

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, 227, 322
 could have been written by Goodgroom, Neville, Wildman, Ludlow or Streater, 227
- Abravanel, Judah ben Isaac, 164
- Abū Mash'ar al-Balkhī, Ja'far ibn Muhammad, 39, 97
- Adami, Tobias, 145
- Adams, John, 354
- Adriani, Marcello Virgilio, 33
- Alberti, Leon Battista, 52
- Albertino da Cremona, 80
- Alexander the Great, 130
- Alexandria, school of, 65
 treats Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as part of his *Organon*, 159
- Alfarabi (Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Tarkhān ibn Awzalagh al-Fārābī), 59. *See also* Averroës; Al-Ghazālī; Avicenna; *Falāsifa*, the
 acutely aware *ecclesia* and mosque have replaced the pagan *ekklēsia*, 62
 adapts Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* to needs of societies based on prophecy and revealed religion, 158
 anticipates Machiavelli's analysis of the ecclesiastical polity, 82
 author of *The Book of Letters*, 68
 adapts Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* to needs of societies based on prophecy and revealed religion, 159
 first to apply political psychology and sociology in Plato's *Republic* to world of revealed religion, 157, 158, 161, 163
 no Latin translation known, 161, 163
 spells out political intention behind decision to treat rhetoric and poetry as logical arts, 161
 author of *The Book of Religion*, 68
 author of *The Enumeration of the Sciences* available in the Latin West, 68
- parts translated into Latin by Domingo Gundisalvo, 68
 translated into Hebrew in the fourteenth century, 68
 translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona, 68
 author of *The Political Regime*, 68
 author of *The Principles of the Opinions of the People of the Virtuous City*, 68
 author of commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 61
 translated into Latin, now lost, 160
 and Averroës, 64
 aware he lives in a new historical epoch, 63
 Campanella mentions, 59
 contemporary Aristotelian interpreters ignore, 159
 denounced as crypto-atheist by al-Ghazālī, 64
 famous in Andalusia long before Averroës, 64
 finds Aristotle's *Politics* of little interest, 62
 focuses on revealed religion's cultural hegemony and authority conferred on *mutakallimūn*, 83
 follows Plato in politics rather than Aristotle, 62
 follows Socrates in supposing multitude hostile to philosophy, 59
 and Frederick II, 75
 grounds his political doctrine on Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, 59
 impressed by contention of Plato and Aristotle that religious myths necessary for civic education of the multitude, 61
 his theologico-political doctrine restated by Avicenna in his *Shifā'*, 69
 looks to Aristotle for guidance in philosophy generally, 59
 makes case for philosopher assuming the prophet's mantle, 66

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

358

Index

Alfarabi (*cont.*)

persuaded monotheists live in new *politeia*
dominated by new *politeuma*
constituted by religious apologists and
dialectical theologians
(*mutakallimūn*), 64

and philosophical prophecy, 174
read and admired by Maimonides, 70
reflects on foundations of priestly

hegemony, 91

regarded by the Arabs as the second
teacher, 59

some works reach Europe, 68

spells out doctrine of prophecy, 68

terse statement on subordination of *kalām*
to political science, 68

traces invention of *kalām* to Christianity,
64

Al-Ghazālī, Abū Hamid Muhammad ibn
Muhammad. *See also* Alfarabi;

Averroës; Avicenna; *Falāsifa*, the
attacks the *falāsifa* as crypto-atheists, 65,
66, 157

author of *The Incoherence of the*
Philosophers, 65

Averroës deploys Platonic political
psychology against, 165

Al-Kindi, Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq, 39, 97

treats Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* as
part of his *Organon*, 159

All Souls College, Oxford, 175

Althusius, Johannes, 114

Alured, Col, Matthew, 224. *See also* *Humble*
Petition of Several Colonels of the
Army

cashiered and jailed for mutiny, 224

Anaxagoras, 281, 295

Antifederalists, the, 352

Antiphon, 279

Antonio da Sulmona, 80

Aquinas, Thomas

author of *Summa Theologiae*, 19

author of commentary on Aristotle's
Politics

uses phrase *modus ed ordo* to describe
political regime, 56

exponent of imaginary republics and
principalities, 42

on justice, 20

and Milton, 138

and natural law, 29

Ptolemy of Lucca and heirs owe theology
to, 45

reads Maimonides, 154

and the humors, 49

Arendt, Hannah, 8, 182

Argyropoulos, Johannes, 80

Arianism, 174

Aristippus, 34

Aristophanes, 26, 293

Aristotle, 13, 57, 135, 151, 182, 235, 277,
284, 342

Alfarabi thought inferior only to, 59

assigned at Oxford in Hobbes's day, 292

author of *De anima*

Averroës' commentary thereon, 161

author of *Nicomachean Ethics*, 19

Bacon criticizes account of the passions,
284

claims politics necessary for the support
of moral virtue, 166

commentary of Alfarabi thereon

translated into Latin, now lost, 160

on *eudaimonía*, 29

Harrington rejects moral doctrine,
326

links touch with self-indulgence, 37

Machiavelli jettisons outlook, 32

author of *The Metaphysics*

Averroës' commentary thereon, 73, 161,
304

author of *The Physics*

Averroës' commentary thereon, 74

author of *The Politics*, 23

argues best democracy predominantly
agricultural, 331

deployed by Streater against Cromwell,
221

discusses *politeia* in terms of *paideia*
accorded *politeuma*, 327

does not interest Alfarabi, 62

Hobbes familiar with account of civil
society's origins, 308

Machiavelli jettisons outlook evident in
initial three books, 32

near silence concerning religion, 62

paideia defines *pólis*, 327

politeia defines *pólis*, 327

its teaching an anachronism in the
Muslim world, 62

traces *politeia* to distribution of offices
and honors, 56

unavailable to Averroës, 62

author of *The Rhetoric* and *The Poetics*,
161

the *falāsifa* adapt to needs of societies
based on prophecy and revealed
religion, 158

author of *The Rhetoric*, 32

Bacon praises his discussion of the
passions, 284

epitomized by Hobbes, 285

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

359

- from which Hobbes derives his account of laughter, 285
- author of *The Topics*
 - Averroës' middle commentary thereon, 162
- Averroës' commentaries on, 65, 70, 71, 78, 112, 152, 154
 - cast doubt on harmony between religion and philosophy, 73
 - read in Italian universities, 72
- and Avicenna, 69
- Bacon blames sectarian divisions within Christendom on, 275
- Bacon denounces as sophist professing professorial wisdom, 275
- Bacon denounces, 295
- believes education defines regime, 23
- believes republic possible only on a small territory, 121
- and Campanella, 58
- Charron attacks Christian adherents, 166
- claims man a political animal, 166
- on classical republican need for education in virtue, 23
- contrasted with Machiavelli, 30, 48
- contrasted with Milton, 173
- his doctrine epitomized in *florilegium* by Marsilius of Padua, 77
- his doctrine interpreted by the Arab *falāsifa*, 38
- double-edged understanding of regimes, 57
- embraces political prudence, 83
- exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
- exponent of differential moral and political rationality, 25
- exponent of imaginary republics and principalities, 42
- favors education aimed at liberating men from the dominion of the passions, 48
- followed by Alfarabi, 59
- gives classical republicanism an aristocratic, even monarchical bent, 26
- gives primacy to *politeia*, 327
- Harrington borrows from, 326
- Harrington frequently cites, 325
- Harrington places regime typology on new foundation, 327
- Hobbes aims to supplant his understanding of morality and politics, 315
- Hobbes articulates his account of classical republicanism, 325
- Hobbes probably hostile to from start, 274
- Hobbes treats as having inspired Cicero, Seneca, and Tacitus, 31, 274
- Hobbes's Oxford forbids authors at odds with, 292
- hostile to political discord, 50
- in political matters Alfarabi prefers Plato to, 62
- interest in revives after Reformation, 292
- intimates fear can reinforce moral virtue and political solidarity, 46
- on justice, 20
- on kingship, proper conditions for 115
- on *lógos* as foundation for classical republicanism, 23
- his life described by Diogenes Laertius, 34
- links origins of civil society to nature's provision to man of a capacity for rational speech, 55
- Machiavelli briefly pretends to follow, 42
- Machiavelli indebted to, 83
- Machiavelli rejects his doctrine of the mean, 43
- Machiavelli wrestles with argument universe eternal, 37
- Marsilius of Padua embraces, 57
- mature Hobbes hostile to, 274–75
- mature Hobbes traces ancient faction and modern sectarianism to trust in *lógos* that he fosters, 276
- Milton admires, 155
- Milton has deep knowledge of and appreciation for, 118–19
- Milton indebted to, 109
- and Milton, 139
- mistakenly contrasted with Cicero on genesis of political community, 25
- and natural right, 29
- Nedham cites as advocate of arms-bearing citizenship, 240
- Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
- no friend to popular enlightenment, 173
- not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
- on political community's genesis, 25
- his *Poltics* may have been available to Alfarabi, 62
- Polybius indebted to, 25
- and the humors, 49
- presumed man's capacity for moral virtue and facility for *lógos* makes transcendence of self-interest and public-spiritedness possible, 329
- provides theoretical articulation of classical republican practice, 22

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

360

Index

- Aristotle, (*cont.*)
 regards *lógos* as the foundation of the political community, 25
 regards classical republican theory as compatible with virtuous monarchy, 25
 regime doctrine rooted in *políteuma-paideía* connection, 24
 singled out by young Hobbes as greatest philosopher, 278
 on slaves, women, and children, 25
 suspicious of innovation, 173
 teaches universe eternal, 36, 73
 treats inventor of *pólis* as mankind's greatest benefactor, 25
 trusts in autonomy of unassisted reason, 77
- astrology
 Machiavelli familiar with judicial, 38
 not embraced by Machiavelli, 39
 Pomponazzi embraces judicial, 98
- ataraxía*, 38, 309
 Bacon and Hobbes follow Machiavelli in rejecting, 309
 Machiavelli repudiates, 40, 43
- Athens, 13, 107, 274, 280, 283, 286–87, 289, 332–33, 342
 Harrington as critic of, 332
 Harrington expresses admiration, 323
 Machiavelli disparages, 31
 Nedham prefers to Rome, 236
- Aubrey, John
 asks Waller to pen verses in praise of Hobbes, 307
 attends the Rota, 350
 on Bacon, 250
 claims Neville presses Harrington to write on politics, 322
 hints at libertinism of Marten, 207
 on Hobbes and Aristotle, 285
 on Hobbes's discovery of Euclid, 312
 on Hobbes, 250
- Augustine
 attributes to the Fall what Machiavelli attributes to human nature, 44
 exponent of imaginary republics and principalities, 42
 Machiavelli and, 97
 Machiavelli briefly pretends to follow, 42
 prior to Machiavelli no Augustinian
 advocates republicanism, 44
- Augustus. *See* Caesar, Augustus
- Averroës (Abū al-Walid Muhammad ibn Rushd), 59–83, 152, 154, 155–168.
See also Alfarabi; Al-Ghazālī; Avicenna; *Falāsifa*, the
- abandons Plato's focus on the need for spirited men in time of war, 158
 adapts Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* to needs of societies based on prophecy and revealed religion, 158
 anticipates Machiavelli's analysis of the ecclesiastical polity, 82
 Aristotle's *De anima*, his commentary on, 161
 Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, his commentary on, 161
 Aristotle's *Physics*, his commentary on
 denies that philosophers and the many can both be classed as men, 74
 treats study of *kalām* and that of philosophy as an obstacle to one another, 74–75
 attacked by Giles of Rome, 77
 charges those who deny soul's immortality with infidelity, 72
 author of *The Decisive Treatise* and *Uncovering of the Signposts*
 appears to have had an indirect influence on Pomponazzi, 163
 both translated into Hebrew, 163
 follows Alfarabi in applying political psychology and sociology in Plato's *Republic* to world of revealed religion, 157–58, 163–65
 influences Samuel ibn Tibbon, Falaquera, and Elijah del Medigo, 163
 lays out a political psychology of demonstration, dialectics, and rhetoric, 158
 author of *The Decisive Treatise*, 164
 four copies of Hebrew translation survive, 163
 makes claim therein and only therein that Pomponazzi cites, 164
 no Latin translation known, 161, 163
 spells out political intention behind decision to treat rhetoric and poetry as logical arts, 161
 author of *The Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 64, 67–68, 80, 154–55
 argues that philosopher who attacks holy law deserves execution, 65
 asserts political dependence of select on common sort, 65
 draws radical distinction between select and common sort, 65
 exoteric work, 64
 juxtaposes path taken by philosophers with that taken by lawgivers, 68
 philosopher should favor religion in own time most conducive to virtue, 65

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

361

- philosophers in crisis may have to carry out a religious revolution, 66
- philosophers in crisis must shunt aside *mutakallimūn* and practice *kalām* in their stead, 66
- philosophy beneficial for the few, 65
- popular enlightenment impossible and philosophy politically insufficient, 65
- refutation of al-Ghazālī's *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, 65
- religion in form of holy law necessary as political supplement, 65
- restates Platonic teaching concerning medicinal lies, 68
- on the emphasis that philosophers place on the afterlife as a spur to moral virtue, 65
- treats philosophy as wisdom's judge, 65
- author of commentaries on Aristotle, 59, 65, 67, 73–74, 76, 80, 82, 84, 112
- casts doubt on harmony between religion and philosophy, 73
- his critique of *consuetudo*, 304
- depicts religion as impediment to philosophy, 73
- follow Alfarabi in applying political psychology and sociology in Plato's *Republic* to world of revealed religion, 161, 162
- juxtapose philosophical deniers that something can emerge from nothing with religious believers, 74
- links Judaism, Christianity, and Islam with the doctrine of the creation, 73
- ostentatiously silent on soul's immortality, 72
- published in Latin translation at Venice, 79, 153
- reasserts religion essential for moral virtue and political well-being, 73
- reveals philosophical contempt for religious doctrine, 72
- some available in Europe, 71
- subject of lectures given by Pomponazzi in Bologna, 81
- suggests religious formation an obstacle to philosophy, 73
- translated into Latin by Elijah del Medigo, 78
- translated into Latin by Judah ben Isaac Abravanel (Leone Hebreo) and Jacob Mantino, 164
- author of commentary on Plato's *Republic* translated into Latin by Elijah del Medigo, 79
- unexamined opinion dominant in ignorant cities, 75
- by no means the first Andalusian interested in Alfarabi, 64
- Campanella thinks privately dismissive of all religious belief, 57
- Charron applies his political psychology and sociology to Christianity, 165
- and Charron, 156
- contemporary Aristotelian interpreters ignore, 159
- controversy within Christendom over claim only philosophers unequivocally men, 75
- deploys political psychology and sociology of Plato's *Republic* in responding to al-Ghazālī, 157
- doctrine epitomized in *florilegium* by Marsilius of Padua, 77
- dubbed in Christendom the Commentator, 77
- echoed by Bruno, 154
- endorses Aristotle's claim man a political animal, 166
- focuses on revealed religion's cultural hegemony and the authority it confers on the *mutakallimūn*, 83
- and Frederick II, 75
- has no access to Aristotle's *Politics*, 62
- heir to Alfarabi, 64
- in the Latin West, 59
- influence, 75
- insists universe eternal, 36
- La Mothe le Vayer propagates, 304
- Machiavelli wrestles with argument universe eternal, 37
- medieval Latin commentator echoes his adaption of the political psychological and sociology in Plato's *Republic*, 162
- Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Topics*, 162
- and Milton, 155
- not the true progenitor of Averroism, 59
- Petrarch shocked by impiety of his Latin disciples, 151
- Pietro Pomponazzi lectures at Bologna on his theologico-political doctrine, 81
- reception prepared by reception of Alfarabi and Avicenna, 69
- on the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- theologico-political doctrine occasions an uproar at the University of Paris, 76
- treatment of religion as salutary myth causes scandal in Christendom, 75
- trusts in autonomy of unassisted reason, 77

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

362

Index

- Averroism, 57, 59–83, 85, 153–68
 asserts salutary effects of doctrine of the afterlife, 83
 at Padua, 153
 at University of Bologna, 148, 151
 Bacon familiar with, 253
 Cardano familiar with, 165
 Charron indebted to, 302
 Charron propagates, 155
 Charron ultimately rejects, 167–68
 and Charron, 166
 Hobbes echoes language of, 268
 in Florence, 32
 in Marsilius of Padua, 59
 in Pisa and Florence, 80
 John of Jandun propagates, 163
 Latin, 68, 80, 151, 164, 167
 Machiavelli borrows language, 97
 Milton and, 173
 Milton familiar with, 155
 paves way for the more radical doctrine of Epicurus, 83
 point of departure for Chardin, 166
 revival underway in Machiavelli's day, 81
 Sarpi ultimately abandons, 168
 and sociology of religion, 82
 students at Florentine Studio want to study, 80
 supposes universe eternal, religions transitory, 82
- Avicenna (Abū 'Alī al-Husayn ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Sīnā), 72. *See also* Alfarabi; Al-Ghazālī; Averroës; *Falāsifa*, the adapts Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* to needs of societies based on prophecy and revealed religion, 158
 anticipates Machiavelli's analysis of the ecclesiastical polity, 82
 author of *Shifā'*
 Latin translation published in Venice, 79
 restates theologico-political doctrine of the *falāsifa*, 69
 on the damage done by the impolitic practice of *kalām* by the *mutakallimūn*, 70
 on the relationship between philosophy and religion, 66
 on the role played by ritual and observance in sustaining religious belief, 70
 translated into Latin in its entirety by Gerard of Cremona and/or Domingo Gundisalvo, 69
 Campanella mentions, 59
 contemporary Aristotelian interpreters ignore, 159
 denounced as crypto-atheist by al-Ghazālī, 64
 describes Plato's *Laws* as a book about prophecy and holy law, 63
 focuses on revealed religion's cultural hegemony and the authority it confers on the *mutakallimūn*, 83
 and Frederick II, 75
 heir to Alfarabi, 64
 some works reach Europe, 68
- Bacon, Roger, 69
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 247, 256–58, 267, 273, 284, 337
 admires Augustus, 254
 as political Epicurean, 258
 assimilates Machiavelli's internal critique of Epicureanism, 309
 author of *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*, 250
 expresses preference for school of Democritus, 295
 author of *De sapientia veterum*, 247, 252
 recommends atomism as hypothesis, 294
 spells out aims of new science, 254–55
 author of *Essays*, 246, 249
 applies Lucretius' critique of religion to Christianity, 260
 cites Epicurus as authority on religion, 294
 cites Machiavelli as authority on Christianity in essay thirteen, 256
 corrects Italian translation of second edition, 249
 deliberately contradicts himself, 258
 endorses Machiavelli's claim Christianity weakens world and gives it in prey to wicked men, 256
 fifteenth essay corresponds with fifteenth chapter of Machiavelli's *Prince*, 257
 Hobbes echoes his discussion of superstition, 268
 Hobbes helps translate into Latin, 250
 Hobbes in discourses hints at his account of atheism and superstition, 267
 intimates that own time a time of atheism, 258
 Italian translation suppresses his critique of Christianity, 260
 La Mothe le Vayer quotes his contention atheism superior to superstition, 305
 his licenser lax, 260
 open in admiration for Lucretius, 294
 openly adopts Machiavelli's moral posture against Christianity, 256–57

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

363

- prefers atheism to superstition, 257–58
- publication in Italian of second earl of Devonshire's translation, 247
- quotes Lucretius in discussing religions wars, 260
- quotes opening lines of second book of Lucretius, 294
- repeatedly mentions Machiavelli, 260
- second earl of Devonshire translates into Italian, 246
- sends Micanzio in 1622 fair copy of six new essays, 250
- studied by Harrington, 337
- third edition less shocking, 260
- author of *Instauratio magna*, 295
 - endorses Democritus' claim matter eternal, universe not, 295
 - endorses Epicurus' claim nothing comes of nothing, 295
 - denounces Plato and Aristotle, 295
 - expresses preference for school of Democritus, 295
 - prefers pre-Socratics, 295
 - qualifies admiration of Machiavelli by singling out authors of inventions for highest praise, 259
- author of *The Advancement of Learning*, 245
 - acknowledges profound debt owed Machiavelli, 255
 - adopts Machiavellian posture in his new science, 256
 - cites Tacitus selectively, 254
 - critical of account of the passions in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 284
 - embraces esotericism, 297
 - endorses much desiring and much enjoying, 309–10
 - follows Machiavelli in urging concealed revolution, 253
 - Hobbes in discourses takes to heart his account of form of writing best suited for civil knowledge, 263
 - Mersenne embraces scientific project of, 297
 - praises account of the passions in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, 284
 - praises Thucydides, 278
 - quotes opening lines of second book of Lucretius, 294
 - sermon delivered before Bacon links second earl of Devonshire with project, 248
 - treats Machiavelli as exponent of civil knowledge, 261
 - on true theomachy, 346
 - treats forms as figments of human mind, 295
- author of *The Great Instauration*
 - provides model for *Encyclopédie*, 254
- author of *The New Atlantis*
 - read and cited by Milton, 148
- chaplain William Rawley writes
 - biography, 247
- close linke between his science and mechanical arts, 259
- and the common-law mind, 12
- consciously models himself on Augustus, 254
- corrects second earl of Devonshire's Italian translation of his *Essays*, 249
- correspondence with Micanzio, 248
- d'Alembert unmasks, 254
- deploys Lucretius against Christian priestcraft, 294
- Descartes his disciple, 255
- Diderot and d'Alembert unmask, 254
- does not take as working hypothesis
 - Galileo's claim universe book written in language of mathematics, 312
- and *Horæ Subsecivæ*, 251
- his critique of the contemplative life not Ciceronian,
 - exercises influence on Harrington, 338
- exercises profound influence on Hobbes, 245, 263, 284, 319
- extensive holdings from at seat of earl of Devonshire, 261
- fascination with Tacitus on Augustus, 264
- follows through on logic of Machiavelli's argument, 259
- friendly with Hobbes's student, 245, 246
- Harrington appropriates his description of merchants, 338
- Harrington deeply indebted to, 336
- Hobbes accompanies future second earl of Devonshire on visits to, 250
- Hobbes and Descartes indebted to, 313
- Hobbes borrows from and cites, 252
- Hobbes described by Sorbière as survival from, 251
- Hobbes follows in emphasizing Tacitus on Augustus, 263–64
- Hobbes restates his attack on the Aristotelian underpinnings of Christian theology, 276
- Hobbes turns to his physical hypothesis after death of second earl of Devonshire, 295

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

364

Index

- Bacon, Sir Francis, (*cont.*)
 Hobbes's association with, 249
 Hobbes's political science designed to
 promote scientific project of, 259
 impeachment and conviction, 246
 his impeachment and conviction
 likely to have distressed Hobbes, 280
 indebted to Epicureanism for his physics,
 294
 influences Hobbes, 263
 Kant anticipates Macaulay on, 252
 last will and testament mentions future
 second earl of Devonshire, 248
 learns from Machiavelli literary game of
 bait and switch, 258
 less sensitive to fragility of civil society
 than Thucydides, 282
 Macaulay juxtaposes with Plato, 252
 man as *homo faber*, 311
 meets Dominis and Vanini, 247
 Milton cites in *Areopagitica*, 147
 misreading of Machiavelli as classical
 republican produces confusion
 regarding, 256
 more favorable to Machiavellian
 republicanism than mature Hobbes,
 276
 not a mere adherent of Epicureanism, 309
 openly acknowledges debt to Epicurus,
 257
 outlines the logic of esotericism, 253
 his political rise and fall, 245
 praises Machiavelli's critique of priestcraft,
 210
 prefers Democritus, Epicurus, and
 Lucretius to Aristotle, 294
 professes orthodoxy while plotting its
 demise, 252–53
 redirects science to the provision of
 security and well-being, 256
 regards Aristotelian philosophy and logic
 as a mockery, 293
 regards scientific knowledge as
 hypothetical, 311
 rejects all metaphysical claims, 311
 religious skeptic, 282
 reorients science, 252
 repudiates classical ontology, 290
 repudiates Epicurean *ataraxía*, 309
 reverses Socratic turn from natural to
 moral and political philosophy, 259
 said to have enjoyed conversation with
 Hobbes, 250
 Sarpi, Micanzio, and Hobbes understand
 his critique of Christianity, 259
 and science as a project, 252
 second earl of Devonshire's
 correspondence with Micanzio
 focused on writings of, 246, 247
 sees self as new Columbus, 346
 shares Machiavelli's hostility to classical
 political philosophers, 275
 and Sir Tobie Matthew, 247
 sponsors publication of Sarpi's *History of
 the Council of Trent* in Italian, Latin,
 English, and French, 210
 student of power politics, 282
 subordinates theory to practice, 259
 substitutes humanity for charity, 254
 summons Descartes and Hobbes with his
 trumpet, 255
 on the Dutch republic, 337
 thinks peace conducive to progress of
 science, 284
 and Thucydides, 281
 Baglioni, Giovampagolo, 89, 91
 Baron, Baron, 353
 Baxter, Richard, 344
 Bayle, Pierre, 297
 Beale, John, 133
 Bedersi, Yedaiah, 163
 Beza, Theodore, 111
 Bicci, Vespasiano da, 52
 Bion, 34
 Birch, Thomas, 352
 Blake, Robert, 202
 Blake, William, 127, 173
 Boccaccio, Giovanni, 78
 Boccacio, Giovanni, 263
 Boccolini, Traiano, 181
 author of *News Bulletins from Parnassus*,
 181
 in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 revives satire in manner of Lucian, 181
 satirical account of contemporaries'
 response to Machiavelli, 6
 Bodin, Jean, 261
 Bolingbroke, Henry St, John, first viscount,
 352
 Bond, Dennis, 217
 Borgia, Cesare, 88, 90
 Bosc, Charles du, 306
 Bossuet, Jacques Bénigne, Bishop, 354
 Botero, Giovanni, 261
 Bracciolini, Poggio, 33
 not unfriendly to commerce, 52
 Bradshaw, John, 186, 199, 205
 approves of *Humble Petition of Several
 Colonels of the Army*, 223
 elected to first Protectorate Parliament,
 222
 gives Cromwell a tongue-lashing, 219

