politics, 1490-1498*, ed. Anne Borelli and Maria Pastore Passaro (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Lorenzo Polizzotto, *The Elect Nation: The Savonarolan Moment in Florence, 1494-1545* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); and Donald Weinstein, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet*, 2011).

Week II: 7-11 September

**M:** Machiavelli, *The Prince* XV-XIX (with Documents nos. 6-8)

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: \*Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 1-52; \*Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) 318-22; \*Nicolai Rubinstein, "Machiavelli and Florentine Republican Experience," Elena Fasano Guarini, "Machiavelli and the Crisis of the Italian Republics," and Giovanni Silvano, "Florentine Republicanism in the Early Sixteenth Century," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 3-70, 121-41.

Recommended Background Reading: Luca Landucci, *A Florentine Diary from 1450 to 1516 by Luca Landucci Continued by an Anonymous Writer Till 1542 with Notes by Iodoco del Badia*, tr. Alice de Rosen Jervis (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927); *Debts, Dowries, and Donkeys: The Diary of Niccolò Machiavelli's Father, Messer Bernardo, in Quattrocento Florence*, ed. Catherine Atkinson (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); K. J. P. Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); J. R. Hale, *Machiavelli and Renaissance Italy* (London: English Universities Press, 1961) 28-140; \*Felix Gilbert, "Florentine Political Assumptions in the Period of Savonarola and Soderini," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957): 187-214, and idem, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) 7-200; Cecil H. Clough, *Machiavelli Researches. Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (sezione romanza)* 9:1 (Naples, 1967): 1-26; Sydney Anglo, *Machiavelli: A Dissection* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1969) 13-57; \*Fredri Chiappelli, "Machiavelli as Secretary," *Italian Quarterly* 14, no. 53 (1970): 27-44; Quentin Skinner, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti: The Artist as Political Philosopher," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986): 1-56, revised, expanded, and reprinted in his *\*Visions of Politics II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 39-117; and Wayne A. Rebhorn, *Foxes and Lions: Machiavelli's Confidence Men* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

Interpretive Studies: Clifford Orwin, "Machiavelli's Unchristian Charity," *The American Political Science Review* 72 (1978): 1217-28; \*Richard H. Cox, "Aristotle and Machiavelli on Liberalism," in *The Crisis of Liberal Democracy: A Straussian Perspective*, ed. Kenneth L. Deutsch and Walter Soffer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987) 125-47; \*Leo Paul de Alvarez, *The Machiavellian Enterprise: A Commentary on The Prince* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999) 75-100.

**W:** Letters Nos. 11, 31-33, 37, 44, 67, 69, 75, 83, 90, 92, 94, 105, 107, 109, 112-13, 115, 139, 144, 166-67, 169, 178, 181, 184, 191 (with the headnotes for each year and the attendant notes), in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, tr. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996), and Machiavelli, "Sonnets to Giuliano, son of Lorenzo de Medici," 1513 (PDF).

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: \*Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 53-144<sup>1</sup>; \*Nicolai Rubinstein, "Machiavelli and the World of Florentine Politics," in *Studies on Machiavelli*, ed. M. P. Gilmore (Florence: Sansoni, 1972) 5-28; Sergio Bertelli, "Machiavelli and Soderini," *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975): 1-16<sup>2</sup>;

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1. In this connection, one might also want to look at \*Nicolai Rubinstein, "The Beginnings of Niccolò Machiavelli's Career in the Florentine Chancery," *Italian Studies* 11 (1956): 72-91.

2. In this connection, you may wish to consider in greater depth the debate concerning the real purpose of the militia that Machiavelli organized under the Soderini regime: cf. Carlo Dionisotti, "Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia, e Don Micheletto," in his *Machiavellerie: Storia e fortuna di Machiavelli* (Turin: Einaudi, 1980) 3-59, with \*Roslyn Pesman Cooper, "Machiavelli, Francesco Soderini and Don Michelotto," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 66 (1982): 342-57.

