

SUB Hamburg



A/552857

Dick Howard

*The*  
**PRIMACY**  
*of the*  
**POLITICAL**



A HISTORY OF  
POLITICAL THOUGHT  
FROM THE GREEKS  
TO THE  
FRENCH & AMERICAN  
REVOLUTIONS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW YORK

# CONTENTS

---

A NOTE TO THE READER VII

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS XV

---

## INTRODUCTION 1

*Democracy and the Renewal of Political Thought*

### 1. THE RISE AND FALL OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY 21

The Origins of Athenian Democracy 24

The Ideal and the Reality of Athenian Democracy:

Pericles' Funeral Oration 32

Plato's Philosophical Antipolitics 35

Aristotle and the Properly Political 59

Philosophy Goes Private 79

### 2. THE RISE AND FALL OF ROMAN REPUBLICANISM 86

Livy and the Origin of the Republican Spirit 91

Polybius and the Structure of Republican Institutions 101

Cicero and the Moral Theory of Republican Politics 110

The Empire Turns Inward: The Emergence of Pauline Christianity 117

### 3. THE CONFLICT OF THE SACRED AND THE SECULAR 125

The Two Cities in Theory and Practice 126

The Conflict of the Two Cities Becomes a Reality 137

Natural Law and the Dynamic Integration of the Two Cities 144

Piety, Theology, and the Birth of Modern Man 155

## CONTENTS

<b>4. FACING THE CHALLENGE OF MODERNITY</b>	<b>162</b>
Luther's Soteriological Politics: Spiritual Democracy or Political Servitude	166
Calvin's Political Ecclesiology: Conservative Republicanism	180
Machiavelli's Political Realism: The Illusions of the Republican Prince	189
<b>5. MODERN INDIVIDUALISM AND POLITICAL OBLIGATION</b>	<b>208</b>
Hobbes's Liberal Absolutism	210
Locke's Constitutional Liberalism	227
Rousseau's Defensive Republicanism	245
<b>6. THE END OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY?</b>	<b>270</b>
A Political Economy?	274
The French Revolution and the Ambiguities of a Democratic Republic	289
The Legitimacy of Conservatism?	302
The United States as a Republican Democracy	312
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>327</b>
<i>Elements for a Democratic Renewal</i>	
<hr/>	
NOTES	335
GLOSSARY	355
INDEX	377