

Folger Institute Center for the History of British Political Thought  
Late Spring Seminar

**The Foundations of Modern International Thought, 1494-1713**

DAVID ARMITAGE  
Department of History, Columbia University

Thursday and Friday, 1:00-4:30 pm

This seminar extends the inquiries of the Center for the History of British Political Thought in two novel directions: from the Three Kingdoms and their Atlantic extensions to the relations between the British polities and their European neighbours, and from the history of political thought to the history of international thought. The defining subject of political thought has traditionally been the state in its internal, domestic or municipal capacities; it has rarely encompassed the relations between states, or what might be called "international thought". The origins of modern international thought have been variously traced to the emergence of balance-of-power doctrines in late fifteenth-century Italy, the birth of international law in sixteenth-century Spain, the publication of Hugo Grotius's De Jure Belli ac Pacis (1625) or the Peace of Westphalia (1648). These are not moments in British history, though the extent to which they included or affected the British polities deserves examination. With the help of distinguished visiting faculty, the seminar will reconstruct the history of early-modern international thought from the French invasion of Italy (1494) to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) by examining transnational communities of envoys, clerics and professors and the treatises, treaties, and diplomatic manuals they generated. This approach will offer new genealogies of such Janus-faced concepts as sovereignty, rights, and the balance of power and will provide the outlines of conceptual and political geographies of "Britain" and "Europe" that are both idiomatic to the early-modern period and relevant to current discussions in political theory, philosophy, international law, and the theory of international relations.

1. Thursday 16 May: The History of International Thought

Martin Wight, "Why Is There No International Theory?" in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics (London, 1966), pp. 17-34.

David Boucher, "Political Theory, International Theory, and the Political Theory of International Relations," in Andrew Vincent, ed., Political Theory: Tradition and Diversity (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 193-213.

J. L. Holzgrefe, "The Origins of Modern International Relations Theory," Review of International Studies, 15 (1989), 11-26.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1-15.

2. Friday 17 May: The New Diplomacy of the Renaissance

Niccolò Machiavelli, Legations, in The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli, trans. Christian E. Detmold, 4 vols. (Boston, 1882), IV,

Francesco Guicciardini, Maxims and Reflections (Ricordi), trans. Mario Domandi (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 39-98.

Francesco Guicciardini, The History of Italy, trans. Sidney Alexander (New York, 1968), pp. 3-9.

Garrett Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy (London, 1955), pp. 47-102.

Friedrich Meinecke, Machiavellism: The Doctrine of Raison d'État and its Place in Modern History (New Haven, 1957), pp. 1-48.

G. R. Berridge, "Machiavelli" and "Guicciardini," in G. R. Berridge, Maurice Keens-Soper and T. G. Otte, Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 7-32, 33-49.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 16-50.

3. Thursday 23 May: Rights and the "Origins" of International Law

Visiting Speaker: Kenneth Pennington (Catholic University of America).

Francisco de Vitoria, "On the American Indians" and "On the Law of War," in Vitoria: Political Writings, ed. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 233-92, 295-327.

David Kennedy, "Primitive Legal Scholarship," Harvard International Law Review, 27 (1986), 1-57, rptd. in John Dunn and Ian Harris, eds., Grotius, 2 vols. (Cheltenham, 1997), II, 395-451.

Anthony Anghie, "Francisco de Vitoria and the Colonial Origins of International Law," Social and Legal Studies, 5 (1996), 321-36.

Brian Tierney, The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625 (Atlanta, 1997), pp. 255-87.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 51-77.

4. Thursday 30 May: Grotius I: The East Indian Context

Visiting Speaker: Peter Borschberg (National University of Singapore).

Hugo Grotius, The Free Sea (1609), trans. Richard Hakluyt [typescript] or Grotius, The Freedom of the Seas, trans. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin (Washington, DC, 1916).

William Welwod, An Abridgement of All Sea-Lawes (London, 1613), pp. 61-72 [Early English Books, 979:1].

Hugo Grotius, "Defence of Chapter V of the Mare Liberum," Bibliotheca Visseriana, 7 (1928), 154-205.

C. H. Alexandrowicz, An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations in the East Indies (16th, 17th and 18th Centuries) (Oxford, 1967), pp. 41-90.

Peter Borschberg, "Hugo Grotius, East India Trade and the King of Johor," Journal of South-East Asian Studies, 30 (1999), 225-48.

Thomas Wemyss Fulton, The Sovereignty of the Sea (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 338-78.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 77-108.

#### 5. Friday 31 May: Grotius II: The Rights of War and Peace

Visiting Speaker: Benedict Kingsbury (New York University).

Hugo Grotius, De Jure Belli ac Pacis (1625), Prolegomena; Book I, ch. 1; Book II, chs. 22, 25; Book III, chs. 7-8, 25.

David Kennedy, "Primitive Legal Scholarship," Harvard International Law Review, 27 (1986), 76-98, rptd. in Dunn and Harris, eds., Grotius, II, 470-92.