\*Roslyn Pesman Cooper, "Machiavelli, Pier Soderini, and *Il Principe*," in *Altro Polo: A Volume of Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. Conal Condren and Roslyn Pesman Cooper (Sydney: University of Sydney and the Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies, 1982) 119-44, and "Machiavelli, Piero Soderini, and the Republic of 1494-1512," in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 48-63; J. N. Stephens and H. C. Butters, "New Light on Machiavelli," *English Historical Review* 97 (1982): 54-69;

\*Robert Black, "Machiavelli, Servant of the Florentine Republic," and \*John M. Najemy, "The Controversy Concerning Machiavelli's Service to the Republic," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 71-99, 101-17; Robert Black, "Machiavelli in the Chancery," and Humfrey Butters, "Machiavelli and the Medici," in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 31-47, 64-79; William Connell, "New Light on Machiavelli's Letter to Vettori, 10 December 1513," in *Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini* (Florence: Florence University Press, 2011) 93-127 (PDF); \*John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 58-96.

Interpretive Studies: Felix Gilbert, "The Humanist Concept of the Prince and *The Prince* of Machiavelli," *Journal of Modern History* 9 (1939): 449-83, reprinted in his *\*History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 91-114; and \*Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) 325-30;

\*Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958) 9-84; \*Leo Paul de Alvarez, *The Machiavellian Enterprise: A Commentary on The Prince* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999) 103-40.

Other Recommended Secondary Reading: Federico Chabod, *Machiavelli and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) 1-125; Cecil H. Clough, "Yet Again Machiavelli's *Prince*," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (sezione romanza)* 5 (1963): 201-26, and "Niccolò Machiavelli's Political Assumptions and Objectives," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53:1 (Autumn 1970): 30-74 (at 30-61); J. H. Whitfield, "Machiavelli and the Problem of the *Prince*," and "Savonarola and the Purpose of the *Prince*," originally published in *Modern Language Review* 44:1 (1949): 44-59, reprinted in his *Discourses on Machiavelli* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1969) 17-35, 87-110; Marcia L. Colish, "Cicero's *De Officiis* and Machiavelli's *Prince*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 9:4 (1978): 81-93, and J. Jackson Barlow, "The Fox and the Lion: Machiavelli Replies to Cicero," *History of Political Thought* 20 (1999): 627-45; Garrett Mattingly, "Machiavelli's *Prince*: Political Science or Political Satire?" *The American Scholar* 27 (1958): 482-91, Mary G. Dietz, "Trapping the Prince: Machiavelli and the Politics of Deception," *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986): 777-99, and Stephen M. Fallon, "Hunting the Fox: Equivocation and Authorial Duplicity in *The Prince*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 107 (1992): 1181-95; Michael McCaules, *The Discourse of Il Principe* (Malibu, CA: Udena, 1983); H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502-1519* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985); \*J. N. Stephens, "Machiavelli's *Prince* and the Florentine Revolution of

1512,” *Italian Studies* 41 (1986): 45-61; \*Hans Baron, “The *Principe* and the Puzzle of the Date of Chapter Twenty-Six,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21 (1991): 83-102; W. R. Newell, “Machiavelli and Xenophon on Princely Rule: A Double-Edged Encounter,” *Journal of Politics* 50 (1988): 108-30; \*Victoria Kahn, “*Virtù* and the Example of Agathocles in Machiavelli’s *Prince*,” and \*Albert Russell Ascoli, “Machiavelli’s Gift of Counsel,” in *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1993) 195-217, 219-57; Victoria Kahn, *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-Reformation to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 15-43; John T. Scott and Vickie B. Sullivan, “Patricide and the Plot of *The Prince*: Cesare Borgia and Machiavelli’s Italy,” *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994): 887-900; and \*John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 177-84