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

365

- and Good Old Cause, 227
- hopes for Dutch alliance, 203
- insists Rump Parliament only legitimate
 - source of government in Cromwell's England, 227
- Nedham close to, 205
- Nedham often dines with, 205
- Nedham praises, 200
- and Nedham, 186
- opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
- refuses to subscribe to the Recognition, 223
- his will mentions Nedham alongside Milton, 205
- Brewster, Thomas, 218
 - publishes Nedham's *Excellencie of a Free State*, 228
- Briani, Girolamo, 181
- Bruni, Leonardo, 50
 - author of *De militia*
 - writes within genuine civic humanist framework, 240
 - not unfriendly to commerce, 52
- Bruno, Giordano, 258
 - restates the theologico-political teaching of the *falāsifa*, 153–54
 - on the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- Brutus, Lucius Iunius, 28, 267
- Brutus, Marcus Iunius, 114
 - assassinates Caesar, 125
- Bucer, Martin, 111–12
- Buckingham, first duke of, George Villiers, 280, 282
- Burke, Edmund, 13
- Burnet, Gilbert
 - describes Marten, Wildman, Sidney, and Neville as pretending to little or no religion, 209
 - on libertinism of Marten, 207
 - lists Harrington and Neville along with Marten, Wildman, and Sidney as unbelievers acting solely upon principles of civil liberty, 344
- Caesar, Augustus, 27–28, 31, 258, 264–65, 305
 - Bacon admires, 254
 - Bacon models himself on, 254
 - Cromwell seen as potential imitator of, 316
 - depicted by Hobbes as master in art of government, 265
 - described by Hobbes as new prince in Machiavellian terms, 265
 - focus of interest for Bacon and Hobbes, 264
 - has *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* displayed as propaganda, 27
 - Hobbes admires, 265
 - Hobbes juxtaposes with Cinna, and Sulla, 264
 - Hobbes on, 262
 - in Hobbes estimation treats Rome as a woman, 264
 - in Hobbes's estimation follows plan Machiavelli will later recommend to ambitious captains, 264–65
 - Machiavelli has little to say concerning, 264
 - masquerades as restorer of the Roman republic, 28
- Caesar, Julius, 28, 93, 136, 254, 305
 - his assassination, 27
 - Augustus his adopted son, 264
 - his dictatorship, 27
 - Milton thinks worthy of kingship, 115
 - model suggested by Milton's Satan, 130
 - Streater deploys Suetonius' biography against Cromwell, 221
- Caetani, Boniface Cardinal, 145
- Cajetan of Thiene, 81
- Calcidius, 157
- Calo Calonymos, 67
- Calonymos ben Calonymos ben Meir of Arles, 67–68
 - may have worked from version of Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence* now lost, 67
 - translator of Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 67
 - twists Averroës' argument to make it friendlier to Judaism, 67
- Calvin, John, 111
 - and prudential presbyterianism in Geneva, 193
 - his Reformation insufficient for Milton, 148
- Cambridge, University of, 188
- Camillus, Marcus Furius, 87, 97
- Campanella, Tommaso, 59, 78–79, 81
 - appreciates import of the Averroist revival, 81
 - author of *Atheism Conquered*, 58
 - often read as advocate of atheism, 58
 - on Averroism, 59
 - aware everyone in Machiavelli's day familiar with outlines of Averroism, 82
 - aware of Machiavelli's debt to the Epicureans, 82
 - calls Averroist Aristotle workshop of Machiavellianism, 57

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

366

Index

- Campanella, Tommaso (*cont.*)
 comes to grips with Aristotle and Machiavelli, 58
 correctly asserts political doctrine of the *falāsifa* well-known in Machiavelli's Italy, 75
 defends Galileo, 145
 defends philosophic freedom, 145
 early reader of Machiavelli's *Prince*, 86
 early readers think an unbeliever, 59
 fails to draw sharp distinction between Epicureans and Aristotelians of Machiavelli's day, 82
 fails to recognize Machiavelli's repudiation of the Averroist theologico-political teaching, 83
 fails to reflect on the significance of Machiavelli's repudiation of moral virtue, 83
 and Galileo, 145
 limits to his awareness of the details of Averroist scholarship, 79
 on Machiavelli's depiction of Christianity as a clever contrivance, 99
 persuaded libertines must practice dissimulation, 150
 regards Averroës as intermediary, 59
 sensitive to Averroist impact on Machiavelli, 82
 takes up cause of philosophic freedom, 145
 well-schooled in intellectual atmosphere of Renaissance Italy, 58
- Canozio, Lorenzo, 80
- Cardano, Girolamo, 98, 258
 author of *De sapientia*
 model for Charron's *De la sagesse*, 165
 on types of proof and types of men, 165
 early reader of Machiavelli's *Prince*, 86
 echoes Averroist adaptation of Platonic political psychology and sociology, 165
 echoes distinctive theologico-political vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, 153
- Case, John, 20
- Cassius Longinus, Gaius, 114, 267
 assassinates Caesar, 125
- Castracani, Castruccio, 34
- Cato, Marcus Porcius, 267, 273
 mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
- Cato's Letters*, 352
- Cavaliers, the, 122, 176
 blame king's ruin on pulpit and press, 181
 debate the propriety of taking the Engagement, 189
 forced to establish newsbooks, 180
 sensitive to implications of appealing to public opinion, 177, 180
 the Engagement occasions crisis of confidence, 189
 their parliament ends up at odds with Charles II, 351
 think Charles I died a martyr for justice and religion, 200
- Cavendish, Sir Charles, 295–96
- Cavendish, William. *See* Devonshire, first earl of; Devonshire, second earl of; Devonshire, third earl of; Newcastle, future first duke of
- Cecill, Thomas, 281
- Chaloner, Thomas, 205, 207–8, 215
 allied with Marten and Bradshaw, 199
 catapulted into leading position by Pride's Purge, 199
 gives lip service to holding new elections, 215
 Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 hopes for Dutch alliance, 203
 libertine, 207
 Neville associated with in Rump, 322
 object of Cromwell's fury, 217
 opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 uneasy alliance with godly republicans, 199
- Charlemagne, 95
- Charles I, 180, 188, 218–19, 315, 349
 accused by Nedham of having taken Machiavelli's new prince as his model, 198
 defended by Salmasius, 212
 execution of, 4–5, 14–16, 102, 110, 114, 123, 181, 215, 315, 321–22
 father in law of Prince of Orange, 203
 Harrington appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to, 321
 Hobbes blames those who persuade him to embrace mixed regime, 275
 Hobbes watches Parliament corner, 282
 inept at parliamentary management, 225
 Milton's hostility to, 114
 obstinate in defense of monarchical prerogative, 15
 orders ears of Prynne cut off, 171
 putative author of *Eikon Basilike*, 15, 111
 statue at Old Exchange beheaded, 201
 the execution of, 343
 thought to have died a martyr for justice and religion, 200
 trial of, 14, 107
- Charles II
 given presentation copy of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 271

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

367

- and Hobbes, 316
- Nedham serves during Exclusion Crisis, 177
- Nedham serves after Charles I's execution, 176, 186
- returns from exile to be crowned, 351
- Charron, Pierre, 258
 - attacked in anti-libertine polemics of Mersenne and Garasse, 300
- Bacon more openly Epicurean than, 260
- charges Athens-Jerusalem marriage allows bitter politics of Greek city to survive within church, 333
- disciples operate in secretive atmosphere, 305
- draws heavily on Montaigne, 168
- heirs deploy coded language, 305
- indebted to Averroism, 302
- inspires the *Tétrade*, 168, 301
- his life, 168
- Milton echoes his critique of custom, 169
- Milton likely to have read, 168
- Milton picks up his metaphors, 169
- and Montaigne, 167
- propagates Averroism in France, 155
- questions the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- shapes subsequent reaction of the learned to Galileo's condemnation, 169
- some scholars think a fideist, 155
- writes *Of Wisdom*
 - affects Averroism, 166
 - applies political psychology and sociology of Plato's *Republic* to modern ecclesiastical principality, 156
 - argues that philosophers tend to be atheists, 166
 - attacks Christian adherents of Aristotle, 166
 - attacks mental captivity, 304
 - claims all religion shocks common sense, 304
 - deploys Averroist political psychology in making oblique attack on Christianity, 165–66
 - exercises profound influence, 168
 - first to make polemical use of distinctive Averroist political psychology and sociology, 165
 - models it on Cardano's *De sapientia*, 165
 - nowhere endorses Aristotle's claim man a political animal, 166
 - nowhere endorses Aristotle's claim politics necessary for the support of moral virtue, 166
 - openly challenges Averroist claim religion and belief in afterlife supportive of moral virtue, 167
 - professes candor, 167
 - its publication marks a sea change in European thought, 168
 - redeploys Averroist political psychology and sociology against zealous Christians, 165–66
 - religious skeptic, 282
 - restates Platonic, Averroist distinction between the philosophical few and the unenlightened multitude, 156
 - suggests Heraclitus and Democritus deliberately obscure, 167
 - ultimately sides with Lucretius against Averroës, 167–68
 - writes in the vernacular, 167
- Christ's College, Cambridge, 106
- Christendom, 59, 62, 98, 105, 188, 192, 202, 210
 - Alfarabi's *Enumeration of the Sciences* available, 68
- Bacon traces sectarian divisions to
 - Aristotle's philosophy, 275
- dominated by *mutakallimūn*, 64
- its ecclesiastical polity, 87
- Hobbes traces sectarian divisions to trust in *lógos*, 276
- Machiavelli thinks harmed by Christianity, 84
- rent by quarrels, 260
- shocked by execution of Charles I, 4
- unity shattered by Reformation, 9
- Christianity, 17, 42, 62–63, 83, 88, 96–97, 99, 100, 117, 151, 153, 166, 193, 210–11, 231, 243, 256, 267–69, 276, 310, 315, 333, 344, 345
- apologists fear treatise concerning three impostors, 299
- and Aristotelianism, 138
- as modernity, 63
- associated by Machiavelli with sinister opinions, 92
- Averroës says wise men of Byzantium adhere to, 65
- Bacon applies Lucretius to, 294
- Bacon follows Machiavelli in repudiating, 256
- Bacon intimates that paganism less harmful, 260
- Bacon reorients its doctrine of charity, 254
- Bacon's critique of, 260
 - understood by Sarpi, Micanzio, and Hobbes, 259

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

368

Index

Christianity (*cont.*)

- cannot dispense with idea of divine Providence, notion of the fall, and awareness of sin as sin, 96
- and captive minds, 169
- casts aspersions on war by forbidding priests, prelates, and monks to take up arms, 95
- and Charles I, 4
- Charron applies Lucretius' critique of religion to, 168
- Charron's critique, 166
- and clerical dominion, 87
- compared with religion of pagan Rome by Machiavelli, 97
- depicted as a source of political weakness by Machiavelli, 57
- its *ecclesia* supplants pagan *ekklēsia*, 62
- Gassendi distances himself from Hobbes's treatment of, 296
- Hobbes less direct than Machiavelli in attributing modern degeneracy to, 267
- judged by Machiavelli as form of education, 96
- L'Estrange sees threatened by the printing press, 183
- libertine opposition to, 302
- Machiavelli and Sarpi think incompatible with political life, 149
- Machiavelli depicted by Luigi Guicciardini as skeptical, 36
- Machiavelli depicts as extraordinary force suffocating mankind, 94
- Machiavelli hints at the role played by the crucifixion and martyrdom in enabling it to satisfy and stupefy the people, 89
- Machiavelli hostile to, 100
- Machiavelli masters theology, 38
- Machiavelli rejects its moral teaching as utopian, 43
- Machiavelli sometimes masquerades as friend of, 97
- Machiavelli thinks incompatible with *virtù*, 50
- Machiavelli thoroughly familiar with, 38
- Machiavelli wishes to reconfigure, 59
- Machiavelli's hostility transparent, 99
- and Machiavelli, 21
- Mersenne seems eager to recast in light of modern science, 297
- Mersenne's apologetic procedures makes vulnerable to modern atheism, 298
- Milton links with priestcraft, 139
- Milton meditates on history of, 139

- Milton removes doctrines philosophically unsound and politically dangerous, 174
- Milton's posture towards, 101
- and Milton, 106
- Nedham professes to champion, 184
- not in Machiavelli's opinion politically salutary, 84
- and philosophical freedom in Milton, 170
- Pomponazzi treats as natural phenomenon subject to growth and degeneration, 97
- and priestcraft in Milton, 143
- and priestcraft, 211
- produces weak armies, 95
- publically endorsed by Milton, 119
- and religious liberty, 172
- seen by Alfarabi and successors as having invented *kalām*, 64
- soon due *pace* Machiavelli for demise, 98
- and the Papacy, 86
- treated by Machiavelli as obstacle to return to ancient modes, 92
- Christina of Lorraine, grand duchess of Tuscany, 145
- Church of England, 4
- Milton's critique, 141–42
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 13, 24, 182, 267
- advocates unity of eloquence and wisdom, 29
- author of *De fato* and *De finibus*
- dismisses Epicurean attempt to reconcile Democritean physics with human freedom, 41
- author of *De inventione*, 24
- author of *De officiis*
- speaks of *res publica* as lost, 27
- author of *De oratore*, 24
- author of *De republica*
- for the most part unavailable to Machiavelli, 46
- little of it available to Harrington, 328
- author of *Philippics*
- provides model for Milton, 107
- author of *Pro Sestio*, 24
- author of *Tusculan Disputations*, 24
- on classical republican need for education in virtue, 23
- contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
- defends popular participation in public deliberation, 50
- on disappearance of the *res publica*, 27
- echoes Aristotle on genesis of political community, 25

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

369

- elaborates on Aristotle's account of the origins of the *pólis*, 25
- exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
- exponent of differential moral and political rationality, 24–25
- favors an education aimed at liberating men from the dominion of the passions, 48
- gives classical republicanism an aristocratic, even monarchical bent, 26
- Harrington borrows from, 326
- Harrington rejects moral doctrine of, 326
- Hobbes familiar with account of civil society's origins found in rhetorical works, 308
- Hobbes probably hostile to from start, 274
- Hobbes treats as disciple of Aristotle, 31
- hostile to political discord, 50
- links *res publica* to *utilitas communis*, 29
- links origins of civil society to nature's provision to man of a capacity for rational speech, 55
- mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
- Milton indebted to, 107, 109
- Milton restates his account of the origin of cities, 106
- Milton takes as model, 107
- and Milton, 139
- more friendly to *otium* than Machiavelli, 40
- and natural law, 29
- Nedham quotes on man's capacity to rule, 235
- Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
- Neville prefers to the Bible, 209, 344
- not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
- provides theoretical articulation of classical republican practice, 22
- on *ratio et oratio* as basis for classical republicanism, 23–24
- regards classical republican theory as compatible with virtuous monarchy, 25
- reports Posidonius' dismissal of Epicureanism as incoherent, 41
- thinks classical republicanism compatible with monarchy, 28
- Cittadinis, Antonius de, 80
- classical republicanism, 22–30, 32, 104–138
- a prudential doctrine, 27
- abandoned by Marsilius of Padua, 57
- Bacon not a proponent, 10
- based on aristocratic presumption, 25
- best articulated by Aristotle and Cicero on the basis of Greek and Roman practice, 22
- compatible in theory with virtuous monarchy, 25
- discursive in character, 29
- easy to suppose Harrington an adherent, 323
- English fascination with, 10
- espoused by Milton, 137
- favors socio-political solidarity, 50
- founded on human capacity for moral reason, 29
- Harrington constructs republican orders independent of its premise, 340
- Harrington nowhere cites Hobbes's articulation of premise underpinning, 325
- Hobbes deploys Thucydides against, 279
- Hobbes hostile to, 275
- Hobbes restates Machiavellian critique of, 276
- hostile to political discord, 50
- impossible where reason enslaved to passions, 26
- in theory compatible with monarchy, 28
- liberty conceived of with regard to officeholding and balance of orders, 14
- its logic requires an openness to monarchical rule where the people unfit, 114
- Machiavelli deploys Epicurean critique against, 45
- Machiavelli repudiates, 8, 10, 54, 104, 240, 256, 323
- Milton embraces, 105, 107, 173
- not partisan, 26
- obsessed with communal solidarity, 340
- presupposes distinction between public and private realms, 29
- presupposes moral virtue, 26
- its principle of differential moral and political rationality rejected by Machiavelli, 53
- regime preference dependent on the character of a people, 26
- rooted in human capacity for *lógos*, 29
- takes political regime as defining way of life, 23
- thinking strong on European continent until eighteenth century, 106

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

370

Index

- classical republicanism, (*cont.*)
 - underpinned by principle of differential moral and political rationality, 24–25, 32, 53–54, 104, 107, 109, 112, 235, 325
 - Hobbes nowhere embraces, 275
 - Nedham appeals to only in critique of the Levellers, 194
- Clement of Alexandria, 61
- Clement VII, Pope (Giulio de' Medici), 8, 92
- Columbus, Christopher, 20
- common good, the, 23, 26, 29, 55, 117, 174, 190, 236, 238, 276, 308, 340
 - as observed in Machiavellian republics, 55
 - in Machiavelli's concept not really common, 54
- Machiavelli interprets as conquest, 54
- Machiavelli rejects the notion of a transcendent, 54
- common law, the
 - Hobbes not supportive, 289
 - its influence in England, 12
- Condorcet, marquis de, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat
 - reads and praises Nedham's *Excellencie of a Free State*, 354
 - thinks libertinism widespread in early modern Europe, 150–51
- congregationalism
 - as doctrine of ecclesiastical polity, 13
 - the Massachusetts model, 172
- Contarini, Gaspar, 82
- Copernicus, Nicolaus, 145, 293, 304
- Cosimo de' Medici, 32, 93
 - Machiavelli's view, 47
 - sponsors Latin translation of Diogenes Laertius, 34
- Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, 247
- Cotton, Charles, 276
- Cremonini, Cesare, 151, 152, 258
 - exposed to Averroism at Padua, 152
 - and Naudé, 151
 - and the libertine motto, 151
- Cromwell, Oliver, 115–16, 203, 215–16, 222, 224, 228, 234, 264, 323, 347, 348–50
 - Bradshaw gives him a tongue-lashing, 219
 - connives in collapse of Nominated Parliament, 220
 - forces adjustments in *Instrument of Government*, 222
 - gives consent to *Instrument of Government*, 222
 - Levellers read Nedham's editorials as warning to, 234
 - Marten compares with James I and Charles I, 219
 - his officers welcome ouster of Rump Parliament, 220
 - ousts Rump Parliament, 215, 216, 219, 220, 228
 - promulgates *Instrument of Government*, 222
 - summons Nominated Parliament, 217, 220–21
 - thought to aim at monarchy: Hobbes's *Leviathan* crafted so as to be useful for defense, 316
 - vents fury against Rump Parliament, 217
- a model for Milton's Satan, 131
- addressed in unpublished open letter drafted by Marten, 219
- advocates Erastian church-settlement, 334
- centralized control resented, 226
- confesses experiment of Nominated Parliament a blunder, 218
- death of, 116–17, 347
- despises libertine republicans, 207
- discusses Rump Parliament with officers, 220
- father-in-law of Ireton, 223
- finds Nominated Parliament a sobering experience, 204
- hopes handpicked assembly of notables can work out settlement, 216
- Levellers suspect from outset, 233
- Lilburne praises *Mercurius Politicus* in open letter to, 234
- London aldermen petition against his coup, 220
- Lord General, 116, 216
- Lord Protector, 121, 131, 231, 347–49
 - aims to elicit consent by way of elections and fortify rule, 222
 - angrily dissolves first Protectorate Parliament, 225
 - appalled when first Protectorate Parliament balks at his fundamentals, 225
 - author of *Oceana* either tries to influence or discredit, 323
 - cracks down on opponents, 225
 - death, 347
 - defends conduct before first Protectorate Parliament, 222
 - demanding adherence to four fundamentals in *Instrument of Government* from first Protectorate Parliament, 222

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

371

- demands members of first Protectorate Parliament subscribe to the Recognition, 222
- draws arguments for talk before first Protectorate Parliament from Nedham's *True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 231
- establishes reign of Major Generals, 225
- faces resistance within first Protectorate Parliament, 225
- failure of his Western design, 225
- finds reign of Major Generals unpopular, 226, 228
- Harrington aims to persuade him to establish a republic, 335
- Harrington mocks with own phrase, 322
- implements Erastian religious settlement proposed by John Owen, 172
- inaugurated as, 222
- inept at parliamentary management, 225
- Lilburne charges with betraying the revolution, 234
- maintains authority within army, 224
- Major Generals persuade to call second Protectorate Parliament, 226
- Milton comes to loathe, 172
- Milton implies he became no less a Pope than the one at Rome, 172
- Nedham obliquely attacks in *The Excellencie of a Free State*, 232–33
- obvious model for Harrington's Lord Archon, 322
- old Rumpers unable to dislodge, 226
- powers specified and limited by *Instrument of Government*, 222
- quasi-monarch under *Instrument of Government*, 223
- recommends Nedham's *True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 231
- rules without legal foundation sought, 225
- and spymaster Thurloe, 224, 226
- summons First Protectorate Parliament, 222
- tells murmuring officers they know not what they mean by republic, 322
- told of conspiracy linking Fifth Monarchists and republicans, 226
- Milton addresses sonnet to, 172
- Milton at one point favors his rule, 115
- Milton comes to abhor, 116
- Milton praises and admonishes in sonnet, 137
- Milton's Satan displays his penchant for bursting into tears during orations, 131
- and Milton, 121
- objects to bill for a new representative, 216
- old Rumpers oppose his coup, 220
- ousts the Rump, 219
- speaks at Cockpit just before ouster of the Rump Parliament, 221
- Streater intimates ouster of Rump Parliament preparatory for tyranny of, 221
- Streater reacts against his ouster of Rump Parliament, 221
- suspected of monarchical designs by royalists, presbyterians, and Levellers, 316
- thought by Venetian ambassador to be interested in exporting English revolution, 202
- unhappy with libertine republicans, 207
- Cromwell, Richard, 209
 - betrayed by father's officers, 348
 - fall of, 350
 - forced to resign as Protector, 117
 - in danger from start, 348
 - lacks moral authority, 348
 - old Rumpers help bring down, 226
 - tenure as Lord Protector brief, 349
- Cromwell, Thomas, 114
- Cyrus the Achaemenid, 56
 - Machiavelli depicts as armed prophet, 85
 - Machiavelli depicts as new prince, 56
- d'Alembert, Jean le Rond, 254
- d'Eon de Beaumont, Charles Geneviève
 - Louis Auguste André Timothée, chevalier, 353
- Danby, earl of, Thomas Osborne, 177
- Dante Alighieri, 138
 - a philosophical poet, 174
 - cites Averroës in *De monarchia*, 77
 - and Milton, 138
- Decius Mus, Publius, 88
- Democritus, 41, 282, 295
 - Bacon and Hobbes reject metaphysical claims, 311
 - Bacon prefers to Aristotle, 293
 - Bacon's physics indebted to, 294
 - Charron on deliberate obscurity of, 167
 - Hobbes entertains his metaphysics as hypothesis, 295
 - universe constituted by matter in motion, 295
- Demosthenes, 13
 - influences Cicero, 107
 - Milton takes as model, 107
 - singled out by young Hobbes as greatest orator, 278

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

372

Index

- Denmark, 192
- Descartes, René, 313–14
 author of *Discourse on Method*
 aims to make men masters and
 possessors of nature, 255
 Hobbes paraphrases passage from, 314
 may have inspired Hobbes's adoption of
 introspection as means for
 establishing the foundations of
 political science, 313
 sent by Kenelm Digby to Hobbes, 313
 author of *Meditations*, 313
- Bacon's disciple, 255
 calls for philosophical liberty, 146
 denies authorship of Hobbes's *De cive*, 314
 friend of Mersenne, 296
 initially thought to have written Hobbes's
De cive, 314
 relations with Hobbes strained, 314
 surprised Hobbes's *De cive* escapes
 censorship, 314
 thinks Hobbes more skillful in morals than
 metaphysics, 314
 unlike Bacon takes as working hypothesis
 Galileo's claim universe book written
 in language of mathematics, 312–13
 work on optics of vision influence
 understanding of human nature as
 subjectivity, 313
- Devonshire, first earl of, William Cavendish
 hires Hobbes to tutor son, 245
- Devonshire, second earl of, William
 Cavendish. *See also* Hobbes, Thomas
 anonymously publishes *A Discourse*
against Flatterie, 246
 Hobbes likely to have supervised
 composition, 249
 associated with Hobbes for two decades,
 261
 his career in Parliament, 261
 peruses manuscript of *History of the*
Council of Trent, 270
 publically associated with Bacon, 248
 publishes *A Discourse against Flatterie*,
 250, 262
 and Somer Islands Company, 262
 tutored and befriended by Hobbes, 246
 and Virginia Company, 262
 writes Baconian essays under Hobbes's
 guidance, 246
- Devonshire, third earl of, William Cavendish
 Hobbes tutors and takes on continental
 tour, 296
- Diagoras, 305
- Diderot, Denis, 254
- Digby, George, 143
- Digby, Sir Kenelm, 313
- Diodati, Charles
 Milton's oldest friend, 146–47
- Diodati, Elie, member of the *Tétrade*, 148
 agent of Galileo, 146
 associated with Gassendi, 301
 disciple of Charron, 168, 301
 linked by marriage with the Gentili clan,
 147
 promotes European diffusion of Sarpi's
 works, 147
- Diodati, Jean, 147
 Milton visits, 146
 and Sarpi, 146–47
- Diogenes Laertius, author of *Lives of the*
Eminent Philosophers, 34–35, 42, 140
 Gassendi comments on tenth book, 306
 Hobbes draws on account of origins of
 civil society in tenth book, 308
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 285
- divine-right doctrine
 Hobbes not supportive, 289
 influential in Elizabethan and Jacobean
 England, 12
 and presbyterianism, 194
- Dominic, Saint, 98, 268
- Dominis, Marc' Antonio de, archbishop of
 Spalato
 and Bacon, 247
 edits Sarpi's *History of the Council of*
Trent, 210
 in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 translates Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*
 into Italian, 247, 252
- Donato, Girolamo, 78
- Drusus Claudius Nero, 28
- Dunbar, battle of, 172, 199, 202, 212, 222,
 315, 347
- ecclesiastical polity
 debates concerning, 13
- Elijah del Medigo, 78, 163
- Empedocles, 295
- Encyclopédie* 254. *See also* Diderot, Denis;
 d'Alembert, Jean le Rond
- Engagement, the, 187–91, 213
 Hobbes seen as apologist for taking, 319
 its imposition occasions crisis of
 conscience on the part of Cavaliers,
 189
 Nedham defends, 212, 233
 Nedham takes, 199
 occasions crisis of conscience, 189
- England, 4, 9, 114, 117, 126, 134, 181, 188,
 192, 195, 197, 202–4, 234, 258, 293,
 306, 347, 353