Hersh Lauterpacht, "The Grotian Tradition in International Law," British Yearbook of International Law, 23 (1946), 1-53, rptd. in Dunn and Harris, eds., Grotius, I, 396-448.

Hedley Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society," in Butterfield and Wight, eds., Diplomatic Investigations, pp. 51-73, rptd. in Dunn and Harris, eds., Grotius, I, 508-30.

Benedict Kingsbury, "Grotius, Law, and Moral Skepticism: Theory and Practice in the Thought of Hedley Bull," in Ian Clark and Iver B. Neumann, eds., Classical Theories of International Relations (Basingstoke, 1996), pp. 42-70.

#### 6. Thursday 6 June: 1648 and All That

Visiting Speaker: Franz Bosbach (Universität Bayreuth).

Peace of Westphalia (1648), in Clive Parry, ed., The Consolidated Treaty Series, 231 vols. (Dobbs Ferry, 1969-81), I, 198-269, 319-56.

Samuel Pufendorf, The Present State of Germany (1667), trans. Edmund Bohun (London, 1690), pp. 135-96 [Early English Books, 820:15].

Leo Gross, "The Peace of Westphalia, 1648-1948," American Journal of International Law, 42 (1948), 20-41.

Andreas Osiander, The States System of Europe, 1640-1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability (Oxford, 1994), pp. 16-89.

Heinhard Steiger, "Concrete Peace and General Order: The Legal Meaning of the Treaties of 24 October 1648"; Volker Gerhardt, "On the Historical Significance of the Peace of Westphalia: Twelve Theses," in Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, eds., 1648: War and Peace in Europe, 3 vols. (Munster, 1999), I, 437-55, 485-89.

Peter Schröder, "The Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire after 1648: Samuel Pufendorf's Assessment in his Monzambano," Historical Journal, 42 (1999), 961-83.

## 7. Friday 7 June: Sovereignty after Westphalia

Richard Zouche, Juris et Judicii Feccialis, sive, Juris Inter Gentes (1650), ed. T. E. Holland (Washington, DC, 1911), pp. 1-7, 57-60 (I. 1-2; II. 1).

Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (1651), ed. Richard Tuck, rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 86-90, 117-29 (chs. XIII, XVII-XVIII).

Samuel Pufendorf, On the Law of Nature and of Nations (1672), trans. C. H. and W. A. Oldfather (Oxford, 1934), pp. 1000-22, 1148-57 (VII. 3-4; VIII. 2).

John Locke, Two Treatises of Government (c. 1681-82), ed. Peter Laslett, rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 235-38, 269-85, 355-66, 384-97 (I. 11, §§ 129-32; II. 2-4, 11-12, 16).

Friedrich Meinecke, Machiavellism, pp. 207-16, 224-43.

F. H. Hinsley, Sovereignty (New York, 1966), chs. IV-V.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 109-81.

## 8. Thursday 13 June: European Union and Perpetual Peace

William Penn, An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament or Estates (1693), ed. Peter van den Dungen (Hildesheim, 1983).

John Bellers, Some Reasons for an European State (1710), in John Bellers: His Life, Times and Writings, ed. George Clarke (London, 1987), pp. 135-53.

Abbé de St-Pierre, A Project for Settling an Everlasting Peace in Europe (1712), Eng. trans. (London, 1714) [The Eighteenth Century, 3975:13].

G. W. F. Leibniz, Mars Christianissimus (1683); Codex Iuris Gentium (Praefatio) (1693); "On the Works of the Abbé de St Pierre," in Leibniz: Political Writings, ed. Patrick Riley, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 121-45, 165-76, 176-84.

J. D. Schmidt, "The Establishment of 'Europe' as a Political Expression," Historical Journal, 9 (1966), 172-78.

Denys Hay, Europe: The Emergence of an Idea, rev. edn. (Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 117-27.

M. S. Anderson, "Eighteenth-Century Theories of the Balance of Power," in Ragnhild Hatton, ed., Studies in Diplomatic History (London, 1970), pp. 183-98.

Richard Tuck, The Rights of War and Peace, pp. 181-234.

#### 9. Friday 14 June: Utrecht and Beyond

Treaty of Utrecht (1713) in Fred L. Israel, ed., Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648-1967, 4 vols. (New York, 1967), I, 177-239.

François de Callières, The Art of Negotiating with Sovereign Princes (1716), Eng. trans. (London, 1716) [The Eighteenth Century, 410:4], ptd. in Callières, The Art of Diplomacy, ed. H. M. A. Keens-Soper and Karl W. Schweizer (Leicester, 1983), pp. 55-185, or Callières, On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes, trans. A. F. Whyte (Boston, 1919).

Andreas Osiander, The States System of Europe, 1640-1990, pp. 90-165.

Maurice Keens-Soper, "Callières" in Berridge, Keens-Soper and Otte, Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger, pp. 106-24.

Felix Gilbert, "The New Diplomacy of the Eighteenth Century," World Politics, 4 (1951), 1-38.

-----