Lexicographical Studies: J. H. Whitfield, “On Machiavelli’s Use of *Ordini*,” *Italian Studies* 10 (1955): 19-39, and “The Politics of Machiavelli,” *Modern Language Review* 50 (1955): 433-53, reprinted in his *Discourses on Machiavelli* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1969) 141-79; Marcia Colish, “The Idea of Liberty in Machiavelli,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 (1971): 323-50, reprinted in *Renaissance Essays II*, ed. William J. Connell (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1993) 180-207, and Patricia J. Osmond, “Sallust and Machiavelli: From Civic Humanism to Political Prudence,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 407-38; Russell Price, “The Theme of *Gloria* in Machiavelli,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 588-631; Anthony J. Parel, “Machiavelli on Justice,” *Machiavelli Studies* 1 (1987): 65-81; \*J. H. Whitfield, “The Anatomy of Virtue,” in his *Machiavelli* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1947) 92-105, Neal Wood, “Machiavelli’s Concept of *Virtù* Reconsidered,” *Political Studies* 15 (1967): 159-72, I. Hannaford, “Machiavelli’s Concept of *Virtù* in *The Prince* and the *Discourses* Reconsidered,” *Political Studies* 20 (1972): 185-89, Russell Price, “The Senses of *Virtù* in Machiavelli,” *European Studies Review* 3 (1973): 315-45, and \*Harvey C. Mansfield, “Machiavelli’s Virtue,” in his *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 2-52; J. H. Hexter, “*Il principe* and *lo stato*” (1957), in *The Vision of Politics on the Eve of the Reformation* (London: Allen Lane, 1973) 150-78, and \*Harvey C. Mansfield, “Machiavelli’s *Stato* and the Impersonal Modern State,” in his *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 281-94; Hannah Pitkin, “Fortune,” in her *Fortune is a Woman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 138-69; Russell Price, “Self-Love, ‘Egoism,’ and *Ambizione* in Machiavelli’s Thought,” *History of Political Thought* 9 (1988): 237-61.

### Week III: 14 - 18 September

**M:** Letters 202-47 (with the attendant headnotes and notes), in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, tr. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996).

Recommended Background Reading: Rosemary Devonshire Jones, *Francesco Vettori: Florentine Citizen and Medici Servant* (London: Athlone Press, 1972); \*John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 95-244.

**W:** Letters 119 and 121 (with the attendant notes), in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, tr. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Machiavelli, “Tercets on Ambition,” “Tercets on Ingratitude or Envy,” and “Tercets on Fortune” (PDF); Machiavelli, *The Prince* XX-XXVI (with Documents nos. 1, 9-14) and *Discourses on Livy* III.3.

Interpretive Studies: \*Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958) 9-84; \*Leo Paul de Alvarez, *The Machiavellian Enterprise: A Commentary on The Prince* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999) 103-40; Miguel E. Vatter, *Between Form and Event: Machiavelli’s Theory of Political Freedom* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000) 133-193; and Mark Hulliung, *Citizen Machiavelli* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Recommended Background Reading: Cecil H. Clough, “Machiavelli’s *Prince*,” in *Machiavelli Researches. Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale (sezione romanza)* 9:1 (Naples, 1967): 27-78, and “Niccolò Machiavelli’s Political Assumptions and Objectives,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53:1 (Autumn 1970): 30-74 (at 30-61); David Wootton, “Introduction,” in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. and tr. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994) xi-xxiii, or David Wootton, “Introduction,” in Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1995) xi-xxiii; Genarro Sasso, “L’Epicureismo e sopra tutto, Lucrezio,” in Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1987-97) I 202-16; Alison Brown, “Lucretius and the Epicureans in the Social and Political Context of Renaissance Florence,” *I Tatti Studies* 9 (2001): 11-62 (esp. 56-61);<sup>3</sup> Paul A. Rahe, “In the Shadow of Lucretius: The Epicurean Foundations of Machiavelli’s Political Thought,” *History of Political Thought* 28:1 (Spring, 2007): 30-55, and \**Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 22-100; Alison Brown, *The Return of Lucretius to Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), and “Philosophy and Religion in Machiavelli,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157-72; and Robert J. Roeklein, *Machiavelli and Epicureanism: An Investigation into the Origins of Early Modern Political Thought* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012) 57-199.

Week IV: 21-25 September

**M:** Paul A. Rahe, “The Primacy of Politics in Classical Greece,” *The American Historical Review* 89:2 (April, 1984): 265-93; Polybius VI (PDF); Thomas R. Martin, *Rome: From Romulus to Justinian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) 1-126; and \*Claude Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 17-128.