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic*

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

373

- its ancient constitution, 14
- declared a Commonwealth and Free State, 16
- described by Milton's European friends as
 - land of philosophic freedom, 147
- early interest in republicanism speculative, 11
- emergence of public opinion, 179
- genuine classical republicanism rare in
 - 17th-century, 105
- godly republicans and divine plan for, 199
- influence of contractualism, 12
- influence of divine-right doctrine, 12
- liberty conceived with regard to taxation, 14
- local self-government in, 10
- Machiavelli at first seen as counselor of
 - princes, 14
- Machiavellianism thought synonymous
 - with evil, 19
- Milton at one point thinks Cromwell
 - suitied to rule, 115
- Milton sees it as behindhand in
 - reformation, 141
- propensity to read the classics as
 - proponents of traditional English liberties, 13
- provincial in Milton's time, 126
- its republican experiment, 183
- republicans, 21
- revolution almost entirely unforeseen, 14
- royalist sentiment revives after execution
 - of Charles I, 111
- under the Rump Parliament, 16, 102
- Rump Parliament claims to speak for the
 - people of, 187
- slow to succumb to sectarian strife, 9
- some see as republic of sorts, 10
- some would-be statesmen read
 - Machiavelli, 11
- survival of limited kingship, 9
- Epicurus, 32, 34–35, 40, 295–96, 300, 308–9
 - attempts to reconcile physics of
 - Democritus with human freedom, 41
 - Bacon and Hobbes reject metaphysical
 - claims, 311
 - Bacon cites as authority on religion, 294
 - Bacon owes his physics to, 294
 - Bacon prefers to Aristotle, 293
 - Bacon's physics indebted to, 294
 - and his doctrine, 32, 37, 38–39, 49, 59
 - a point of departure for Machiavelli, 83
 - criticized as internally inconsistent by
 - Machiavelli, 41
 - Gassendi expounds, 306
 - influence on Hobbes explored, 291
 - and his followers, 82
 - Campanella sees as virtually
 - indistinguishable from Aristotelians
 - of Machiavelli's day, 83
 - exercise profound influence on Hobbes,
 - 291–312
 - exercise profound influence on
 - Machiavelli, 32–45
 - Hobbes a disciple of, 290
 - Machiavelli adopts their critique of
 - classical republicanism, 45
 - reject notion that philosophers have an
 - interest in the moral education of the
 - multitude, 83
 - their critique of the political life, 42
 - and the libertines, 306
 - his account of the gods dismissed as
 - window dressing by Posidonius, 41
 - Bacon, influence on, 257, 258, 290, 309
 - championed by Gassendi, 301
 - Cicero dismissive, 41
 - compared with Kant, 41
 - considered thinly disguised atheist in
 - antiquity, 291
 - convinced sensation reducible to touch,
 - secondary qualities illusory, only
 - extension real
 - Hobbes entertains claim as hypothesis,
 - 295
 - Diogenes Laertius writes biography of, 35
 - discussed in meetings at Mersenne's cell, 307
 - disdainful of political prudence, 83
 - doctrine of *ataraxia*, 38
 - Florentine interest in, 33
 - his friend Hermarchus succeeds him as
 - scholar, 308
 - Galileo, influence on, 290
 - garden of, 42
 - Machiavelli rejects, 40
 - Gassendi studies, 306
 - Hobbes charged with being a disciple of, 292
 - Hobbes entertains his metaphysics as
 - hypothesis, 295
 - Hobbes restates his account of the origin
 - of civil society, 308–9, 319
 - Hobbes's physics indebted to, 292
 - La Mothe le Vayer propagates, 303, 304
 - Lucretius an orthodox interpreter, 35
 - Machiavelli draws on his physics to
 - describe human nature, 42
 - Machiavelli embraces his doctrine of
 - chance, 39

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

374

Index

Epicurus, (*cont.*)

- Machiavelli rejects his critique of the political life, 42
- Machiavelli rejects his quest for a moderation of the passions and tranquility of soul, 43
- Machiavelli rejects philosophical resignation espoused by, 45
- Machiavelli thinks *ataraxía* incompatible with his cosmology, 43
- Machiavelli uses languages suggesting physics of, 98
- on philosophical laughter, 306
- his physics of interest to libertines, 306
- regards atoms making up universe as eternal, 36
- Sarpi, influence on, 140
- on the *clinamen* or *declinatio*, 41
- universe constituted by matter in motion, 295

episcopalianism

- as doctrine of ecclesiastical polity, 12–13
- Hobbes hostile, 316
- Milton hostile, 169
- Milton links with censorship, 143
- Milton links with priestcraft, 137–43
- no better in Milton's view than Popery, 171

Euclid, 296, 312

eudaimonía, 24, 29

Euripides, 293

Exclusion Crisis, the, 175, 351

Fabri, Filippo, 149

Fairfax, Thomas Lord, 123, 137, 198, 351

Falaquera, Shem Tob ibn, 163

Falāsifa, the, 59–83, 149, 152, 155–168. *See also* Alfarabi; Al-Ghazālī; Averroës; Avicenna; Maimonides

- adapt Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* to needs of societies based on prophecy and revealed religion, 158
- agree with School of Alexandria and Al-Kindi that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* should be treated as part of his *Organon*, 159
- apply Platonic political psychology to the dialectical theologians, 165
- attacked by al-Ghazālī, 157
- Avicenna restates their theologico-political doctrine in his *Shifā'*, 69
- believe the multitude hostile to philosophy, 59
- Campanella thinks privately dismissive of all religious belief, 58
- and Charron, 156

denounced as crypto-atheists by

al-Ghazālī, 65, 66

doctrines linked at times with judicial astrology, 38

heirs to Alfarabi, 64

highlight shortcomings of dialectic, rhetoric, and poetry in comparison with rational demonstration, 159

hint at the use that can be made of of dialectic, rhetoric, and poetry for the management of religion, 160

impressed by contention of Plato and Aristotle that religious myths necessary for civic education of the multitude, 61

Machiavelli indebted to, 83

Machiavelli owes historical vision to, 93

and Maimonides, 155

Milton familiar with theologico-political doctrine, 168

and philosophical prophecy, 174

reflect on foundations of priestly

hegemony, 91

regard Plato's *Laws* as a book about prophecy and holy law, 63

on the relationship between philosophy and religion, 66

their distinctive theologico-political vocabulary echoed in early modern

Italy and France, 153

their political doctrine well-known in

Machiavelli's Italy, 75

their posture adopted by Maimonides, 71

worry about the authority conferred by revealed religion on the

mutakallimūn, 84

write esoteric as well as exoteric works, 62

Federalist, *The*, 352

Ficino, Marsilio

and the Medici, 32

Fifth Monarchists, the, 13, 348

attempt to dominate Nominated

Parliament, 217, 220

commonwealthsmen ally with, 227

Harrison associated with, 220

join forces with diehard republicans, 226

Nedham denounces in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 230

unhappy at dissolution of Nominated Parliament, 226

Filmer, Sir Robert

Milton has archangel Michael refute

patriarchalism, 133

points to fact that Milton's people a small and select group, 109

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

375

- Flaccus, Valerius, 293
- Florentine Studio, 33
- home to Averroist instructors, 80
 - students agitate for appointment of prominent Averroist, 80
- Fracanzano, Antonio, 79
- France, 95, 112, 146, 147, 151, 155, 168–69, 179, 192, 201–2, 258, 262, 282, 301, 355
- and the wars of religion, 10
- Francis, Saint, 98, 268
- Frederick II
- accused by Pope Gregory IX of unbelief, 76, 78
 - keeps Arab philosopher at court, 76
 - renowned for fascination with Arab learning, 75
 - said to have denied the virgin birth, 76
 - said to have described Moses, Christ, and Muhammad as the three impostors, 76
 - said to have hosted Averroës' sons, 76
 - sends questions to philosophers in the Arab world, 76
 - sponsors translations of Averroës, 76
- Gabriel du Préau, 148
- Gaddi, Giovanni, 8
- Galba, Servius Sulpicius, 27
- Galen, 66
- Galgano da Siena, 80
- Galileo Galilei, 146
- applies mathematics to universe envisaged in the Epicurean manner, 290
 - argues universe a book written in language of mathematics, 312
 - call for philosophical liberty echoed by Descartes, Spinoza, and Hume, 146
 - Campanella defends, 145
 - and Campanella, 145
 - condemned by the Inquisition, 146, 169
 - Elie Diodati admires, 301
 - espouses philosophic freedom, 145
 - Hobbes and Descartes indebted to, 313
 - Hobbes meets, 296
 - Mersenne defends his mechanics and astronomy, 299
 - Milton alludes to his fate in *Areopagitica*, 147
 - Milton meets, 146
 - on primary and secondary qualities, 312
- Garasse, *Père Francois*, 148
- anti-libertine polemicist, 300
 - aware libertines practice dissimulation, 150
- Gassendi, *Père Pierre*, member of the *Tétrade*, 146, 302, 306
- attempts to recast Christianity in light of modern science, 300
 - attends meetings at Mersenne's cell, 307
 - author of *Animadversions on the Tenth Book of Diogenes Laertius*
 - Hobbes reads in manuscript, 306
 - befriends Hobbes, 296
 - champions Epicureanism, 296
 - collects all of the sources of Epicurean doctrine, 308
 - helps Peiresc persuade Mersenne to drop anti-libertine polemics, 300
 - Hobbes prefers his work to that of Aristotle, 306
 - likely unbeliever, 300
 - open admirer of Charron, 300
 - philosophical debauch with Patin and Naudé, 305
 - recommends Hobbes's *De cive*, 296
 - sponsors publication of Hobbes's *De cive*, 297
 - takes as working hypothesis Galileo's claim universe book written in language of mathematics, 312
 - veils advocacy of Epicureanism with inadequate critique, 301
 - writes biography of Epicurus, 306
- Genoa, 9
- Gentili, Alberico, 6, 141
- Gentili, Roberto, 147
- Gentillet, Innocent, 32
- asserts Machiavelli traces all order to chance in Epicurean manner, 39
 - regards school of Epicurus as inspiration for Machiavelli, 32
- Gerard of Cremona, 68–69, 74
- Germany, 33, 95, 114, 168, 199, 262
- Gersonides, disciple of Maimonides
- author of first supercommentaries on Averroës, 155
- Milton relies on Biblical commentaries of, 168
- read by Milton, 155
- Giannotti, Donato, 92
- Giles of Rome, 77
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 127
- Good Old Cause, the, 123, 131, 134, 137, 233
- godly republicans, libertine republicans, and Fifth Monarchists join in supporting, 226
 - name adopted by republican opponents of Cromwell's Protectorate, 224
 - slogan of 119, 227

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

376

Index

- Goodgroom, Richard, 226–27
 and Good Old Cause, 227
 may have authored *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, 227
 seeks out Harrison, 227
- Goodman, John, 112
- Gracchi, the, 29
- Gracchus, 232
- Gray's Inn, 186–87, 205–6
 and Nedham, 175
- Greece, 20, 64, 106, 276, 280, 283, 287–88, 310, 325, 335
 accords primacy to political life, 32
 cities made up of warriors and farmers, 52
 classical republicanism in, 45
 republican political practice underpinned by principle of differential moral and political rationality, 109
- Gregory IX, Pope, 78
 accuses Frederick II of unbelief, 76
- Gregory VII, Pope, 95
- Grey of Groby, Lord, 222–23
- Grimani, Domenico, 78
- Grotius, Hugo, 146, 191
 and Hobbes, 313
 in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 Selden writes against, 205
- Guicciardini, Francesco, 92
 attributes irreligion to Machiavelli, 36
 in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 not unfriendly to commerce, 52
- Guicciardini, Luigi, 36
- Gundisalvo, Domingo, 68–69
- Habermas, Jürgen, 182
- Hall, John, 215, 320
- Hardwick Hall. *See* Devonshire, first earl of; Devonshire, second earl of
- Harrington, James, 215, 321–346, 352, 355
 accepts Machiavelli's critique of moral reason and moral imagination, 328
 admires obstacles to ambition constructed in Venice, 332
 argues for elimination of politics within a republic, 331
 author of *Oceana*
 aims at channeling spiritedness in the direction of money-making, 336–37
 aims at empire of laws not men, 342
 aims at establishment of commercial republic, 338
 aims at immortal republic, 339
 aims at promoting industry, 337
 bars divines from legislative assemblies, 333
 bars lawyers from legislative assemblies, 333
 breaks with Machiavelli and seeks to obviate class struggle, 340
 does appeal to popular virtue in context of founding republic, 325
 embraces rotation and the Venetian ballot, 334–35
 even Lord Archon must hide ambition, 335
 favors secret ballot, 342
 insists no need for return to first principles, 345
 legislates bicameralism to duplicate two girls dividing cake, 341
 no notion that polity repository of memory, 335
 outlaws public debate, 333
 polemical intent vis-à-vis Cromwell, 322
 pretense of public participation in framing constitution, 336
 proponent of bicameralism, 341
 provides for Eastian settlement, 334
 publishes under second Protectorate Parliament, 322
 republic tongue-tied, 332–33
 takes as model girls dividing a cake, 341
 tells Lauderdale book occasioned by Cromwell's telling his officers they knew not what a republic was, 321–22
 Toland republishes along with other pamphlets, 354
 translated into French, 355
 aware Athens-Jerusalem marriage allows bitter politics of Greek city to survive within church, 333
 Baxter regards as pagan of a sort, 344
 believes in making use of the present superstition, 343
 coins term priestcraft, 96, 190, 334
 considers civic republic likely to be untenable, 332
 contends England needs agrarian law to stabilize foundation of republic, 331
 denies in *Oceana* shameful to prefer private to public interest, 330
 dismisses highminded presumptions of Milton and proponents of godly rule, 329
 does for classical political science what Hobbes did for classical moral teaching, 327

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

377

- does not have access to crucial passages of Cicero's *De republica*, 328
- echoes Aristotle's claim best democracy predominantly agrarian, 331
- echoes Hobbes's conviction ambition threat to republican stability, 331
- embraces institutional political science of Machiavelli, 326, 329
- endorses Hobbes's account of human nature, liberty, and necessity, 328
- explicitly endorses Machiavelli's claim multitude wiser and more constant than prince, 325
- finds in Venetian institution an antidote to ills of republicanism, 332
- follows Hobbes in founding principles on passions, 329
- friend of Henry Neville, 7
- from gentry family, 320
- gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles I, 321
- helps found the Rota, 350
- ignores dependence of modern prudence and mixed-government theory on Polybius, 324
- insists on need to bridle tongues of clergy, 334
- Jean-Jacques Rutledge champions in France, 355
- joins Hobbes in regarding public deliberation as fatal to republic, 332
- joins Nedham in arguing for citizen soldiers, 343
- known at time as libertine, 344
- landed gentleman and private scholar, 321
- like Hobbes judges regimes solely in terms of peace and security, 330
- likely to have inspired *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, 227
- Ludlow supports, 224
- masquerades as classical republican, 323
- mentioned in *Mercurius Politicus*, 320
- modern Platonist who believes institutions can guarantee coincidence of wisdom and virtue with rule, 326
- modern populist on Machiavellian model, 325
- never asserts man a political animal, 329
- never explores manner in which ordering of public offices and honors constitutes a species of civic moral education, 329
- no less friendly to absolute sovereignty than Hobbes, 334
- not primarily concerned with political participation, 343
- owes more to Hobbes than to Machiavelli, 326
- on pageant of cats and kittens at Rome, 329
- papers over the chasm separating Machiavelli from classical republicans, 324
- persuaded human desire insatiate and reason enslaved to passions, 328
- his *Political Aphorisms* translated into French, 355
- his political architecture fundamental for radical Whigs, 354
- predicts Restoration polity to be in disarray within seven years, 351
- presumes cannot maintain army on tax revenues alone, 330
- presumes self-interested rule the effectual truth of the matter, 328
- publishes pamphlet after pamphlet defending *Oceana*, 350
- reduces reason to interest, 328
- regards civil liberty and liberty of conscience as inseparable, 334
- regards mixed monarchy as wrestling match, 331
- rejects Aristotelian presumption man's capacity for moral virtue and facility for *lógos* makes transcendence of self-interest and public-spiritedness possible, 329
- rejects classical republican principle of moral and political rationality, 325
- repeats Hobbes's claim if reason against man man will oppose reason, 328
- restates Machiavelli's claim lawgiver must presume all men wicked, 328
- restores something superficially similar to classical regime typology on modern foundation, 327
- said by Toland to have been inspired to write by death of Charles I, 321
- saved from oblivion by failure of the restoration, 351
- seeks Biblical sanction for new modes and orders, 343
- seeks for modern republican project the authority of antiquity, 324
- sees self as new Columbus, 346
- self-styled enemy of modern prudence and mixed government, 323–24
- self-styled proponent of ancient prudence and popular government, 323–24
- shares Hobbes's conviction tongue trumpet of war and sedition, 332

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

378

Index

- Harrington, James, (*cont.*)
 silent with regard to chief themes of
 classical republicanism, 326
 speaks of natural aristocracy and natural
 democracy, 339
 steeped in the classics, 326
 suggests absolute monarchy needs
 praetorian guard, 331
 thinks establishment of English republic
 harbinger of world revolution, 343
 thoroughly familiar with the thinking of
 Bacon, 336
 thought too partial to Charles I, 321
 treats distribution of land as determinative
 of regime, 330
 wants to imitate Dutch model in economic
 matters, 337, 338
- Harrison, Thomas, 220, 227
- Haselrig, Sir Arthur, 348–50
 elected to first Protectorate Parliament,
 222
 gives Cromwell a tongue-lashing, 219
 linked to Vane and Neville under
 Protectorate, 226
 object of Cromwell's fury, 217
 opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 refuses to subscribe to the Recognition,
 223
- Heidegger, Martin, 8
- Henrietta Maria, queen of England, 198
- Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, 95
- Heraclitus, 282, 295
 Charron on deliberate obscurity of,
 166–67
- Herbert of Cherbury, Lord, 299
- Hermarchus, 308
- Herodotus, 13
 contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 exponent of classical republicanism, 26,
 106
 not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
- Hiero of Syracuse, 8
- Hippocrates
 and the humors, 49
- Hobbes, Thomas, 212, 245–320, 330, 332,
 339, 346–47, 351–52, 355
 admires Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*
 aware of atomism recommended,
 294
 admires Cartesian geometry, 313
 admires Diodorus Siculus, 308
 admires Thucydides, Machiavelli, and
 Bacon as students of power politics,
 282
 admires Thucydides, 278
 advocates Erastian church-settlement, 334
- ample evidence for familiarity with
 Machiavelli, 263
 ample opportunity to read Lucretius after
 Oxford, 293
 appears to have fleshed out one of the
 discourses in *Horæ Subsecivæ* with
 material from Bacon manuscript, 251
 appears to have written three of the
 discourses published in *Horæ
 Subsecivæ*, 251
 argues inherent contentiousness of
 republican politics, 331
 as anti-Christian as Micanzio and Sarpi,
 270
 as student reads accounts of overseas
 exploration and studies maps of earth
 and heavens, 293
 assimilates Machiavelli's internal critique
 of Epicureanism, 309
 attempts a philosophical system, 312
 attends meetings at Mersenne's cell,
 307
 attributes to future second earl of
 Devonshire an eagerness to apply his
 learning to politics, 262
 author of *An Historical Narration
 Concerning Heresy, and the
 Punishment Thereof*
 chooses epigraph from Lucretius'
 critique of religious fear, 307
 author of *Behemoth*
 hostile to classical republicanism of
 Cicero, Seneca, Cato, and Aristotle,
 274
 original pirated edition has epigraphs
 drawn from Lucretius, 307
 vehemently hostile to Aristotle and
 disciples, 275
 author of *De cive*, 251, 296
 aims at political science on
 mathematical model, 314
 applies to Rome Cato's denunciation of
 kings as rapacious beasts, 273
 argument foreshadowed in introductory
 matter to Thucydides translation,
 278, 280
 asserts tongue trumpet of war and
 sedition, 332
 blames ancient faction and modern
 sectarianism on trust in *lógos*, 275
 calls tongue of man trumpet of war and
 sedition, 276, 289
 denounces Plato, Plutarch, and other
 classical Republicans, 274
 Descartes on, 314
 fails to attack Machiavelli, 276

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

379

- grounds argument in political psychology, 328
- indebted to Epicureans, 309
- published during English civil war, 275
- second edition's publication sponsored by Mersenne and Gassendi, 296–97, 300
- Sorbière arranges publication of second edition, 296
- Sorbière oversees publication of second edition, 314
- Sorbière translates into French, 251
- vehemently hostile to Aristotle and disciples, 275
- written in Latin to establish reputation as philosopher and present political science, 315
- author of *Historia ecclesiastica*
 - denounces Cicero, Seneca, and Tacitus for following Aristotle, 274
 - vehemently hostile to Aristotle and disciples, 275
- author of *Leviathan*, 264, 274, 277
 - aims at political science on mathematical model, 314
 - argues prudential case for absolute monarchy and elimination of politics, 331
 - argument foreshadowed in introductory matter to Thucydides translation, 280
 - attentive to Thucydides' account of manner in which language loses purchase in revolutionary situation, 287–88
 - blames ancient faction and modern sectarianism on trust in *lógos*, 275
 - blames failure of ancient science on metaphysical quest, 311
 - blames reading Greek and Latin authors for disorder in Europe, 274
 - compares Papacy with the kingdom of the fairies, 271
 - crafted so as to be useful to the Rump Parliament, 316
 - crafts book to ease return home, 316
 - declares war on confederacy of deceivers employing pious frauds, 272
 - denies that monarchical subjects less free than republican citizens, 277
 - describes Roman Catholicism as ghost of Roman empire sitting crowned on its grave, 271
 - dismisses republican liberty as chimera, 277
 - draws on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* for his account of laughter, 285
 - draws on Thucydides' account of moral anarchy produced by revolution at Corcyra, 310
 - echoes Athenians of Thucydides speaking at Sparta, 286
 - elaborates internal critique of Machiavelli's critique of morality, 316–20
 - and the Engagement, 319
 - his account of state of nature inspired by Thucydides' description of early Greece, 283, 319
 - endorses much desiring and much enjoying, 310
 - expelled from royal court at Saint, Germain, 320
 - explores epistemological consequences of rejection of Epicurean *ataraxía*, 310
 - first book in which he attacks Machiavelli, 315
 - grounds argument in political psychology, 328
 - hostile to pretensions of Anglican Bishops and Presbyterian clergy alike, 271
 - hostile to tumults, 274
 - inadvertently opens way for acceptance of Machiavelli's republicanism, 320
 - on inconstant signification of moral terms, 310
 - inspired by Thucydides' depiction of the fragility of political order, 318
 - joins Bacon in rejecting all ontology and metaphysics, 311
 - less sanguine than in *Horæ Subsecivæ* about demise of Roman Catholicism, 271
 - makes unmistakable attack on Machiavelli and other admirers of tumults, 276
 - man as tool-making animal, 311
 - Matthew Wren recognizes Harrington's debt to, 326
 - no friend to unpleasing priests, 271
 - overtly royalist, 316
 - paraphrases passage from Descartes's *Discourse on Method*, 314
 - presentation copy given Charles II, 271
 - produces masterpiece of rhetorical obfuscation, 316
 - radically narrows own former definition of liberty, 277
 - recapitulates Machiavellian critique of classical republicanism, 276
 - regards liberty of citizen as snare and delusion, 277

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

380

Index

- Hobbes, Thomas (*cont.*)
- regards state of nature as obstacle to scientific progress, 284
 - rejects notion of, 277
 - restates Baconian attack on the Aristotelian underpinnings of Christian theology, 276
 - restates critique of priestcraft found in *Horæ Subsecivæ*, 270–71
 - restates Lucretius' critique of religious fear, 307
 - restates Machiavelli's claim lawgiver must suppose all men wicked, 317
 - seeks Biblical sanction for new modes and orders, 343
 - seeks to elicit order from moral anarchy, 310
 - seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
 - third and fourth parts aimed at defanging Christianity, 272
 - thirteenth chapter indebted to Epicureans, 308
 - traces moral anarchy to restlessness of human desire, 310
 - treats reason as purely instrumental, 310–11
 - unmistakeable critique of Machiavelli, 274
 - vehemently hostile to Aristotle and disciples, 275
 - author of *The Elements of Law*, 191, 278, 311
 - aims at political science on mathematical model, 314
 - argument foreshadowed in introductory matter to Thucydides translation, 278, 280
 - bases argument on political psychology, 328
 - blames ancient faction and modern sectarianism on trust in *lógos*, 275
 - circulation of manuscript, 191
 - drafted in English to help Newcastle defend Strafford, Laud, and Charles I, 315
 - draws on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* for his account of laughter, 285
 - evidences vehement hostility to Aristotle, 275
 - exploited in second edition of Nedham's *Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*, 191
 - fails to attack Machiavelli, 276
 - Newcastle encourages completion, 275, 312
 - preface contrasts dogmatical and mathematical learning, 314
 - still willing to endorse Aristotle's notion that democracy's end is liberty, 277
 - aware of Bacon's denunciation of Plato and Aristotle, 295
 - aware of Bacon's preference for Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius, 295
 - aware of Bacon's treatment of forms as figments of human mind, 295
 - Bacon appears to have inspired his interest in Thucydides, 278
 - Bacon exercises profound influence on, 245
 - becomes secretary to future second earl of Devonshire, 249
 - befriended by Mersenne, 297
 - believes ambition can undermine republican stability, 331
 - believes possession of *lógos* renders men not more but less political than ants and the bees, 276
 - blames civil war on influence of classical republicanism, 13
 - born near Malmesbury, 245
 - catalogues library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 - charges Athens-Jerusalem marriage allows bitter politics of Greek city to survive within church, 333
 - claims Neville collaborates with Harrington in *Oceana*, 322
 - close to Gassendi, 296
 - defends Thucydides against charge of obscurity, 285
 - describes Cicero, Seneca, and Tacitus as followers of Aristotle, 31
 - doubtful that ever a devotee of Aristotle and Cicero, 274
 - draws on Epicurean account of origins of civil society, 308
 - draws on Marcellinus' biography for his *Life and History of Thucydides*, 281
 - educated at Oxford, 245
 - emphasizes pulpit over the press, 181, 182
 - entertains as hypothesis Democritean and Epicurean claim universe matter in motion, 295
 - epitomizes Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, 285
 - eschews mentioning Machiavelli by name, 263
 - exploration of Epicurean influence on, 291