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3. In this connection, one should take notice of the presence in the Vatican Library of a copy of Lucretius’ *De rerum natura* in Machiavelli’s handwriting (MS Ross. 884): see Sergio Bertelli and Franco Gaeta, “Noterelle Machiavelliane: Un Codice di Lucrezio e di Terenzio,” *Rivista Storica Italiana* 73 (1961): 544-57.



**W:** \*Claude Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 129-206; Livy, *The Early History of Rome* (Penguin) I-III.

Week V: 28 September - 2 October

**M:** \*Claude Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980) 207-398; Livy, *The Early History of Rome* (Penguin) IV-V.

**W:** Thomas R. Martin, *Rome: From Romulus to Justinian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012) 109-214; Paul A. Rahe, "The Constitution of Liberty Within Christendom," *The Intercollegiate Review* 33:1 (Fall, 1997): 30-36 (PDF).

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: James M. Blythe, "'Civic Humanism' and Medieval Political Thought," in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 30-74; Quentin Skinner, "The Recovery of Republican Values" and "Republican Virtues in an Age of Princes," in his *Visions of Politics II: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 10-38, 118-59; and \*Felix Gilbert, "Florentine Political Assumptions in the Period of Savonarola and Soderini," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957): 187-214.

## **F: First Paper Due**

Week VI: 5-9 October

### **M: Preliminary Examination**

**W:** Letters 248-75 (with the attendant headnotes and notes), in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, tr. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Machiavelli, *Discourses* Dedicatory Letter, I.Preface, 1; *The Prince* passim (with Documents no. 7: Dedicatory Letter to Giovanni Gaddi and 9-14).

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: \*Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 145-94; \*Felix Gilbert, "Florentine Political Assumptions in the Period of Savonarola and Soderini," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957): 187-214; and Gilbert, "The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought," in *Florentine Studies*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London: Faber and Faber, 1968) 463-500, and "Bernardo Rucellai and the Orti Oricellari," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949): 101-31, which are reprinted in his *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 179-246<sup>4</sup>; Cecil H. Clough,

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4. Those with a literary bent might want to read Dante's *Convivio* and his *De Monarchia* and then consult a series of studies by Larry Peterman: "An Introduction to Dante's *De Monarchia*," *Interpretation* 3:2 (1973): 169-90; "Dante's *Monarchia* and Aristotle's Political Thought," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10 (1974): 3-40; "Dante and Happiness: A Political Perspective," *Medievalia et Humanistica* n. s. 10 (1981): 81-102; "Dante and the Setting for Machiavellianism," *American Political Science Review* 76 (1982): 630-44; "Machiavelli versus Dante: Language and Politics in *The Dialogue on Language*," *Interpretation* 10:2-3 (1982): 202-21; "Machiavelli's Dante and the Sources of Machiavellianism," *Polity* 20 (1987): 247-72; "On Reading Dante's *Convivio*," *Dante Studies* 103 (1989): 123-38; "Gravity and Piety: Machiavelli's Modern Turn," *The Review of Politics* 52 (1990): 189-214;

“*The Discourses and Machiavelli’s Last Days*,” in *Machiavelli Researches. Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale (sezione romanza)* 9:1 (Naples, 1967): 79-107, and “Niccolò Machiavelli’s Political Assumptions and Objectives,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53:1 (Autumn 1970): 30-74; William Connell, “The Republican Idea,” John M. Najemy, “Civic Humanism and Florentine Politics,” Mikael Hörnquist, “The Two Myths of Civic Humanism,” and James Hankins, “Rhetoric, History, and Ideology: The Civic Panegyrics of Leonardo Bruni,” in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 14-29, 75-178.<sup>5</sup>

Recommended Background Reading: \*John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 241-349.

Interpretive Studies: Christopher Lynch, “Machiavelli on Reading the Bible Judiciously,” *Hebraic Political Studies* 1:2 (Winter, 2006): 162-85.

Week VII: 12-16 October

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.2-8; *The Prince* II.

For the Debate concerning the Relative Dates of the Two Works and their Composition: cf. Felix Gilbert, “The Composition and Structure of Machiavelli’s *Discorsi*,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 14 (1953): 136-56, reprinted in his *History: Choice and Commitment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) 115-34, with J. H. Hexter, “Seysssel, Machiavelli and Polybius VI: The Mystery of the Missing Translation,” *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956): 75-96, and Hans Baron, “Machiavelli the Republican Citizen and Author of *The Prince*,” *English Historical Review* 76 (1961): 217-53, revised and reprinted in Baron, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism: Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988) II 101-51; consider J. H. Whitfield, “Gilbert, Hexter, and Baron,” *Italian Studies* 13 (1958): 21-46, reprinted in his *Discourses on Machiavelli* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1969) 181-206; and see Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) 318-22 (with Whitfield’s review in *Italian Studies* 21 [1966]: 118-20, reprinted in *Discourses on Machiavelli* 241-43), and \*Gilbert, “Machiavelli in Modern Historical Scholarship,” *Italian Quarterly* 14 (1971): 9-26 (esp., 18-20, with 25, n. 20). Finally, see David Wootton, “Introduction,” in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Selected Political Writings*, ed. and tr. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994) xi-xxxvii (esp., xxiii-xxxvii), or David Wootton, “Introduction,” in Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. David Wootton (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1995) xi-xxxvii (esp., xxiii-xxxvii).

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, “Necessity in the Beginnings of Cities,” in his *Machiavelli’s Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 57-78;

“Dante and Machiavelli: A Last Word,” *Interpretation* 20:1 (1992): 17-35; “Ulysses and Modernity,” *Dante Studies* 113 (1996): 89-110; and “Changing Titles: Some Suggestions about the Use of ‘Prince’ in Machiavelli and Others,” *Interpretation* 26:2 (1999): 217-38.

5. In this connection, see also the *AHR Forum* devoted to “Hans Baron’s Renaissance Humanism,” *American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 107-44.

\*Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 21-62; Genarro Sasso, "L'Epicureismo e sopra tutto, Lucrezio," in Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1987-97) I 202-16; Sheldon S. Wolin, "Machiavelli: Politics and the Economy of Violence," in Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, second edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 173-213; Samuel Preus, "Machiavelli's Functional Analysis of Religion: Context and Object," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40:2 (April - June, 1979): 171-90; Mark Hulliung, *Citizen Machiavelli* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); John M. Najemy, "Papirius and the Chickens, or Machiavelli on the Necessity of Interpreting in Religion," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 659-81; Mikael Hörnqvist, *Machiavelli and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Nicole Hochner, "A Ritualist Approach to Machiavelli," *History of Political Thought* 30:4 (Winter, 2009): 575-95; John M. Warner and John T. Scott, "Sin City: Augustine and Machiavelli's Reordering of Rome," *Journal of Politics* 73:3 (July, 2011): 857-71; Graham Maddox, "The Secular Reformation and the Influence of Machiavelli," *The Journal of Religion* 82:4 (October, 2002): 539-62; John M. Najemy, "Society, Class, and State in Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 96-111.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.9-15.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 63-79.

Recommended Background Reading: Federico Chabod, *Machiavelli and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) 126-48.

Week VIII: 19-23 October

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.16-18; *The Prince* passim.

Interpretive Studies: John Plamenatz, "In Search of Machiavellian Virtù," in *The Political Calculus*, ed. Anthony Parel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972) 157-78, and \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 79-88; Christopher Lynch, "Machiavelli on Reading the Bible Judiciously," *Hebraic Political Studies* 1;2 (Winter, 2006): 162-85; Daniel Pellerin, "Machiavelli's Best Fiend," *History of Political Thought* 27:3 (Autumn, 2006): 423-53.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.19-27.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 88-101.

Week IX: 26-30 October

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.28-32.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 101-10.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.33-45.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 110-39.

Week X: 2-6 November

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* I.46-60.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 139-80

**W:** Machiavelli, "A Provision for Infantry," 6 December 1506 (PDF); Machiavelli, *The Prince* XII-XIV; Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.Preface; Machiavelli, *Art of War* I-IV.