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

381

- extends to *respublica Christiana* his
 - critique of republican
 - contentiousness, 289
- falls under Bacon's sway, 250
- favors absolute sovereignty, 334
- foresees civil war as early as 1629, 14, 117
- founds principles on passions, 329
- frequently accused of Epicureanism, 292
- friendly with Payne, 295
- gentleman servitor, 321
- goes into exile when Long Parliament meets, 289, 296
- and Grotius, 313
- Harrington accepts Hobbes's
 - redeployment of Machiavelli's critique of morality as its foundation, 327
- Harrington agrees that political problem can be fully solved by institutions, 345
- Harrington aims to disprove contention that civil disorder endemic within republics, 339
- Harrington echoes belief that political arrangements to be judged in light of peace and security, 330
- Harrington echoes his claim if reason against man man will oppose reason, 328
- Harrington no less indebted to Bacon than Hobbes, 337
- Harrington nowhere cites his articulation of the Aristotelian premise underpinning classical republicanism, 325
- Harrington profoundly indebted to, 326
- Harrington tacitly embraces his rejection of Aristotle's conviction that man's capacity for moral virtue and facility for *lógos* makes transcendence of self-interest and public-spiritedness possible, 329
- has access to Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Boccalini, Montaigne, Bodin, Botero, Lipsius, Grotius, Sarpi, and de Dominis at Hardwick Hall, 261
- has little use for Cartesian metaphysics, 313
- helps translate final edition of Bacon's *Essays* into Latin, 250, 256
- hero of early discourses on Rome becomes villain of *Leviathan*, 316
- hired to tutor future second earl of Devonshire, 245
- hostile to Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics* but friendly to his *Rhetoric*, 285
- humanists of day read Lucretius, 293
- his physics indebted to Epicurus, 292
- his physics of interest to libertines, 306
- his political project subordinate to Bacon's scientific project, 259
- his political speculation takes place within Baconian frame, 248–49
- his pupil and eventual patron mentioned in Bacon's last will and testament, 248
- his pupil puts Micanzio in touch with Bacon, 248
- import for him of Bacon's transformation of Machiavelli *virtù*, 259
- in all his political books aims to overturn Aristotle's *Politics* and *Nicomachean Ethics*, 315
- in describing future second earl of Devonshire's interests echoes Bacon's description of Machiavelli, 261
- in youth likely to have shared disdain for classical political philosophers evidenced by Bacon and Machiavelli, 275
- interest in Epicureanism, 306, 308
- interest in Gassendi's work on Epicurus, 306
- intimates men act well only under compulsion, 46
- involvement with Virginia Company and Somers Islands Company, 262
- and the Jacobean court, 262
- joins Milton in favoring philosophical freedom, 272
- juvenilia* reveal kinship with Milton and Nedham, 272
- likely author of *A Discourse of Lawes*, 251, 262
- describes anarchy in terms foreshadowing state of nature, 273
- draws on unpublished manuscript of Bacon, 273
- likely author of *A Discourse of Rome*
 - analyzes priestcraft practiced in Christian Rome, 268–69
 - applies Averroist analysis of *consuetudo* to Christian Rome, 268
 - aware Rome eventually rich, 267
 - echoes the Baconian critique of superstition, 268
 - follows Machiavelli in attributing Roman greatness to Rome's institutions, 267
 - imitates Machiavelli's meditation on Rome's topography, 266
 - mocks the Incarnation, 267

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

382

Index

- Hobbes, Thomas (*cont.*)
- ostentatiously sidesteps drawing from antiquity's example Baconian conclusions concerning atheism and superstition, 267
 - on Papal revenues, 270
 - regards pagan Rome as marvel, 266
 - religious skeptic, 282
 - shares Machiavelli's conviction that Christianity on the rocks, 269
 - stops short of following Machiavelli in explicitly tracing modern degeneracy to Christianity, 267
 - travelogue with ruminations on ancient Rome's greatness and Roman Catholic priestcraft, 262
- likely author of *A Discourse upon the Beginning of Tacitus*, 262
- celebrates achievements of Augustus, 316
 - demonstrates that Augustus the very model of a new Machiavellian prince, 264–65
 - describes Augustus as master in the art of government, 265
 - describes Augustus in characteristic Machiavellian fashion as new prince, 264
 - displays sympath for species of liberty found in free state, 264
 - evidences academic admiration for republican Rome, 267
 - interested in Augustan settlement, 264
 - meditates in a Machiavellian manner on the final destruction of the Roman republic and the establishment of the Roman principate, 262
 - mourns loss of liberty at Rome in Machiavellian manner, 265
 - no friend to tumults, 273
 - praises Rome without celebrating political deliberation and oratory, 275
 - treats Augustus in manner compatriots will interpret Cromwell, 264
- likely contributor to *Horæ Subsecivæ*, 251, 262–272
- analysis of priestcraft may owe something to Sarpi, 270
 - debt to Machiavelli obvious, 263
 - follows Bacon in emphasizing Tacitus on Augustus, 263
 - may well have read Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* beforehand, 270
 - never a friend to tumults, 273
 - likely to have supervised second earl of Devonshire's composition of *Discourse against Flatterie* and essays, 250
- Lucretius influences, 291
- Lucretius one of few authors he mentions, 292
- Machiavelli and Bacon guide development, 263
- Machiavelli anticipates claim reason slave of passions, 43
- Machiavelli anticipates conviction fear the passion to be reckoned on, 44, 47
- made a member of the Virginia Company, 262
- made to study Aristotle at Oxford, 292
- makes Bacon's project his own, 255
- makes case for philosophical freedom, 170
- Marten interested in, 207
- may have adopted from Descartes introspection as means for establishing the foundations for political science, 313
- meets Micanzio, 246
- Mercurius Politicus* mentions among wits of the commonwealth and crew of *Oceana*, 320
- Mersenne befriends, 296
- modern Platonist who believes institutions can guarantee coincidence of wisdom and virtue with rule, 326
- never shared Machiavelli's taste for savagery, 273
- Newcastle urges to write *Elements of Law*, 275
- not a mere adherent of Epicureanism, 309
- not assigned Lucretius at Oxford, 291
- nowhere claims man a political animal, 274
- openly rejects classical regime typology, 327
- owes his political psychology to Thucydides, 286
- papers over the chasm separating Machiavelli from the classical republicans, 324
- Patin treats in France, 305
- persuaded human desire insatiate and reason enslaved to passions, 328
- philosophical practitioner of *kalām*, 272
- plagiarized in *Mercurius Politicus* without acknowledgement of source, 212
- possible debt to Sarpi manuscript *Treatise of Matters Beneficiary*, 270
- prefers Gassendi's work to that of Aristotle, 306
- presumes self-interested rule the effectual truth of the matter, 328

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

383

- probably exposed to anti-scholasticism of humanists at Oxford, 293
- probably read Lucretius on the sly at Oxford, 292
- profits from links with Mersenne and Gassendi, 296–97
- profoundly influenced by Epicureanism, 291–312
- profoundly influenced by French libertines, 297–312
- Puritans hostile to, 212
- reads Descartes' *Discourse on Method*, 313
- reads Euclid, 312
- reads extensively in Greek and Latin authors while at Hardwick Hall, 293
- reads Gassendi's work in draft, 308
- recommends that friends read Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*, 252
- regards scientific knowledge as hypothetical, 311
- reject classical political science, 328
- rejects all metaphysical claims, 311
- rejects classical republican principle of moral and political rationality, 325
- rejects notion of *Summum Bonum*, 310
- relations with Descartes strained, 314
- reports future second earl of Devonshire's interest in history and civil knowledge, 261
- retains familiarity with Bacon's writings, 251
- second earl of Devonshire's essays written in imitation of Bacon survives in handwriting of Hobbes, 249
- secondary literature rarely mentions Lucretius, 291
- sees self as new Columbus, 346
- sensitivity to fragility of civil society evident in *juvenilia*, 282
- silent on Lucretius in autobiographical works, 291
- Sorbière describes as survival from Bacon, 251
- Sorbière praises his liberation from madness of religion, 307
- spends two decades serving future second earl of Devonshire, 261
- and the state, 30
- steeped in the classics, 245, 326
- subject of libertine discussion, 306
- supervises second earl of Devonshire's composition of Baconian essays, 246
- takes monarchist turn, 272
- takes second earl of Devonshire on grand tour, 246
- takes the future second earl of Devonshire on tour of France, Germany, and Italy, 262
- tells Aubrey of Baconian connection, 250
- thinking takes a monarchical turn, 277–78
- translates Homer in old age, 245
- translates into English Micanzio's letters to second earl of Devonshire, 247
- translator of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* evidences anticlerical animus, 270
- translator of Thucydides, 245, 278–290
- abandons republican yearnings of his youth, 289
- abandons youthful Taciticism and admiration for Machiavellian republicanism, 280
- alert to connection between anarchy and motives Athenians at Sparta attribute to selves, 286
- alert to psychological consequences of the plague, 286–87
- already worried about dissolution of government, 280
- attends to suggestions in text that mutual fear and equal necessity might provide foundation for justice, 289
- attentive to the passions, 284
- betrays own preoccupations, 280
- blames obscurity of Thucydides on depth of penetration into passions, 285
- broods over his account of the revolutionary process, 287
- commissions frontispiece from Thomas Cecill with political message, 281
- compares with Anaxagoras and hints at atheism of, 281–82
- compares with Homer, Aristotle, and Demosthenes, 278
- deploys him against classical republicanism, 279–80
- dislikes savagery, 273
- fascinated by Athenian speech at Sparta, 285
- indebted to him for his political psychology, 284
- influenced by impeachment of Bacon, assassination of Buckingham, and struggle over Petition of Right, 280
- learns to think human tongue a trumpet of war and sedition, 281
- made sensitive to ambition's contribution to anarchy, 288
- made sensitive to revolution's contribution to moral anarchy, 289

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

384

Index

- Hobbes, Thomas (*cont.*)
- owes his account of state of nature to Thucydides' description of early Greece, 283
 - profoundly influenced by Thucydides, 278–290
 - publication a deliberate political intervention, 280
 - reads him as critic of *Realpolitik* from within, 282
 - reads him with care Machiavelli lavished on Lucretius, 279
 - secondary literature on intellectual debt, 281
 - sees in account of Greek revolutions dissolution of the English monarchy, 282–83
 - sees in post-Periclean Athens Stuart England, 283
 - sees Pericles as near monarch, 283, 289
 - values Greek historian's sensitivity to fragility of civil society, 282
 - writes *Life and History of Thucydides*, 278
 - treasures Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*, 254
 - turns to physics of Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius after death of second earl of Devonshire, 295
 - tutors and befriends second earl of Devonshire, 246
 - tutors third earl of Devonshire and takes on continental tour, 296
 - understands the implications of Bacon's argument vis-à-vis Christianity, 259
 - unlike Bacon takes as working hypothesis Galileo's claim universe book written in language of mathematics, 312–13
 - unsatisfied with Aristotelian-Ciceronian account of origins of civil society, 308
 - unsympathetic at Oxford with Aristotelian logic and physics, 292
 - unwittingly removes obstacle to Machiavellian republicanism, 244
 - vehemence against classical republican authors not evident in *juvenilia*, 275
 - visits Bacon on behalf of first earl of Devonshire, 249
 - Waller describes as enemy of priestcraft, 307
 - what he does for classical moral teaching Harrington does for classical political science, 327
 - work on optics of vision influence understanding of human nature as subjectivity, 313
 - Holland, 192, 204, 234, 338
 - Hollis, Thomas, 353
 - Holy Roman Empire, the, 192
 - Homer, 293
 - author of *The Iliad*, 245, 335
 - Hobbes translates, 270
 - author of *The Odyssey*, 245
 - Hobbes translates, 270
 - elderly Hobbes translates, 245
 - singled out by young Hobbes as greatest poet, 278
 - Hooker, Richard, 106
 - indebted to Marsilius of Padua, 114
 - and Milton, 138
 - Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), 194, 197
 - Horæ Subsecivæ*, 262–272. *See also* Devonshire, second earl of; Hobbes, Thomas
 - essays and *Discourse against Flatterie* written by future second earl of Devonshire, 250
 - Hobbes appears to have authored three of the discourses, 262
 - Hobbes likely contributor to, 273
 - Observations and Discourses*, 251
 - ten essays in draft bereft of references reflecting continental tour of Hobbes and second earl of Devonshire, 246
 - published anonymously, 250
 - three of the discourses may have been written by Hobbes, 250–51, 277, 278, 295
 - Huguenots, 111
 - humanists, 33
 - admirers of pagan Greece and Rome, 20
 - civic, 105
 - hostile to political discord, 50
 - disdainful of scholastic logic, 293
 - exponents of classical republicanism, 26
 - more favorable to commerce than the ancients, 52
 - Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 230, 322
 - attacks quasi-monarchical status accorded Cromwell under *Instrument of Government*, 223
 - its circulation prevented by Thurloe, 224
 - drafted and circulated by Wildman, 223, 321
 - restatement of themes sounded by Lilburne, 234
 - signatories likely to be murmuring officers mentioned by Harrington, 321
 - Hume, David, 352
 - attends to Harrington's *Oceana*, 354
 - calls for philosophical liberty, 146

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

385

- Machiavelli anticipates claim reason slave of passions, 43
 speaks of Epicurean or Hobbist as if synonymous, 292
- Independent Whig, The*, 352
- Inquisition, the, 146–47
 active in Counter-Reformation Italy, 150
- Instrument of Government*. *See also*
 Cromwell, Oliver; Lambert, John;
 Protectorate, the
 accords Lord Protector quasi-monarchical status, 223
 and Cromwell's four "fundamentals," 222
 first Protectorate Parliament not inclined to ratify, 222
 founding document of the Protectorate, 222
 meant to be paramount constitution for Cromwell's Protectorate, 222
 meant to be unalterable, 222
 Nedham defends in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 231
 not ratified by first Protectorate Parliament, 225
- Ireton, Clement, 227
- Ireton, Henry, 349
 drafts series of petitions on behalf of the army, 223
 Lilburne deploys the arguments of his pamphlets against Cromwell, 234
 son-in-law of Cromwell, 223
- Islam, 64, 76, 149, 153, 157–58
 its all-comprehending religious law, 63
 Averroës says wise men of Alexandria adhere to, 65
 Charron's critique, 166
 and the doctrine of the creation, 73
 dominated by *mutakallimūn*, 64
 House of, 62
 and *kalām*, 64
 and Machiavelli, 100
 mosque replaces pagan *ekklēsia*, 62
 Muhammad as founder of, 86
- Isocrates, 13, 23
 contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
 exponent of differential moral and political rationality, 24
 links origins of civil society to nature's provision to man of a capacity for rational speech, 55
 Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
 not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
 Italy, 9, 58, 67, 82, 85, 93–95, 106, 146–47, 150, 151, 169, 242–43, 258, 262, 266, 293, 301, 308
 land of libertinism, 148–51, 155
- James I, 133, 219
 Bacon serves, 246
 Hobbes witnesses pillorying of his ministers in Parliament, 282
 inept at parliamentary management, 225
 sponsors publication of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* in Italian, Latin, English, and French, 210
- Jean Sarius. *See* La Mothe le Vayer, François de
- Jesus Christ, 76–77, 86, 90–91, 97, 101, 122, 129, 131–32, 139, 166, 171, 270, 304
 an unarmed prophet ostentatiously ignored by Machiavelli, 86
 asserts universe created, 36
 Bacon's critique of, 257
 law of, 65
 Machiavelli acknowledges the power of his example, 98
- Milton's, 129–30
 Messiah, 129
 models self on Job and Socrates, 173
 prefers Job and Socrates to Alexander the Great, Scipio, Pompey, and Caesar, 130, 136
 putatively described as impostor by Frederick II, 76
 reverence for provides foundations for priestly hegemony, 91
 and the three imposters, 299
 urged by Milton's Satan to liberate the Romans from their imperial yoke, 132
- Job, 130, 136
 Maimonides on, 71
 his outlook incompatible with that of Socrates, 173
- John of Jandun, 163
 alludes to passage in which Averroës applies political psychology and sociology in Plato's *Republic* to world of revealed religion, 162
 draws on Averroës' account of the relationship between religion and philosophy in his commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, 77
 restates political psychology and sociology that Alfarabi and Averroës draw from Plato's *Republic*, 163
- John, Saint, 93

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

386

Index

- Jonson, Ben
author of *The Staple of News*, 181
explores republican themes, 10
- Judaism, 67, 71, 153, 173
Charron's critique, 166
and the doctrine of the creation, 73
and *kalām*, 64
and Machiavelli, 100
- Julius II, Pope, 89
kalām, 62, 66, 69
Alfarabi and successors regard as
Christian invention, 64
Alfarabi subordinates to political science,
69
Avicenna on the impolitic practice of, 70
Gerard of Cremona translates as *ars
elocutionis*, 74
Harrington as enlightened practitioner, 343
Maimonides as philosophical practitioner
of, 71
Milton and Hobbes as philosophical
practitioners, 272
Milton enlightened practitioner, 174
philosophical practitioners deploy
dialectic, rhetoric, and poetry, 160
said to produce a *consuetude* incompatible
with philosophy, 73
its study an obstacle to philosophy, 74
- Kant, Immanuel
on Bacon, 252
compared with Epicurus, 41
takes epigraph for *Critique of Pure Reason*
from Bacon, 252
- Knox, John, 111
- Kortholt, Christian, 299
- L'Estrange, Roger, 125
on Nedham, 183
admires Nedham's craft, 183
on the influence of Nedham's
newsbooks, 183
urges Nedham be indicted for treason,
183
Royalist penman wary of the printing
press, 183
- La Mothe le Vayer, François de, member of
the *Tétrade*, 146, 303, 305–6
appointment as preceptor to duc d'Anjou
shocks friend, 305
associated with Gassendi, 301
author of *Dialogues Composed in
Imitation of the Ancients*, 302–3
echoes Charron's attack on mental
captivity, 304
Epicurean ethos, 306
links religion with bloodshed in manner
of Epicurus and Lucretius, 304
openly libertine, 303–4
propagates thinking of Averroës,
Epicurus, and Lucretius, 304
quotes Bacon's contention atheism
superior to superstition, 305
quotes Charron's claim all religion
shocks common sense, 304
signals debt to Epicurus, 303
treats religion as a threat to philosophy
and science, 304
uses coded language of the libertines,
305
disciple of Charron, 301
indebted to Averroism, 302
Patin regards as atheist, 305
- Lambert, John, Major General, 350–51
authors *Instrument of Government*, 222
- Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury,
315
- Lauderdale, second earl of, John Maitland,
321
- Lawson, George, 114
- Lawson, John, 227
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, 106
- Lenthall, William, 186
- Leo X, Pope (Giovanni de' Medici), 92, 263
- Leone Ebreo. *See* Abravanel, Judah ben Isaac
- Leucippus, 295
- Levellers, the, 12, 192, 207, 234, 235, 241
agitate against the rule of the Rump
Parliament, 188
Agreement of the People, original, 223
Agreement of the People, second, 208,
214, 223–24
army presents their second *Agreement of
the People* to Long Parliament, 214
cease to be a threat to the Rump, 213
develop radical potential in Henry Parker's
argument, 108
former associates Wildman and
Maximilien Petty attend the Rota, 350
mutinies fail, 213
Nedham accuses of imprudence, 194
Nedham and Marten flirt with early on,
206
Nedham close to, 234
Nedham does not attack in *The
Excellencie of a Free State*, 235
Nedham friendly to, 212
Nedham in *Mercurius Politicus* suppresses
earlier criticism, 233
Nedham in royalist days castigates, 195
Nedham less democratic than, 241
Nedham makes common cause with, 213

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

387

- Nedham of similar outlook, 232
 Nedham suppresses critique of, 213
 Nedham's critique of, 194, 213
 Putney Debates, 223
 read Milton's *Defense of the English People* as a reproof to the Rump, 234
 suspect Cromwell of monarchical design, 316
 their critique of the Rump Parliament gains in plausibility, 214
 warn against trusting in the Rump Parliament, 213
 Wildman contributes to agitation in favor of, 223
 Wildman defends second *Agreement of the People*, 208
- libertinism, 148–168, 297–312, 316, 333. *See also* France; Italy
 and Charron, 156
 reputation of Marten, Chaloner, May, Wildman, Neville, and Sidney, 207
 widespread presence in early modern Europe asserted by Condorcet, 150
 widespread presence in early modern Europe proven by *Theophrastus redivivus*, 150
- Lilburne, John, 234
 anticipates arguments of *A Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 234
 aware Nedham friendly, 234
 charges Cromwell with betraying revolution, 234
 co-authors *Vox Plebis* with Nedham, 213
 collaborates with Nedham, 213
 exploits Ireton's pamphlets and declarations, 234
 friendly with Nedham, 213, 234
 Nedham attends to Lilburne's attempt to have banishment annulled, 234
 Nedham prints three addresses sent to Cromwell, 234
 praises editorials in *Mercurius Politicus*, 234
 right to express confidence in Nedham, 235
 shrewd pamphleteer, 234
- Lipsius, Justus, 261
- Livia, wife of Augustus Caesar, 31
- Livy, Titus, 13, 21, 28, 52, 195
 as read by Machiavelli, 21
 contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 deliberately misread by Machiavelli, 21
 denounces multitude as vain and inconstant, 53
 deployed by Streater against Cromwell, 221
- exponent of classical republicanism, 26
 hostile to political discord, 50
 Machiavelli acknowledges debt to, 39
 Machiavelli ultimately rejects his authority, 53–54, 104
 Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
 not as great inspiration for Machiavelli as Lucretius, 32
 puts speech in mouth of Camillus, 87
 read by Machiavelli *sensatamente*, 99
 thinks classical republicanism compatible with monarchy, 28
- Locke, John, 52, 351
 author of *Two Treatises of Government*, 108
 compared with Milton, 109
 regarded by Peter Laslett as Machiavelli's philosopher, 52
- lógos*. *See also* classical republicanism; *mésón, tò; ratio et oratio*
- Bacon subordinates to the mechanical and industrial arts, 259
 constitutes the middle ground within a classical republic, 26
 foundation for classical republicanism, 23, 25, 27, 276
 fulfillment of human capacity depends on education in moral and intellectual virtue, 29
- Harrington nowhere acknowledges as premise of classical republicanism, 325
 Harrington rejects classical republican doctrine of, 329
 Hobbes nowhere identifies as distinctive human feature, 274
 Hobbes rejects Aristotelian and Ciceronian account of, 308
 Hobbes repudiates classical republican doctrine of, 318
 linked to political *práxis*, 62
 loss of Roman *res publica* ends practice, 27
 mature Hobbes traces ancient faction and modern sectarianism to trust in, 275
 survives as *kalām*, 62
- Long Parliament, the, 14, 110–11, 124, 125, 143, 205, 207, 214, 218, 349, 350
 defended by Henry Parker, 108
 digression to Milton's *History of Britain* condemns, 124
 Lenthall Speaker of, 186
 Leveller critique, 12
 Levellers suspicious of, 233

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

388

Index

- Long Parliament, the (*cont.*)
 members elected for redress of grievances, 14
 members recoil in horror at prospect of regicide, 15
 Milton long critical of, 123
 Milton praises, then condemns, 126
 Milton's critique, 125
 paralyzed in face of monarchy defiant in defeat, 12
 Pride's Purge of, 16
 reconstituted in 1660, 116–17, 119
 secluded members return, 351
 its sitting induces Hobbes to go into exile, 289
 and *tò méson*, 26
 votes own dissolution, 351
- Lorenzo de' Medici, 32, 33, 80, 93
 hires Averroists at the Florentine Studio, 80
 tries to hire Averroist Nicoletto Vernia to teach at the Florentine Studio, 80
- Louis XIV, 202
- Lucan (Marcus Annaeus Lucanus), 208
- Lucca, 9, 146, 277
- Lucian, 181
- Lucretius Carus, Titus, author of *De rerum natura*, 32–33, 35, 40, 42, 59, 140, 292
 analyzes moral and political consequences of fear of death, 40
 articulates critique of Providence, 35
 asserts mixed bodies decay, 37
 asserts simple bodies eternal, 37
 attacks high-minded presumptions of classical republicans, 40
 attacks political hopes as illusions, 40
 Bacon and Hobbes reject metaphysical claims, 311
 Bacon applies his critique of religion to Christian wars of religion, 260
 Bacon emphasizes critique of religion, 294
 Bacon open in admiration, 294
 Bacon prefers to Aristotle, 294
 Bacon regards as atheist, 260
 Bacon restates his diatribe against religion, 260
 Bacon's physics indebted to, 294
 his critique of religion applied to Christianity by Charron, 168
 critique of religion quoted by Charron, 167
 defends contemplative life, 41
 defends moderation, 41
 denounces religion as inspiration for monstrous deeds, 167
- deployed against religion by La Mothe le Vayer, 304
 English libertines familiar with, 210
 exercises profound influence on Hobbes, 291–312
 exercises profound influence on Machiavelli, 32–45, 57
 first published in 33, 105
 Florentine fascination with, 33
 Hobbes a disciple of, 290
 Hobbes draws on account of origins of civil society, 308
 Hobbes entertains his metaphysics as hypothesis, 295
 Hobbes probably reads on the sly at Oxford, 292
 Hobbes restates his critique of religious fear, 307
 Hobbes uses critique of religious fear as epigraph for *An Historical Narration Concerning Heresy, and the Punishment Thereof*, 307
 in rejecting his vision of the good life Machiavelli follows through on the logic of his cosmology, 43
 influences Milton, 141
 influences Sarpi, 140, 168
 inspires Machiavelli's repudiation of religion and rejection of natural teleology, 35
 La Mothe le Vayer propagates, 304
 Machiavelli breaks with, 40
 Machiavelli copies, 45
 Machiavelli draws on his anthropology, 36
 Machiavelli draws on his physics to describe human nature, 42
 Machiavelli embraces his doctrine of chance, 39
 Machiavelli intimates what he owes, 39
 Machiavelli rejects his vision of the good life, 41
 Machiavelli rejects philosophical resignation espoused by, 45
 Machiavelli silent on his theology, 41
 Machiavelli works out the logic implicit in, 36
 Machiavelli's republicanism consistent with logic underpinning, 45
 Machiavelli argues with argument against creation of the universe, 37
 makes claim to originality, 39
 Milton appropriates his analysis of the power of religious fear, 140
 Milton aware of reasons for banning, 140
 Milton recommends that the young be made to read, 140