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: Christopher Lynch, "Introduction," in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Art of War*, ed. and tr. Christopher Lynch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) xiii-xxxiv.

Recommended Background Reading: L. Arthur Burd, "Le fonti letterarie di Machiavelli nell'Arte della guerra," *Atti della Reale Accademia de Lincei*, 5th ser., *Cl. di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 4 (1896): 187-261; \*Neal Wood, "Introduction," in Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, tr. Ellis Farnsworth, rev. and ed. Neal Wood (New York: Da Capo, 1965) ix-xlvi; Cecil H. Clough, "Niccolò Machiavelli's Political Assumptions and Objectives," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53:1 (Autumn 1970): 30-74 (esp., 61-74); Maury Feld, "Machiavelli's Militia and Machiavelli's Mercenaries," in *The Military, Militarism, and the Polity*, ed. Michel Louis Martin and Ellen Stern McCrate (New York: The Free Press, 1984) 79-92; \*Felix Gilbert, "Machiavelli: The Renaissance of the Art of War," in *The Makers of Modern Strategy: From Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) 11-31; \*Michael Mallet, "The Theory and Practice of Warfare in Machiavelli's Republic," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 173-80; Marcia Colish, "Machiavelli's *Art of War*: A Reconsideration," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (Winter 1998): 1151-68; Mikael Hörnqvist, "Perché non si usa allegare i Romani: Machiavelli and the Florentine Militia of 1506," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 148-91, and "Machiavelli's Military Project and the *Art of War*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 112-27; Timothy J. Lukes, "Martialing Machiavelli: Reassessing the Military Reflections," *Journal of Politics* 66:4 (November, 2004): 1089-1108; and Christopher Lynch, "The *Ordine Nuovo* of Machiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*: Reforming Ancient Matter," *History of Political Thought* 31:3 (Autumn 2010): 407-25.

## **F: Second Paper Due**

Week XI: 9-13 November

**M:** Machiavelli, *Art of War* V-VII

Interpretive Studies: Neal Wood, "Introduction," in Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, tr. Ellis Farnsworth, rev. and ed. Neal Wood (New York: Da Capo, 1965) xlvi-lxxix; \*Barbara Spackman, "Politics on the Warpath: Machiavelli's *Art of War*," in in

*Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, ed. Albert Russell Ascoli (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1993) 179-94; \*Harvey C. Mansfield, "An Introduction to Machiavelli's *Art of War*," in his *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 191-218; Christopher Lynch, "Interpretive Essay," in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Art of War*, ed. and tr. Christopher Lynch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) 179-226.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.Preface, 1-5.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 181-206.

Strongly Recommended Reading Pertinent to Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*: \*Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958) 85-299; Isaiah Berlin, "The Originality of Machiavelli," in *Studies on Machiavelli*, ed. M. P. Gilmore (Florence: Sansoni, 1972) 149-206, reprinted in \*Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas*, ed. Henry Hardy (New York: Viking Press, 1980) 25-79; \*Sheldon S. Wolin, "Machiavelli: Politics and the Economy of Violence," in Wolin, *Politics and Vision: Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*, second edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 173-213; Claude LeFort, "Machiavelli and the *Verità Effetuale*," in *Writing: The Political Test*, tr. David Ames Curtis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000) 109-41; \*Harvey C. Mansfield, "Machiavelli's Virtue," in his *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 2-52; and \*Markus Fischer, "Machiavelli's Rapacious Republicanism," in *Machiavelli's Liberal Republican Legacy*, ed. Paul A. Rahe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), xxxi-lxii.

Further Reading Also Strongly Recommended: Claude LeFort, *Le Travail de l'oeuvre Machiavel* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972); Gennaro Sasso, *Niccolò Machiavelli: Storia del suo pensiero politico*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1980-93); Gennaro Sasso, *Machiavelli e gli antichi e altri saggi*, 3 vols. (Milan and Naples: R. Ricciardi, 1988); Ronald T. Ridley, "Machiavelli and Roman History in the *Discourses*," *Quaderni di Storia* 18 (1983): 197-219; Sebastian de Grazia, *Machiavelli in Hell* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Anthony J. Parel, *The Machiavellian Cosmos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Victoria Kahn, *Machiavellian Rhetoric: From the Counter-Reformation to Milton* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 44-59; \*Harvey C. Mansfield, "Machiavelli's New Regime," and "Machiavelli's Political Science," in his *Machiavelli's Virtue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) 233-80, and Mansfield, "Bruni and Machiavelli on Civic Humanism," in \**Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 223-46; Vickie B. Sullivan, *Machiavelli's Three Romes: Religion, Human Liberty, and Politics Reformed* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1996); Roger D. Masters, *Machiavelli, Leonardo, and the Science of Power* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1996); J. Patrick Coby, *Machiavelli's Romans: Liberty and Greatness in the Discourses on Livy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 1999); Alissa M. Ardito, *Machiavelli and the Modern State: the Prince, the Discourses on Livy, and the Extended Territorial Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); cf. Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), \*Skinner, "Machiavelli on the Maintenance of Liberty," *Politics* 18 (1983): 3-15, revised, expanded, and reprinted in his \**Visions of Politics II*:

*Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 160-85, and \*Skinner, “Machiavelli’s *Discorsi* and the Pre-Humanist Origins of Republican Ideas” and \*Maurizio Viroli, “Machiavelli and the Republican Idea of Politics,” in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. Gisela Bock, Quentin Skinner, and Maurizio Viroli (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 121-69, as well as Maurizio Viroli, *Machiavelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), with Paul A. Rahe, “Situating Machiavelli,” in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 270-308 (course packet); “Symposium: Machiavelli and Religion: A Reappraisal,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60 (1999): 579-681; \*Markus Fischer, “Machiavelli’s Political Psychology,” *The Review of Politics* 59 (1997): 789-829, and Fischer, *Well-Ordered License: On the Unity of Machiavelli’s Thought* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000); Miguel E. Vatter, *Between Form and Event: Machiavelli’s Theory of Political Freedom* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000); \*William J. Connell, “Machiavelli on Growth as an End,” in *Historians and Ideologues: Essays in Honor of Donald R. Kelley*, ed. Anthony T. Grafton and J. H. M. Salmon (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001) 259-77; \*Francesco Guicciardini, *Considerations Regarding the Discourses of Machiavelli*, tr. David Sices, in *The Sweetness of Power: Machiavelli’s Discourses and Guicciardini’s Considerations*, ed. and tr. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002) 381-438; John M. Najemy, “Society, Class, and State in Machiavelli’s *Discourses on Livy*,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli*, ed. John M. Najemy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 96-111; and Christopher Lynch, “Reason, Authority, and the People in Machiavelli’s *Discourses on Livy*,” in *Enlightenment and Secularism: Essays in the Mobilization of Reason*, ed. Christopher Nadon (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), 3-16.

Recommended Background Reading: Cecil H. Clough, *Machiavelli Researches. Pubblicazioni della Sezione romana dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale, Studi* [Naples] 3 (1967), and “Niccolò Machiavelli’s Political Assumptions and Objectives,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53:1 (Autumn 1970): 30-74; Melissa Meriam Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); H. C. Butters, *Governors and Government in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence, 1502-1519* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985); J. N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic, 1512-1530* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1983).

Week XII: 16-20 November

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.6-10.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli’s New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 206-19.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.11-18.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli’s New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 219-46.

Week XIII: 23-27 November

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.19-25.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 247-73.

**W: No Class: Thanksgiving Break**

Week XIV: 30 November - 4 December

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* II.26-33, III.1-8.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 273-347.

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* III.9-15.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 347-64.

Week XV: 7-11 December

**M:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* III.16-34.

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 364-411.