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

389

- not assigned at Oxford, 291
opening lines of second book twice quoted
by Bacon, 294
perhaps read by Hobbes in time as tutor,
293
his physics and his account of the
disposition of the *vulgus* provide
foundation for Machiavelli's
description of human nature, 37
profoundly influences Machiavelli, 32
provides epigraphs for original pirated
edition of Hobbes's *Behemoth*, 307
provides faithful account of Epicurean
doctrine, 35
rarely mentioned in secondary literature
on Hobbes, 291
read and copied by Machiavelli, 34
read by English humanists, 293
read by Machiavelli with great care, 279
regarded as a source of atheism, 291
regards atoms making up universe as
eternal, 36
role in discussions in Mersenne's cell,
306
Sorbière applies to Hobbes his praise of
Epicurus' liberation from madness of
religion, 307
on the malign influence exercised by
religious fears, 91
universe constituted by matter in motion,
295
unmentioned in Hobbes's
autobiographical works, 291
his use of *imago* inspires Machiavelli's use
of *immaginazione*, 20
work discovered in 1417 by Poggio
Bracciolini, 33
Ludlow, Edmund, Lieutenant General, 345,
348–49
associates self with Neville and
Harrington, 224
depicts Vane as Puritan, 345
godly republican at odds with libertine
republicans, 345
imprisoned for circulating *Humble
Petition of Several Colonels of the
Army* in Ireland, 224
may have authored *A Copy of a Letter
from an Officer of the Army*, 227
proposes permanent senate, 118
Toland edits, abbreviates, rewrites, distorts
his memoirs, 216
Luther, Martin, 111
putative debt to Marsilius of Padua, 113
his Reformation insufficient for Milton,
148
Mably, Gabriel Bonnot, abbé de, 354
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Lord
on Bacon, 252
Kant anticipates his opinion of Bacon, 252
Macerata, Francesco, 79
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 5, 7–8, 11, 19, 84,
100, 102, 119, 129, 135, 141, 174,
195, 209, 233, 243, 256, 262, 266,
280, 315, 328, 330, 336, 339, 344,
346–47, 354
according to Bacon and Hobbes mistakes
homo faber for *homo politicus*, 311
admirers embrace Tacitus, 238
admires moral dexterity, 20
adopts Epicureanism as working
hypothesis, 38
advocates novel republicanism, 21
advocates reading histories and the Bible
sensatamente, 57
amoral in orientation, 31
ample evidence Hobbes considered, 263
anticipated by Lucretius, 32
anticipates Hobbes's and Hume's
contention reason is the slave of the
passions, 43
anticipates Hobbes's claim fear the passion
to be reckoned on, 44
appropriates and transforms theory of
humors, 49
argues men act well only under
compulsion, 46
as critic of moral psychology of Lucretius
and Epicureans, 290
as political Epicurean, 258
asserts primacy of foreign policy, 119
attacks religion, 58
author of *Discourses on Livy*, 5–8, 14, 35,
91, 102, 119, 243
advocates a new species of
republicanism, 118
advocates public accusations, 238
aims at establishing new species of
politeia, 56
alluded to in *The Prince*, 7
appears initially to have lacked access to
first six books of Tacitus' *Annals*, 263
applies language of Epicurean physics to
question of generation and demise of
religions, 98
argues need for frequent return to first
principles, 345
argues need for frequent return to
primeval terror, 47
argues quiet republics cannot survive,
104
and Aristotle, 32

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

390

Index

Machiavelli, Niccolò (*cont.*)

- asserts all the things of men in motion and annot remain fixed, 43
- asserts lawgiver must presume all men wicked, 44, 49, 53, 54, 104, 235, 317
- asserts superiority of princes in ordaining laws and forming civil life, 54
- asserts the people have less of an appetite for usurpation than the *grandi*, 50
- attacks assumptions of Renaissance humanism, 10
- attributes Roman greatness to Rome's institutions, 266
- Bacon echoes on Christianity, 256
- Bacon on, 261
- believes political tumults can be salutary, 49, 233, 237, 273, 331
- and Campanella, 58, 99
- charges Christianity makes us esteem less the honor of the world, 96
- charges Christianity with weakening world and giving it in prey to wicked men, 96, 139, 256
- on Christianity, 256
- circumstances of publication, 8
- claims Roman liberty rooted in a salutary political turbulence, 105
- closely studied by Milton, 103–4
- courts delusion that his republicanism classical, 118
- criticizes mercenaries and insists on need for own arms, 239
- his critique of political moderation, 41
- demonstrates *ataraxia* incompatible with Epicurean cosmology, 43
- discusses techniques of Roman domination, 87
- discusses Titus Manlius Torquatus' execution of son and practice of *devotio* by Publius Decius Mus and son, 88
- draws on Lucretius for his political psychology of religion, 36
- draws on Suetonius, 263
- elusive and coy, 95
- embraces ambition, 43
- ethos of *The Prince* reappears within, 8
- favors commonwealth for increase, 336
- favors political participation as an instrument not end, 240
- finds virtue in class struggle, 340
- first two books fail to use initial six books of Tacitus' *Annals*, 7
- follows Latin Averroists in treating generation and demise of religions as a wholly natural phenomenon, 98

- and the foundations of individualism, 54
- friendly to principality, 7
- Gaddi plays role in publication, 8
- on Giovampagolo Baglioni's demonstration of pious respect when confronted by unarmed Pope, 89–90
- great obstacle to human success
- incapacity to be entirely bad, 135
- Harrington aims to refute denial perpetual republic possible, 339
- Harrington quotes to effect that multitude wiser and more constant than prince, 325
- Harrington restores claim lawgiver must presume all men wicked, 328
- Hobbes imitates his discussion of return to first principles effected by Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, 268
- Hobbes imitates his meditation on Rome's location, 266
- Hobbes no friend to its republicanism, 244
- in attacking tumults Hobbes attacks, 276
- in preface represents self as explorer, 20
- indebted to Lucretius for account of society's origins, 36
- indicates preference for Rome over Sparta and Venice on basis of capacity to project power, 31
- invites misreading as impassioned patriot, 4
- invites misunderstanding, 20
- invites theologians to recast Christianity as worldly doctrine, 96
- and John Locke, 52
- and Lucretius, 45, 140
- links self-sacrifice and return to first principles, 88
- manifestly refuses to define *eudaimonía*, 29
- on Marcus Furius Camillus and the techniques of domination, 87
- and the military revolution, 9
- Milton fails to copy out passages on priestcraft, 139
- Milton singles out passage on founders of religions, 174
- Nedham hopes the English will embrace republican teaching, 243
- Nedham more bourgeois than, 242
- never mentions the soul, 48
- and nihilism, 29
- no friend to Christian renewal, 98
- not a believer in astrology, 39

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

391

- opening lines of preface echo Lucretius, 39
- ostentatiously silent on malign influence exercised by religious fears, 91
- paraphrases Lucretius' claim to originality, 39
- paraphrases Sallust but drops reference to friendship, concord, and justice, 55
- passages copied into Milton's *Commonplace Book*, 139, 172
- points to ambition of natural aristocrats within plebs, 51
- his posture taken up by Bacon in his new science, 256
- on power exerted by Pope unarmed, 89
- praised by Nedham, 195
- praises Romans for contriving to make *socii* loyal, 239
- predicts Christianity's ruin or scourging near, 97, 269
- preface hints at program, 56
- prefers republic because acquisitive, 129
- publication untimely, 8
- read by some in England, 11
- regards the people as best guardian of liberty, 105
- republican themes considered at leisure by Milton, 103
- resorts to Epicurean language of flux to describe human nature, 37
- restates Epicurean critique of political life, only to reject it, 42
- its rhetorical strategy contrasted with that of *The Prince*, 20
- on Roman colonization, 239
- seems not at first to have had access to first six books of Tacitus' *Annals*, 263
- sees self as new Columbus, 346
- singles out founders of religions, republics, and kingdoms for highest praise, 259
- sometimes masquerades as a friend and admirer of true Christianity, 97
- and *lo stato*, 30
- studied carefully by Milton after the battle of Worcester, 102
- suggests reconfiguration of Christianity, 59
- suggests that to make the people understand one must make them descend to particulars, 54
- teaches how to read histories and Bible *sensatamente*, 21, 99
- teaching consistent with that in *The Prince*, 6
- and Thucydides, 281
- traces enslavement and disgrace of Italy to Christianity, 94
- traces good education to good laws and good laws to tumults, 49
- traces Roman republic's health to struggle of the orders, 340
- traces toleration of dishonesty of prelates to impression made by Saint, Francis and Saint, Dominic, 98
- ultimately attacks the authority of Titus Livy, 53
- ultimately rejects authority of Livy, 54
- uses phrase *sinister opinions*, 92
- and *virtù*, 8, 20, 35, 47, 50–51, 87, 92–93, 94–98, 120, 259, 340
- founded on terror, 47
- work published after Machiavelli's death, 91
- wrestles with arguments of Aristotle, Epicureans, and Averroists against creation of the universe, 37
- author of *Exortazione alla penitenza* displays mastery of Christian theology, 38
- author of *Florentine Histories*, 8
- on Canossa as the start of the Guelph-Ghibeline humors, 95
- comments on shift from naming children after Caesar and Pompey to naming them after the apostles, 93
- emphasizes strange course history took after classical antiquity, 93
- fascination with intestine conflict, 50
- Gaddi plays role in publication, 8
- makes use of early books of Tacitus' *Annals*, 264
- makes use of initial six books of Tacitus' *Annals*, 7
- need to be politic, 92–93
- presents Stefano Porcari as man honorably wicked who had learned to dare, 90
- reflects on manner in which extraordinary force constituted by Christianity suffocates mankind and brings cycle of history to an end, 94
- reflects on Stefano Porcari's misjudgment, 91
- speaks of sinister modes, 92, 95
- traces enslavement and disgrace of Italy to Christianity, 94–95
- work published after Machiavelli's death, 91
- writes enthusiastic description of Averroist devotee Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 80

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

392

Index

Machiavelli, Niccolò (*cont.*)

writes telling account of transformation

worked by Christianity's victory, 93

written on commission for Medici

popes, 92

author of *The Art of War*, 34, 93

advocates return to ancient modes, 91

Allan Gilbert mistranslates *ordinanza* as

citizen army, 239

champions militia of *contadini*, not*cittadini*, 239

claims sinister opinions stand in way of

return to ancient modes, 91–92

describes Venetian reliance on

mercenaries as a sinister decision,

95

dramatic context Epicurean, 40

enables one to penetrate the mystery of

the *Florentine Histories*, 94

exceptionally cautious, 91–92

has interlocutor initially present self as

civic humanist, 30

has protagonist blame Christianity for

disappearance of ancient modes, 92

only major prose work published by

Machiavelli, 91

personally laments gap in modern times

between, 91

read by Milton early on, 102

author of *The Ass*, 35

draws heavily on Lucretius, 35

author of *The Prince*, 5–8, 21, 135

aims at establishing new species of

politeia, 56

aims to shock, 19

alludes to *Discourses on Livy*, 7

apparently lacks access to first six books

of Tacitus' *Annals*, 263

argues fortune a woman who can be

held down if thrashed, 345

and Aristotle, 32

associates new modes and orders with

work of new princes, 56

Bacon echoes his rejection of imaginary

commonwealths, 255

Bacon's new science based on his

reorientation of morals, 256

calls for men to command Fortune with

sheer audacity, 44

causes early readers to ponder his

theologico-political doctrine, 86

compares fortune with a river that can

be contained, 345

compares late imperial Rome, Ottoman

Turkey, Mameluk Egypt as polities

based on the soldiers, 86

compares Papacy with Mameluk regime,
86condemned and obliquely embraced by
Nedham, 243criticizes mercenaries and insists on need
for own arms, 239

his critique of morality, 316

denies one should apply reason to

religious doctrine, then does so, 85

denies that clerical rule based on *virtù*,
87describes new princes in Averroist
fashion as prophets, 85

discusses fashion in which Cesare

Borgia's execution of Remirro de

Orco satisfies and stupefies the

people, 88

discusses the ecclesiastical principality,
84–85elaborates critique of moral reason and
moral imagination, 329

endorses acquisition, 43

ethos reappears in *Discourses on Livy*, 8

fifteenth chapter crucial, 257

for Bacon and Hobbes Augustus ideal

new prince, 264

great obstacle to human success

incapacity to be entirely bad, 135

Hobbes intimates adequacy of his moral
account when applied to sovereign,

319

Hobbes turns his critique of morality on
its head, 316–20in 1516 reaches final form and begins
circulating, 108indicates awareness modern political
community constituted by religion

and dominated by clergy, 82

insists that arms of subjects and
creatures as well as citizens one's own,

239

intimates modern ecclesiastical
principality rests on army of clerical

oppressors, 86

juxtaposes armed and unarmed

prophets, 85

Milton alludes to in *Of Reformation*,
102Milton regrets his influence over his
compatriots, 118Nedham does not expect his compatriots
to embrace the teaching of, 243Nedham feigns distance from critique of
morality, 327Nedham recommends reading it as a
warning against grandees, 244

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

393

- never mentions the soul, 48
- not a believer in astrology, 39
- obliquely points to power exercised by
 - unarmed prophets, 59
- plagiarized by Nifo, 81
- probably read by Milton before the civil war, 102
- recommends new prince rely on the people, 264
- recommends pleasing soldiers, 265
- its rhetorical strategy contrasted with that of the *Discourses on Livy*, 20
- Rousseau acknowledges Rome's good sense in banning, 84
- signals republican preference, 31
- speaks of unarmed prophets while remaining ostentatiously silent about Christ, 86
- subordinates human excellence to security and well-being, 256
- teaching consistent with that in *Discourses on Livy*, 6
- on the depence of the Roman emperors on the army, 87
- traces enslavement and disgrace of Italy to Christianity, 94
- treats fortune as a woman, 264
- treats Moses, Romulus, Cyrus, and Thesus as founders of new modes and orders, 56
- use of term *immaginazione* inspired by Lucretius, 20
- work circulates in manuscript during Machiavelli's lifetime, 91
- Averroism as a point of departure, 83
- Averroist revival underway in his day, 81
- aware regime change requires
 - overthrowing *politeuma* and replacing *paideía*, 57
- Bacon and Hobbes assimilate his internal critique of Epicureanism, 309
- Bacon follows through on logic of his argument, 259
- Bacon praises his critique of priestcraft, 210
- becomes Secretary of the Second Chancery in Florence, 33
- believes *virtù* founded on terror alone, 47
- believes polity must rely on own arms, 343
- believes republican virtue can withstand anything but temptation, 47
- blurs class distinctions he makes, 51
- Boccalini on reception, 6
- borrow from Diogenes Laertius, 34
- borrow phrase *modes and orders* from Aquinas, 56
- bothered, like the *falāsifa*, by revealed religion's cultural hegemony and the authority of the religious apologists, 83
- brazenly embraced by Nedham quite early on, 183
- breaks with Lucretius, 40
- breaks with the *falāsifa* in denying political significance of moral virtue, 83
- his advice to ambitious captains, 264
- his antiquarianism a red herring, 21
- Campanella sensitive to impact of Averroism on Machiavelli, 82
- capable of special pleading, 6
- capacity for self-mockery, 40
- character of his populism, 55
- Charron agrees with his critique of religion, 168
- combines political idealism with bleak quasi-Augustinian vision of man as man, 45
- comes of age under Lorenzo de Medici, 32
- contrasted with Aristotle, 29, 48
- counselor of tyrants, 7
- his critique of priestcraft
 - taken up by Sarpi, 141
- his debt to Aristotle and the *falāsifa*, 83
- debt to the Epicureans, 82
- decayed Aristotelianism said to be
 - theoretical basis of thought, 57
- decisively influenced by Averroism, 57
- defends popular participation in public deliberation, 50
- defines modes, 56
- defines orders, 56
- denies that men can be at rest, 43
- denies that one can escape from politics, 42
- denies the Fall, 57
- denounced for impiety in Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays*, 260
- depicted as skeptic by Luigi Guicciardini, 36
- deploys Epicurean physics against
 - Epicurean vision of the good life, 41
- described as guide for Charles I by Nedham, 198
- described by Gentillet as disciple of Epicurus, 32
- disdain for Christianity, 50
- doctrine of *occasione*, 135
- does not harbor political hopes that
 - Lucretius rejects, 40
- does not treat virtue and corruption as qualities of soul, 48
- doubts *otium* compatible with *dignitas*, 40
- doubts *phrónesis* match for fortune, 135

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

394

Index

- Machiavelli, Niccolò (*cont.*)
- doubts human capacity for moral improvement, 45
 - doubts whether revealed religion a political good, 84
 - draws on diatribe in Sallust of *popularis* tribune Memmius, 51
 - draws on Lucretius in writing *The Ass*, 35
 - dubbed prince of the atheists by Vanini, 99
 - easy to discount shocking claims of, 45
 - ecclesiastical polity as obstacle to enterprise, 57
 - elaborates internal critique of ancient Epicureanism, 41
 - embraced as republican thinker by some supporters of the English commonwealth, 16
 - embraced by Nedham, 185
 - embraces class strife as salutary, 49
 - embraces mixed regime solely for purpose of mutual restraint, 46
 - embraces political conflict well managed as a positive good, 49
 - enemy to morality and Christian religion, 4
 - English libertines familiar with, 210
 - envisages freedom as means for acquisition, 31, 104
 - Epicureanism as his point of departure, 32
 - epistemological skepticism of, 38
 - evokes universe hard to distinguish from that depicted by Lucretius, 39
 - exceptional in Italy in his unbelief, 150
 - exhibits mercantile ethos of Florence, 52
 - exponent of statecraft, 30
 - expounds *the effectual truth of the matter*, 19, 45, 56, 317, 328, 340
 - his father the chief interlocutor in a dialogue by Scala, 33
 - favors *vivere libero*, 51, 55
 - favors *vivere politico*, 42, 88
 - favors new princes, 7
 - first to espouse modern populism, 235
 - follows ancient atomists in giving touch as sensation epistemological priority over other senses, 37
 - follows Averroism in supposing universe eternal, religions transitory, 82
 - follows Epicureans in supposing generation and dissolution characterize mixed as opposed to simple bodies, 37
 - forerunner of the Enlightenment, 85
 - frequently misrepresents classical sources, 5
 - frequently resorts to language of judicial astrology, 38
 - frequently resorts to moralizing rhetoric of virtue and corruption, 45
 - generally silent as to intellectual debts, 39
 - godly republicans wary of, 345
 - grows up in Florence saturated with Averroism, 80
 - grows up in mercantile city, 52
 - Hobbes attacks in *Leviathan*, 274, 315
 - Hobbes does not mention by name, 263
 - Hobbes prefers Thucydides to, 281
 - Hobbes restates his critique of classical republicanism, 276
 - Hobbes's debt in *Horæ Subsecivæ* obvious, 263
 - hostile to ambitious idleness of the clergy, 21, 57, 139
 - hostile to classical political philosophers, 275
 - hostile to partisanship and sectarian politics, 49
 - hostile to revealed religion, 100
 - implies that he is a new prince of sorts, 56
 - in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 - his influence in England regretted by Milton, 118
 - influences Hobbes, 263
 - insists on novelty of own moral teaching, 19
 - inspires Tacitism and *raison d'état*, 5
 - interpreters tend to read own presumptions into, 31
 - interprets the common good as conquest, 54
 - intimates religion's contribution to political well-being at best inconsequential, 83
 - introduces sharp distinction between republics and principalities, then denies its moral significance, 29
 - invites misreading as believer upset with moral corruption of the Renaissance church, 96–97
 - judges polities by capacity for aggrandizement, 31
 - justifies populism on ground individual best at discerning own interest, 55
 - juxtaposes republics with principalities, 29, 328
 - known as counselor of princes, 4, 14
 - likely to have been of special interest to future second earl of Devonshire, 261
 - likely to have had access to Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 67
 - likely to have read Cicero's *De fato* and *De finibus*, 41

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

395

- links sensitivity to touch with venereal appetite, 37
- Lucretius anticipates his unsparing depiction of the world of political action, 40
- Lucretius has profound influence on, 32–45
- makes use of embryonic sociology of religion developed by Averroists at Padua, 82
- Marten interested in, 207
- masquerades as classical republican, 324
- mentioned in Bacon's *Essays*, 260
- Milton adopts his critique of the ecclesiastical principality's cultural hegemony, 139
- Milton blames for *raison d'état*, 119
- Milton does not cite in anti-episcopacy tracts, 140
- Milton echoes his critique of priestcraft, 141
- Milton politically opposed, 100, 101, 104, 137
- Milton rejects his modern populism, 105
- misread as advocating a citizen army, 9
- mocks the Aristotelian and Thomist teachings concerning the virtues, 19
- Montaigne and Pyrrhonists indebted to, 313
- more impudent than Harrington, 345
- Nedham adapts his doctrine to needs of extended republic, 236
- Nedham and Harrington outdo in advocating citizen army, 343
- Nedham appeals to, 193
- Nedham ascribes to presbyterians the vices Machiavelli had ascribed to Christianity, 193
- Nedham deeply indebted in *The Excellencie of a Free State*, 233
- Nedham disparages in *Mercurius Politicus*, 212
- Nedham endorses his claim liberty preserved only when guardianship in hands of the people, 235
- Nedham follows denying moral superiority of the people, 236
- Nedham makes appeal to, 192
- his new republicanism, 30
- his opinion of Christianity echoed by Rousseau, 84
- his populism rooted in conviction the people defective in appetite, 54
- his populism rooted in rejection of moral and political rationality, 50
- his populism thoroughly modern, 55
- his republicanism first deployed in print in England by Nedham, 183
- his taste for savagery, 273
- on fortune, 40
- on ingratitude of a prince unshackled, 53
- Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington paper over chasm separating from classical republicans, 324
- on need to bridle human appetites, 47
- never links sword with sovereignty, 240
- no friend to moral virtue, 120
- not a civic humanist, 104
- not a classical republican, 8, 256, 323
- not a follower of the classical republicans, 22, 31
- not a proponent of arms-bearing citizenship, 9, 239–40
- not an Augustinian, 45
- not an exponent of differential moral and political rationality, 32
- not initially a focus of attention for Milton, 102
- not seen by Nedham as advocate of a citizen militia, 240
- notably silent on Epicurean theology, 41
- nowhere relies on moral or political virtue, 45
- ongoing concern with Lucretius, 35
- ostentatious silence on the crucifixion and martyrdom and their role in enabling Christianity to stupefy and satisfy the people, 89
- persuaded human desire insatiate and reason enslaved to passions, 328
- placates his humanist readers with pretense of preferring peace to war, 42
- playfully intimates fashion in which Papacy satisfies its clerical army and leaves the people stupefied, 88
- political matter becomes corrupt, ease in which, 47
- political power, on acquisition and retention of, 8
- practitioner of literary bait and switch, 258
- prefers republics on basis of capacity to project power, 31
- prefers world of political action to garden of Epicurus, 40
- presents self as intrepid explorer, 56
- presumes corruption and license the norm, 46
- presumes self-interested rule the effectual truth of the matter, 328
- pretends to admire antiquity, 45

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - *Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic*

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

396

*Index*Machiavelli, Niccolò (*cont.*)

- propagates new modes and orders, 21, 53, 56–57, 343
- Puritans hostile to, 212
- putatively taught by Marcello Virgilio Adriani, 33
- quoted by Nedham in favor of republican founders, 215, 233
- read as anti-Christian from start, 99
- reads and copies out Lucretius, 34
- reads and exploits Sallust, 48
- reads Diogenes Laertius, 34
- reads Lucretius with great care, 279
- reception, 4–17
- reconfigures theory of the humors, 49
- reduces public reason to private calculation concerning material self-interest, 50
- reflects on foundations of priestly hegemony, 91
- refuses to acknowledge distinction between kingship and tyranny, 200
- regarded as Epicurean by Innocent Gentillet, 39
- regarded as unbeliever, 149
- regards character as ancillary concern, 30
- regards foreign threat as morally salutary, 46
- regards garden of Epicurus as illusory, 42
- regards human passions as insatiable, 43
- regards people as better guardians of liberty because appetite defective, 51
- regards subjection to a republic as harshest servitude, 31
- reject classical political science, 328
- rejects *via del mezzo*, 42, 44, 135
- rejects Aristotelian doctrine of the mean, 43
- rejects classical republican principle of moral and political rationality, 104
- rejects Epicurean quest for a moderation of the passions and tranquillity of soul, 43
- rejects natural right, natural law, and classical notion of moral and political rationality, 29–30, 50
- rejects the Averroist embrace of religion, 83
- religious skeptic, 282
- replaces virtue with virtuosity, 20
- repudiates classical and Christian understanding of virtue, 256
- repudiates classical conviction the wise and virtuous few superior to the foolish and vicious many, 53

- repudiates classical republicanism, 240
- repudiates regime typology of the ancients, 46
- repudiates religion and natural teleology, 35
- reverses Averroist perspective on salutary effects of doctrine of the afterlife, 83
- said to have written *The Prince* as satire against tyrants, 5–6
- Sarpi fleshes out the logic underpinning critique of priestcraft, 210
- scholarly confusion concerning, 106
- seeks for modern republican project the authority of Greece and Rome, 324
- seeks to regain office near end of life, 6
- seems to embrace classical antiquity, 21
- sensitive to impact of spectacles on the people, 88
- severs humoral balance within polity from justice, 49
- shares in Aristotle's double-edged understanding of regimes, 57
- silent concerning Epicurean swerve, 41
- silent in account of origins of civil society regarding nature's provision to man of a capacity for rational speech, 55
- silent on civic *paideia*, 48
- silent on need for religious indoctrination, 48
- silent on virtue of justice, 20
- slow to become famous as partisan of republicanism, 5–6, 8–9, 14
- steeped in classical rhetoric, 89, 139
- steeped in the classics, 326
- student of power politics, 282
- subverts own distinction between republics with principalities, 328
- suggests republic's end is acquisition, 55
- suspicious of ambitious idleness of the clergy, 98
- suspicious of philosophy and the arts, 21, 40, 44, 57, 93, 96
- tacitly abandons classical regime typology, 327
- teases his readers, 85–86, 92, 95
- on the Decemvirate, 47
- the logic of his populism bourgeois, 52, 242–43
- on the need to possess one's own arms, 264
- thinks patronage inconsistent with republicanism, 47–48
- thinks popular desire to be free rooted in desire for security, 51
- thoroughly versed in the pagan classics, 38

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

397

- thought by some to think ecclesiastical government irrelevant to proper concerns of his new political science, 84
- thought to have given the devil his moniker Old Nick, 17, 317, 355
- Thucydides more sensitive to fragility of civil society, 282
- traces good education to good laws and good laws to tumults, 237
- traces modern degeneracy to Christianity, 267
- traces popular affection for liberty to material advantage, 54
- traces weakness of men to Christian religion, 57
- treats humors solely as function of human appetite, 49
- treats virtue as strictly instrumental, 30
- ultimately rejects Livy's authority, 53, 104
- undermines distinction between *grandi* and *popolo*, 52
- unfamiliar with the bulk of Cicero's *De republica*, 46
- uses rhetoric of judicial astrology, 39
- values education for fortification of the spirited passions, 48
- writes *Prince and Discourses on Livy* concurrently, 7
- writes in the vernacular, 167
- writes semifictional biography of Castruccio Castracani, 35
- writes solely for the one who understands, 95
- young Hobbes admires, 275
- Mahdi, Muhsin, 59, 63
- Maimonides, Moses
- admirer of Alfarabi, 70
 - adopts posture of *falāsifa* with regard to relationship between philosophy, prophecy, religion, law, custom, moral virtue, and civil society's welfare, 70
 - anticipates Machiavelli's analysis of the ecclesiastical polity, 82
 - Aquinas and scholastics read, 154
 - author of *The Guide of the Perplexed*, 60, 70–71
 - as philosophical practitioner of *kalām*, 71
 - follows Alfarabi, 71
 - Milton reads, 155
 - offers bold reinterpretation of the Fall, 71
 - translation published in 117, 155
 - his disciple Gersonides, 155
 - famous letter to Samuel ibn Tibbon, 70
 - focuses on revealed religion's cultural hegemony and the authority it confers on the *mutakallimūn*, 83
 - and philosophical prophecy, 174
 - his influence in the Latin West, 155
 - read by Meister Eckhart, 70
 - Sarpi may have read, 154
 - on the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- Mameluks, the, 86–87
- Mandar, Théophile, 354
- Mandeville, Bernard, 352
- Mantino, Jacob, 164
- Marcellinus, 281
- Marlowe, Christopher, 258
- depicts Machiavelli as anti-religious, 85, 140
- Marsilius of Padua, 77, 112–13
- Aristotelian of sorts, 57
 - as Averroist, 59
 - author of *Defensor Pacis*, 77, 112
 - appeals to principle of popular consent, 113
 - broad influence on educated Protestants, 114
 - circumscribes appeal to principle of popular consent by conferring full legislative rights on the people's *valentior pars*, 113
 - cited by Althusius, 114
 - draws on Averroës for defense of Caesaro-Papism, 77
 - George Lawson, influence on, 114
 - and Machiavelli, 57
 - makes thisworldly welfare the sole focus of human law, 77
 - Nicholas of Cusa, influence on, 113
 - Richard Hooker, influence on, 114
 - skirts central issue, 60
 - Thomas Cromwell sponsors English translation, 114
- composes *florilegium* epitomizing doctrine of Aristotle and Averroës, 77
- draws on Averroës' discussion of the relationship between religion and philosophy in his writings on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, 77
- induced to reassess relations between secular and spiritual authorities by reading Averroës, 112
- influences English Reformation, 114
- Milton indebted to his reconciliation of popular consent with the rule of the wise and learned few, 118
- and Milton, 138, 173
- thought by some to have inspired Luther, 113

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

398

Index

- Martel, Thomas de, 306, 314
- Marten, Henry, 205–7, 215
 allied with Chaloner and Bradshaw, 199
 Burnet denounces as irreligious, 209, 344
 catapulted into leading position by Pride's Purge, 199
 Cromwell's coup, opposes, 220
 Cromwell's fury, object of, 217
 denounces king-craft, court-craft, and clergy-craft, 209
 drafts open letter to Cromwell, 219
 expelled from Long Parliament by Pym, 206
 far from a Puritan, 207
 friend of Sir Peter Wentworth, 205
 gives lip service to holding new elections, 215
 Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 hopes for Dutch alliance, 203
 libertine, 207
 Nedham always favorable to, 206
 Nedham welcomes return to Long Parliament in 118, 206
 Neville associated within Rump, 322
 prepared at the outset to jettison England's ancient constitution, 14
 tries to subvert monarchy, 15
 uneasy alliance with godly republicans, 199
 uses Wildman as his agent, 207
 and Wither, 206
 Wood on, 208
 works in manuscript reveal interest in Machiavelli and Hobbes, 207
 works in manuscript suggest libertinism and republicanism, 207
- Marullo, Michele Tarcaniota
 his emendations of Lucretius incorporated into 1512/13 Giunta edition, 107
 emends Lucretius, 34
 married to Scala's daughter, 34
- Marvell, Andrew
 assists Milton in time as Secretary of Foreign Tongues, 182
 reemerges during Exclusion Crisis, 351
 satirizes clerical opponents of the printing press, 182–83
- Matthew, Sir Tobie, 247
- Matthew, St., 93
- Maurice, Prince, 198
- May, Thomas, 207
 Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 libertine, 207
 translates Lucan, 208
- Medici, the, 5–6, 8, 92
 anti-Platonic reaction follows 1494
 expulsion, 33
 and Ficino, 32
 patronize Aristotelians, Thomists, and Averroists as well as Platonists, 32
 two reach papacy, 8
- Mercurius Britanicus*, 183, 198, 206, 210.
See also Nedham, Marchamont
 suppressed after outburst from Nedham, 199
- Mercurius Impartialis*, 181
- Mercurius Politicus*, 104, 177, 183, 206, 210, 212, 214, 228, 231, 316, 353. *See also* Nedham, Marchamont
 advertises *Oceana* in late October/early November 119, 322
 denounces royalists and Presbyterians as priest-ridden, 210
 describes events abroad, 201
 edited by Nedham, 176
 its editor known for libertinism, 207
 its editor recycles editorials as *The Excellencie of a Free State*, 228
 editor's concern with audience, 212
 editorials favor successive parliaments, 218
 Levellers read editorials as warning to Cromwell, 234
 Lilburne praises editorials in, 234
 lists Hobbes alongside Harrington as a member of the crew of *Oceana*, 320
 Nedham proposes establishment, 197
 Nedham reprints excerpts from *The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*, 233
 news managed on Cromwell's behalf, 228
 prepares readers for Dutch War, 203
 reports with delight Hobbes's expulsion from royal court at Saint Germain, 320
 retained under the Protectorate, 225
 soon becomes authoritative, 198
 supports Dutch war, 204
 used by Nedham to promote program of Bradshaw and the radicals, 199
- Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 183, 186–87, 206.
See also Nedham, Marchamont
 edited for a time by Nedham, 176
- Mersenne, Père Marin, 148, 299, 306
 anonymously translates and publishes Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *De veritate*, 299
- Bayle and Voltaire deride his claim Paris full of atheists, 297

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

399

- befriended by Peiresc, 298
- befriends Hobbes, 296
- embraces cause of Polish Socinians, 300
- embraces mechanics and astronomy of Galileo, 299
- exiled Hobbes associated with, 296
- friend of Descartes, 296
- Gassendi cut from same cloth, 300
- Gassendi, Elie Diodati, La Mothe le Vayer, Naudé join meetings at cell of, 302
- hides his sponsorship of a libertine tract, 299
- in youth asserts fifty thousand atheists in Paris, 297
- knows libertines practice dissimulation, 150
- Minim biography describes as devout, 297
- pretends to take it amiss when Sorbière publishes his endorsement of Hobbes, 300
- provides forum for philosophical and scientific speculation, 296
- reasons to doubt whether believer, 297
- recommends Hobbes's *De cive*, 296
- role of Lucretius in discussions at his cell, 306
- suspected at time of sympathy for atheism, 300
- takes as working hypothesis Galileo's claim universe book written in language of mathematics, 312
- turns from religious apologetics to science, 299
- youthful anti-libertine polemics, 297, 300
 - charges Vanini with propagating atheism under veil of attack, 298
 - Gassendi helps Peiresc persuade to end, 300
 - may have been means for propagating libertinism, 298
 - persuaded by Peiresc to drop, 299
 - popularizes apologetic procedure rendering Christianity vulnerable to modern atheism, 298
 - propagates libertinism by way of attack, 301
 - publishes *Quatrains of the Deists*, 297
- mésón, tò*
 - reconstituted in modern times by the printing press, 182
 - survives in Christian *ecclesia* and Muslim mosque, 62
- Cicero fears its disappearance, 27
- constituted by *lógos*, 26
- Harrington seeks republican orders that will eliminate, 333
- space for deliberation, 29
- Micanzio, Fulgenzio, secretary to Sarpi, 247, 252, 270. *See also* Sarpi, Paolo
- and Hobbes, 270
 - as anti-Christian as Hobbes, 270
 - meets Hobbes and befriends second earl of Devonshire, 246
- and Jean Diodati, 146–47
- attempts publication of second earl of Devonshire's Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays*, 247
- and Bacon
 - correspondence with Bacon, 248
 - eager to have final edition of Bacon's *Essays* translated into Latin, 249
 - especially interested in Bacon's discussion of religion, 260
 - has second earl of Devonshire's Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays* republished in Italy, 247
 - interested in Baconian project, 259
 - interested in seeing new essays by Bacon, 250
 - letter to Bacon quoted in Rawley's biography of Bacon, 247
 - translates new Baconian essays into Italian and publishes, 250
 - treasures Bacon's *De sapientia veterum*, 254
 - urges Bacon to make argument in essays less shocking, 260
 - urges second earl of Devonshire to publish in London his Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays*, 247
- behind Italian translation of Bacon's *Essays*, 260
- biographer of Sarpi, 246
- corresponds with second earl of Devonshire, 247
- interested in religious wars, 247
- presumably an atheist, 259
- middle ground, the, *See mésón tò*
- Mildmay, Sir Henry, 206
- Milton, John, 101, 174, 182, 349, 352–53, 355
 - a friend of Nedham, 186
 - a philosophical poet, 174
 - aims at immortality, 128
 - always a classical republican, 137
 - anticipates classical republican stance of third earl of Shaftesbury, 106
 - anticipates Goethe in regarding poetry as the supreme form of rhetoric, 127

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

400

Index

Milton, John (*cont.*)

- as classical republican in principle open to monarchical rule, 114, 115
- aspires to be a hero like Samson whom patience finally crowns, 136–37
- asserts English republic depends on moral virtues of citizens, 120
- asserts primacy of domestic policy, 119
- at first favorable to presbyterianism, 171
- at the outset shies away from Machiavelli's imperialism, 104
- attempts to reconcile classical republicanism of the ancients with a Christianity fully reformed, 106
- attends Christ's College, Cambridge, 106
- author of *A Defense of the English People*
 - abridged edition published in French, 353
- echoes Cicero's account of the origin of cities, 106
- Levellers read as reproof to the Rump, 234
- looks to better qualified, more reasonable part of Parliament for guidance, 110
- modeled on Cicero's *Philippics*, 107
- on poetry, 128
- seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
- author of *A Second Defense of the English People*
 - advocates rule of those superior in prudent, industry, and virtue, 110
- draws on Sallust in warning compatriots that liberty's survival liberty depends on virtue, 121
- draws on Sallust in warning compatriots that survival of liberty depends on their virtues, 121
- proud of political intervention, 139
- author of *Areopagitica*, 101, 105
 - advocates philosophic freedom, 145, 147
 - advocates the reforming of Reformation itself, 148, 174
 - attacks prior restraint of the press, 182
 - aware of significance of phrase *libertas philosophandi*, 146
 - cites Sir Francis Bacon, 147
 - comes close to saying with Marlowe no sin but ignorance, 140
 - concerned with compatriots' capacity for self-rule, 115

- equates bishops and presbyters, 171
- exploits Sarpi, 141
- hails Sarpi, 140
- insists on the importance of his European tour, 147
- insists on the power of books, 144
- makes case for books promiscuously read, 170
- makes case for philosophical freedom, 170
- mentions meeting with Galileo, 147
- opposes prior restraint of the press, 144–45
- possibly an Averroist, 173
- rejects tutelage and licensing of books, 118
- translated into French by Mirabeau, 352
- author of *Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon*
 - defends republican preference on moral grounds, 122
 - demanding if monarch to be selected, he be chosen from supporters of Good Old Cause, 123
- author of *De doctrina christiana*, 101
 - outline for a Christianity shorn of doctrines philosophically unsound and political dangerous, 174
- author of *Eikonoklastēs*
 - draws epigraph from Sallust, 121
 - pours scorn on blockish multitude, 111
 - seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
- author of *History of Britain*
 - digression extracted and published separately by L'Estrange, 125
 - drafts digression condemning Long Parliament for lack of moral and intellectual virtue, 123–26
- author of *Paradise Lost*, 126, 129, 174
 - Abdiel as self-portrait, 132
 - as described by Blake, 127, 173
 - as described by Shelley, 101, 173
 - depicts Satan as acquisitive in the Machiavellian mode, 129
 - depicts Satan as the very model of Machiavelli's new prince, 129
 - did not, like Satan, rebel against a worthy king, 131
 - has Abdiel assert that it is servitude to serve the unwise, 131
 - has Abdiel deny that it is servitude to serve a worthy king, 131

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

401

- has Adam restate the argument of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 133
- has Michael interpret original sin in manner fatal to patriarchalism of Filmer and the like, 133
- has Michael state against Nimrod the critique he once leveled against the arguments of James I and his descendants, 133
- has Michael trace tyranny to original sin, 134
- hint of the autobiographical in Michael's description of Enoch, 132
- author of anti-episcopacy tracts
 - always friendly to freedom of speech, 143–44
 - always hostile to clerical meddling, 143
 - appropriates Lucretius' critique of religious fear, 141
 - appropriates Machiavelli's claim Christian church renders world weak and gives it in prey to wicked men, 139
 - argues at first that episcopacy corrupts and thereby subverts monarchy, 142
 - at first denounces anti-presbyterians as libertines, 143
 - at first favorable to presbyterianism, 143
 - attacks Machiavelli, 102
 - bases appeal on Scripture, 139
 - charges English bishops with priestcraft, 141–42
 - cites Paolo Sarpi, 140
 - comes to think presbyterianism synonymous with priestcraft, 143
 - echoes Machiavelli's critique of priestcraft, 141
 - exploits Lucretius' analysis of religious fear, 140
 - exploits Sarpi, 141
 - indebted to Sarpi for his ecclesiastical history, 141
 - nowhere cites Machiavelli, 140
 - obsessed with priestcraft, 139
 - restates Machiavelli's critique of the clergy, 139
 - restates Machiavelli's critique of the ecclesiastical principality's cultural hegemony, 139
 - traces English backwardness in reform to episcopalianism, 141
 - traces to priestcraft captivity of mind, 169
- author of divorce tracts
 - echoes Charron's Averroist critique of the power of custom, 169
 - reflects on the power of *consuetudo*, 169
 - includes self-description, 132
 - mentions no 17th-century figure other than Galileo, 148
 - Michael's critique of the tyranny of Nimrod, 133
 - models Satan in part on Cromwell, 131
 - philosophical practitioner of *kalām*, 272
 - possibly an Averroist, 173
 - priestcraft as preeminent sin in Christian epoch, 139
 - quickly recognized as a classic, 352
 - Satan a Machiavellian, 135
 - Satan justifies the temptation of Eve on the tyrant's plea of necessity, 129
 - Satan presents himself as republican in rebellion against a tyrant god, 127
 - on Satan's pitch to his fallen angels, 131
 - Shelley regards as unbeliever, 101
 - uses angel Gabriel to unmask Satan as hypocrite, 128
 - writes to instruct readers in moral and intellectual virtues required for self-government, 128
- author of *Paradise Regained*, 101
 - 1671 publication, 136
 - Christ models himself on Job and Socrates, 173
 - Christ prefers Job and Socrates to Alexander the Great, Scipio, Pompey, and Caesar, 130, 136
 - Christ restates Sallust's explanation for the rise and decline of republican Rome, 132–33
 - Christ restates the ancient philosophers' critique of empire and glory, 130
 - possibly an Averroist, 173
 - rejects imperialism, 130
 - Satan attempts to lure Christ with imperial bait, 129
 - Satan tempts Christ with prospect of liberating the Romans from their imperial yoke, 132
 - writes to instruct readers in the moral and intellectual virtues required for self-government, 128
- author of *Samson Agonistes*, 134
 - 1671 publication, 136
 - composes epitaph for England's failed republican experiment, 134
 - counsels long-suffering in the face of adversity, 136
 - possibly an Averroist, 173
 - reminds despondent compatriots of the joys of revenge, 136

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

402

Index

- Milton, John (*cont.*)
- reminds subjugated brethren that the occasion proper for heroic deeds is providential, 136
 - traces bondage to vice, 134
 - writes to instruct readers in the moral and intellectual virtues required for self-government, 128
 - author of *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*
 - denounces conceit of successive parliaments, 215
 - draws epigraph from Juvenal, 131
 - had long contemplated permanent senate, 117
 - last-ditch renewal of defense of Good Old Cause, 122
 - on need to mend our corrupt and faulty moral education, 128
 - traces failure of English commonwealth to moral defects of compatriots, 122
 - author of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 107
 - argues that magistrates mere deputies, 108
 - argues that, where reason is the slave of the passions, self-government is impossible, 120
 - asserts capacity for self-government rooted in moral virtue, 120
 - asserts power held in trust by magistrates, 108–9
 - asserts the people have the right to depose rulers when they wish, 109
 - breaks with Calvinist resistance theory, 109
 - cites in second edition Martin Bucer, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, John Knox, and John Goodman, 112
 - compared with Locke, 109
 - contends that political community made necessary by the Fall, 108
 - denounces multitude's inconstancy, 109
 - indebted to Henry Parker, 108
 - indebted to Levellers' development of radical potential in Henry Parker's argument, 108
 - juxtaposes worthies with vulgar and irrational men, 109
 - looks to upright magistrates for popular guidance, 109
 - owes Aristotle and Cicero more than the Bible, 109
 - robs own account of government of democratic potential by reasserting classical republican principle of differential moral and political rationality, 109
 - seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
 - takes natural freedom as his premise, 108
 - author of sonnets
 - addresses one to Cromwell, 172
 - charges presbyterians with priestcraft, 171
 - gives unstinting praise to Vane alone, 137
 - praises and admonishes Fairfax and Cromwell, 137
 - aware of gap between Machiavellian and classical republicanism, 118
 - aware of reasons Lucretius controversial, 140
 - believes republicanism the wave of the future, 202
 - believes with Plato politics the art whose task is caring for souls, 120
 - calls for full religious liberty for Protestant Christians, 172
 - champions divorce, favors polygamy, rejects the Trinity, endorses free will, embraces materialism, rejects creation, advocates total separation of church and state, 101
 - and Charron, 168
 - comes to be allied with libertines, 143
 - comes to think the Rump Parliament no better than the Long Parliament, 125
 - concerned from start with earthly reformation, 148
 - condemns Brutus and Cassius for assassination of Caesar, 125
 - condemns Caesar's assassins, 114
 - connection with the Diodati, 146
 - and Sarpi, 146
 - consults Sarpi's *History of the Inquisition*, 147
 - and Cromwell
 - and comes to abhor Cromwell, 116
 - comes to loathe Cromwell, 172
 - compares Cromwell with Sulla, 131
 - defends the middle ground reconstituted in modern times by the printing press, 182
 - denounces religious settlement proposed by Owen as civil papacie, 172
 - didactic purpose of poetry, 128

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

403

- and the Diodati, 147
 early hopes for Long Parliament, 124
 echoes Aristotle on question of kingship, 115
 elaborates critique of priestcraft and remedy, 139–174
 embraces classical republicanism, 104–138
 endorses the classical principle of differential moral and political rationality, 194
 English commonwealth's Secretary of Foreign Tongues, 102, 125
 assisted by Marvell, 182, 351
 at one point argues Cromwell fit to rule England, 115
 chosen in 1649, 118, 123
 commissioned to write *A Defense of the English People*, 110
 elaborates high-minded defense of the English commonwealth, 187
 gives voice to Puritan triumphalism, 190
 like Nedham spokesman for the Rump Parliament, 186
 politically opposed to Machiavelli, 104
 seeks revival of ancient liberty, 107
 seeks to revive oratorical tradition of Demosthenes and Cicero, 107
 serves Protectorate, 121
 silent in face of Cromwell's coups, 116
 studies Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* after the battle of Worcester, 102–3
 tries to guide the nascent republic, 104
 writes in Latin and attempts to rally classically-educated gentlemen to the commonwealth's cause, 188
 enlightened practitioner of *kalām*, 172, 174
 exceedingly well-read, 102
 expressly rejects Machiavelli's claim the people the best guardians of liberty, 105
 familiar with Averroist argument, 155
 favors education aimed at moral virtue and godliness, 118
 Filmer points to his aristocratic orientation, 109
 focuses on moral virtue, 120
 friend of Nedham, 174
 friend of Overton, 224
 genuine classical republican, 105
 hard to pigeonhole, 101
 Harrington dismisses his presumptions, 329
 has much in common with Aristotelians of Christian epoch, 138
 his commitment to constancy, 132
 his Commonplace Book
 copies therein passages from Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, 140
 copies therein passages on republican themes from Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, 103, 139, 172
 fails to copy out passages in Machiavelli attacking priestcraft, 139
 points to chapter where Machiavelli underlines his break with Livy and classical antiquity, 104
 singles out passage in Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* on founders of religions, 174
 his critique of kingship rooted in Sallust's claim kingship promotes moral corruption, 121
 has respectable Protestant precedent for aristocratic turn, 111–12
 Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 hostile to Charles I, 114
 hostile to presbyterianism, 211
 ignores Aristotle's claim republic possible only in a small territory, 121
 implies that Protestant settlement throughout Europe disguised Popery, 171
 import of his sojourn in Italy, 147
 import of his trip to Italy, 150
 importance of European tour, 147
 in 1660 favors permanent aristocratic council, 117
 in 1660 opposes Nedham's conceit of successive Parliaments, 117
 in *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England* argues to govern well is to educate nation in wisdom and virtue, 118
 in his day Latin Averroists plentiful in Italy, 155
 indebted to Cicero, 107
 indebted to Marsilius of Padua, 110, 112
 initial reticence regarding Machiavelli, 105
 joins Charron and Sarpi in questioning the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
 judges political regimes with eye to education, 118
 his Latin orations echo Cicero's account of the origins of cities, 106
 likely to have read Machiavelli's *Prince* before the civil war, 102
 looks to Plato and Aristotle for political guidance, 119
 and Machiavelli, 138
 makes no excuse for the tyrant, 133

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

404

Index

- Milton, John (*cont.*)
 makes vain attempt to head off
 Restoration, 116–17
 and Marlowe, 140
 Marsilius of Padua influential among
 Protestants of his time, 114
 may have met Nedham in the early 1640s,
 187
 mentioned alongside Nedham in wills of
 Bradshaw and Wentworth, 205
 mistakenly treated as political theologian,
 109
 models self on *vir sapiens* of Cicero, 106
 Nedham joins in resisting royalist tide at
 Restoration, 185
 Nedham's licenser, 212
 never abandons cause of ancient liberty,
 127
 never embraces Machiavelli's claim
 lawgiver must presume all men
 wicked, 105
 never has reason to regret admiration for
 Vane, 137
 no friend to imperialism, 120
 not a modern populist, 118
 not a typical Puritan, 101
 nowhere endorses Machiavelli's claim
 Roman liberty rooted in salutary
 political turbulence, 105
 obsessed with question of priestcraft, 139
 one of the few to mount a principled
 defense of republican government as
 such, 195
 open question whether his belief in
 Christianity feigned, 101
 ordered by Rump's Council of State to
 review Nedham's contributions to
 Mercurius Pragmaticus, 187
 original licenser for *Mercurius Politicus*,
 176
 peculiar in embracing both popular
 enlightenment and classical
 republicanism, 173
 persuaded great transformation underway,
 147
 persuaded of single orator's capacity to
 lead commonwealth to excellence and
 virtue, 107
 political morality, 119
 politically opposed to Machiavelli, 103,
 119
 possesses a competence, 321
 on power of poetry, 127
 preaches patience, 135
 prefers Sallust to other historians, 121
 on price of his patriotism, 132
 probably horrified by Cromwell's ouster of
 the Rump Parliament, 115
 propagates Socinianism and Arianism, 174
 prophet and legislator, 174
 publishes collection of Machiavellian
 aphorisms in 119, 121
 reads and cites Bacon's *New Atlantis*, 148
 reads Machiavelli's *Art of War*, 102
 reads Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*
 and Gersonides, 155
 regards civil liberty and liberty of
 conscience as inseparable, 333
 regards proper choice of government for a
 particular people as a prudential
 matter, 115
 regards Selden as chief of learned men, 102
 regrets Machiavelli's influence in England,
 118
 relies primarily on Aristotle, 119
 reluctant to follow Machiavelli, 100
 resorts to language of Charron, 169
 responds to George Digby's attack on
 presbyterianism, 143
 saved from oblivion by failure of the
 Restoration, 351
 seeks to reconcile Christian and
 Aristotelian virtue, 119
 seems to favor parliamentary supremacy
 from the outset, 102
 steadfast, 126
 steeped in classical rhetoric, 139
 steeped in the classics, 326
 studies history of ancient Rome after battle
 of Worcester, 102
 thinks Bible forbids *raison d'état*, 119
 thinks Caesar worthy of kingship, 115
 Thomas Birch publishes an expanded
 edition of Toland's collection of his
 prose, 352
 Toland republishes his prose and adds a
 brief biography, 352
 traces revival of royalist sentiment to
 popular idolatry, 111
 treats presbyterianism as an instrument of
 priestcraft, 171
 ultimately acknowledges failure of
 statesmanship on part of Rump
 Parliament, 117
 ultimately put off by Machiavelli's attack
 on Livy and classical republicanism,
 104
 unable to defend Rump Parliament
 without appeal to aristocratic
 principles, 110
 unearashes radical potential in priesthood of
 all believers, 170

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

405

- his visit to Italy, 148
- visits France in 118, 155
- with Hobbes in favoring philosophical freedom, 272
- wonders whether his compatriots up to the moral challenge, 121
- worries early on that compatriots morally unsuited to republican rule, 123
- writes sonnet praising Fairfax and criticizing Long Parliament, 123
- Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriel de Riquetti, comte de, 352, 353
- Monck, George, Major General, 351
 - after secluded members recalled Long Parliament made commander-in-chief, 351
 - demands Rump be recalled, 351
 - Fairfax supports, 351
 - marches on London, 351
- Monmouth, Henry Cary, earl of, 6
- Montaigne, Michel de, 167
 - Charron draws on, 168
 - Charron says what he intimates, 168
 - in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
 - indebted to Machiavelli, 313
 - witnesses wars of religion, 168
- Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de, 92, 352, 354
- More, Thomas, 60
- Moses
 - asserts universe created, 36
 - Machiavelli depicts as armed prophet, 85
 - Machiavelli depicts as new prince, 56
 - Machiavelli makes responsible for new modes and orders, 56
 - Machiavelli prepared to apply reason to accomplishments, 85
- Maimonides on, 71
- putatively described as impostor by Frederick II, 76
- and the three imposters, 299
- Muhammad
 - an armed prophet ostentatiously left unmentioned by Machiavelli, 86
 - asserts universe created, 36
 - putatively described as impostor by Frederick II, 76
 - and the three imposters, 299
- mutakallimūn*, the, 85–86
 - among Christians the clergy, 88
 - as new political class inclined to quarrel and to oppose philosophy, 64
- Averroës on, 161
- Avicenna's critique of, 70
- Gerard of Cremona translates as *loquentes*, 74
- of all three religions deny that it is impossible that something emerge from nothing, 73
- of all three religions teach the doctrine of the creation, 73
- philosophers must in crisis shunt aside, 66
- their authority a focus of concern for the *falāsifa*, 84
- treated by Averroës as masters of rhetoric, 74
- Naseby, battle of, 199
- Naudé, Gabriel, member of the *Tétrade*, 146, 305–6
 - associated with Gassendi, 301
 - on Charron and Cardano, 165
 - on Cremonini's libertinism, 151
 - depicts Italy as a land of libertinism, 148
 - his description of Cremonini plausible, 152
 - disciple of Charron, 301
 - philosophical debauches with Patin and Gassendi, 305
 - said to have spent three months with Cremonini, 151
 - studied with Cremonini at Padua, 151
- Navigation Act, the, 203
- and the Dutch, 204
- Nedham, Marchamont, 175, 244, 322, 349, 352–53, 355
 - a genuine republican, 185
 - accused by L'Estrange of treason, 183
 - always friendly to Marten, 206
 - arrested on order of Rump's Council of State, 187
 - associated with Marten, Chaloner, Wildman, Neville, and Sidney, 209
 - at Restoration expected to land on his feet, 177
 - at risk as royalist journalist in 1649, 118, 186
 - author of *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 229–232
 - advocates a separation of powers, 230
 - bland, 231
 - charges Rump Parliament with perverting end of Parliaments, 230
 - cites Parker and 1640s army manifestoes, 229
 - defends *Instrument of Government*, 231
 - defends Protectorate, 229
 - denounces Fifth Monarchists, 230–31
 - denounces Nominated Parliament, 230
 - denounces Rump Parliament as narrow oligarchy, 230
 - lifts a passage from *Mercurius Politicus*, 232