Strongly Recommended Background Reading: Letters 276-335 (with the attendant headnotes and notes), in *Machiavelli and his Friends: Their Personal Correspondence*, trans. and ed. James B. Atkinson and David Sices (Northern Illinois University Press); \*Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963) 195-254.<sup>6</sup>

**W:** Machiavelli, *Discourses* III.35-49; Machiavelli, "A Discourse on Remodeling the Government of Florence" 1520 (PDF)

Interpretive Studies: \*Harvey C. Mansfield, *Machiavelli's New Modes and Orders: A Study of the Discourses on Livy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 411-41.

**F: Third Paper Due**

**Week XVI: 14-18 December**

**T: Final Examination -- Tuesday, 15 December 2015, 8:00 a.m.**

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6. There is reason to believe that the letter purportedly written on 22 June 1527 by Piero Machiavelli concerning Machiavelli's deathbed confession (reprinted in *Machiavelli and his Friends* 425 as Letter F) is an eighteenth-century forgery: see Eugenia Levi, "Nota su di un falso Machiavelliano," *Pensiero Politico* 2 (1969): 459-63, and Sergio Bertelli, "Nota al Testò," in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Opera Omnia* (Salerno) V.

## GRADING CRITERIA FOR PAPERS

The following are guidelines that I will follow in grading your papers.

In order to earn an *A*, a paper has to satisfy all of the following criteria:

- A** It must demonstrate a solid understanding of the meaning and significance of the pertinent historical evidence or document(s), a mastery of the arguments advanced in the lectures and discussions and in the reading assigned, and a grasp of other pertinent elements present in the evidence or the text(s) under scrutiny.  
It must embody a relevant, coherent, and well-argued response to the material under examination.  
It must evidence an understanding of the subtle points in the reading and a sustained effort to think critically about them.  
It must demonstrate sensitivity to conceptual nuances and counter-arguments introduced in the reading and discussions.  
It must contain very, very few (if any) misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

Grades lower than an *A* (90-100) signify a failure to satisfy any one (or more) of the above criteria. Lower grades will be assigned according to the following guidelines (any one of the following will be sufficient reason for assigning the corresponding letter grade or number grade within the range designated): *B* (80-90), *C* (70-80), *D* (60-70), *F* (under 60).

- B** No major misunderstanding of the reading, but some minor misunderstandings: vagueness, imprecision, minor errors of interpretation, insufficiently critical treatment of the evidence, etc.  
Some weakness in the response: dogmatic or uncritical assertion, begging the question, blurring some distinctions, irrelevancy, invalidity, inconsistency, missing the point slightly, considering only weak counter-arguments.  
Understood the main points of the reading, but evidenced only adequate effort in thinking critically about them. Some insensitivity to issues raised in the readings.  
More than one or two misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.  
Clearly did the reading, but not with full attention and care.
- C** Some major misunderstandings of the claims, arguments, or conceptual distinctions advanced in the reading or discussion.  
A response that is in significant ways irrelevant, incoherent, or poorly argued.  
Attributing to the authors claims they explicitly deny, or which contradict other of their views. Attributing to authors conclusions that do not follow from their views.



Failure to give a critical response: failing to consider counter-arguments found in the readings; mere summary or description instead of analysis; assertion instead of argument; uncritical assessment of evidence.

Quite a number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

One or more sentences that are incomprehensible as written.

Unclear how much work was put into the assignment, or whether all of the reading was completed. May have just picked up arguments from class and a superficial reading.

**D** Partial failure to address the requirements of the assignment.

Unacceptable brevity.

Little awareness demonstrated of the structure and significance of the major arguments contained in the reading.

Partial ignorance of the pertinent evidence.

Inadequate understanding of the pertinent evidence.

An unacceptable number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

An unacceptable number of sentences that are incomprehensible as written.

Clearly an inadequate amount of effort put into the assignment.

**F** More or less complete failure to address the requirements of the assignment.

Gross ignorance of the pertinent evidence.

Completely uncritical treatment of the evidence.

Virtually no awareness demonstrated of the structure and significance of the major arguments contained in the reading.

Insulting brevity.

An insulting number of misspellings, grammatical errors, or other mechanical problems.

Little or no genuine effort put into the assignment.

A number grade of “0” will be given to papers that are not handed in at all.

**F for course:** Plagiarized work.