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

406

Index

- Nedham, Marchamont (*cont.*)
- not a genuine admirer of the Protectorate, 231
 - reviews issues of previous fourteen years, 230
 - author of *Interest Will Not Lie*, 184, 243–44
 - author of *The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*, 189–196
 - accuses Levellers of imprudence, 194
 - acknowledges compatriots hostile to the English commonwealth, 195
 - addresses the crisis of conscience occasioned by the Engagement, 189
 - addresses the Royalists, 188, 192–93
 - adds appendix to second edition gleefully citing Hobbes's *Elements of Law*, 191
 - agitates for succession of parliaments, 213
 - appeals in chapter on the Levellers in uncharacteristic fashion to classical principle of differential moral and political rationality, 194
 - appeals to Royalist arguments against resistance, 191
 - argues all governments founded on force, 190
 - argues to each disaffected group utility of submission, 192
 - attacks conscientious pretenders, 189–90
 - attacks opinionated humors, 190
 - contribution to the Engagement controversy, 191
 - embraces fatalism, 190
 - eschews highmindedness in defending the English republic, 187
 - expresses contempt for the Scots, 193
 - favors Erastian congregationalism and limited religious freedom, 193
 - hostile to Scots and English Presbyterians, 193
 - obfuscates difference between Providence and blind fate, 190
 - objects to presbyterian encroachment in secular sphere, 194
 - openly hostile to presbyterianism, 193–94
 - praises Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy*, 195
 - touches at end on virtues of free state, 192
 - treats crisis of conscience occasioned by the Engagement, 189
 - treats English Presbyterians vituperatively, 193
 - treats presbyterianism as a form of popery, 194
 - turns his former royalism to advantage, 188
 - written as a job application, 213
 - author of *The Case of the Kingdom Stated*, 189
 - cites the duc de Rohan, 184
 - denounces Presbyterians as, 193
 - provides the royalist side with a Machiavellian analysis of their prospects, 184
 - author of *The Excellencie of a Free State*, 202, 212, 215, 218, 221, 232–244
 - advocates a separation of powers, 238
 - aims to instruct compatriots, 195, 233
 - attacks standing senate in the manner of the Levellers, 232
 - calls for succession of freely elected parliaments, 232
 - cites Aristotle, not Machiavelli, in advocating citizen militia, 240
 - cites Tacitus in defending executive discretion, 238
 - compares Stuarts with Tarquins, 241
 - condemns *The Prince*, then appropriates its argument, 243
 - confirms that no partisan of the Protectorate, 232
 - contributes to revival of Good Old Cause, 233
 - defends tumults in Machiavellian terms, 233
 - displays an acute understanding of the logic underlying the fall of the Roman republic, 241
 - embraces frequent elections as a salutary alternative to tumults, 237
 - embraces representation because English republic not civic, 236
 - espouses political distrust, 237, 242
 - evidences dismay at trajectory of English commonwealth, 232
 - excludes discontented from Army and Assembly, 240–41
 - explicitly embraces modern populism on Machiavellian terms, 235
 - favors political participation as an instrument not end, 240
 - feigns a rejection of Machiavelli's critique of morality, 244
 - first to realize bourgeois potential in Machiavelli, 242
 - follows Machiavelli in advocating public accusations, 238–39
 - goes beyond Machiavelli in advocating citizen militia, 239

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

407

- grounds defense of popular guardianship for liberty on Machiavellian assertion ordinary folk defective in appetite, 235
- hostile to enforced inequality, 241
- imitates false classicism of Machiavelli, 235
- insincere in condemning *raison d'état* and teaching of *The Prince*, 243
- insists sovereignty depends on sword, 240
- launches oblique attack on the encroachments of the Rump, 232
- launches oblique attack on tyranny of Cromwell, 232–33
- leads reader to compare Cromwell with Richard Nevil, earl of Warwick, 233
- less democratic than the Levellers, 241
- makes jealousy his political watchword, 236
- makes no claim of popular moral superiority, 236
- may have made draft available to John Hall, 215
- more than occasional piece, 233
- not unfavorable to spirit of honor, dominion, and glory, 242
- nowhere defends differential moral and political rationality, 235
- published in 119, 228
- quotes at length from *The Prince*, 243
- quotes Cicero on man's capacity for rule, 235
- recommends reading prince as warning against grandees, 244
- reprinted in 1767 by Richard Baron, 353
- reprinted in Adams's *Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, 354
- reprints admonitory discussion of earl of Warwick, 235
- restates Machiavellian claim liberty preserved only when its guardianship in hands of the people, 235
- says nothing against the Levellers, 235
- seeks to forge compromise between modern populism of Machiavelli and traditional English parliamentary concern with rights, persons, property, and grievances, 243
- seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
- sensitive to fact that extended territory gives grandees an advantage, 236
- silent on lawgiver's need to presume all men wicked, 235
- Styles self a *Well-wisher to Posterity*, 228
- tones down dependence on Machiavelli, 195
- treats secure enjoyment of rights as end of government, 242–43
- twice translated into French, 353–54
- uses only three of the editorials published before the battle of Worcester, 212
- capable of masquerading as moralist, 184
- champions *raison d'état*, 243
- close student of Machiavellian statecraft, 238
- co-authors *Vox Plebis* with Lilburne, 213
- collaborates with Lilburne, 234
- consciously courts the noose at the Restoration, 185
- continues to edit *Mercurius Pragmaticus* after execution of Charles I, 186
- contributor to *Mercurius Britannicus* always prefers the radicals, 198
- calls Charles I man of blood, 199
- calls for retribution against Charles I, 199
- pursues own agenda, 198
- welcomes Marten's return to Parliament, 206
- denounces first earl of Shaftesbury for changing sides, 177
- described by L'Estrange, 183
- editor of *Mercurius Politicus*, 197, 228
- allied with Bradshaw, Chaloner, and Marten, 205
- asserts no greater crime than overthrow of free state, 200
- attends to Lilburne's attempts to have banishment by Rump annulled, 234
- attentive to events in Holland, 203
- celebrates Bradshaw's presidency over the regicide court, 200
- celebrates own age as time of troubles for kings, 202
- celebrates republicanism and denounces Charles I as a tyrant, 200
- celebrates the regicide, 199–200
- champions foreign policy aimed at spreading revolution to the continent, 199
- champions principled repudiation of monarchy, 199
- closely follows negotiations at the Hague, 203
- critical of Dutch policy under House of Orange, 202
- debunks royal pageantry, 200

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

408

Index

- Nedham, Marchamont (*cont.*)
- denies distinction between kingship and tyranny, 200
 - describes *Frondeurs* as French Roundheads, 201
 - describes Stuarts as tyrannical family, 201
 - displays capacity for indirection, 200
 - does not reprint critique of the Levellers, 212
 - does not reprint passages favorable to Machiavelli, 212
 - follows events in France quite closely, 201
 - forecasts republican revolution in France and Low Countries, 202
 - has effective monopoly on dissemination and management of news under Cromwell's Protectorate, 225
 - hopes for Dutch alliance, 203
 - hostile to House of Orange, 201
 - introduces journal as commonwealth's fool, 197
 - may have had *The Excellencie of a Free State* ready in draft when he published editorials later collected therein, 215
 - never evidences an understanding of the impasse faced by the Rump Parliament, 218
 - never explicitly criticizes the government of the day, 214
 - plagiarizes from Hobbes's *Elements of Law* without mentioning the author, 212
 - pretends to a piety he does not share, 184
 - prints material from as yet unpublished *Excellencie of a Free State*, 212
 - prints three addresses Lilburne sends Cromwell, 234
 - promotes Anglo-Dutch alliance, 204
 - promotes program of Bradshaw and the radicals, 199
 - its prospectus, 197
 - provides systematic critique of presbyterianism, 211
 - publishes didactic editorials pressing for succession of parliaments, 215
 - quotes Machiavelli in issuing warning against the establishment of a monarchy, 215
 - reports on election of Thomas Scot to first Protectorate Parliament, 228
 - reprints excerpts from *The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*, 212
 - seemingly loyal to Cromwell, 228
 - seizes on political opening to articulate novel, revolutionary understandings of the foundations and purpose of government and ecclesiastical polity, 316
 - seizes opportunities to denounce priestcraft, 210–11
 - supports Cromwell's attempt to get Rump Parliament to hold elections, 215
 - supports Cromwellian policy at every turn, 229
 - suppresses earlier criticism of Levellers, 213, 233
 - the first issue, 197
 - to predict the weather and tell everyone's conscience, 198
 - uses Council of Trent to attack clergy more generally, 211
 - uses example of earl of Warwick to speak of Cromwell, 234
 - welcomes death of the Prince of Orange and hopes for Dutch alliance, 203
 - editor of *Mercurius Pragmaticus*
 - castigates Levellers, 195
 - diatribe against presbyterians, 193
 - Milton ordered to review, 187
 - reports on Pride's Purge, 195
 - editor of *The Publick Intelligencer*, 198, 228
 - continues operations under the Protectorate, 225
 - entertainer and time-server, 175
 - exponent of politics of interest, 184
 - fascinated by Machiavelli, 185
 - feigns distance from Machiavelli's critique of morality, 327
 - first modern to make case for citizen army, 343
 - friend of John Hall, 215
 - on friendly terms with Lilburne, 213
 - friendly to Machiavelli from start, 183
 - friendship with John Bradshaw, 186
 - generally contemptuous of highmindedness, 184
 - has much in common with Chaloner, May, Wildman, Neville, and Sidney, 207
 - Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 - in hiding from the Rump, 186
 - in Newgate-Jail, 176
 - journalist, 175
 - L'Estrange admires his craft as a journalist, 183

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

409

- lacks a competence, 321
- like Milton spokesman for the Rump Parliament, 186
- Lilburne aware of his radical proclivities, 234
- Machiavellian dexterity of, 177
- makes a principle of moral and political dexterity, 185
- makes space for love of glory, 336
- masquerades as classical republican, 324
- mentioned alongside Milton in wills of Bradshaw and Wentworth, 205
- Milton's particular friend, 187
- mounts early assault on Queen, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, 198
- not primarily concerned with political participation, 343
- not risk-averse, 185
- offers service to the Rump, 176
- his outburst against Charles I eventuates in his arrest and suppression of *Mercurius Britannicus*, 199
- and Oxinden, 185
- papers over chasm separating Machiavelli from the classical republicans, 324
- particular friend of Milton, 174
- passes self off as a Christian, 184
- popularizer of Machiavellian political science, 174
- prefers Athens to Rome, 236
- prefers Erastian congregationalism to episcopalianism and presbyterianism, 185
- proposes to Rump Parliament establishment of a weekly newsbook called *Mercurius Politicus*, 197
- and the Protectorate, 222–232
- and public opinion, 179
- publishes more than thirty-four pamphlets, 176
- publishes pamphlet defending English cause in the Dutch war, 204
- his the indispensable pen, 178
- his way paved by the likes of Boccalini, 181
- replies to Shaftesbury's *Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country*, 177
- regards civil liberty and liberty of conscience as inseparable, 333
- rejects classical republican principle of differential moral and political rationality, 325
- repudiates classical republicanism, 240
- rewarded by Rump for *Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated*, 197
- rewarded by Rump's Council of State for translating Selden's *Mare Clausum*, 205
- and the Rump Parliament, 186, 218
- Rump sends to Newgate-Jail, 186
- saved from oblivion by failure of the Restoration, 351
- secures pardon from the Rump's Council of State, 186
- shares Milton's dislike of presbyterians, 211
- spies for the royalists, 176
- steeped in the classics, 326
- student at All Souls College, Oxford, 175
- switches from parliamentary side to that of the king, 176
- the first intellectual journalist, 183
- the first to deploy Machiavelli's republicanism in England, 183
- Toland ignores, 353
- translates Selden's *Mare Clausum* into English, 205
- tries to head off the Restoration, 176
- twice imprisoned, 185
- virtuosity, 177
- voted a handsome salary by the Rump, 197
- works for the Commonwealth but not as a drudge, 198
- negotium*, 27
- Nero, Claudius Caesar Augustus, 27
- Neville, Henry, 7, 208, 215
- Baxter regards as pagan of a sort, 344
- Burnet denounces as irreligious, 209, 344
- charged with atheism and blasphemy by fellow member of Richard Cromwell's parliament, 208
- composes dialogue in which clergy denounced, 209
- flaunts impiety, 208
- forges letter in which Machiavelli denounces the clergy, 209
- friend of James Harrington, 7
- gives lip service to holding new elections, 215
- helps found the Rota, 350
- Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
- joins forces with Vane under Protectorate, 226
- libertine, 207
- linked to Haselrig under Protectorate, 226
- Ludlow supports, 224

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

410

Index

- Neville, Henry (*cont.*)
- his Machiavelli as hostile to Anglicanism and other Protestant sects as to Roman Catholicism, 209
 - may have authored *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, 226–27
 - mocks those who think *The Prince* a satire against tyranny, 7, 209
 - and Monck, 208
 - object of Cromwell's fury, 217
 - openly anticlerical, 209
 - opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 - prefers Cicero to the Bible, 344
 - presses Harringtonian argument in Parliament, 350
 - reacts to ouster of the Rump, 220
 - recruited to Rump by Chaloner, Marten, and Sidney, 207
 - reemerges during Exclusion Crisis, 351
 - royalist underground sees him as atheist, 209
 - said by Aubrey to have encouraged Harrington to write on politics, 322
 - said by Hobbes to have co-authored *Oceana*, 322
- New Model Army, 172, 192, 230, 316, 323, 347, 348, 350
- Council of Officers, 208, 214, 216–17, 220
- favours dissolution of Nominated Parliament, 222
 - presents second *Agreement of the People* to the Rump Parliament, 224
 - Wildman promotes second *Agreement of the People* before, 223
- fed up with the Rump Parliament, 220
- Rump Parliament comes to regard as a mercenary force, 218
- and the first Protectorate Parliament, 222
- victorious at Worcester, 212
- Newcastle, future first duke of, William Cavendish, 295
- encourages Hobbes to write *The Elements of Law*, 275, 312, 315
 - encourages Hobbes's speculations in physics, 295
- newsbook, the, 180, 182, 186, 198. *See also* Nedham, Marchamont
- distinguishes age of Elizabeth from that of Charles, 181
 - its emergence in England, 180
 - Nedham's contribution, 197
 - Nedham's role, 183
 - object of censorship under the Protectorate, 225
 - its origins, 180
 - presupposes and appeal to public opinion, 180
 - its significance, 180
 - Streater's contribution, 221
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 41
- Nicholas of Cusa, 113
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 30
- Nifo, Augustino, 67
- has access to full manuscript translations of Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 67
 - helps publish a Latin translation of Averroës' commentaries on Aristotle, 80
 - plagiarizes from Machiavelli's *Prince*, 81
 - predecessors aware of theologico-political doctrine of the *falāsifa* before they read Averroës, 69
 - profits from works of Alfarabi and Avicenna, 68
 - provides pious repackaging of Machiavelli's *Prince*, 81
 - publishes partial Latin translation of Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 67
 - publishes some of the crucial passages in Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 67, 80
 - student and professor at the University of Padua, 81
 - writes revealing commentary on Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 68
- Nominated Parliament, the, 348
- dissolves in acrimony, 217, 218
 - its failure instills caution in Cromwell, 204
- Fifth Monarchists unhappy over dissolution, 226
- future first earl of Shaftesbury a member, 351
- Harrison helps pick and supports, 220
- and Nedham, 176
- Nedham denounces in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 230
- orders Streater's imprisonment, 221
- Overton favors, 224
- summoned by Cromwell, 116, 220
- treated by *Mercurius Politicus* with respect, then disdain, 229
- votes own dissolution, 222
- Okey, Col, John
- elected to first Protectorate Parliament, 222
 - and Good Old Cause, 227
 - meets with Bradshaw, 227

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

411

- prevented from circulating *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 224
- refused to subscribe to the Recognition, 223
- signs *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 223
- tried for treason, acquitted, allowed to resign commission, 224
- Orasius Tubero, *See* La Mothe le Vayer, François de
- Orco, Remirro de, 88
- Overton, Robert, 345
- admires Nominated Parliament, 137, 224
- godly republican at odds with libertine republicans, 345
- Major General imprisoned for orchestrating discontent among officers of the army in Scotland, 224
- Milton's friend, 137
- Owen, John, 172
- Oxford, University of, 6, 188
- Bacon mocks Aristotle taught at, 293
- and Hobbes, 245
- Hobbes a student at, 291
- Hobbes at Magdalen Hall, 292
- statutes in Hobbes's day prescribe Aristotle, 292
- Lucretius not assigned, 291
- and Nedham, 175
- statutes forbid reading ancient authors hostile to Aristotle, 292
- Oxinden, Henry, 186
- preaches dissimulation to Nedham, 185
- Padua, University of, 79–82, 148, 151–53, 164. *See also* Averroism
- paideía*, 23, 26, 57, 327. *See also* *politeía*; *políteuma*
- of no interest to Machiavelli, 49
- primary concern of Aristotelian legislator, 23
- Papacy, the, 76, 78, 85, 89, 92, 94–95, 269
- and Cesare Borgia, 90
- defends claim Luther indebted to Marsilius of Padua, 113
- divine-right claims attacked by Marsilius of Padua, 112
- Hobbes compares with kingdom of the fairies, 271
- Hobbes on, 269, 270
- Machiavelli compares with Mameluk regime, 86
- Milton thinks Anglican episcopalianism no better, 141
- and presbyterianism equated, 143
- Sarpi as antagonist, 140
- Venetian Interdict, 298
- Parker, Henry, 12
- advocates parliamentary supremacy, 12
- author of *Observations upon Some of his Majesties Late Answers and Expresses*, 229
- jettisons divine-right and common-law doctrines, 12
- Levellers indebted to his defense of the Long Parliament, 108
- Levellers redirect his doctrine against the Long Parliament, 12
- Milton indebted to his defense of the Long Parliament, 108
- Nedham cites in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 229
- Parliament, 12, 341, 347
- survives and flourishes in early modern England, 10
- Parmenides, 295
- Patin, Guy, 305–6
- learned physician and libertine, 305
- philosophical debauch with Gassendi and Naudé, 305
- physician in France for Hobbes, 305
- Paul of Venice, 81
- Paul, Saint
- enlisted against the philosophers by Bishop Etienne Tempier, 77
- on need for mental captivity, 166, 304
- on need for submission to established powers, 191
- Payne, Robert, 295
- Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri
- befriends Sarpi, admires *History of the Council of Trent*, 298, 299
- friend and patron of Gassendi, 300
- friend of Mersenne, 298
- persuades Mersenne to drop anti-libertine polemics, 299
- politique* and patron of science, 298
- Pepin, 95
- Pepys, Samuel, 350
- Pericles, 280–83, 289
- his Funeral Oration, 25
- Peter, Saint, 93
- Petition of Right, 280
- Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca), 151, 263
- Petty, Maximilien, 350
- Petty, Sir William, 350
- Philip of Macedon, 130
- Philolaus, 295
- Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 78

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

412

Index

- Pizzamanto, Antonio, 78
- Plato, 13, 32, 156–57, 165, 342
 author of *The Laws*, 59, 120
 celebrated by Avicenna as a book about
 prophecy and holy law, 63
 links politics with soulcraft, 23
 praised by Milton, 118
 author of *The Republic*, 59
 Averroës' commentary thereon, 79,
 157
 denigrates sense of hearing, 37
 influences Charron, 156
 inspires Alfarabi's vision of
 philosopher-prophet-lawgiver, 62
 inspires political psychology of Sallust,
 48
 Latin epitome of, 157
 political psychology and sociology in,
 156
 takes seeing as metaphor for
 philosophical understanding, 37
 and *theōria*, 37
 author of *Timaeus*
 which begins with an epitome of *The Republic*, 157
 and Averroës, 158
 Bacon denounces, 295
 Calcidius' commentary on the *Timaeus*
 makes his political sociology and
 psychology available in the Middle
 Ages and early Renaissance, 157
 and Charron, 156
 contrasted with Milton, 173
 embraced by Milton, 119
 embraces political prudence, 83
 exponent of imaginary republics and
 principalities, 42
 followed by Alfarabi in political matters,
 62
 gives primacy to *politeia*, 327
 Harrington borrows from, 326
 Harrington places regime typology on new
 foundation, 327
 Hobbes and Harrington modern followers
 of, 345
 Macaulay juxtaposes with Bacon, 252
 Machiavelli briefly pretends to follow, 42
 mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
 on medicinal lies, 68
 Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington
 deliberately confuse his outlook with
 that of Machiavelli, 324
 no friend to popular enlightenment, 173
 not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
 and the humors, 49
 on the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- Plautus, Titus Maccius, 293
- Plutarch, 278
 mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
 Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington
 deliberately confuse his outlook with
 that of Machiavelli, 324
- Pole, Reginald, 5–6
- politeia*, 57, 64. *See also* *paideia*; *politeuma*
 Aristotle on, 56
 as way of life, 23
 Harrington rejects ancient political
 teaching concerning, 326
 Isocrates describes as city's soul, 23
 one way of life of whole *pólis*, 327
 Plato and Aristotle regard as fundamental,
 327
politeuma, 24, 56, 57, 64, 327. *See also*
paideia; *politeia*
 composition provides political *paideia*, 23
 defined by distribution of offices and
 honors, 24
 make-up determines *politeia*, 23
 provides political *paideia*, 24
- Poliziano, Angelo, 33
- Polybius, 13
 closer to Aristotle than Democritus, 25
 contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 discusses Roman *politeia* in terms of
paideia accorded *politeuma*, 327
 does not argue men act well only under
 compulsion, 46
 exponent of classical republicanism, 106
 exponent of the mixed regime, 328
 Harrington nowhere acknowledges debt of
 modern prudenced and mixed
 government to, 324
 Harrington places regime typology on new
 foundation, 327
 mature Hobbes hostile to, 275
 Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington
 deliberately confuse his outlook with
 that of Machiavelli, 324
 not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
 recognizes that fear can reinforce moral
 virtue and political solidarity, 46
- Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus), 28, 93,
 130, 136
- Pomponazzi, Pietro, 151–53, 165, 258
 appears to have been influenced by
 Averroës' *Decisive Treatise* or
Uncovering the Signposts, 164
 and astrology, 98
 author of *Tract on the Immortality of the Soul*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

413

- adopts and elaborates political psychology and sociology that Averroës adapted from Plato's *Republic*, 164–65
- and Charron, 156
- Charron abandons for Lucretius, 168
- cites Averroës for claim advanced only in *The Decisive Treatise*, 164
- follows Arab thinkers in treating religion as natural phenomenon subject to growth and degeneration, 97
- in unpublished works openly Averroist, 152
- lectures on Averroës' theologico-political doctrine at the University of Bologna, 81, 152
- likely to have known Elijah del Medigo, 164
- older contemporary of Machiavelli, 97
- precedes wars of religion, 168
- student and professor at the University of Padua, 81
- on the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- Porcari, Stefano, 90, 91
- Porphyry, 308
- Posidonius, 41
- Prat, Abraham du, 306
- presbyterianism, 184, 192–93, 241, 316
 - as doctrine of ecclesiastical polity, 13
 - and clerical tutelage, 171
 - Cromwell fears influence of, 216
 - Hobbes hostile, 316
 - made a matter of divine right by its English exponents, 194
- Milton comes to think synonymous with priestcraft, 143
- Milton turns against, 171
- Milton, 32
- Nedham hostile to, 194
- Nedham hostile, 193
- Pride, Col, Thomas, 16, 350
 - his purge welcomed by the army, 220
- priestcraft, 147, 190, 339, 342
 - Harrington coins term, 96
 - Hobbes described as enemy of, 307
 - Hobbes's account possibly indebted to Sarpi, 270
 - Hobbes's analysis restated in later work, 270
- Machiavelli's critique, 96, 139, 141
- Marten calls clergy-craft, 210
- Milton denounces, 171
- Milton elaborates critique and remedy, 139–174
- Milton obsessed with, 139
- Sarpi's analysis of, 210
- prophecy, 62, 65, 68–69, 71, 73, 85, 158
 - Avicenna on, 70
 - in Machiavelli, 59
- Protagoras, 305
- Protectorate, the, 222–232, 347–49
 - collapses in 1660, 117, 119
 - its Council of State
 - future first earl of Shaftesbury a member, 351
 - jails Vane, 227
 - votes to shut down all but official newsbooks, 225
- Cromwell establishes, 116, 220
- eventually abandons foreign policy of the Rump, 204
- First Parliament, 231
 - balks at ratifying freedom of conscience and shared control of army, 225
 - convenes, 222
 - debates terms of *Instrument of Government*, 225
 - first summoned on anniversary of battles of Dunbar and Worcester, 222
 - powers specified and limited by *Instrument of Government*, 222
- and Nedham, 176
 - Nedham defends but does not admire, 231
 - Nedham defends in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 229
 - Nedham treats its establishment as unsurprising, 229
- opening of second Parliament
 - time Harrington's *Oceana* entered on Stationers' Register for publication, 322
- opponents of, 221
- overthrown in 116, 119
- period when Milton begins *Paradise Lost*, 126
- seems vulnerable in time of Major Generals, 228
- Streater deploys Aristotle, Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius against, 221
- thinly veiled military dictatorship, 226
- Prynne, William, 171, 349
- Ptolemy of Alexandria, 39, 97
- Ptolemy of Lucca, 45
 - juxtaposes republics with principalities, 29
- Puritans, the, 101, 109, 206, 212, 225, 243
 - hostile to Machiavelli, 101
 - and John Milton, 101
 - and triumphalism, 190
 - wary of Machiavelli, 16

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

414

Index

- Putney Debates, *See* Levellers, the
- Pym, John
dependence on public opinion, 180
has Marten expelled from Long Parliament, 206
John Thomas invents newsbook to serve, 180
- Quakers, the, 13
- Quintilian, 139
- raison d'état*, 4, 119, 129, 243
embraced by Nedham, 183
Machiavelli inspires, 5, 262
Milton thinks Bible forbids, 119
Nedham champions, 243
rhetorical prudence dictates that Nedham reject, 243
- ratio et oratio*. *See also* *lógos*; *res publica*
Cicero treats as basis for classical republicanism, 24
equivalent to *lógos* in Greek, 29
Machiavelli doubts that this human capacity points towards justice and the good, 55
Milton has faith in, 107
survives as *kalām*, 62
- Rawley, William, 247
- Recognition, the, 231
Cromwell demands that members of first Protectorate Parliament subscribe to, 222
- Wildman, Bradshaw, Grey of Groby, Saunders, and Okey refuse to subscribe to, 223
- Reformation, the, 102, 118, 139, 141, 143, 148, 171, 174, 179, 182, 199, 260, 271
does not satisfy Milton, 148
shatters unity of Christendom, 9
- republicanism, 6, 13, 14, 16, 207, 330, 355.
See also classical republicanism; republicanism, Machiavellian
anticlericalism and English, 211
depicted by Nedham as the wave of the future, 202
- republicanism, Machiavellian, 21, 30, 32, 45, 50, 343
Hobbes opens way for, 320
Milton opposed, 101, 105
Nedham embraces, 244
no less hostile to Aristotle than was Hobbes, 315
not classical, 118
of interest to Milton, 102
opposed to classical republicanism, 104
- res publica*, 27, 62. *See also* *lógos*; *ratio et oratio*
Augustus claims Restoration, 28
contrasted with *res privata*, 29
dependent on *ratio et oratio*, 27
dependent on *utilitas communis*, 29
long gone by time of Augustus' death, 27
long gone in Galba's day, 27
and the middle ground, 182
no precise Greek translation, 27
predates election of the first consuls in 509 B. C., 28
presupposes deliberation, 27
takes shape under the early monarchy, 28
- Restoration, the, 7, 126, 132, 137, 183, 207, 274, 351
Harrington imprisoned after, 321
Nedham denounced on the eve of, 177
Nedham endangered by, 186
not an unmitigated success, 351
occasions brief exile for Nedham, 176
- Rohan, Henri, duc de, 183
- Roman Catholicism, 344. *See also* Rome, Roman Catholic
Sarpi elaborates Machiavellian analysis of, 270
- Roman law, 13, 113
- Rome, 8, 58, 107, 114, 209, 265, 276, 280, 316, 325, 327, 329, 336, 340, 344
- Rome, ancient, 13, 23, 27, 28, 51, 62, 64, 105–6, 118, 208, 232, 242, 265, 267, 273, 277, 338
achieves monarchy of the world, 95
aims at expansion, 49
as described by Vergil, 25
citizens in late republic thought by Milton to be no longer fit for freedom, 114
classical republicanism in, 45
the Decemvirate, 47, 233
the dictatorship bridled by Senate, consuls, and tribunes, 46
Harrington expresses admiration, 323
Hobbes admires, 266
late imperial period, 87, 92
Machiavelli compares with Ottoman Turkey and Mameluk Egypt, 86
Machiavelli on its religion, 97
Machiavelli on techniques of dominion devised, 87
Machiavelli on unity of civil and military life in, 92
Machiavelli praises religion of, 97
Machiavelli prefers its religion to that of modern Rome, 96
Machiavelli prefers to Spartan and Venice, 41

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

415

- mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
 and the middle ground, 182
 military arrangements admired by
 Machiavelli, 239
 Milton thinks unfit for liberty in Caesar's
 day, 125
 and the mixed regime, 46
 Nedham persuaded citizen soldiery crucial
 to liberty in, 240
 Nedham points to fact that arms accorded
 the propertied alone, 240–41
 Nedham prefers Athens to, 236
 Nedham traces republic's fall to
 stipendiary soldiery, 240
 object of study for Milton after the battle
 of Worcester, 102
 pagan, 20
 peopled by warriors and farmers, 52
 and the *populares*, 29
 preferred to Sparta and Venice by
 Machiavelli, 31
 the principate, 27, 254
 religion of, 83
 republic accords primacy to political life,
 32
 republican political practice underpinned
 by principle of differential moral and
 political rationality, 109
 revived in Milton's England, 122
 said by Machiavelli to have avoided the
 middle way, 87
 Sallust's explanation for the republic's rise
 and decline, 132
 Satan urges Christ to liberate the citizens
 from their imperial yoke, 132
 scholarly confusion concerning, 105
 Hobbes on its establishment, 262
 under the early kings, 28
 Rome, Roman Catholic, 84, 88, 145, 194,
 263, 268
 Hobbes fears resurgence, 271
 Hobbes on, 268
 Milton ultimately thinks Cromwell no
 better, 172
 Romulus, 56
 Machiavelli depicts as armed prophet, 85
 Machiavelli depicts as new prince, 56
 Roundheads, the, 123, 176, 180, 199, 218,
 232
 crisis of conscience occasioned by the
 Engagement, 189
 debate the propriety of taking the
 Engagement, 189
 defeat the Scots at Dunbar, 212
 Nedham compares the *Frondeurs* with,
 201
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 6, 181, 352, 354
 acknowledges good sense of Roman
 Catholic Church in banning
 Machiavelli's *Prince*, 84
 shares Machiavelli's misgivings regarding
 political impact of Christianity, 84
 Rump Parliament, the, 186, 206, 218, 223,
 230, 348–51
 admirers join forces in Good Old Cause,
 226
 and the second *Agreement of the People*,
 224
 army comes to be fed up with, 220
 army regards as entrenched oligarchy, 218
 and the bill for a new representative, 216
 Bradshaw defends, 219
 Charles II attempts to overthrow, 316
 comes to regard New Model Army as a
 mercenary force, 218
 its Council of State, 126, 186, 197, 217,
 347, 350
 arrests Nedham, has Milton reread his
 contributions to *Mercurius*
 Pragmaticus, 187
 Cromwell shuts down, 219
 and the Diodati, 146
 elects Milton Secretary for Foreign
 Tongues, 123
 first to be required to take Engagement,
 188
 hires John Hall to write in
 commonwealth's defense, 215
 Nedham presents prospectus for a
 weekly newbook, 197
 orders Nedham's arrest, 186
 and Cromwell
 Cromwell and officers discuss its future,
 221
 Cromwell defends ouster of, 222
 Cromwell ousts, 115, 216, 219, 221,
 228
 Cromwell suspicious of, 216
 under Cromwell *Mercurius Politicus*
 intimates distaste, 228
 debates a religious settlement, 172
 and the Dutch, 204
 easily works out reapportionment scheme,
 222
 expected to impose settlement after battle
 of Worcester, 102
 fails to impose a settlement, 216
 and the free state, 195
 godly-libertine republican alliance
 dominant within, 204
 Hobbes rejects pretensions as free state,
 277

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

416

Index

Rump Parliament (*cont.*)

- Hobbes's *Leviathan* crafted so as to be useful for defense, 316
- imposes the Engagement on officeholders, soldiers, sailors, clergymen, those at Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, and those associated with the universities, 188
- imposes the Engagement on parts of the army, 188
- Lenthall Speaker of, 186
- Leveller critique rings true, 213
- Levellers read Milton as admonishing, 234
- Levellers suspicious of, 233
- Levellers warn against trusting, 213
- London aldermen demand from Cromwell a reinstatement of, 220
- members aware elections would mean their demise, 215
- and Milton
 - Milton defends, 110
 - Milton in time condemns, 125
- and Nedham, 176, 186, 218
 - Nedham denounces as oligarchy in *A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth*, 230
 - Nedham objects to its unification of legislative and executive powers, 230
 - Nedham obliquely attacks in *The Excellencie of a Free State*, 232
- Neville, Chaloner, Marten, and Sidney cooperate in, 322
- obsessed with question of loyalty, 188
- ousted by Cromwell, 220
- its ouster occasions Lilburne's return from exile, 234
- paralyzed by popular hostility, 16
- recalled at Monck's behest, 351
- recalled, dismissed, and recalled again in 116, 119
- recalls those ousted in Pride's Purge, appoints new Council of State, installs Monck as commander-in-chief, 351
- resoluteness of those dominant within, 16
- slow to arrange for new elections, 214
- stalwarts from elected to first Protectorate Parliament, 222
- suspected of using the bill for a new representative to entrench own position, 216
- tempted by prospect of recruiter elections carefully controlled, 214
- ultimately imposes the Engagement on all citizens eighteen and over, 189
- ultimately regarded as failure by Milton, 117

- unable to institute successive parliaments, 218
- votes to abolish the monarchy and promises elections, 214
- works out plan of reapportionment, 214
- Rupert, Prince, 198
- Rutledge, Jean-Jacques, 354
- Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), 13
 - author of the *Catiline*, 121
 - condemns monarchy for discouraging virtue, 30
 - contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 - does not argue men act well only under compulsion, 46
 - exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
 - his famous description of the moral underpinnings of the rise and decline of republican Rome admired by Milton, 121
 - hostile to political discord, 50
 - indebted to Plato's *Republic* for political psychology, 48
- Machiavelli exploits diatribe of *popularis* tribune Memmius, 51
- Machiavelli reads and exploits, 48
- Machiavelli sounds themes but drops reference to friendship, concord, and justice, 55
- Milton restates his explanation for the rise and decline of republican Rome in *Paradise Regained*, 132
- Milton treasures, 121
- not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
- recognizes that fear can reinforce moral virtue and political solidarity, 46
- thinks classical republicanism compatible with monarchy, 28
- treats virtue and corruption as qualities of soul, 48
- works available from Carolingian period, 48
- Salmasius, Claudius, 212
- Samuel ibn Tibbon
 - influenced by Averroës' *Decisive Treatise* and his *Uncovering of the Signposts*, 163
 - and Maimonides, 70
- Sanderson, Robert, 191
- Sarpi, Paolo, 141, 147, 154, 247, 258, 298.
 - See also Micanzio, Fulgenzio
 - as influence on Milton, 140
 - author of *A History of the Council of Trent*, 140

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

417

- as anti-Christian as Hobbes, 270
- elaborates Machiavellian analysis of Roman Catholicism, 270
- English libertines familiar with, 210
- indebted to critique of religion in Epicurus and Lucretius, 140
- influences Milton, 141
- may have been read by the young Hobbes, 270
- Milton appeals to in attacks on presbyterians, 171
- Milton copies passages into Commonplace Book, 140
- Milton exploits in anti-episcopacy tracts and *Areopagitica*, 141
- and Peiresc, 298
- regards all religion as imposture, 149
- second earl of Devonshire's correspondence with Micanzio focused on, 247
- smuggled out of Venice and published in London, 210
- unhappy with original London edition, 147
- author of *A History of the Inquisition* influences Milton, 141
- Milton consults, 141
- published in Italian while Milton on the continent, 147
- and the Diodati, 146
- translated into English in 1118, 141
- author of *A History of the Interdict*, 147
- author of *A Treatise of Matters Beneficiary*, 270
- and Hobbes, 270
- connection with the Diodati, 146
- defends absolute sovereignty of the state, 140
- and the Diodati, 147
- echoes in his notebooks distinctive theologico-political vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, 154
- Elie Diodati promotes, 301
- exceptional in Italy in his atheism, 150
- his secretary Micanzio meets Hobbes, and befriends second earl of Devonshire, 247
- hostile to Papal power, 140
- in indirect contact with Bacon, 248
- in library at Hardwick Hall, 261
- indebted to Machiavelli's critique of priestcraft, 141
- may have met Hobbes, 247–48
- and Micanzio, 260
- notebooks confirm his atheism, 149, 259
- notebooks show he studied Averroës with care, 154
- notebooks suggest a familiarity with Maimonides, 154
- owns Averroës' *Incoherence of the Incoherence*, 154
- owns Averroës' commentaries on Aristotle, 154
- owns Diogenes Laertius and Lucretius, 140
- point of departure the theologico-political teaching of the *falāsifa*, 154
- profoundly indebted to Charron, 168
- questions the multitude's need for tutelage, 169
- state theologian of Venice, 247
- ultimate aim to weaken and destroy Christianity, 149
- Saunders, Col. Thomas
 - elected to first Protectorate Parliament, 222
 - explains discontent to Cromwell and resigns commission, 224
 - prevented from circulating *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 224
 - refuses to subscribe to the Recognition, 223
 - signs *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 223
- Savonarola, Girolamo, 29
 - attacks Florentine expositors of Lucretius, 34
 - juxtaposes republics with principalities, 29
- Machiavelli depicts as unarmed prophet, 85
- and the humors, 49
- Scala, Bartolomeo, 29, 33
 - Epicurean friend of Machiavelli's father, 33
 - father-in-law of Michele Marullo Tarcaniota, 34
- juxtaposes republics with principalities, 29
- makes Machiavelli's father chief interlocutor in dialogue on law, 33
- Marullo marries daughter, 34
- Secretary of the First Chancery in Florence, 33
- scholastics, the, 26
- Scipio, Africanus, 130, 136
- Scot, Thomas, 348
 - elected to first Protectorate Parliament, 222, 228
 - gives Cromwell a tongue-lashing, 219
 - opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 - refuses to subscribe to the Recognition, 223

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

418

Index

- Selden, John, 102
Nedham translates his *Mare Clausum* into English, 205
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, 106, 191, 267
contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
exponent of classical republicanism, 26
Hobbes treats as disciple of Aristotle, 31, 274
mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31
- Sermoneta, Alessandro, 80
- Severus, Septimius, 87
Machiavelli on his capacity to stupefy and satisfy his soldiers, 87
- Shaftesbury, first earl of, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 208
Nedham denounces for switching sides, 177
role in Exclusion Crisis, 351
Toland represents as contemptuous of religion, 208
- Shaftesbury, third earl of, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 106
Milton anticipates, 106
Nedham responds to his *Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country*, 177
- Shakespeare, William, 10
sharī'a, 65
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 101, 173
- Short Parliament, the, 191, 275
- Sidney, Algernon
Burnet denounces as irreligious, 209, 344
depicts Vane as proto-Whig, 345
Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
Neville associated with in Rump, 322
opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
reemerges during Exclusion Crisis, 351
reputed to be libertine, 207
- Sidney, Sir Philip, 6
treats classical republican enthusiasm as academic concern, 13, 266
- Socinianism, 174
- Socrates, 259
Plato's, 136, 156
as depicted by Milton, 130
asserted multitude hostile to philosophy, 59
distinguishes lovers of learning from lovers of wisdom, 156
his outlook incompatible with that of Job, 173
- Solemn League and Covenant, 189
- Solon, 26
Nedham praises, 232, 236
- Somers Islands Company. *See* Devonshire, second earl of; Hobbes, Thomas
- Sophocles, 293
- Sorbière, Samuel, 314
applies to Hobbes Lucretius' praise of Epicurus' liberation from religious madness, 307
arranges publication of second edition of Hobbes's *De cive*, 296
attends meetings at Mersenne's cell, 307
describes Hobbes as survival from Bacon, 251
oversees publication of second edition of Hobbes's *De cive*, 314
his posture at death, 307
publishes Mersenne's letter of commendation in Hobbes's *De cive*, 300
reads *De cive* and assumes Descartes the author, 314
reveals Epicurean ethos of libertine gatherings, 306
translates Hobbes's *De cive* into French, 251
- Spain, 59, 95, 192, 202, 226, 282, 337
- Sparta, 13, 283, 286, 340
Harrington expresses admiration, 323
and King Archidamus, 281
Machiavelli disparages in comparison with Rome, 31
Machiavelli prefers Rome to, 41
thought to aim solely at preservation, 49
- Spinoza, Baruch, 6, 146, 150, 299, 352
claims Jews loathe philosophy, 173
- Starkey, Thomas, 11, 114
- Stoics, the
Harrington rejects moral doctrine of, 326
and natural law, 29
- Strafford, first earl of, Thomas Wentworth, 315
- Streater, John, 221
advises republican members of first Protectorate Parliament to subscribe to the Recognition, then challenge legality, 223
arrested after ouster of the Rump Parliament, 221
Cromwell discharges from the army, 221
deploys Aristotle, Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius against Cromwell's Protectorate, 221
edits *The Grand Politick Informer*
attacks idea of entrusting commonwealth's arms to a single person, 221

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

419

- intimates Cromwell aims at despotism, 221
- favors frequent parliamentary elections, 221
- intimates ouster of Rump Parliament preparatory for Cromwellian tyranny, 221
- may have authored *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the*, 227
- opposes ouster of the Rump Parliament, 220
- publishes republican tract, 220
- puts ten questions to Cromwell's officers at time of Rump Parliament's ouster, 221
- Quartermaster General of New Model Army in Ireland, 220
- secures release from prison, 221
- Stubbe, Henry, 118
- Suetonius Tranquillus, Gaius
 - biographer of the Julio-Claudian Emperors, 31
 - contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
- exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
- exposes propensity of princely rule to corrupt and debase, 31
- Machiavelli appears to have had ready to hand, 263
- not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 32
- Streater deploys his biography of Caesar against Cromwell, 221
- writes biography of Augustus, 28
- Sulla, Lucius Cornelius, 131
- Sweden, 192
- Tacitism
 - debt to Machiavellianism, 262
 - Hobbes abandons youthful, 280
 - Machiavelli inspires, 5
 - youthful enthusiasm of Hobbes, 262–66
- Tacitus, Cornelius, 13, 265, 316
 - author of *Annals*, 31
 - at first Machiavelli lacks initial six books, 263
 - Machiavelli at first unfamiliar with first six books, 7
 - and Nedham, 238
 - Machiavelli uses first six books in *Florentine Histories*, 7
 - Bacon and Hobbes focus on his treatment of Augustus, 264
 - Bacon's use of, 254
 - contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 - deployed by Streater against Cromwell, 221
 - on disappearance of the *res publica*, 27
 - exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
 - exposes propensity of princely rule to corrupt and debase, 30
 - Hobbes appears to have written a discourse on, 262, 273
 - Hobbes treats as disciple of Aristotle, 31
 - mature Hobbes hostile to, 274
 - Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington
 - deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
 - not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 32
 - read as guide to royal courts, 10
 - Tarquinius Superbus, 28
 - as threat to the *res publica*, 28
 - Nedham uses name for pretender Charles and James, the duke of York, 200
 - and his sons
 - Nedham compares with Stuarts, 241
 - Tempier, Etienne, Bishop, 166
 - reasserts the ancillary status accorded philosophy by the Church Fathers, 77
 - Tétrade*, the, 302, 303, 305. *See also* Diodati, Elie; Gassendi, *Père* Pierre; La Mothe la Vayer, François; Naudé, Gabriel
 - disciples of Charron, 168
 - Theophrastus, 89
 - Bacon denounces as sophist professing professorial wisdom, 275
 - Theophrastus redivivus*
 - confirms libertine presence in France, 150
 - echoes distinctive theologico-political vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, 154
 - Theseus, 56
 - Machiavelli depicts as armed prophet, 85
 - Machiavelli depicts as new prince, 56
 - Thomas, John, 180
 - invents the newsbook, 180
 - Thucydides, 13, 245, 319, 332, 342
 - Hobbes values sensitivity to fragility of civil society, 282
 - Hobbes writes brief biography, 278
 - Hobbes's *Leviathan* inspired by his depiction of fragility of political order, 318
 - Hobbes's reading influenced by impeachment of Bacon, assassination of Buckingham, and struggle over Petition of Right, 280
 - Hobbes's translation a political intervention, 280
 - influences Hobbes, 263
 - teaches Hobbes suspicion of republican contentiousness, 289
 - alerts Hobbes to revolution's contribution to moral anarchy, 289

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

420

Index

Thucydides (*cont.*)

Athenian speech at Sparta fascinates

Hobbes, 285–86

and Bacon, 281

contrasted with Machiavelli, 30

Dionysius of Halicarnassus charges with
obscurity, 285does not argue men act well only under
compulsion, 46exponent of classical republicanism, 26,
106

Harrington borrows from, 326

and Hobbes

helps Hobbes see that mutual fear and
equal necessity can provide
foundation for justice, 289Hobbes attentive to his account of
manner in which language loses
purchase in revolutionary situation,
287–88Hobbes attentive to his account of the
dissolution of Greek governments,
283

Hobbes attentive to his banishment, 282

Hobbes broods over his account of the
revolutionary process, 287Hobbes compares with Anaxagoras and
hints at atheism of, 281Hobbes defends against charge of
obscurity, 285Hobbes deploys against classical
republicanism, 279–80Hobbes draws his political psychology
from, 284Hobbes draws on description of moral
anarchy produced by revolution at
Corcyra, 310Hobbes fascinated by his depiction of
psychological consequences of the
plague, 286–87Hobbes interested in his description of
sedition, 285Hobbes made sensitive to ambition's
contribution to anarchy, 288

Hobbes on studies with Antiphon, 279

Hobbes owes his political psychology
to, 285Hobbes owes own state of nature to his
description of early Greece, 283Hobbes reads in light of Baconian
concerns, 284Hobbes reads with care Machavelli
lavished on Lucretius, 279

Hobbes reveres, 278

Hobbes singles out as most politic
historian, 278–81

Hobbes translates, 281, 293

Hobbes translates, profoundlyly

influenced by, 278–290

comes face to face with abyss, 282

his interest in Pericles, 282

like Heraclitus and Democritus in

regarding motion as prior to rest, 282

and Machiavelli, 281

Marcellinus, biography of, 281

Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington

deliberately confuse his outlook with
that of Machiavelli, 324

not an inspiration for Machiavelli, 31

student of power politics, 282

Thurloe, John, Cromwell's spymaster

alerts Cromwell to Fifth

Monarchist-republican alliance, 226

his report on collusion between old

Rumpers and Fifth Monarchists, 227

reports Fifth Monarchists are organizing
in cells, 227stops *Humble Petition of Several Colonels
of the Army*, 224

Tiberius (Tiberius Claudius Nero), 27–28

Tocqueville, Alexis de, 25

Toland, John, 321, 354

as editor of memoirs turns Puritan Ludlow
into a Country Whig, 216claims death of Charles I spurs Harrington
to write, 321

ignores Nedham, 353

publishes brief life of Harrington, 355

republishes *Oceana*, 354

republishes Milton's prose, 352

tinkers with reprint of Hall's *Ground &
Reasons of Monarchy Considered*,
215

on Wildman's contempt for religion, 208

Torni, Bernardo, 80

Torquatus, Titus Manlius, 88

Traversari, Ambrogio, 34

Tridino, Bernardino de, 80

Turkey, Ottoman, 87

Machiavelli compares with late imperial

Rome and Mameluk Egypt, 86

Vane, Sir Henry, 137, 345, 348–49

behind 1656 alliance of Rumpers and Fifth
Monarchists, 119, 227

Brewster his printer, 228

and Cromwell

object of Cromwell's fury, 217

objects to Cromwell's ouster of the
Rump, 219

opposes Cromwell's coup, 220

godly republican hostile to libertine
republicans, 207, 345

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the English Republic

Paul A. Rahe

Index

[More information](#)

Index

421

- godly republicans, 199
 joins forces with Neville under Protectorate, 226
 linked to Haselrig under Protectorate, 226
 Ludlow and Sidney characterize in different ways, 345
 Milton admires, 137
 Milton singles out in sonnets for unstinting praise, 137
 proposes permanent senate, 118
 publishes *A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved*, 226–27, 233, 322
 unhappy with libertine republicans, 207
 writes open letter to Harrington, 350
- Vanini, Giulio Cesare, 298
 Bacon acquainted with, 100, 258
 burned at the stake as atheist, 99
 dubs Machiavelli prince of the atheists, 99
 early reader of Machiavelli's *Prince*, 86
 echoes distinctive theologico-political vocabulary of the *falāsifa*, 154
 martyr to cause of atheism, 99
 persuaded libertines must practice dissimulation, 150
 plagiarizes Pomponazzi, 152
 propagates atheism by attacking, 301
- Vaughan, William, 6
- Venice, 9, 67, 79, 210, 247, 250, 259–60, 270, 289, 298, 332, 335
 English fascination with republicanism of, 10
 Harrington admires, 332
 Hobbes friendly to republican model of, 289
 Hobbes visits with second earl of Devonshire, 246
 Machiavelli on failure to achieve monarchy of the world, 95
 Machiavelli prefers Rome, 31, 41
 and Sarpi, 140
 and the Interdict, 140, 146, 298
 thought to aim solely at preservation, 49
 works of Averroës published there, 67
- Vergil (Publius Vergilius Maro), 293
 his encomium on Rome, 25
 a philosophical poet, 174
- Vernia, Nicoletto
 helps publish a Latin translation of Averroës' commentaries on Aristotle, 80
 offered a position at the Florentine Studio, 80
 student and professor at the University of Padua, 81
- Vespucci, Amerigo, 21
- Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, 109, 111
 Virginia Company, *See* Devonshire, second earl of: Hobbes, Thomas
 Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), 297
- Waller, Edmund
 fears verses in praise of Hobbes will offend churchmen, 307
- Wallingford House Party, 348–51
- Walpole, Sir Robert, 352
- Warwick, earl of (Richard Nevil), 234
 mentioned as way of warning against Cromwell, 233
- Weber, Max, 30
- Wentworth, Sir Peter
 friend to Marten, 205
 object of Cromwell's fury, 217
 objects to Cromwell's ouster of the Rump, 219
 opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 tries to subvert monarchy, 15
 his will mentions Milton and Nedham, 205
- White, Thomas, 320
- Whitelocke, Bulstrode
 object of Cromwell's fury, 217
- Wildman, John, 208
 attends Rota, 350
 author of *A Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*
 attempts to circulate, 223, 321
 cites 1640s army manifestoes, 229
 deploys arguments of Ireton's pamphlets against Cromwell, 224
 indebted to arguments of Lilburne, 234
 author of *A Mite to the Treasury*
 opposes Cromwell's coup, 220
 author of *The Case of the Armie Truly Slated*, 223
 Burnet denounces as irreligious, 209, 344
 elected to first Protectorate Parliament, 222
 flaunts impiety, 208
 former Leveller, 223
 libertine, 207
 Hobbes's *juvenilia* reveal kinship with, 272
 imprisoned for drafting and circulating *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 224
 may have authored *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army*, 227
 openly dismissive of religion, 208
 prevented from circulating *Humble Petition of Several Colonels of the Army*, 224
 reemerges during Exclusion Crisis, 351

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-88390-0 - Against Throne and Altar: Machiavelli and Political Theory under the
English Republic
Paul A. Rahe
Index
[More information](#)

- Wildman, John (*cont.*)
 - refuses to subscribe to the Recognition, 223
 - Toland represents as contemptuous of religion, 208
- Wilkes, John, 353
- Wither, George, 181, 206
- Wood, Anthony à, 207
- Worcester, battle of, 102, 172, 199, 203, 212, 214–15, 222, 232, 235, 316, 323, 347
- Wren, Matthew, 326
- Xenophanes, 295
- Xenophon, 13
 - contrasted with Machiavelli, 30
 - discusses Persian *politeía* in terms of *paideía* accorded *políteuma*, 327
 - exponent of classical republicanism, 26, 106
- Nedham, Hobbes, and Harrington
 - deliberately confuse his outlook with that of Machiavelli, 324
- not as great an inspiration for Machiavelli as Lucretius, 31